WHO WAS BURIED

JAMES MADISON'S GRAVE?

A study in contextual analysis

MADISON

INN MARSO

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WHO WAS BURIED IN JAMES MADISON'S GRAVE?

A Study in Contextual Analysis

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Charles Thomas Chapman

2005

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all those who have come before us, who have created our ideas, our thoughts, our lives, our words, and our stories, and to all those who will follow and recreate what we have done.

Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all is vanity.

What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?

One generation passes h away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever.

The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose. The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it whirleth about continually, and the wind returneth again according to his circuits.

All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full; unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again.

All things are full of labour; man cannot utter it: the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing.

The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun.

Is there any thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new? it hath been already of old time, which was before us.

There is no remembrance of former things; neither shall there be any remembrance of things that are to come with those that shall come after.

-King James Bible, Ecclesiastes 1:2-11

The use of words is to express ideas. Perspicuity, therefore, requires not only that the ideas should be distinctly formed, but that they should be expressed by words distinctly and exclusively appropriate to them. But no language is so copious as to supply words and phrases for every complex idea, or so correct as not to include many equivocally denoting different ideas. Hence it must happen that however accurately objects may be discriminated in themselves, and however accurately the discrimination may be considered, the definition of them may be rendered inaccurate by the inaccuracy of the terms in which it is delivered. And this unavoidable inaccuracy may be greater or less, according to the complexity and novelty of the objects defined. When the Almighty himself condescends to address mankind in their own language, his meaning, luminous as it must be, is rendered dim and doubtful by the cloudy medium through which it is communicated.

-James Madison, The Federalist No. 37

For my grandfather T. I. Chapman, in memory of the past; And to my wife Stacey and my children Preston, Kaley and Alicia, for the joy of the present and the future.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The riders in a race do not stop when they reach the goal. There is a little finishing canter before coming to a standstill. There is time to hear the kind voices of friends and say to oneself, "The work is done."

- Oliver Wendell Holmes

This thesis is the culmination of many years of research that has been generously supported by many people too numerous to account for in this small section. And though the thesis is complete the work is not done. Countless stories contained within the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier still remain to be unearthed with future research.

To attempt to acknowledge some of those who have made this work possible I must begin with the professionals who I hold in high esteem. Lynne Lewis, Senior Archaeologist, National Trust for Historic Preservation, and Scott Parker, a past director of the Montpelier Archaeology Department, realized my potential, though I lacked experience, and gave me the opportunity to supervise the archaeological survey of the Madison family cemetery. If not for them this thesis would never have seen the light of day. An additional acknowledgement must go to Lynne who as a member of my thesis committee has been a constant support and a supremely helpful editor. Frederick Schmidt, a former research historian at Montpelier, provided the foundation upon which I have built the history of the cemetery. Erin Baxter went above and beyond her role as a member of the archaeology crew in her dedication to the cemetery project. Dr. Norman Barka, as my graduate advisor and as a member of my thesis committee, was an unfailing guide and an inspiration for a young archaeologist. Dr. Audrey Horning was kind enough to jump in and chair my thesis committee as I wrapped up my work. To her I owe an abundance of gratitude for helping me to bring this thesis to a close. And last, but certainly not least, Dr. Matthew Reeves, Director of the Montpelier Archaeology Department, is a friend and a mentor who has guided, pushed, cajoled, pleaded and praised, and in the end been my biggest supporter in the process of putting this thesis together.

Without the love and support of my family and friends I never would have been able to complete this thesis. I am constantly humbled by the admiration and praise of my parents, Thomas and Linda Chapman. Who I have become and the education I have been fortunate to receive would not have been possible without the love and support of my grandparents, Omer and Theresa Fortier, Marie Chapman and the late T. I. Chapman. In the six years which it took to complete this thesis many friends have come and gone. During this time I was lucky enough to make one of these friends my wife. To my wife Stacey and my children Preston, Kaley and Alicia, thank you for putting up with the countless hours spent finishing this work.

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ABSTRACT

The Madison family did not write the history of their cemetery, but by combining a storytelling method with historical, genealogical and archaeological information, a thought provoking construction of the history is presented. On June 29, 1836, James Madison, Jr. was buried in an unmarked grave beside his parents in the family cemetery at Montpelier. The President's grave was later marked in 1857, but his parents still lie unmarked. As many as 100 burials are contained within the cemetery, but only 31 of these burials are marked with a gravestone. Utilizing the concept of a cemetery as a community of the dead, created, maintained, and preserved by the community of the living, the President's death, burial and the marking of his grave will be used as an entry point into the contextual history of the family cemetery. This thesis asks the question: Why are some burials in the cemetery marked and others unmarked? And in particular, why was President James Madison's burial not marked with a gravestone until 21 years after his death? Focusing on the cemetery community concept this thesis examines how nearly 275 years of history can be contextualized and used as an analytical tool to answer these questions. The research brings to life the numerous past and present living communities who have created, maintained, and preserved the cemetery's community of the dead through time, from the Madison family up through the Montpelier Foundation; and as the historical context is created the context in turn creates and explains itself. Simple answers do not exist for the questions posed in this thesis, but through an engagement with context one can see that both the marked and unmarked graves were commemorative acts. A famous gravestone epitaph states, "Remember me as you pass by, as you are now so once was I, as I am now so you shall be, prepare for death and follow me." In the pages that follow, this thesis, through the use of fictional prose and non-fictional narrative, tells the previously untold story of the marked and unmarked graves contained within the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier.

WHO WAS BURIED IN JAMES MADISON'S GRAVE?

INTRODUCTION

MADISON'S MONUMENT AND REMAINS. -- Since his death and burial in 1836, the mortal remains of Ex-President Madison have been quietly reposing at Montpelier, in Orange county – a locality distant some nine miles from Gordonsville, on the line of the Virginia Central Railroad. During all this time no mural record with high-sounding eulogy disclosed the place of his final rest; only neighborhood tradition and historic record serving to point the way to it. The neglect in attesting his worth by some suitable monument attracted attention, and some few years since a number of gentlemen of Orange county set about the task of procuring one. Having been procured, it was conveyed to Montpelier on the 15th inst., and placed in position...

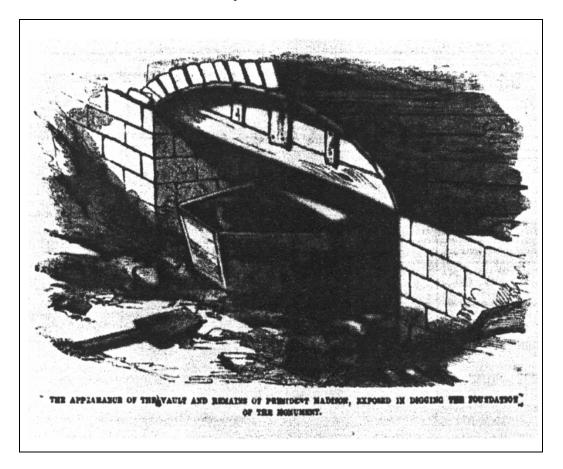
In digging for a suitable foundation, it became necessary to go below the coffin, which was consequently exposed to view. The boards placed above the coffin had decayed, but no earth had fallen in upon it, and everything appeared to be as when the coffin was deposited there, except that the coffin-lid was slightly out of place, allowing a partial view of the interior. As their were no fastenings to prevent, the part of the lid covering the superior portion of the body was raised, and the several gentleman present looked in upon the remains of the great Virginian...

- Fredericksburg News, 6 October 1857

The curiosity which drove the gentleman in 1857 to peer in upon the remains of James Madison, Jr. in his grave (Figure 1) is the same curiosity which drives this study of the Madison family cemetery. For almost 275 years the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier has been an integral and important part of the landscape, not only the physical landscape of the property but also the less tangible cultural landscape created by each successive generation of the family, each successive post-Madison owner of Montpelier, and the larger milieu of social and cultural change through time. The cemetery is a relic of the past, and at the same time, a portal through which one can view the dynamic social and cultural processes that have shaped the history of the cemetery over the past 275 years.

FIGURE 1

President James Madison's Burial



This newspaper illustration is an artist's impression of the view which the gentleman had of the exhumed burial of James Madison during the construction of the obelisk's foundation (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 30 Jan 1858, in Via 2000).

The cemetery at Montpelier is not a cold and lifeless archaeological site. It is an important data source alive with information. The problem is in trying to get this information to speak. When the initial cemetery research began in 1999 very little was known except for what information could be gained from the gravestones, and as will be shown in this study, the gravestones only tell part of the story. Specific historical documentation concerning the history of the Madison family's use of the cemetery is scant to the point of being non-existent, due in part to the unfortunate destruction of most of the Madison family papers in the mid-19th century (see *Fredericksburg News* 22 November 1855, and also Miller 2001:4). The archaeological project, which this study is based upon, provides some valuable information, but the limitations of the project's scope also led to more questions. Before excavations were conducted visual surveys of the cemetery revealed the presence of grave shaft depressions. Excavations verified the presence of unmarked burials, even in areas where depressions were not present, revealing that more unmarked then marked burials existed in the cemetery. The preponderance of unmarked burials is not unusual in historic period cemeteries (see Bell 1994), but since excavation of the burials was not an option within the scope of the project, archaeology was unable to reveal anything more about the unmarked graves.

In trying to understand the history of the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier one thing became glaringly obvious – without the ability to know the identities of the family members buried within the unmarked graves then the history can only be half-told. This study attempts to solve this problem. Even though historical documentation specific to the cemetery is limited, the history of the Madison family has been researched by many scholars, but never with the express purpose of trying to understand the cemetery's history (Schmidt 2000). By utilizing a genealogical perspective, a method which has as its hypothetical premise the ability to compile a list of all the Madison family members, then a baseline is obtained for understanding the family's use of the cemetery.¹ With specific contextual parameters placed upon the genealogical information, provided by information from the

¹ This study utilizes an extensive genealogical database for the Madison family created by the author using the genealogy software *Ancestry Family Tree*, a copyrighted program (1994-2001) produced by Incline Software, LC and MyFamily.com, Inc. Portions of the database are included within Appendices 1, 2, & 3 and are also presented as tables within this study.

gravestones and the known history of the Madison family at Montpelier, one can begin to assign identities to the unmarked burials within the cemetery. Identifying the family members buried within unmarked graves is an important step, which when combined with the gravestones allows for a fuller understanding of who is buried in the family cemetery, but it is not the final step in constructing the history of the cemetery (see Chapman 2000, 2002, 2003).

Constructing a contextual history of the Madison family cemetery requires intensive historical research. This study presents this research keeping in mind what Mike Parker Pearson wrote in his book *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* - "The dead do not bury themselves" (2000:3). Whether a grave was marked or unmarked, it is very obvious that the deceased did not care either way - but for those in the family who lived on, it was through their actions that the cemetery's history was shaped. Edwin Dethlefsen takes this idea one step further when he defines a cemetery as "a community of the dead, created, maintained, and preserved by the community of the living" (1981:137). This definition implies that by studying the community of the dead found in the Madison family cemetery one is able to see a reflection of the many living communities who have shaped it through time. This is true for the history of the Madison family cemetery and for historic period cemeteries in general, for when one understands the events and processes that create and form a cemetery then one is looking at the actions of the living community.

The cemetery as community concept introduced above, combined with an interpretative poststructuralist storytelling approach (see Carr 2000), will be used in this study to construct a contextual history of the Madison family cemetery. The construction of the historical context will attempt to answer the questions: Why are

some burials in the cemetery marked and others unmarked? And in particular, why was President James Madison's burial not marked with a gravestone until twenty-one years after his death? The ghosts of the dead will hopefully speak through their gravestones and rise from their unmarked graves to help answer these questions. The answers are not simple; they require an informed engagement with the contextual history of the family cemetery. When one understands that a cemetery is a dynamic community with many pasts and many presents, dependant on the perspective of time and place, then there can be no simple answers to the questions posed above. Instead, the questions can be viewed as points of entry into the historical context. More questions can be asked of the questions themselves to better understand the context, such as ...

Who was buried in James Madison's grave?

The title of this thesis may sound like a tongue-in-cheek question; a sly poststructural, post-modernist play on the sensibilities of logic, because of course, James Madison was buried in James Madison's grave. So one can change the question slightly: Who is buried in James Madison's grave? On the surface the two questions seem identical. What makes each question distinct can easily be overlooked in a cursory reading; the *was* has been changed to an *is*, changing the past tense to the present tense, but in doing so Pandora's box has been opened. There are many pasts and many presents in the history of the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier. To answer both questions the entire history of the cemetery must be contextualized, from the first burial all the way through to the present, for to answer in the present 'Who is buried in James Madison's grave?' one must comprehend how communities in the past answered that very same question.

The first question, the one in the past tense, can be answered when we understand James Madison's burial within the context of the *family* cemetery. He was not the only person laid to rest in the cemetery, but he was by far the most famous member of his family interred within it. The Father of the Constitution, the fourth President of the United States - the list of achievements can go on and on - but in trying to understand the events and circumstances that led to James Madison's burial in the family cemetery, all the accolades and accomplishments of his life will not provide an answer to the question. James Madison, Jr. is buried in the family cemetery at Montpelier beside his grandparents and parents, his brothers and his sisters, his ancestors who came before him and the descendants who followed. So to answer the first question: a son, a grandson, a brother, in short, a member of the Madison family was buried in James Madison, Jr.'s grave on June 29, 1836. The history books extol the greatness of the man (see Colbourn 1974), but it was simply by his birth that he joined a community which lived, died, and were buried together in a small family cemetery on the property they called home.

The second question poses the same query in the present tense: Who is buried in James Madison's grave? Whereas the answer to the first question is relatively static, pointing to a specific moment in time when James Madison went to his grave, the answer to the second question is much more dynamic. By recognizing James Madison as a member of a family community with ties to a cemetery whose history had strong roots in the past, one can see his burial within a family tradition. But the answer to the second question turns this history upside down. The second question can only be answered within the context of who is asking and when the question is posed, as for example, right now in the present one's ability to answer the question is biased by the limitations of the available archaeological and historical information. Gazing into the past from the perspective of the present, the family component of the cemetery is overshadowed by the greatness of the man. The history of the family cemetery was passed along through the stories family members recounted, but with the passing of each successive generation the stories began to fade. By the time the cemetery received its last burial in 1938, over one hundred years after James Madison was laid to rest and two hundred years after the first burial in the cemetery, the stories were forgotten and the history was not preserved.

The multifaceted family history of the cemetery has been replaced by a single story: the iconic national figure of James Madison - a Founding Father, the Father of the Constitution, and fourth President of the United States - is buried in a small family cemetery in Orange County, Virginia. Today one need only visit the cemetery to view James Madison's monument towering over the family cemetery (Figure 2), a monument placed in the cemetery over twenty years after his death by unknown individuals outside of the Madison family. If, however, one looks back into history, there was a time when visitors to the cemetery could not have found the location of his grave without the guidance of family knowledge. This was not an oversight or a product of neglect on the part of the Madison family, but instead, the burial of James Madison was left unmarked *because he was a member of the family*. His father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, brothers and sisters were buried before him in unmarked graves in the cemetery, and with his simple burial he joined this family community of the dead. His commemoration was his name and lineage; the family

FIGURE 2



President Madison's Obelisk in the Madison Family Cemetery

cemetery he was buried within with its surrounding brick wall was his grave marker.

The questions posed above are not an exercise in semantics gone awry or a graduate student's over eager attempt at pushing the bounds of theoretical logic; but instead, they are posed as a way of grappling with the dynamic contextual meanings embedded within the material culture and historical record of the Madison family cemetery. The family component of the cemetery is not more important than the fact that President James Madison is buried there, nor is the opposite true. As the questions posed above exemplify, there are many communities of the living who have shaped the history of the Madison family cemetery. The many pasts and many presents contained within the history of the cemetery must be engaged to answer the questions posed in this study.

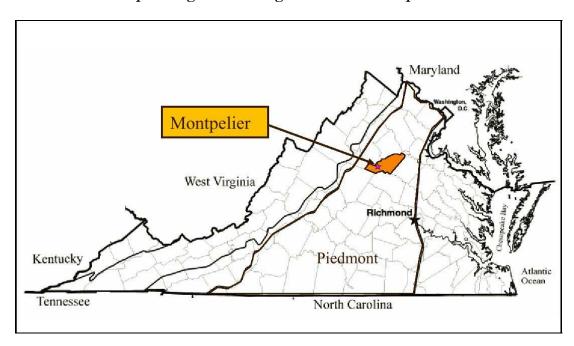
The remaining portion of this Introduction will present historical background information concerning the Madison family and their cemetery at Montpelier. Chapter I will discuss the methods and theoretical underpinnings of the study contained within the covers of this thesis. Chapter II will delve into the history of the 18th-century family cemetery, focusing on the reasons for the initial creation of the cemetery at Mount Pleasant and the local and regional context of small family cemeteries in historic Virginia. Chapter III will look at the long and complex history of the Madison family starting with James Madison, Sr. and tracing the genealogy forward in time through the early 20th century. The reasons why some descendants continued to utilize the cemetery and others did not will be discussed. Chapter IV will return to the initial questions introduced in this study and attempt to answer them using contextual conceptions of commemoration found in the history of the Madison family cemetery.

The Madison Family and Montpelier

Montpelier, a museum property owned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and managed by the Montpelier Foundation, is situated in the rolling foothills of Orange County, Virginia, about 90 miles southwest of Washington, D.C. and 30 miles east of the Blue Ridge Mountains (Figure 3). It was the lifelong home of James Madison, Jr. Owned by three generations of the Madison family, the property was originally called Mount Pleasant when it was first settled. In 1723, the president's grandfather Ambrose Madison, with his brother-in-law Thomas Chew, patented the land in what was then Spotsylvania County, Virginia (Orange County was later formed in 1734; see Gwathmey 1937). The 4,675 acre patent was arranged

FIGURE 3

Map of Virginia Showing Location of Montpelier



by their father-in-law Col. James Taylor, the surveyor for Spotsylvania County at the time and a member of the infamous Knights of the Golden Horseshoe who traveled through the area with Lt. Gov. Alexander Spotswood in 1716 (Miller 2001:11; Ketcham 1990:3; Scott 1974 [1907]:98; Joyner 1987). The patent land straddles the Southwest Mountains and consists predominantly of Davidson loam, the most highly productive agricultural soil type in the Virginia piedmont (Andrews et al. 1939:11-12).

In the spring of 1732 Ambrose Madison moved his family to Mount Pleasant. Thomas Chew and his family also inhabited their portion of the patent land at this time, with both families possibly combining their resources and moving together from the Tidewater (Miller 2001:18). When the Madison family arrived, the main plantation house, along with a sizable complex of outbuildings and associated agricultural structures, were already in place (Lewis 1992; Castillo 1996; Miller 2001:43, 53; Reeves 2003). Unfortunately, Ambrose Madison did not live long enough to enjoy his new home. On August 27, 1732, he died, poisoned by enslaved individuals who may not have been too happy with their new home on the far western edge of the Virginia frontier (Miller 2001; Chambers 2003, 2005). Ambrose Madison was the first family member buried on the property in what would later come to be known as the Madison family cemetery. He was survived by his wife Frances, two young daughters Elizabeth and Frances, and his only son James Madison, later to become James Madison, Sr. and the father of the president.

After Ambrose died, his wife, Frances Taylor Madison, managed the plantation until her son James Madison, Sr. came of age in 1741. Even then, Frances continued to hold a life interest in the property and was involved in the management of the plantation until her death in 1761 (Dorman 1961b:30; Reeves 2003; Miller 2001:32). Though no documentation exists concerning the location of her burial, it is presumed that she was buried beside her husband in the family cemetery. James Madison, Sr. took over a very prosperous plantation at his mother's death and added to his substantial land holdings in the area (Miller 1985). With his wife, Nelly Conway Madison, whom he married in September 1749, he raised a large family of twelve children on the plantation, the eldest of whom was the future president (see Appendix 1). James Madison, Sr. constructed a Georgian-style brick mansion to accommodate his growing family about one-quarter mile east of Mount Pleasant. This house, built around 1760, forms the core of the present day mansion, and it was during his tenure that the plantation's name was changed from Mount Pleasant to Montpelier² (Lewis and Parker 1987; see also Miller 2002).

During James Madison, Sr.'s lifetime he saw many changes take place within the small local community he grew up in. He played an important role in many of these changes as he ascended through the ranks of the local gentry. Between 1749 and 1799 he was a justice in the Orange County court, acting as presiding justice as early as 1767 (Scott 1974 [1907]:136; Thomas 1972:15). He also held the positions of sheriff and coroner, served as the militia colonel during the Revolutionary War, and was a member of the vestry and a church warden for Saint Thomas' Parish (Brockman 1959:3, 6; Warren 1933:37; Thomas 1976:56, 90). For most of his lifetime "the elder Madison had been the leading citizen of Orange County, its guide through revolution and war, often its sheriff, and related to virtually every substantial landowner in it" (Ketcham 1990:389). After his death in 1801 his son James Madison, Jr. inherited not only the property of Montpelier but also the role of patriarch within the family community. Nelly Conway Madison outlived her husband James Madison, Sr. and also nine of her twelve children. While living in the brick mansion at Montpelier she watched from afar as her eldest son's star rose on the national stage from Secretary of State under Thomas Jefferson to President of the United States from 1809 to 1817. On February 11, 1829, in the 97th year of her

² The President's grandfather Ambrose Madison named the plantation Mount Pleasant. The first reference for the name is contained within the 1726 Patent Improvement Accounts (Miller 2001:54). It is not known how long this name was in use by the family. The name Montpelier first appears in a 1781 letter from Edmund Pendleton to his cousin James Madison, Sr. (44). For the purposes of this study the name Mount Pleasant will be used to describe the Madison property for the period between 1723, when the land was patented, and 1761, when the President's grandmother Frances Taylor Madison died; Montpelier will be used to refer to the period after 1761. For a short period, two main houses existed on the property at the same time. The main house at Mount Pleasant, built sometime between 1723 and 1732, survived up through the 1770s (Reeves 2003). It will be referred to as the Mount Pleasant plantation house or in similar fashion. The Georgian mansion James Madison, Sr. constructed will always be referred to as the Montpelier mansion or the brick house.

life, Nelly Conway Madison died and was buried beside her husband in the family cemetery.

Even though James Madison, Jr. had no children of his own, he was the eldest of twelve siblings, many of whom lived to marry and have numerous children, nieces and nephews, who looked to their 'Uncle Jeames' for support and guidance. Much of Madison's life was played out on the national stage, helping to guide a fledgling country through its early growing pains; but where his heart and mind resided was at his family's home in the heartland of Virginia. His long and distinguished public career ended in March 1817 with his last term as president. He retired to Montpelier to live out his last years on the property he called home, but those last years saw the decline of the property. Successive crop failures, depressed crop values caused by a nagging agricultural recession and the financial strain of supporting a wayward step-son pushed the former president into debt that he was never able to overcome (Ketcham 1990:615, 624). With his death in 1836, James Madison, Jr. joined his family in the small cemetery at Montpelier and a much diminished property was passed on to his wife Dolley Madison. Dolley held onto Montpelier for only a few years, eventually having to sell the property in 1844 to pay off debts. The property passed through a number of different owners, ending up in 1901 in the hands of William duPont. His daughter Marion duPont Scott inherited Montpelier in 1928 and at her death in 1983 bequeathed the property to the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

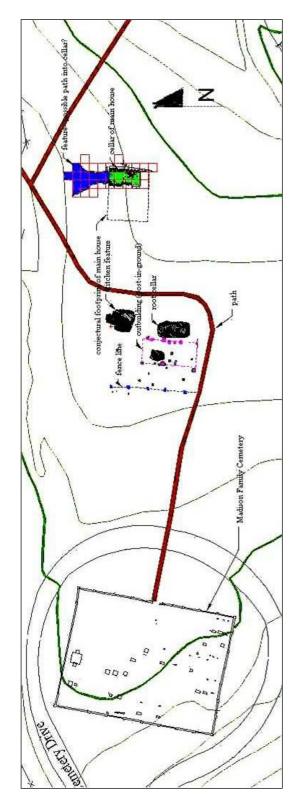
The property is now open to the public as a museum and is managed by the Montpelier Foundation, a private non-profit organization. The museum property presently contains 2,687 acres, within which 1,272 acres of the original Madison patent land remains intact (Parker and Klein 1989:116). This area is known as the historic core of Montpelier. The historic core contains the Montpelier mansion, which is the main focus of the museum property, and also the Madison family cemetery located a quarter of a mile northwest of the mansion. Archaeological excavations have discovered the remains of the Mount Pleasant plantation house, the home in which Ambrose Madison died in 1732, roughly two hundred feet east of the cemetery (Figure 4).

The Madison Family Cemetery at Montpelier

If the Montpelier mansion is the heart of the museum property, the focal point of the celebration and interpretation of President James Madison's life, then the Madison family cemetery must be regarded as the soul of the property, for within its walls lies the final resting place of not only the president, but also his family, ancestors and descendants, who called Montpelier home. Today, the cemetery is a rectangular plot of land enclosed within a brick wall covering an area roughly 95 feet by 70 feet (Figure 5). Thirty-six gravestones are present within the cemetery commemorating the burials of 31 individuals (Chapman and Baxter 2000; Table 1).³ All the gravestones commemorate Madison family members except one, that of Frank Carson, who owned Montpelier between 1857 and 1881. Archaeological, historical and genealogical research indicates that in addition to the 31 individuals

³ The 38 gravestones found in Table 1 include eight uninscribed fieldstone markers, one brick footing for a gravestone that may or may not have been placed in the cemetery (Gravestone 26), one commemorative plaque placed in the cemetery in 1993 by the Virginia Business and Professional Women's Foundation and the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy honoring the accomplishments of Dolley Madison (Gravestone 29), and 28 inscribed gravestones. Two of the 28 gravestones listed (Gravestones 13 and 38) are broken tablet stones which were found lying in the southwest corner of the cemetery beneath a boxwood bush. Standing replacement gravestones (Gravestones 14 and 32) for the two broken stones are present in the cemetery.

FIGURE 4



Map of Madison Family Cemetery and Mount Pleasant Site

FIGURE 5

Map of Madison Family Cemetery

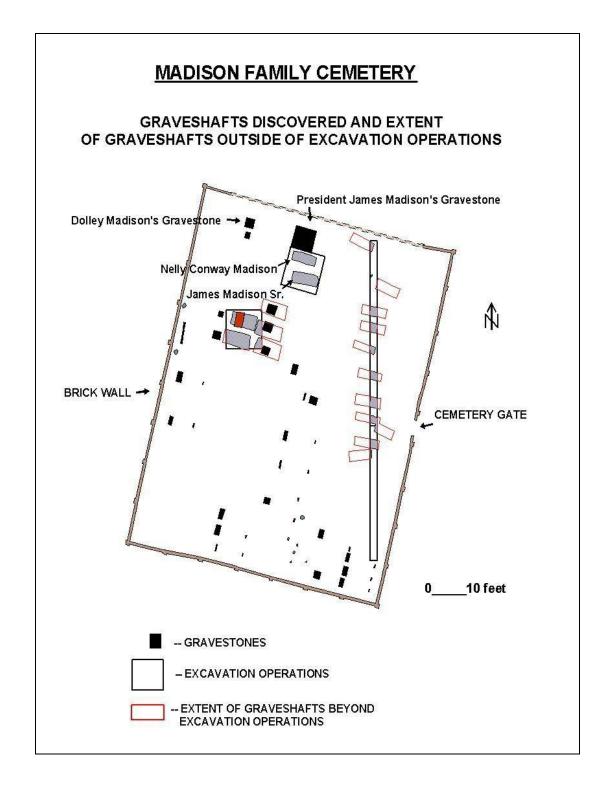


TABLE 1 Madison Family Cemetery Gravestones					
Gravestone Number	Form	Name	Birth	Death	Gravestone Placement
MFC-Gravestone 1	tablet	MADISON, Frances Branch Willis	9 Apr 1842	28 Oct 1899	
MFC-Gravestone 2	tablet	MADISON, James Ambrose	14 Jul 1828	28 Jun 1901	
MFC-Gravestone 3	tablet	MADISON, Lucy Maria Hiden	24 Jan 1830	27 Jul 1886	
MFC-Gravestone 4	tablet	MADISON, Ambrose Gilmer Sr.	1851	28 Feb 1928	
MFC-Gravestone 5	obelisk	MARYE, Mary Frances Madison	12 Apr 1822	13 Nov 1856	
MFC-Gravestone 6	tablet	MADISON, Ambrose	12 Mar 1796	26 Dec 1855	
MFC-Gravestone 7	fieldstone				
MFC-Gravestone 8	fieldstone				
MFC-Gravestone 9	fieldstone				
MFC-Gravestone 10	fieldstone				
MFC-Gravestone 11	fieldstone				
MFC-Gravestone 12	fieldstone				
MFC-Gravestone 13	tablet	CONWAY, Reuben	11 Mar 1788	3 Jan 1838	Broken original
MFC-Gravestone 14	obelisk	CONWAY, Reuben	11 Mar 1788	3 Jan 1838	Aft 1855, replacement
		CONWAY, Lucy Hartwell Macon	21 Feb 1794	13 May 1871	
MFC-Gravestone 15	column	MACON, James Hartwell Madison Sr.	3 Jul 1791	3 Feb 1877	
		MACON, Lucetta Todd Newman	9 Jan 1799	1 Jan 1878	
MFC-Gravestone 16	tablet	MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison	17 Aug 1764	17 Oct 1843	
MFC-Gravestone 17	tablet	MACON, Thomas	11 Jun 1765	26 Feb 1838	
MFC-Gravestone 18	tablet	WILLIS, John	24 Oct 1774	1 Apr 1811	
MFC-Gravestone 19	tablet	MADISON, Alfred	10 Aug 1861	12 May 1880	Aft Jun 1901
MFC-Gravestone 20	tablet	MADISON, James Willis	26 Nov 1855	16 Feb 1916	
MFC-Gravestone 21	tablet	MADISON, Susan Daniel	Sep 1854	1938	
MFC-Gravestone 22	obelisk	LEE, Ambrose Madison	7 Feb 1832	26 Mar 1838	Aft 1855
		LEE, John Willis	21 Mar 1836	16 Feb 1837	

TABLE 1						
Madison Family Cemetery Gravestones						
Gravestone Number	Form	Name	Birth	Death	Gravestone Placement	
		LEE, Mary Lee Willis	8 Sep 1806	29 Mar 1836		
MFC-Gravestone 23	obelisk	LEE, Lucy C.	16 May 1834	26 Aug 1855		
MFC-Gravestone 24	obelisk	MADISON, Letitia Ramolina Lee	20 Jun 1829	2 Jan 1857		
MFC-Gravestone 25	obelisk	MADISON, James Jr.	16 Mar 1751	28 Jun 1836	Sept 1857	
MFC-Gravestone 26	brick footer	LEE, John Hancock ?	18 Jul 1803	11 Sep 1873		
MFC-Gravestone 27	obelisk	LEE, Frances Willis	27 Jul 1820	17 Aug 1859		
MFC-Gravestone 28	obelisk	LEE, Mary Willis	5 Nov 1844	13 Apr 1859		
MFC-Gravestone 29	plaque				1993	
MFC-Gravestone 30	obelisk	MADISON, Dolley Payne Todd	20 May 1768	12 Jul 1849	Aft Jan 1858	
MFC-Gravestone 31	tablet	CARSON, Frank	Abt 1819	Feb 1881		
MFC-Gravestone 32	tablet	WILLIS, Nellie Ross	1 Aug 1875	12 Apr 1893	1973, replacement	
MFC-Gravestone 33	fieldstone					
MFC-Gravestone 34	tablet	WILLIS, Lucie S. Robinson	24 Dec 1844	17 Feb 1869		
		WILLIS, Claudia	14 Feb 1869	14 Mar 1869		
MFC-Gravestone 35	tablet	WILLIS, John	8 Jan 1809/1810	9 Dec 1885		
MFC-Gravestone 36	tablet	WILLIS, Lucy Taliaferro Madison	22 Jul 1820	16 Feb 1868		
MFC-Gravestone 37	fieldstone					
MFC-Gravestone 38	tablet	WILLIS, Nellie Ross	1 Aug 1875	12 Apr 1893	Broken original	

represented by gravestones at least 48 individuals are buried in unmarked graves within the cemetery (see Table 9). All the burials occurred between 1732 and 1938. Eight uninscribed fieldstone markers and a substantial brick footing (Table 1, Gravestone 26) that once may have supported a gravestone, indicate the locations of some of the unmarked burials. Historical documentation has only been found for ten of the family members buried within unmarked graves. One of the purposes of this thesis will be to explain why the other possible unmarked burials are included within the cemetery's community of the dead.

The cemetery's proximity to Mount Pleasant, the original home on the property, indicates the first burials occurred during the early settlement of the property. Two of these burials are those of the president's grandparents, Ambrose Madison and Frances Taylor Madison, both of whom lie in unmarked graves. No historical documents have been found to shed light on the location of Ambrose Madison's grave and archaeological investigations have not provided substantial proof of his burial within the cemetery, but circumstantial evidence strongly points towards the grandfather's burial in 1732 as the inception of the Madison family cemetery (see Chapter II).

James Madison, Jr. was buried in the family cemetery on June 29, 1836. The president's burial lay unmarked until September 1857. At that time, the existing granite obelisk was placed above his grave. Dolley Madison died in 1849 and was originally buried in the Congressional Cemetery in Washington, D.C. Though her dying wish was to be buried by the side of her husband, this request was not fulfilled until January 1858, with the permission of the Carson family who then owned Montpelier. Her burial was marked with a marble obelisk soon afterwards. The only direct family member of James Madison, Jr. marked with a gravestone is his sister, Sarah Madison Macon, who died in 1843. Seven other brothers and sisters of the president, along with his parents and grandparents are buried in the cemetery, but all of their graves are unmarked. The other gravestones found in the cemetery commemorate the family and descendants of Sarah Madison Macon and two brothers of the president, Ambrose and William. The earliest gravestone in the cemetery dates from 1811, but the style of the marker indicates it may have been placed in the cemetery as late as the 1840s (David Via 2001, personal communication). The latest gravestone from 1938 marks the burial of Susan Daniel Madison, the 3rd great-granddaughter of Ambrose Madison.

Archaeological Research

Between August 1999 and August 2000 archaeological excavations were conducted in the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier (Baxter 2000). There were two reasons for the work. The first reason concerned the significance of the year 2001 and the importance of the cemetery as part of the Montpelier museum property landscape. March 16, 2001 marked the 250th anniversary of James Madison's birth. This momentous occasion provided the theme for the whole year at Montpelier. Planning for this anniversary had started as early as 1998. One glaring problem in the preparation for the anniversary was the state of the cemetery, the final resting place of the former president. Normal upkeep of the cemetery, such as mowing the lawn and removing brush and leaves, was carried out, but the effects of time and vandals had taken their toll on the landscape.

FIGURE 6

Dolley Madison's Vandalized Gravestone



In the spring of 1998, a portion of the north wall collapsed and, due to safety concerns, the rest of the brick in the north wall was removed down to ground level. During the summer of 1998 vandals toppled Dolley Madison's obelisk, breaking the seven-feet-tall monument into three pieces (Figure 6). Dolley Madison's obelisk was soon restored and placed back in the cemetery, but while this work was underway the gravestone restoration specialist discovered that the president's obelisk was leaning slightly (Via 2000). Other gravestones in the cemetery had been vandalized and repaired in the years prior to 1998, but in some cases these repairs were beginning to fail and required attention. All of these circumstances required immediate action by the museum administration since the cemetery and the

president's obelisk in particular were a focal point of the 250th anniversary celebration.

The second reason for the archaeological work concerned the planned restoration work within the cemetery. Excavations were conducted prior to and in conjunction with the restoration of James Madison, Jr.'s gravestone monument, the restoration of other gravestones within the cemetery, and the rebuilding of the brick wall. The gravestone of the president is an obelisk that towers above the cemetery to a height of approximately 25 feet. It is made of seven pieces of James River granite that in total weigh roughly 32,000 pounds. Due to the immense size of the obelisk and the discovery that it was leaning slightly to the northeast, it was deemed necessary to take down the monument (Figure 7) and reset the foundation (Via 2000). Archaeological excavations were required in areas around the monument and along the collapsed section of the cemetery's north wall to explore and document

FIGURE 7 Dismantling of President Madison's Obelisk Prior to Restoration



any potential archaeological resources that would be affected by restoration work. The excavations also provided views of the monument's foundation for the restoration specialists to study.

Preliminary historical research, plus the existence of grave depressions, indicated a number of graves within the cemetery were unmarked. Excavations were also placed to understand the density and locations of these unmarked graves, particularly in areas most affected by the restoration work. Approximately 18 percent of the total area within the brick walls of the cemetery was surveyed.⁴ These excavations revealed the presence of 18 burials, providing a 1:1 correlation and a rough estimate of 100 total burials contained within the cemetery. Five burials were discovered associated with four gravestones and the brick footing. Eleven unmarked burials were discovered in an eighty-three-foot long by two-feet wide test trench placed across an area in the cemetery conspicuous because of its lack of gravestones (Figure 8). Two unmarked burials were found in excavations directly south of James Madison, Jr.'s obelisk (see Figure 5). An 1839 newspaper account indicates that these two graves are those of his parents, James Madison, Sr. and Nelly Conway Madison. The account states that "the remains of Mr. Madison lie in the adjacent family cemetery with those of his father and his mother by his right side" (Letters of a Convalescent [LC] 1839). None of the grave shafts were excavated down to

⁴ The surface area of the cemetery measuring 95 feet north/south by 70 feet east/west equals 6650 square feet (95 x 70 = 6650). Five excavation units of varying dimensions were placed in the cemetery - two 10x10 foot units, one 83x2 foot long test trench, and two 2x2 foot exploratory units east and west of President Madison's monument. Portions of two test trenches straddling the north wall of the cemetery were also located within the cemetery proper – a 2x2 foot portion of a longer trench extending north of President Madison's monument, and a 2x1.5 foot section of a trench in the northeast area of the cemetery. The combined surface area of all seven excavations equaled 381square feet. The total area of the cemetery was divided by the excavation area to find the percentage of area tested (6650/381 = 17.454068%) which when rounded up provides the 18% figure.

FIGURE 8



Madison Family Cemetery Trench Excavation - View to South

human remains. For the purposes of the project it was only necessary to discover the locations of grave shafts so that they could be avoided during restoration work. Since the excavations revealed that more than half the burials in the cemetery are unmarked, further research was initiated to understand the identities of these unknown family members. Genealogies, family correspondence and papers, wills and deeds, along with other documentary records have been used to compile a list of all the possible burials contained within the cemetery (see Table 9). This list has helped piece together a picture of who is buried in the cemetery and how the cemetery was used through time, information that the gravestones alone do not fully provide. This list, along with the material record provided by the gravestones, and other documentary records, will be used as entry points into the history to answer the question of why certain burials are marked and others are unmarked in the Madison family cemetery.

CHAPTER I

THE CEMETERY COMMUNITY CONCEPT: CONSTRUCTING THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

We recognize that the way people understand the world around them necessarily informs their acts of creation and representation – both written and material. Rather than thinking in terms of written records being more 'biased', or archaeological evidence less informative, students of the recent past now recognize that all human action, including the creation of both material and written 'texts' is 'interested'; that is, that the particular social context of the authors helps to structure the things they do and their ways of doing them. These interests, far from being distortions of the true past, are important to our understanding of history and should be the focus of our study (Tarlow 1999:3-4).

The cemetery may, indeed, be the most heavily laden symbol that any civilization created for itself. We tend to casually accept its function as a place of commemoration, of respectful acknowledgement of the significance of the dead and as the concrete reminder of our own mortality. Certainly it is all these. But the burial ground is also a visual presentation of the past, of the movement of time, of the very existence of the ancestry which allows history to be both perceived and conceived. The relationship between the representation of history as it occurs in the graveyard and the dynamics of the "now," civilization as we live it, is far from simple (Campbell 1981:657).

The dead do not bury themselves... (Pearson 2000:3).

[A cemetery is] a community of the dead, created, maintained, and preserved by the community of the living (Dethlefsen 1981:137).

Archaeology of Death

The realities of death and burial have been studied by archaeologists since the

beginnings of the field. Early excavations were fueled by curiosity. Antiquarians

were fascinated with the Egyptian pyramids, the grand tholos tombs found

throughout ancient Greece and megalithic tombs found in Europe. The earliest

scientific excavations focused on these ancient burial sites (Chapman and Randsborg 1981:2; Tarlow 1999:9). Thomas Jefferson conducted what many consider the first archaeological excavations in North America. His study of a Native American burial mound along the Rivanna River in Albemarle County, Virginia, in 1784, is well known by students of archaeology (Trigger1989:69). For this work Jefferson has long been acclaimed as the 'Father of American Archaeology', but James Deetz in his book on the Plymouth Colony in New England describes excavations of Native American burial sites by the Pilgrim explorers that predate Jefferson's excavations by over 150 years (2000:47-48). The history of archaeology is filled with excavations of burial sites, from the early curiosity of the Pilgrims up through the present. This stems from archaeologists' interest in not only the death and burial of past humans but also the material culture that these societies and cultures left behind (see Binford 1971).

Archaeologists gain much of their information from burial contexts, and this is no exception for historical archaeologists in North America. An overview of the literature shows "strong traditions of antiquarian and genealogical studies of grave markers as well as work which seeks to explore historical questions of technology, status and identity" (Tarlow 1999:15; see also Bell 1994:27-28). Since the seminal work of James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen with New England gravestones in the 1960s, interest in North American cemeteries has greatly increased. How archaeologists find information within historic period cemeteries usually takes one of two basic approaches. The first approach is derived from the work of Deetz and Dethlefsen where the focus is on the gravestones, the visible material culture found aboveground within the cemetery. The stones enable one to see time and place in a historic cemetery. The material culture is dated, one of the few times archaeologists have this luxury, and from this, information not only about the deceased can be gleaned, but as Deetz and Dethlefsen have shown, larger questions concerning burial and mortuary display can be asked of the material culture (see Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Deetz and Dethlefsen 1971 and 1982; Dethlefsen 1969; Crowell and Mackie 1984; Crowell 1986; Mackie 1986; Hijiya 1983; Butler 1969 and 1998; and Adinolfi 1995). On average in any given historic period cemetery the gravestones represent roughly 25% of the total burials, meaning that most burials in a cemetery are unmarked (Erin Baxter, personal communication, 1999). Gravestone studies make up for this by utilizing a large enough database so that a statistical sampling is produced, enabling one to gain information on cultural and historical differences through time.

The second approach involves the archaeological excavation of historic period cemeteries, usually due in part to activities that would destroy the cemetery and its dead inhabitants. Some of the simplest studies are done under the auspices of cultural resource management work where the burials are excavated and reburied elsewhere out of harms way. Some of the more complex - with complexity and funding usually going hand-in-hand - involve the study of the human remains and associated mortuary material culture. Osteological studies enable one to understand the lifeways of the buried individuals, and further studies of the grave material can lead to observations of the cultural context within which they were buried (see Little et al 1992; Bell 1990; Raemsch and Bouchard 2000; Thomas et al 1977; Joseph and Crist 2000; and King and Ubelaker 1996).

Both approaches use the material culture found within the cemetery, that which exists both above and below the ground, to understand more about the history of any given cemetery. Gravestone studies usually do not involve excavations, and where a large enough sample of period gravestones can be found some interesting and insightful information can be discovered. The second approach relies on the ability to excavate the graves in a cemetery. The study of the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier fits somewhere between these two approaches. The gravestones in the Madison family cemetery, if studied alone, would only provide a small glimpse into the history of the cemetery, and in some cases, without placing the stones into a historical context, that information would be suspect. The basic assumption that a stone was placed above a grave shortly after burial is shown to not be the case, and this would not be known for the family cemetery if the historical record were not consulted.

Due to the fact that the Madison family cemetery is in no danger of being destroyed by a new housing development or by the widening of a road, it was not deemed necessary to disturb the burials. Only limited excavations were carried out in conjunction with restoration activities. Much information could be gained from large scale excavations within the cemetery - a more accurate total number of burials could be found, and with the grave shaft excavations, depending on preservation, one could conduct osteological studies utilizing DNA and other techniques. In the future, further excavations may allow for a better understanding of the archaeological record, but for now since there is no pressing need to disturb the cemetery, other than the curiosity that fueled Jefferson's and the Pilgrims' excavations so long ago, it is best to let the dead rest where they lay. This does not mean though that our study of the Madison family cemetery must end, for there are still ways to make the dead speak from their graves.

The Cemetery Community Concept

Edwin Dethlefsen in his article entitled "The Cemetery and Culture Change: Archaeological Focus and Ethnographic Perspective" defines a cemetery as "a community of the dead, created, maintained, and preserved by the community of the living" (1981:137). The most important aspect of this definition is that it conceptualizes the framework within which all human action in a cemetery occurs. By understanding a cemetery as community one is able to see the interplay between the living and the dead communities and the effects this interplay has on the material culture and historical record of the cemetery. Using the material culture informed by the historical context of both the living and dead communities one can begin to recognize how and why the community of the living created, maintained and preserved the cemetery through time.

Dethlefsen expands upon this idea when he writes, "It is not the dead individual but the living community which determines and maintains the cultural frame within which mortuary practices and perceptions occur" (1981: 137). That the living play a more active role in the creation of a cemetery's cultural framework is undoubtedly true, but as Sarah Tarlow writes, "The dead are not just another class of evidence" (1999:177). In constructing the history of the Madison family cemetery it is understood that the living are the ones who bury the dead, but

Although obviously true at the most banal level, this oversimplifies what could be more usefully considered as a manifestation of the relationship between the living and the dead. It also contributes to the marginalization of the burial context within our interpretative structures ... The living may physically inter the dead, but that is not the same thing as having a free hand in their treatment. It is only a very limited idea of what death means which allows us to believe that personal power leaves the body with its last breath. By whatever standards we choose ... archaeological examples show us that the dead were potent subjects, not only symbolic resources (Tarlow 1999:177).

By using the concept of cemetery as community one can begin to see the historical processes that have acted upon the cemetery through time and see in these processes the cultural and historical perceptions of the past and the present living and dead communities.

Archaeological investigations, restoration activities and the implementation of a new interpretative program focused on the 250th anniversary of James Madison, Jr.'s birth by the Montpelier museum property are not only meant to maintain and preserve the physical landscape and material culture of the cemetery, but also reveal how the modern living community is actively creating, maintaining, and preserving how the cemetery is perceived and therefore interpreted in the present. Yet these interpretations must take into consideration the entire history of the cemetery. The cemetery community concept allows for the factor of time to be conceptualized within the study of the historical context. By approaching the historical context of the cemetery in terms of the duality of community (living/dead) one is able to engage the material culture of specific contextual periods within the history of the cemetery without having to place these periods into static categories of meaning (i.e. Madison family period 1732-1844, duPont period 1901-1983, etc.). These periods will necessarily need to be used for chronological and descriptive purposes but they will not have any meaning in and of themselves unless the historical context informs them with meaning. The cemetery as community concept provides a framework used to incorporate seemingly disparate historical processes into the creation of the

overall historical context for the cemetery. The creation of the historical context therefore will not be signified by the historical processes evident within the cemetery, but instead will incorporate these processes into a dynamic understanding of context informed by the framework of cemetery as community.

Dethlefsen expands upon the idea of cemetery as community when he looks at the cemetery as a model for understanding culture change:

If we accept that a community is an adaptive system all of whose parts are more or less delicately adjusted to one another, and then if we look at the cemetery as a limited reflection of the real community, we might begin to see a model of the general workings of the larger system – we might learn how to expose details of synergistic interaction among the "institutions" of a functioning "culture." The parts of the system are often difficult to perceive. Their "visibility" is in proportion to the viewer's sense of the whole, and they are best seen not in the intricacies of their "structural" details but in terms of their interactive relationships with one another. It was only when I began to see the cemetery as a material expression of the systemic history of the community that the relationships among the various aspects of observation in the cemetery – spacing, design, form, composition, etc. – began to make themselves visible (1981: 141-142).

The methodology that Dethlefsen lays out in his article is not directly applicable to this study because his model assumes the presence of gravestones and that they are an accurate representation of the living and dead communities in the cemetery. The questions proposed in this thesis presuppose that the gravestones in the Madison family cemetery are not an accurate representation of the burials and therefore other information must be utilized. One does not have the ability to look solely at the gravestones to understand the history of the cemetery because the gravestones tell only part of the story. If the main focus was the material record of the gravestones, as Dethlefsen writes, the "data source" would speak with a "forked tongue" (1981:142). Instead of focusing on systemic process it is more informative to see how the material culture informs the historical context of the cemetery through time. The processes that Dethlefsen sees at work in the cemetery are only a part of the historical context within which these processes exist. In order to understand the context one must step beyond simply trying to see the "interactive relationships" within the cemetery as community and instead find meaning in how the context of this community is informed by the material culture and "the intricacies of their 'structural' details" (Dethlefsen 1981:141).

Constructing the Historical Context

The Madison family cemetery is almost 275 years old. How does one begin to construct the historical context for such a long span of time? How does one decide the boundaries which define the historical context? As Ian Hodder asks of the cemetery as an archaeological site, "Is the context of a particular artifact type found in cemeteries a part of the body, the grave, a group of graves, the cemetery, the region, or what?" (1991:5). This thesis considers the idea that nothing exists outside of the context, that no abstract boundaries can be put in place to restrict context, a concept put forward by the postmodernist philosopher Jacques Derrida (1982) and put into historical and archaeological practice by Edward Carr (2000). In practical terms, limits must be placed upon the data presented in this thesis and the ways in which it will construct the historical context for the Madison family cemetery. To that end, the first part of this section will define context in general terms. Theories of context relevant to the historical and archaeological study in this thesis will be discussed in the second part. Ian Hodder's definition and conceptualization of context will be discussed, and then an alternative concept of context found in the poststructural semiotics of Jacques Derrida will be presented. The last part of this section, reflecting the discussion of context, will conceptualize

the archaeological and historical information used to construct the historical context for the Madison family cemetery.

To define context the word itself must be placed within context. *Webster's Dictionary* defines context as:

the part or parts of a written or spoken passage preceding or following a particular word or group of words and so intimately associated with them as to throw light upon their meaning; the interrelated conditions in which something exists or occurs.

This definition shows that to understand the context of anything the particular aspect of what is being examined cannot exist outside of the condition within which it exists. The creation of sentences in this thesis is a process by which ideas are constructed using words placed within the text, or placed in *con-text* (Hodder 1991:128). The words in this thesis are imbued meaning within the sentences, and sentences within the paragraphs, and the paragraphs within the chapters, and ultimately creating a body of text that gains greater meaning within the larger context of the fields of historical and archaeological study. Context is everything and everything exists within context. This thesis will not stray too far from this all encompassing statement, but for the purposes of manageability the concept of context must be more specifically defined within the theoretical parameters of constructing the historical context for the Madison family cemetery.

Archaeological concepts of context attempt to explain how meaning can be found within material culture. The material culture – the tangible physical artifacts and objects - which archaeologists find and use to shape their understanding of the past are understood as 'text' which, when placed within a contextual framework, can be made to speak (Hodder 1991:126-128). The understanding of context in terms of language is not a coincidence in light of its definition, but also because many of the theories used in the archaeological field are borrowed from semiotic linguistics. With language, rules of grammar structure how words gain meaning. Words are signs which signify ideas, and when placed within the contextual framework of language, these ideas are given meaning. Material culture has been theorized to exist within the same semiotic concept. Semiotic linguistic theory is structured on the idea of similarities and differences (see Hodder 1991; and also Tilley 1990). Every word in a language is similar to others but also different, and within these similarities and differences is found the meaning of the word. For example, in the language of this thesis, the word 'marked' is similar but also different from the word 'unmarked'. These two words gain meaning when placed within the study of the historical context of the Madison family cemetery. The play of similarities and differences attributed to the two words within the context imbues the ideas behind the words with meaning.

The definition for context which Ian Hodder proposes follows along the same line of reasoning presented above concerning similarities and differences. The material culture which archaeologists use to understand the past

exists in many relevant dimensions at once, and so, where the data exist, a rich network of associations and contrasts can be followed through in building up towards an interpretation of meaning. The totality of the relevant dimensions of variation around any one object can be identified as the context of that object (Hodder 1991:143).

Hodder further expands upon the definition of context specifically as "the totality of the relevant environment, where 'relevant' refers to a significant relationship to the object – that is, a relationship necessary for discerning the object's meaning" (1991:143). This definition requires that one understand the significance of the context before the meaning of an object can be contextualized. Hodder's concept of context is thereby placed within a system of binary opposition where context is only understood by understanding what is not context.

Hodder's definition stems from semiotic structuralist thought and at a deeper level all Western philosophy, where in the process of understanding similarities and differences a system of oppositions occurs. Structuralism at its most basic level attempts to conceptualize a central meaning within the play of oppositions (see Tilley 1990). In Western philosophy, all "thought is based on the idea of a center – an origin, a Truth, an Ideal Form, a Fixed Point, an Immovable Mover, an Essence, a God, a Presence, which is usually capitalized, and guarantees all meaning" (Powell 1997:21). Examples of binary opposites are black/white, man/woman, nature/culture, function/symbol, good/evil, etc. In the construction of these oppositions to discover a central meaning "one member of the pair is privileged, freezing the play of the system, and marginalizing the other member of the pair" (Powell 1997:25). The fundamental problem with Hodder's understanding of context is that context itself cannot exist in opposition to something that it is not. Timothy Yates argues, "we cannot, as Hodder attempts, define context noncontextually" (1990:271), to do so one would need to understand what is 'noncontext' and that is impossible if, as Hodder writes, "an object out of context is not readable" (1991:145). Context as an object of study cannot exist outside of itself since 'noncontext' would have no meaning. The basic premise of Hodder's definition of context as the "totality of the relevant" is still valid, but one cannot presuppose the significance of that relevancy. Instead, one must view context as an all encompassing concept where nothing can exist outside of it.

Jacques Derrida can state that "nothing exists outside of the context"

(1988:152) by deconstructing structuralist thought, throwing into question the whole notion that within the system of binary oppositions one element is privileged over the other, and in doing so a central meaning can be discovered (Derrida 1982; Powell 1997). As described above, in language, words are signs for ideas which produce meaning because they are elements in a system of similarities and differences. Derrida uses the neologism *différance*, a combination of the two verbs 'to differ' and 'to defer', to represent his concept (Yates 1990:214). Edward Carr provides a succinct summation of the complex ideas underlying Derrida's concept of context:

In Derridain semiology, the signifier is not given meaning through a direct relationship to a signified, but through *différance* (to differ/defer), a process in which the signifier gains meaning through reference to/deferral from everything the signifier is not. The meaning of a signifier, therefore, is never universal but always reliant upon the context in which it is read and interpreted, for it is only through the deferral of other meanings available within the context that any meaning is established. The context, however, does not stand outside of *différance*, placing limits on its play. Through this process of deferral, the context itself is created and modified. Through *différance*, context and meaning become inextricably bound up in one another (2000:36-37).

Derrida's concept of différance does not place context within a system of oppositions,

where one element is held privileged over another; but instead, context

refers to the 'real-history-of-the-world', a limitless condition in which there is no outside. As Derrida put it, "one cannot do anything, least of all speak, without determining (in a manner that is not only theoretical, but practical and performative) a context". So, context stabilizes meanings, but never permanently; it locates, subject to recontextualization; it categorizes, but not without the trace of the excluded (Dixon and Jones 1998:256; see also Wood and Bernasconi 1988).

Derrida's conceptualization of context thereby does not require that one understand

Hodder's 'totality of the relevant' to inform context with meaning, but that through

the determination of context, the free-wheeling play of all the elements within the

construction of context, meaning is found.

Derrida's concept of *différance* allows for the construction of the historical context in this thesis without privileging any one data source over another. The binary oppositions that have already been found within this thesis marked/unmarked, living community/dead community, family/individual - do not have to exist in a system where one is privileged over the other to find meaning within the context of these elements. As an example, to answer the question of why some burials are marked and others are unmarked within the Madison family cemetery, the relevancy of the context cannot be readily understood without placing both the material culture and the historical documentation on an even playing field. What is held in importance is that "all human action, and therefore the material residues of that action, is anchored in the representational meanings available in the context of that action" (Carr 2000:37). The meaning of human action as seen in the 'material residues' or traces of that action within the material culture cannot be understood as either physical function or symbolic function, as found in the contextual archaeology of Hodder. Using the process of différance the "physical function relies upon representational meaning in the same manner as symbolic function, for the meaning of that function is also bound up in the context in which the physical function is interpreted" (37).

With the Madison family cemetery, if one is to understand why some family members were marked with gravestones and others were unmarked the question must be asked, "What does it mean to mark burials?" This question will lead to a process of deferral where every question and answer leads to another question. For instance, a response to this question may be "to commemorate the lives of family members." But this answer leads to the question, "then why are the majority of the family burials not marked, were their lives not worthy of commemoration?" On and on these questions would go until theoretically every possible explanation would be found for the 'human action' within the historical context of the cemetery. From a Derridian perspective, the act of commemoration and the context within which the action occurs is

haunted by the presence which it has created itself, within its own act of engraving perception into thought, into word ... and, then, is not only a visual representation of human history, but a representation of the very act of mind which defines us as human (Campbell 1981:659).

What is referred to as the historical context in this thesis is the conceptual process of creating context. The construction of the historical context is an interpretative tool, which will allow the telling of the story of the Madison family cemetery. Through the process of *différance* the context of any action is informed not only by that action but also by the context in which the action existed, therefore the construction of context is a dynamic process that can be used as a tool for interpreting the meaning of the action. To understand why some burials are marked and others are unmarked, an a priori requirement of knowing the "totality of the relevant" context is not needed. Carr further explains the application of this idea to archaeological and historical analysis:

This particular method of theorizing "context" is chosen because it places in the foreground the essential and necessary interconnectedness of every aspect of a context without relying on the tautological justifications for such interconnectedness put forth in functionalism. Further, the connections between aspects of a context do not take place at conceptual points of contact that might somehow be severed or separated. Instead, these connections are permanently embedded in one another. This approach then, disarms the notion of the "single driving factor" as a means of explanation. Any explanatory factor one might come up with is always reliant on other aspects of the context for its existence (2000: 37).

As discussed above, the concept of commemoration may play a role in understanding why burials were marked, but commemoration has no meaning without understanding community, family, status, economy or any other aspects of the context. One can visualize context as a web of meanings where "there is no necessary linear progression through a chain of meanings, but simultaneity of engagement with all meanings at all times" (Carr 2000:37).

The archaeological and historical information that will be used to construct the historical context of the Madison family cemetery consists of the material record of the cemetery and the historical documents. The material record consists of all the tangible physical attributes contained within the cemetery landscape including the landscape itself (Francaviglia 1971), gravestones, fieldstone markers, the brick wall and all other archaeological artifacts and features. The historical documents consists of wills, deeds, newspaper accounts, letters, family genealogies and all other written texts concerning the cemetery and family members buried within the cemetery. As a body of evidence, "gravestones are both history and archaeology; both text and artifact" (Tarlow 1999:2). The text provided within the epitaphs is "deliberatively communicative" in that it provides information about the deceased and when the gravestone is viewed as an artifact within context it can be "unintentionally revealing" concerning larger patterns found in the material culture (2). The gravestone is a perfect example of how both categories of information can be combined into one body of material culture whose meaning is only gained by placing the information within context. This idea is further expanded upon by Ian Hodder:

To the extent that historical explanation can be defined by its reference to antecedent contexts and events, archaeology is part of history. Yet archaeology is about material culture not documents. The writing of ink on paper is itself one type of material culture and the inference of meaning from such evidence is equivalent to that for material objects in general. In this sense, history is part of archaeology. Even though historical documents contain considerably more contextual information when we recognize the language they are written in, the process of inference is still one of giving meaning to the past material world (1991:12). In this study both the material record and the documentary record will constitute the material culture of the cemetery and the meanings imbedded in this material culture will be interpreted by understanding the contexts within which this material culture exists.

The genealogical database for the Madison family compiled by the author of this thesis is a perfect example of combining interrelated information from both the material and documentary records into a contextual whole. The genealogy of the Madison family, their extended family community, and the source material which provided the building blocks in deciphering the history and genealogy of the family, was constructed using the genealogical database software *Ancestry Family Tree* (see Appendices 1, 2 & 3). Two separate genealogies are presented in this study. The first represents the genealogy of the Madison family, beginning with Ambrose Madison, the grandfather of President James Madison, Jr. and the first of the Madison family buried within the cemetery at Montpelier. As far as historical documentation allows, a complete picture of the family genealogy can be constructed. Individuals were born, married and died; a chain of direct and lateral connections ties the family together moving backward and forward through time. The connections transcend time and space for the important link is that of lineage. The family genealogy provides a baseline from which the second genealogy discussed in this study is created. The genealogy of the family cemetery attempts to list all the members of the family who make up the cemetery's community of the dead (see Table 9). The cemetery genealogy is firmly rooted in time and space, for it is only

through the construction of the cemetery's historical context that this genealogy comes into focus.¹

By approaching the familiar data set of the historic period cemetery and mortuary studies in general from a different angle, new insights are found. This is particularly relevant in this study due to the question of why there are more unmarked burials than marked burials in the Madison family cemetery, thereby indicating the limitations of studying the extant gravestones alone. By accepting that "there is nothing outside of the context" (Derrida 1988:152), one can construct a rich contextual history for the cemetery including all of the archaeological and documentary records. In the process of constructing this context the questions will be used to engage the context in order to find meaning in why certain burials are marked and others lie unmarked. The questions and answers and more questions and answers that stem from this understanding of meaning will provide numerous points of entry through which the story of the Madison family cemetery unfolds.

Storytelling as Method: Telling the (hi)story

The word 'story' is defined in *The American Heritage Dictionary* as: "an account of an event or series of events; narrative; a tale; a short fictional literary composition;

¹ The idea for the creation of genealogical context as a part of the larger construction of the historical context is influenced by the work of Darrett and Anita Rutman (1994). The Rutmans' use of mass prosopography, a technique by which databases for communities are created that can be used "to accomplish an absolute mapping of whatever relational variables are being utilized" (51), is similar in concept to how I approach the genealogical construction of the cemetery communities. The technique of mass prosopography "attempts record linkage within the entirety of the record base associated with a locale and is not limited as to purpose, the broader approach following from the subject: the study of a total community" (52, n.31). With the Madison family cemetery community of the dead, the locale is restricted by the limitations of the total number of burials, but in terms of the cemetery communities' total history my genealogical construction of context allows one to see not only the family members buried within the cemetery but also the living communities who shaped the history of the cemetery (see also Rutman 1973; Rutman and Rutman 1984; and Bender 1978).

a statement of facts; report; an anecdote; a lie." A story need not only be fictional in nature, but can also include any process by which information is presented. The root of the word story comes from the Greek *historia*, a derivative of the verb *historein*, which means "to inquire into, examine, relate" (Merriam-Webster 1991:324). One could quibble over and deconstruct the definitions and history of the word till any semblance of a point was lost. For the purposes of this study though it is informative to see how the word 'story' is defined in general terms and how archaeologists' work fits within the definition.

Storytelling as an archaeological method can be best understood as a combination of the definition and the history of the word. This can be described as the word symbol (hi)story. The two words (history + story = (hi)story) are combined by this author to stress the reflective nature of the meaning of both words. The method of storytelling is not only meant as a way of presenting a series of events, a narrative, but also presents the story as a means of inquiring into and examining the history of the event or events in question. The narrative is used in the method of storytelling as a way of creating the context for the event from the archaeological and historical information, and in turn the act of creating the context is a dynamic process which allows this information to speak in new and insightful ways.

This thesis is a contextual (hi)story of the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier. It is not a literal story in the sense of a work of fiction, but instead a story with many voices, each voice echoing from a specific facet of the research and the experiences which the work has provided. Using the documentary record and material culture as 'text' that can be 'read,' this thesis constructs a contextual history of the cemetery revealed in these records and uses this interpretative engagement as a way of understanding the rich history not only of the cemetery landscape but also of the family and other communities who shaped this landscape. This engagement with meaning is best approached through the interpretative method of storytelling in which the rich contextual history can be told without privileging any one explanation for the questions asked of the material culture. When the storytelling method is combined with the theoretical concept of *différance* new ideas are formed concerning the interpretation of data and these new ideas can be used to engage and deconstruct previously held assumptions.

The idea that archaeologists tell stories is not something new. Most every archaeologist has a story up his or her sleeve about a site or an event associated with fieldwork. The typical ones revolve around some humorous incident or a particularly exciting find or revelation in the field, but for the most part these stories rarely see the printed page. Within the past ten years though, archaeologists have taken this penchant for telling stories and worked it into their methodological tool chest. Archaeologists have always told stories, but now they are incorporating these stories into their work (see Spector 1993; Schrire 1995; Praetzellis et al 1997; Praetzellis 1998; Deetz 1998; Mouer 1998).

Storytelling allows for a certain degree of freedom in interpreting the human action found in the material culture and documentary record. Adrian Praetzellis provides a basic definition for archaeologists when he states that every story about a site is a "product of the archaeological imagination that pulls together historical and archaeological facts into an interpretation that is more than the sum of the parts of which it is made and more than its excavator can document in the usual way" (1998: 1). For Praetzellis, the 'usual way' of site reports, which archaeologists use to disseminate information, is still an integral part of archaeology because "without basic methodological rigor, we have no more claim to authority than the man or woman on the street" (1). The scientific and technical aspects of archaeology must be adhered to, but there is room for imaginative interpretation on the humanistic side of the fence that archaeology straddles. In the end, it all comes down to what James Deetz once said, "I'd rather be wrong in an interesting way, than right and boring" (quoted from Praetzellis 1998:2).

New methods and techniques must be tested to understand their value. This is particularly true in archaeology where so many of our methods and theories are shared across the social science spectrum. Theories and methods that may work within a historical framework may fall short in their usefulness in archaeology where material culture shapes our understanding. But if the field of historical archaeology is to grow it must grapple with its place within the social sciences and humanities. The use of storytelling as a method based on historical narrative can be a way to bridge the gap between the documentary record and the material culture of a site. It is a method by which neither of these data sources is held above the other, but in which both come together in a methodological dance of discovery. Storytelling allows for the use of imagination, but the story need not only be an imaginative journey into possible explanations of historical and archaeological data.

Constructing the History of the Madison Family Cemetery

The short stories that introduce the following two chapters help bring to life the forgotten and undocumented memories of the Madison family community burying their dead in the family cemetery at Montpelier.² The voice in the story introducing Chapter II is that of James Madison, Jr., a wizened and reflective man looking back on his memories of the graveyard into which he knew he would one day travel in death. Did the past President ever sit down and write these words for researchers in the present to find? No, or at least nothing of the type has been discovered to date. The story is a fictional account based on the available historical, genealogical and archaeological evidence. It is written as a means of bridging the gap between the fragmented documentary record and the realities of death and burial that the Madison family experienced.

For the most part very little historical documentation exists concerning the Madison family cemetery and what the family thought about the death and burial of their loved ones. This is the case due in part to two factors. The first is that the personal papers of the Madison family have not survived. Ironically, one of the reasons for this is well documented. When Dolley Madison died in 1849 her son, the president's step-son, John Payne Todd, acquired the family papers that had been stored at Montpelier. The correspondence and other miscellaneous papers may have contained information about Ambrose and Frances Madison at Mount Pleasant, or even the personal journals of President Madison. One will never know because after the death of John Payne Todd in January 1852, the Madison family papers were destroyed.

² The short stories which introduce Chapter II and Chapter III are fictional accounts written by the author of this thesis. They are presented as an example of how the storytelling methodology can provide an additional analytical tool to help in the interpretation of past historical events that are not recorded in the existing historical record. The stories should by no means be misconstrued as historical documents. Both stories are printed in a different font (**Poor Richard**) to distinguish them from the text of the thesis.

An account from the *Fredericksburg News* dated November 9, 1855 recounts the story of what happened in 1852 when John Payne Todd's estate at Toddsberth in Orange County was appraised:

Two rooms were here discovered plentifully supplied with family correspondence and other matter; letters of the most confidential nature were thus exposed to public eye; epistles from Mr. Madison's sister and nieces to him; from Mrs. Madison to her scape grace son, &c. It was determined to consign the tell tale, motley papers to the flames; - a few were appropriated by the family...

The last few words give the historian some hope that the flames did not destroy all of what the author of this account describes as "other matter" and "&c" and in some dusty archive or attic somewhere lie treasures still awaiting discovery. This may be the case, but one can only use what has been found, and that amounts to very little due in large part to the 1852 bonfire at Toddsberth.

Disregarding the documented destruction of the family papers and the lump that historians reacting to this account may feel in the pit of their stomachs, one must ask if the destroyed family papers would have benefited any research concerning the family cemetery. The second factor for the dearth of family cemetery documentation involves what the family may have written about their feelings and thoughts concerning the death and burial of family members. Would they have expressed these ideas to one another or were they just understood within the family without written expression? Maybe, included within the lost family papers, was a detailed list accounting for all the burials found in the cemetery, and this list even went so far as to describe in detail every interment, who was present, the minister presiding, and so on and so forth. The speculation could go on and on about what could be gained from information that does not exist, in terms of the family papers destroyed in 1852, but that is not the reality of the research at hand. The information provided by the family papers would have added greatly to our understanding of the history of the Madison family in Orange County. Even so, the idea of why historical documentation for the family cemetery is so sparse is that it probably never existed. Certainly family correspondence would have mentioned the deaths of family members, but they may not have discussed the details of the burials. The interment of a family member in the cemetery behind Mount Pleasant may have been an accepted fact and not expressed in a letter or other written document. Or in terms of what the family community thought, the exact location of a burial may not have been of any concern. Death and burial were aspects of life that were taken for granted and did not need to be reiterated. The thoughts and feelings that the family had concerning death and burial were a part of life that was shared throughout the community. They are emotionally charged events and life changing experiences that the living community accepted, but probably did not write very much about (see Aries 1974 and 1981).

James Deetz writes in his book on the Plymouth Colony that many in the past took for granted the beliefs and popular culture of their community. He is speaking mainly about why "...there are so few references in the records of Plymouth Colony to the popular beliefs in magic that undoubtedly persisted there" but his reasoning also holds true for death and burial and for other beliefs and practices that were perceived by those in the past as a part of their everyday lives:

In the first place, such beliefs would be taken for granted, part of a popular culture that did not need to be detailed. This can be seen in the scarcity of descriptions of houses, homestead layouts, of farming methods and equipment, crops sown and harvested, meals cooked and consumed, children at work and play; in short, the substance and routines of everyday life. Travelers and diarists wrote of the exotic, the unusual, court records detail more of the aberrant than the norm, wills and probate inventories are tantalizingly laconic, and it is left to later generations to construct their own understanding of how people in the past might have thought and lived (Deetz and Deetz 2000:88-89).

The historical documentation one has to work with was not created by those in the past for present researchers. If a Madison family member had left an account of all the burials in the cemetery and this document had survived through the flames of the past, it would be useful but would still probably be, as Deetz describes, "tantalizingly laconic." This is evident in some of the existing records, such as the handwritten entries in the Sarah Madison Macon family bible (Clark 1958; The Virginia Historical Society [VHS], Sarah Catlett Madison Macon Bible [SCMMB] 1764-1871).³ The entries contain the names and dates of the deceased, in some cases even include the exact hour of death, but the entries are silent concerning the locations of burials and other information that historians and archaeologists in the present would like to know. These entries were not written with present researchers in mind, but instead, were a record for the family of the deaths of their members. The rest of the story, the burial ceremony and the funeral, the exact location of family members' graves, why a gravestone was not placed above the grave, this was known by the family, not written down, but kept within the collective family memory of their own past. More often than not this collective memory was fleeting, bound

³ The Sarah Catlett Madison Macon bible was printed by Thomas Baskett in London in 1759. Sarah is believed to have inherited the bible from her father James Madison, Sr. and thereafter the bible was passed down to her daughter Lucy Hartwell Macon Conway who continued to add birth and death entries, along with obituary notices clipped from newspapers. Lucy Conway had no children so the bible ended up in the hands of Eugenia Newman Knox, the wife of Conway Macon Knox - the great-nephew of Lucy and the 3rd great-grandson of Ambrose Madison. Mrs. Knox, along with a Mrs. Malcolm Bridges deposited the bible in the Virginia Historical Society on March 25, 1954. The bible was transcribed a few years later by Patricia P. Clark, in the introduction of which a brief description of the bible and its history is given: "Irving Brant in his biography of Madison comments that the Sarah Madison Bible is possibly one of the four Bibles left by James Madison, Senior, the father of the president. The entries are not in chronological order and, with the exception of the last two and the recording of James Madison's death, are all in the same hand, indicating that they were copied from another source. Their authenticity, however, cannot be challenged" (Clarke 1958:80). The source from which the entries were copied may have been the "Great Bible" included in the inventory of Ambrose Madison's estate found in the Spotsylvania County records (Miller 2001:62).

to the lives of the family members who carried this knowledge with them, and at their deaths the knowledge was lost.

Even though the destruction of the family papers hinders historical research enough information exists within the historical record to piece together a fairly complete genealogy of the Madison family. The short stories introducing the following two chapters are constructions of the past. It is one method by which the available information can be used to understand the Madison family community who made up the history of the cemetery. What must be asked of the stories is not how accurately they present the thoughts and feelings of the Madison family, for the depth and breadth of these intangible things is impossible to know, but whether the stories are plausible constructions of the context for the death and burial of their members. How did the family understand the world that surrounded them, the community of which they were a part, or the landscape that they actively played a role in creating? These are just some of the numerous questions that must be asked of the research presented in this study.

The plausibility of the present construction of the Madison family cemetery history must rest on the historical, genealogical and archaeological research. To answer the question of why certain burials are marked while others are unmarked in the Madison family cemetery, the entire history of the cemetery must be constructed from its very earliest beginnings up through the last burial. As many as 100 burials may have occurred in the cemetery during the over 200 years in which it was in use. The cemetery's first occupants were buried by a family community very different from those of later periods. Every burial is a unique and separate event in the history of the cemetery that existed within its own cultural, social and historical contexts. But before these contexts can be approached the research that was used to construct the cemetery history must be explicated. To understand who made up the Madison family community of the dead found in the marked and unmarked graves in the cemetery, and the living communities that created, maintained and preserved this cemetery, one must start by constructing the history.

CHAPTER II

THE 18th-CENTURY MADISON FAMILY CEMETERY

The Burial of Frances Taylor Madison as Remembered by President James Madison

My grandmother Frances Taylor Madison was buried on a cold November Sunday in 1761, the 29th to be exact. She was laid to rest in the burial ground behind Mount Pleasant, beside my grandfather Ambrose and near the grave of my infant brother Catlett. Those were the only burials at the time, though many more have since been added. My grandmother departed this life in the early morning hours of the 25th in the 61st year of her age. From the time of her death till the burial my family sat with the corpse in the hall at Mount Pleasant, as was the custom. She was placed in a black walnut coffin dressed in her best Calico gown and white apron.

As friends and kin arrived for the burial I stayed in the new brick house which my father had recently built, the house in which I now reside, though its form has changed quite a bit since my youth. I, along with my brothers Francis and Ambrose, and my sister Nelly, were kept isolated from the others on account of the pox being in the area. But the night before the burial we were allowed to pass the time at Mount Pleasant. I awoke early the day of the burial and was ushered outside to the kitchen where I took my breakfast by the large stone hearth. I remember watching from the kitchen window as my father walked Sam and Billy out to the burial ground to show them the spot to dig beside my grandfather's grave. Billy confided in me years later that my father need not to have worried, for they knew the spot well, though neither of them had ever set foot near it until that day. Sam and Billy did not know my grandfather Ambrose, he died before they were old enough to remember, but they were well acquainted with how he came to be buried behind the old home. Their mother was Dido, a negroe servant, who along with Turk, one of our negroe field hands, and Pompey, a negroe my grandfather leased from a Mr. Hawkins, were convicted of poisoning and murdering my grandfather. Pompey was hung for the murder. Dido and Turk were whipped by the sheriff as punishment and returned to my grandmother.

I was ten years of age at the time of my grandmother's death, about the same age my father was when his father died. It was soon after my grandmother died that I inquired about the circumstances surrounding my grandfather's death. My father simply instructed me that "the guilty ones had received their just punishment." When I gained the faculties of a young man I inquired again about the matter and received the same reply. He never said anymore about the subject and I was led to believe by his manner that I should not pursue the matter. I wish now that I had asked the same question of Billy, but he has long since passed away. I do not recall any difference in the treatment of Dido or Turk compared to my father's other Negroes. That they were only whipped and did not receive the ultimate fate of Pompey leads me to believe they were of less guilt but still performed some role in the murder. I cannot comprehend though how my grandmother could have kept them under her care if there had been the slightest air of complicity. To whom my father referred in placing guilt, I am not certain; was guilt placed solely on the shoulders of the slaves, or could my grandfather have been an unwitting accomplice to his own murder? The guilt of slavery is a stain upon us all, but the matter of my grandfather's death, that is in the past, to rest in the graves of those who passed before us ...¹

It was just after One o'Clock when my family carried my grandmother's coffin the few steps from the Mount Pleasant house, through the backyard, and to her final rest in the family burying ground. The brick wall around the grounds had not yet been constructed at that time. A plain rail fence surrounded the small plot, and this had been removed to make way for those gathered. My father was one of the pallbearers, along with my uncles Mr. Richard Beale, Mr. Erasmus Taylor, and Mr. James Coleman. Even though the weather was exceedingly bitter a sizeable assemblage of family and friends were present I, with my two brothers Ambrose and Francis, stood along-by my mother who held my sister Nelly. A few steps behind the gathering stood the Negroes, dressed in their finest.

Directly to my left, I can remember it almost at my feet, stood the small guartz fieldstone above my brother Catlett's grave. That simple stone is one of many that now stand vigil over their solemn plots in the cemetery. Catlett died while my family still resided at Mount Pleasant with my grandmother. My father carried the coffin alone, out

¹ The historical record is also silent concerning the connections between family and slave communities. Nowhere in the documents do we see any mention of what James Madison, Jr. knew or even thought of the death of his grandfather Ambrose Madison at the hands of his own slaves. Ann Miller, in her seminal book on the topic, *The Short Life and Strange Death of Ambrose Madison*, writes that the surviving papers of both James Madison, Sr. and Jr.:

make no reference to Ambrose Madison or the circumstance of his death, and it is uncertain how much they knew of the facts surrounding his demise ... whether the manner of his death was merely accepted as a fact of plantation life, or whether it was assigned more significance is not known. It is tempting to speculate not only that the life of Ambrose Madison served as an inspiration and example to his son and grandson, but that the murder of Ambrose Madison may have served as a cautionary tale and as an example of what desperate blows could be struck by slaves in attempts at freedom, self determination, or in revenge for poor treatment, and that this knowledge bore upon the later philosophy and actions of Ambrose Madison's only son and eldest grandson (2001:32-33).

The memories in the story not only revolve around the Madison family but also delve into the dynamic and varied relationship the family had with their slaves, from the fact that slaves poisoned James Madison, Jr.'s grandfather to the friendships he had with slaves he grew up with and knew personally. These slaves were not just property but individuals with names and histories of their own (see Chambers 2005).

to the small grave when the minister was unable to attend. The memories, they are always there; I remember it was raining. I can vividly see my grandmother's hand clutching my mother's shoulder as they looked on from the back door. I do not recall if that memory was in my thoughts then at her burial. I was only a young lad, standing in the burial ground beneath the crooked walnut trees, watching as my grandmother's coffin was lowered into the ground, hearing the now all too familiar phrase 'dust to dust', and the hollow drumbeat of the soil upon the coffin lid. This memory, these memories have never strayed too far from my immediate thoughts. I believe it will not be long before I too will join them for my eternal rest.

Constructing the Early History of the Madison Family Cemetery

The event dramatized in the story above is found in a handwritten entry within the Sarah Madison Macon family bible. It simply states: "Frances Madison Departed this life on Wednesday Morning about 2 OClock 25 November 1761 and was inter'd the Sunday following" (Clark 1958:81; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). The terse statement only hints at the profound emotions the family must have felt with the passing of the family matriarch. Other than this one document little else is known about the death and burial of Frances Madison, but through the use of a story one can begin to construct a historical context for the event. It is through this construction of context that one is able to enter into the history of the Madison family and their cemetery at Montpelier.

The fictional story found above brings to life the forgotten and undocumented memories of the Madison family community. Numerous family members were buried in the small family cemetery behind Mount Pleasant, but the stories surrounding these events have long since been forgotten. Instead, what the documents provide are the names and dates, the tangible and fundamental building blocks of any historical narrative. To understand the underlying facts upon which this story is based, and to answer the question of why certain burials are marked while others are unmarked in the Madison family cemetery, the entire history of the cemetery must be constructed from its very earliest beginnings. This construction pieces together the fragmented historical record for the cemetery, focusing on the family members whose burials make up this history.

The 18th-century Madison family cemetery is the most difficult to fully comprehend. The historical record only hints at the burials that occurred during this time. No gravestones are present in the cemetery for this period, so one cannot look to this data source for answers. The archaeological record, which provides evidence for the presence of unmarked burials, does not provide information concerning who is buried within these graves and when these burials occurred. The scope of the archaeological fieldwork only allowed for limited excavation of the grave shafts to define their dimensions, leaving the grave shaft fill, along with the burials within them, undisturbed. Without firm proof found within the historical and archaeological records other means must be used to understand who was buried in the family cemetery during the 18th century.

The cemetery's first occupants were buried by a family community quite different from those of later periods. Each burial is a unique and separate event in the history of the cemetery that exists within its own cultural, social and historical contexts. By approaching these contexts within the framework of the existing historical documentation a basic understanding of the cemetery's early history can be found. What follows in this chapter is a contextual historical construction, a genealogical approach which fleshes out the family community of the dead who were buried within unmarked graves in the 18th-century Madison family cemetery.

As described in Chapter I, a genealogical database of the Madison family, their extended family community, and the source material which provided the building blocks in deciphering the history and genealogy of the family, was compiled using the genealogical database software *Ancestry Family Tree* (see Appendices 1, 2 & 3). From this database a list of family members who possibly were buried in the 18thcentury Madison family cemetery was assembled based upon four criteria: 1) a close relationship of the family member to Ambrose Madison, the first buried in the cemetery; 2) evidence indicating the family member died either at Mount Pleasant, later Montpelier, or at least within Orange County; 3) lack of documentation pointing towards burial elsewhere and, most tellingly; 4) the presence of documentation indicating burial occurred in the Madison family cemetery. Utilizing these four criteria, 24 family members could have been buried in the cemetery during the 18th century (Table 2).

Unfortunately, the last criterion is only applicable for one family member. Found in the Frank Taylor ² diary, deposited at the Library of Virginia, is proof that Mary Willis Lee Madison was buried in the family cemetery sometime in March or April of 1798 (Ketcham 1990:388; The Library of Virginia [LVA] 1794-1799). She was the wife of Ambrose Madison, a son of James Madison, Sr., who was named for

² Col. Francis (Frank) Taylor (1747-1799) was the son of Col. George Taylor and Rachel Gibson Taylor, and the grandson of Col. James Taylor, Jr. and Martha Thompson Taylor. He was therefore the nephew of Frances Taylor Madison and a 1st cousin of James Madison, Sr. He was a life long bachelor, living on the Taylor property called Midland which he inherited from his father. His surviving diaries are a valuable historical resource covering the everyday happenings in the 18th-century Orange County community.

TABLE 2 All Possible Madison Family Cemetery Burials – 18th-Century			
Name	Death	Death Place	Relationship
MADISON, Ambrose	27 Aug 1732	Mount Pleasant	Root Person
WILLIS, John	5 Mar 1750	Orange Co., VA	Son-In-Law
BEALE, Taverner Sr.	Sept/Oct 1756	Orange Co., VA	Son-In-Law
MADISON, Catlett	18 Mar 1758	Mount Pleasant	Grandson
COLEMAN, Elinor (Elender) Madison	Abt Jun 1761	Orange Co., VA	Sister
MADISON, Frances Taylor	25 Nov 1761	Mount Pleasant	Wife
COLEMAN, James Sr.	Nov 1764	Orange Co., VA	Brother-In-Law
MADISON, Infant Male	1766	Montpelier	Grandson
BEALE, Charles	1767/1772?	Orange Co., VA	Great-Grandson
BEALE, James Madison Hite	1767/1772?	Orange Co., VA	Great-Grandson
MADISON, Stillborn Infant Male	12 Jul 1770	Montpelier	Grandson
BEALE, Richard	Jul 1771	Orange Co., VA	Son-In-Law
BEALE, Molly	Aft 1772	Orange Co., VA?	Granddaughter
BEALE, Elizabeth Madison Willis	6 Jan 1773	Orange Co., VA	Daughter
MADISON, Elizabeth	17 May 1775	Montpelier	Granddaughter
MADISON, Reuben	5 Jun 1775	Montpelier	Grandson
CHEW, Thomas	Bef 1780	Orange Co., VA	Nephew
CHEW, Thomas	1781	Orange Co., VA	Brother-In-Law
CHEW, Martha Taylor	1782/1797	Orange Co., VA	Sister
MADISON, Unknown Female	1785/1795	Woodley	Great-Granddaughter
MADISON, Ambrose	3 Oct 1793	Woodley	Grandson
CHEW, Elizabeth	Aft 1797	Orange Co., VA	Niece
CHEW, Hannah	Aft 1797	Orange Co., VA	Niece
MADISON, Mary Willis Lee	14 Mar 1798	Woodley	Wife of Grandson

his grandfather. Ambrose died in 1793 and presumably lies buried beside his wife, though no documentation exists. They had a daughter, unnamed in the records, who died sometime between 1785 and 1795. All three of these burials are included in Table 2, since they occurred in the 18th century, but they will be discussed in more detail in Chapter III, which focuses on the use of the cemetery by the sons and daughters of James Madison, Sr., the third generation of the family in Orange County.

The four criteria utilized information available within the existing historical documentation to narrow down a long list of possible burials provided from the genealogical research. Understanding the relationship of family members to the first burial, that of Ambrose Madison, provides a starting point. Combined with the knowledge that these family members also died in close proximity to the cemetery, some speculative conclusions can be made concerning their inclusion within the 18thcentury cemetery. Other than Mary Madison's burial, the historical documents shed little light on the cemetery's early history. Fragmentary as they may be, the only way to understand who made up the community of the dead for this early period is through the use of documentary sources, piecing together a broad picture of the cemetery against the contextual backdrop of the local community and the larger cultural sphere of Virginia as a whole. Even though the historical record is silent concerning where the other 21 family members in Table 2 were buried, by delving into the historical context some informed conclusions can be made concerning their burial locations. This chapter will show that only seven of the family members listed in Table 2 (besides the three discussed above) are believed to have been buried in the Madison family cemetery. All of the individuals meet the first three of the four criteria laid out above, but even so, not all were buried in the family cemetery at Montpelier.

The remaining chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the history of family cemeteries in Virginia to understand how the Madison family cemetery fits within the burial patterns found in 17th- and 18th-century Virginia. The inception of the Madison family cemetery, the burial of Ambrose Madison in 1732, is seen not just as an isolated event within the history of the family,

but also as an example of how placing such an event into the overall context of burial practices in Virginia allows for a better interpretation of the cemetery's history. The second section presents two case studies focusing on the Taylor family, and the Chew and Coleman families, three families who were related to the Madison family and lived in the Orange County area. The first study discusses the cemeteries the Taylor family created and used in the 18th century. The study provides an example of how the practice of creating small family cemeteries took shape in the early Orange County community. One member of the Taylor family, Frances Taylor Madison, the wife of Ambrose Madison, is buried in the Madison family cemetery. The cemeteries her brothers created in Orange County provide the context within which not only the Madison family cemetery but other plantation cemeteries in the area can be understood. In the second case study, speculative conclusions are made concerning the burial locations of the Chew and Coleman family members included in Table 2. The Chew and Coleman families most likely created burial grounds on their own plantations, but unlike the Taylor family cemeteries, their locations are no longer visible on the modern landscape.

The contextual analysis and interpretation found within the two case studies, along with existing historical documentation, are then used in section three to understand the possible burial locations for the families of Elizabeth Madison Willis Beale and Frances Madison Beale Hite, the two daughters of Ambrose Madison. Enough documentation exists (under criterion three) to narrow down the possible burials included within the family cemetery, but for six family members the locations of their final resting places are not known. By understanding the historical context the conclusion is made that these family members were not buried in the Madison family cemetery.

Through the first three sections the family members listed in Table 2 are gradually whittled down to the final seven believed to have been buried in the family cemetery during the 18th century. The final section of this chapter discusses these seven burials and the commonalities that they share. Circumstantial evidence indicates that all seven died on the plantation property. They were family members directly related to James Madison, Sr. - his father Ambrose Madison, his mother Frances Taylor Madison and five of his children who died as infants or young children. These seven 18th-century burials in the small plot of ground behind Mount Pleasant began a family tradition that continued for the next two centuries.

The 18th-Century Family Cemetery: Necessity and Tradition

With every history there must be a beginning. The most logical starting point for constructing the history of the Madison family cemetery is the first burial. The first burial is the inception. Every subsequent burial traces its point of existence back to that first burial. The first Madison family member buried behind Mount Pleasant was Ambrose Madison in 1732; but his grave is not marked and no historical documents have been found to indicate that he is in fact buried in the cemetery. One must therefore look for another beginning point, another way of understanding why his burial was the first. For this, one must go back in time, before Ambrose Madison was even born, back before he and the other settlers ever set foot in the Virginia Piedmont. The creation of a burial ground at Mount Pleasant by the Madison family in the early 18th century is best understood when placed within the context of burial practices which had their roots in the plantation settlements of 17th-century Virginia Tidewater. On Tidewater plantations the tradition of burying the dead in small family burial grounds had its inception. It was a practice of necessity in the early 17th century, and by the time Ambrose Madison died in 1732 on his plantation in the Piedmont the practice was a matter of tradition throughout Virginia.

When the first colonists arrived in the Chesapeake they created small settlements - Jamestown in Virginia and St. Mary's City in Maryland. In these early settlements community cemeteries, known as churchyards, were associated with the parish churches (Kelso et al. 1998:26-28; Riordan 1997). As the population spread out onto widely scattered plantations, small family cemeteries began to appear. Hugh Jones, in an early 18th-century account of Virginia, states: "The parishes being of great extent (some sixty miles long and upward) many dead corpses cannot be conveyed to the church to be buried" (1956[1724]:97). The creation of plantation burial grounds was one of necessity caused by the great distances between plantations and parish churchyards. Archaeologists have long understood that the "distribution of burials is dependent upon settlement patterns and the development of transportation" (Crowell and Mackie 1984:14). When settlement patterns change so do the patterns seen in burial practices, as was the case in the early Tidewater settlements.

The practice of burying the dead in small family cemeteries was firmly entrenched in Virginia society by the late 17th century. In a 1677 document entitled "A Memorial of Abuses which are Crept into the Churches of the Plantations" the author states "that that profane custom of burying in their gardens, orchards and other places still continues" throughout the Virginia colony (Sainsbury 1914:146-147). W. N. Sainsbury, the editor of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* [VMHB] in which this document is found added his own thoughts in a footnote:

As very many Virginians could not die when the weather and roads were good, or in the vicinity of a churchyard, burial near a home was an absolute necessity, and the custom, strengthened by time and love and respect for those interred in the "family burial ground" has continued to the present day. The very large and rapid changes in ownership since the Civil War and the consequent neglect of family burial grounds is now causing a general increase in the number of public cemeteries (146).

The use of family burial grounds on plantations in early Virginia history was a matter of necessity brought about by travel constraints. The first burials in these small plantation cemeteries were not only the inception for those cemeteries but also for the tradition itself within Virginia society.

When the Madison family moved from the Tidewater in the spring of 1732 to their Piedmont plantation the region was sparsely populated, but within a few years settlement of the area that became Orange County in 1734 increased dramatically. Many of these new inhabitants, particularly those connected with the Madison family such as the Taylor, Chew and Coleman families, migrated from the Tidewater counties of Caroline and King & Queen (Miller 2001; Schlotterbeck 1980). These families traced their roots back further to the early settlement of Virginia in the 17th century. As death inevitably affected the settlers in their new homes on the Piedmont, cemeteries began to the dot the early landscape. These cemeteries took the form of small family plots placed on private plantations. The creation of these family cemeteries was a manifestation of the same burial practices found in the Tidewater communities that dated back to the 17th century (Crowell and Mackie 1984:14). The expansion of settlement into the Piedmont in the early 18th century set the stage "for expanded private burial instead of the custom of burial in ecclesiastical

ground" (Butler 1998:20). This custom carried over into the later colonial period, and as Sainsbury noted, up through the 19th century.

The early settlers in the 18th-century Piedmont experienced the same problems faced by their 17th-century Tidewater counterparts. The long distances between plantations and parish churches made it impractical to bury the dead in churchyards. Small plantation burial grounds were a necessity and after the burial grounds were created tradition took hold. As settlements became more centralized and road networks improved the necessity of burial on plantations was no longer the primary reason and tradition became the guiding factor (Crowell 1986:60). The Madison family cemetery is an example of this process. The earliest burial may have been a matter of necessity, but as time passed, family members chose to be interred in the small family cemetery where their ancestors were laid to rest.

Ambrose Madison: The First Burial at Mount Pleasant?

No documents have been found proving Ambrose Madison is buried in the Madison family cemetery, and the archaeological record is silent, but circumstantial evidence does point towards his interment in the cemetery. The practice of placing cemeteries on plantations was a tradition prevalent in Virginia at the time Ambrose Madison died in 1732. One can therefore conclude that he was the first Madison family member buried in the cemetery behind Mount Pleasant. In order to understand the reasons for the location of his burial, the circumstances of his death and interment on the far western edge of the Virginia colonial frontier will be constructed from the existing historical evidence.

Ambrose Madison died a little over four months after moving to Mount Pleasant. The handwritten entry in the Sarah Madison Macon family bible describes the simple details of his death: "Ambrose Madison Departed this Life August 27, 1732, being Sunday night" (Clark 1958:84; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). The events surrounding Ambrose Madison's death and burial were unexpected but not sudden. Even though he was only in his mid-30s he realized something was wrong with his health. He was, as the short story at the beginning of this chapter indicates, poisoned by his slaves and died a short time afterwards apparently from the ill effects of this poisoning. He had enough time to compose a will, dated July 31, 1732 (Crozier 1965:3; VMHB 1899). It is impossible to say if he knew that he had been poisoned when he wrote his will. The slaves who were later convicted of poisoning him had not yet been arrested. The historical record is silent on whether this is due to the fact that the slaves had run away after committing the act and had not yet been caught, or that they were not suspected until just before his death in late August.

Three slaves - Dido, Turk and Pompey - were arrested and imprisoned by August 22, 1732 and charged with "conspiring the death" of Ambrose Madison (Miller 2001:26). The county court convened on September 6, and in one day the slaves were tried and convicted (27). Ann Miller recounts, in her book entitled *The Short Life and Strange Death of Ambrose Madison*, from the court documents the verdicts handed down to the slaves:

Pompey was sentenced to hang the next day. As required by law, at his condemnation he was appraised (at ± 30) to allow the county to compensate his owner for the impending loss of property. Turk and Dido were judged to have been "concerned in the said felony but not in such a degree as to be punished by death but ... by Whipping." They were sentenced to twenty nine lashes each and to be returned to Frances Madison (2001:27-28).

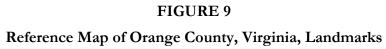
The verdicts were summarily executed the next day by the sheriff, with Pompey meeting his fate at the gallows, and the other two whipped and returned to Frances Madison at Mount Pleasant.

As with most wills from this period Ambrose Madison begins his with the statement that he is "of Sound Mind and perfect Memory" and continues with the prayer section, "I recommend my pretious and immortal [soul] into the hands of my great Creator, and Blessed Redemer, and my body to the Earth to be decently intered [sic] at the discretion of my Executors and Executrix" (Miller 2001:57-59; Crozier 1965:3). The executors of his will were his brother John Madison, Francis Conway, a trusted friend, and a local planter by the name of Joseph Brock. The one executrix was his wife Frances. Of the four only his wife and Joseph Brock lived in the immediate area. Francis Conway resided in Caroline County not far from where Ambrose had lived previously, and his brother John lived on Madison family land in King and Queen County (Montpelier Archives [MA], Conway & Moore Families Folder, Jim Patton to Dory Twitchell 1986; Miller 2001:48).

Of the "Executors and Executrix" it was Frances Taylor Madison who decided on the location of her husband's burial. She had very few choices in deciding where he was to be 'decently intered [sic].' For the Virginia colonists, the Anglican Church played a major role in their social lives and acted as a centralizing force in the community. In 1732, Mount Pleasant lay within the parish of Saint Mark's, with the main church situated at Germanna, the seat of former Virginia governor Alexander Spotswood. It is not known if a churchyard burial ground was associated with this parish church, but nonetheless his burial there would have required at least a day or more of travel one way over inhospitable roads during the

hottest month of the year. On top of that, Col. William Byrd noted in his diary on visiting Germanna in 1732, "some pious people had lately burnt it [the church] down with intent to get another built nearer to their homes" (in Joyner 1987:193). The parish church at Germanna was never rebuilt. The inconvenience for some parishioners of even traveling to this church for services, let alone using the churchyard for burials, is seen in Col. Byrd's account. It is very unlikely that Frances Madison would have contemplated traveling so far to bury her husband in a churchyard where the associated church had recently been destroyed. A secondary parish church, a chapel of ease, called the Mountain Chapel, was located close to Mount Pleasant, but the date this chapel was built is open to speculation. Some historians believe it was built as early as 1723 though this early date is hard to accept since there were few inhabitants in the area at the time (Joyner 1987:196). Located on the south bank of the Rapidan River near the present day community of Somerset (see Figure 9-4), most of the land in the vicinity of the chapel in 1723 was unpatented or just beginning to be patented (Schlotterbeck 1980). W. W. Scott in his history of Orange County provides a different opinion stating that the chapel was probably "built about 1740 when St. Thomas Parish was cut off from St. Mark" (1974[1907]:42). This later date is more plausible and indicates the unlikelihood that a chapel existed at the time of Ambrose Madison's death in August 1732.

The one and possibly only burial location Frances could have chosen was where her husband's grave is today, behind the Mount Pleasant plantation house. The placement of burials in family cemeteries is a tradition Frances Madison would have had firsthand knowledge of growing up in the Virginia Tidewater. When the time came to bury her husband on a hot August day in 1732 the necessity of the



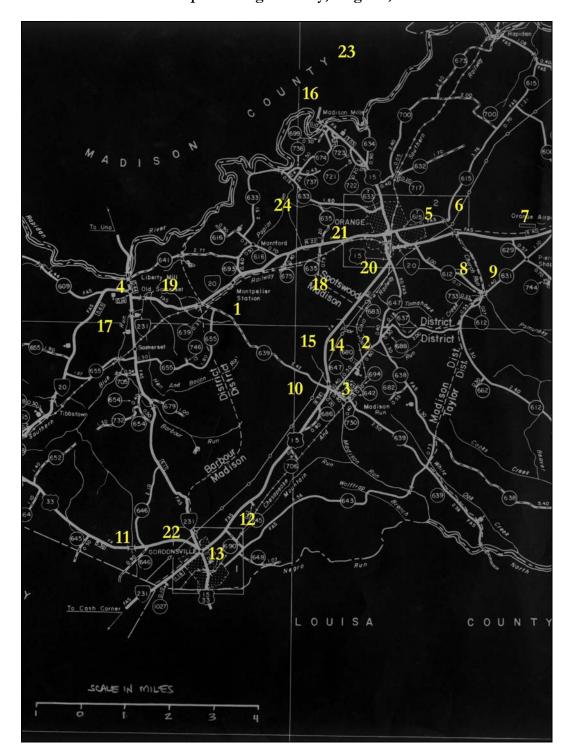


	Figure 9 Key 3
1	Madison family cemetery at Montpelier
2	Chew family plantation
3	Toddsberth – John Payne Todd plantation
4	Mountain Chapel
5	Greenfield – Taylor family plantation
6	Midland – Taylor family plantation
7	Bloomsbury – Taylor family plantation
8	Meadowfarm – Taylor family plantation
9	Saint Thomas' Parish Church (called Brick Church or Middle Church)
10	Clifton – Scott family plantation
11	Coleman family plantation
12	Francis Madison Beale Hite plantation
13	Elizabeth Madison Willis Beale plantation
14	Litchfield – Rose family and later Lee family plantation
15	Woodley – Ambrose Madison and descendants' plantation
16	Prospect Hill (Greenway) – Francis Madison plantation
17	Somerset – Thomas and Sarah Macon plantation
18	Greenwood – Reuben and Lucy Conway plantation
19	Mt. Athos – Macon family plantation
20	Mayhurst (Howard Place) – John Willis plantation
21	Graham Cemetery
22	Maplewood Cemetery
23	Woodberry Forest – William Madison plantation
24	Cleveland – Maj. Ambrose Madison plantation

³ The map in Figure 9 is referenced throughout the thesis text. The text references will include the figure number and also the numbered location included on the map and explained within the key (ex. see Figure 9-6 refers to Midland – Taylor family plantation).

matter outweighed any other concerns. For the same reasons early settlers in the 17th-century Virginia Tidewater created family cemeteries on their plantations, Frances Madison buried her husband out of necessity in the backyard of her house on the western Virginia frontier. It is very likely she also understood the tradition she started with the burial of her husband in what would later come to be known as the Madison family cemetery (see Figure 9-1).⁴

The creation of a small burial ground on the Mount Pleasant plantation fits within the understanding of burial practices found in the Tidewater and the traditions that were carried with the settlers into the Piedmont. The burial of Ambrose Madison, the inception of the Madison family cemetery and of its tradition of use, has been described as well as the existing documentary evidence allows. The other possible burials contained in the 18th-century family cemetery also reveal how fragmented the documentary record is, but with some speculative historical work the early history of the cemetery can be constructed.

⁴ Ambrose Madison was the first Madison family member to be buried behind Mount Pleasant, but he may not have been the first individual to be buried on the plantation. For nine years prior to the occupation of the property by the Madison family, overseers and slaves inhabited the patent land, constructing the house and outbuildings, and clearing and cultivating the fields (Miller 2001:43; Castillo 1996:16). It is conceivable that one or more people died and were buried at Mount Pleasant during this time, slave and free alike. A slave burial ground is located nearby the family cemetery in view of both the original plantation house at Mount Pleasant and the Montpelier mansion (Hyland 1998). This burial ground may have been in use since the early settlement period, but if not, the possibility exists that Ambrose was buried near the graves of some of his slaves. Where Pompey was buried after he met his fate at the gallows is not known. Since he was not a Madison slave it is safe to assume his remains were not returned to Frances Madison. His corpse may have received the same treatment as Peter, a slave who murdered his master in 1737 in Orange County. Peter was convicted of killing his master John Riddle with an axe and "sentenced to be hanged and his head cut off and set on a pole 'to deter others from doing the Like" (Miller 2001:67). Ambrose Madison's brother-in-law Thomas Chew was the sheriff who carried out this sentence, and another in 1746 in which a slave woman named Eve, convicted of poisoning her master, was burned at the stake (Scott 1974[1907]:33; Brockman 1959:2). These events found in the court documents describe more of the unique than the norm in master-slave interactions during the early history of the Virginia Piedmont, but even so they shed light on the realities of life and death for both the Madison family and the enslaved community (see also Chambers 2005).

The Extended Family Community and their Cemeteries

The extended Madison family community was made up of families who settled in the Orange County area in the early 18th century and were related to the Madisons through marriage. The Taylor, Chew and Coleman families were members of this community, with their family ties forged many years before in the Tidewater and reconstituted in their new Piedmont settlements (Schlotterbeck 1980:16-19). Were members of this extended family community buried in the Madison family cemetery? Some of the Chew and Coleman family members who died in Orange County are included in Table 2. They may have been buried in the Madison family cemetery at Mount Pleasant, but it is equally possible that these families created their own cemeteries. It is not certain that they did, for these cemeteries are no longer visible on the modern landscape. Two case studies, the first concerning the Taylor family and the second focusing on the Chew and Coleman families, will be presented to answer this question. A study of the Taylor family cemeteries that still survive helps shed light on how prevalent the use of small family cemeteries was in the early Piedmont community. The existence of these extended family cemeteries brings into focus the early burials that occurred in the Madison family cemetery.

The Taylor Family Cemeteries

Frances Taylor Madison, the wife of Ambrose Madison, and her sister Martha Taylor Chew were the eldest children of Col. James Taylor, Jr. and his wife Martha Thompson Taylor. Col. Taylor was a member of the infamous Knights of the Golden Horseshoe who traveled with Governor Alexander Spotswood through the Orange County area in 1716 (Scott 1974[1907]:98). He was the surveyor for Spotsylvania County when it was formed in 1722 and subsequently was involved in many of the early land patents in the area (Miller 2001:11). Ambrose Madison and Thomas Chew, the sons-in-laws of Col. Taylor, patented the 4,675 acres they eventually settled on in 1732 due to the influence of their father-in-law (13). Col. Taylor died by January 1730 in either Caroline County or on his lands in what would later become Orange County. Before his death he deeded most of his extensive landholdings in the area to his sons - James III, Zachary, Erasmus and George (Miller 2001:38, 42; Miller 1988:118, 121). His sons inhabited their lands when they came of age, raised large families and were prominent citizens in the local community. Martha Thompson Taylor moved from Caroline County sometime after the death of her husband to live with her sons in Orange County. She died about 1762 at the advanced age of 83, and is believed to be buried in the Taylor family cemetery at Greenfield (Miller 1988:120).

The Taylor properties of Bloomsbury, Meadowfarm, Midland and Greenfield were adjoining tracts of land that included what later became the town of Orange, areas to the east of the town and land extending north to the Rapidan River (Schlotterbeck 1980:15). James Taylor, III, inherited Bloomsbury from his father (see Figure 9-7). He died and was buried in the cemetery on this property sometime prior to 1791 (Miller 1988:113). Zachary Taylor resided at Meadowfarm and is buried there with his family (Klein 1979:92; see Figure 9-8)). The owner of Greenfield was Erasmus Taylor, the youngest son of Col. James Taylor (see Figure 9-5). He married Jane Moore, a half-sister of Nelly Conway Madison - the wife of James Madison, Sr. Both Erasmus and his wife Jane are buried at Greenfield (64). The Midland property was inherited by George Taylor (see Figure 9-6). He married Rachel Gibson and had a large family. His wife, along with an infant son named George, died from smallpox in 1761 (Ketcham 1990:16). George Taylor survived the outbreak and died in 1792 at the age of 81. He, his wife and the rest of his family are buried at Greenfield (Miller 1988:120).

This quick rundown of the Taylor family and their plantation properties reveals the presence of three separate family cemeteries. The cemeteries were created on three of the four properties that the Taylor brothers owned -Bloomsbury, Meadowfarm and Greenfield (see Figure 9). The existence of these separate cemeteries, all containing members of the same prominent local family, and located on properties in relatively close proximity to one another, indicates that a number of different factors played a role in the creation of these cemeteries. The constraints of travel related to the burial of the dead in the 18th century may have contributed, though when one considers that the greatest distance between any two of the Taylor cemeteries is only between three and four miles, other factors must be considered.

The brothers of Frances Taylor Madison were a potent force in the Orange County community. They not only owned extensive tracts of land in the area but also held high ranking positions in local and regional politics. Even so, this prominence is not exhibited in any one collective Taylor family cemetery. The reason why each brother utilized a separate burial ground was not one of necessity but instead one of choice. The discrepancy exhibited by both George Taylor and his brother Erasmus Taylor using the Greenfield cemetery can be explained by the extremely close proximity of the Midland and Greenfield houses, located about one mile from each other (see Figure 9), and also by the inclusion of their mother Martha within the cemetery. Taylor family tradition indicates that her husband Col. James Taylor also may have been buried at Greenfield (Miller 1988:120). If so, his burial and that of his wife were the earliest burials in the cemetery. It started the tradition, and afterwards, due to the close proximity of Midland and Greenfield, both brothers' families continued to use the cemetery.

The three Taylor family cemeteries serve as an example of the burial practices found throughout the larger Orange County community, the practices brought about not only out of the need to bury the dead close to where death occurred, but also out of tradition. As seen in the circumstances surrounding Ambrose Madison's death and burial, the necessity of having a burial ground located in close proximity was dictated by travel constraints, but was also affected by the tradition of locating family burial grounds on plantations. The placement of cemeteries as a matter of tradition is readily apparent when one looks at the history of the Taylor property Meadowfarm. Both the family cemetery created by Zachary Taylor and the St. Thomas' parish churchyard were located on the same 1,000 acre tract of land (see Figure 9-9).

St. Thomas' parish was created in 1740, split from St. Mark's parish, which had previously served the Orange County area south of the Rapidan River (Green 1964:32; Slaughter 1877). The main church, called alternately in the records the Middle Church or the Brick Church, was built on Zachary Taylor's plantation Meadowfarm. Ann Miller states in her book *Antebellum Orange* that the exact date for the construction of the church "is not known, although it was apparently standing prior to 1740" (1988:117). The circumstantial piece of evidence which leads Miller to this conclusion is found in the county road orders. On April 27th 1738, Zachary Taylor was "appointed overseer of ye road from the Church to ye tombstone"

(Miller 1984:31; Joyner 1987:198).⁵ Zachary Taylor had constructed his residence at Meadowfarm sometime earlier than 1738. He was originally deeded the land by his father in 1727, and by 1734 he is listed as one of the original court justices for newly founded Orange County (Miller 1988:118; Thomas 1972:7). Other county histories give varied dates for the construction of the parish church. W. W. Scott in his book entitled *A History of Orange County Virginia* states that the church "was built between 1750 and 1758 of durable materials" (1974[1907]:43). This later date may be when the church was constructed in brick, and before this only a wooden structure existed. It is impossible to know the exact date and nature of the construction due to the fact that the parish records have been lost (Green 1964:32).

After the Revolutionary War and the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Virginia, Saint Thomas' parish declined, and around 1812 the church was dismantled. The recounting of the destruction found in W. W. Scott's history of the county mentions that the bricks and other building materials were carried away and "the altar pieces torn from the altar and attached to pieces of household furniture" (1974[1907]:43). The account most importantly indicates that a churchyard was associated with the parish church:

Nor did the despoilers overlook the churchyard when the work of destruction began. Tombstones were broken down and carried off to be appropriated to unhallowed uses. The Rev. Mungo Marshall, of hallowed memory, rector from 1753 to 1758, was buried there, but his grave was left unmarked. Years afterward a

⁵ The location of the 'tombstone' is unknown, though Joyner does speculate that "the road referred to is the present State Route 637" (1987: 198), which when connected with modern State Route 647 runs in a westerly direction from Meadowfarm towards the historic Scott family plantation of Clifton (see Figure 9-10). The Clifton property contains the earliest dated gravestone found in the area. It marks the burial of Jane Todd Scott who died in 1731 (Klein 1979:100; Miller 1988:32). If this is in fact the 'tombstone' referred to in the road order books it indicates how unique a feature it was on the landscape, possibly the only gravestone in the area at the time.

connection of his bequeathed a sum of money upon condition that the legatee should not receive it until he had placed a tombstone over Mr. Marshall's grave, which condition was soon fulfilled. That slab was taken away and used first to grind paints upon, and afterwards in a tannery on which to dress hides! What an injury was done to the history of the County in the destruction of the many tombstones there! for not a vestige remains of church or churchyard (43).

Zachary Taylor created his own family cemetery at Meadowfarm even though the parish churchyard was located on his property. The first burial in the cemetery probably occurred when his wife Elizabeth Lee Taylor died in 1753 (Klein 1979:92). Her burial was not a matter of necessity, due to the great distance between the Meadowfarm plantation house and the parish churchyard, but instead a family choice that reveals the strength of burial tradition. In 1768, Zachary Taylor joined his wife in the small burial ground (92). Their graves are marked with inscribed gravestones, but they are relatively recent additions placed in the cemetery sometime in the late 19th century.⁶ The other marked graves at Meadowfarm also date to the 19th century (Klein 1979:92).

Placing churchyard burials into the context of 18th-century Virginia society one can understand the choice Zachary Taylor made in creating a separate family cemetery. Burial in parish churchyards was considered to be the place of last resort. Since the early colonial period, when small family burial grounds were placed on plantations, the use of public churchyards by the landed gentry decreased and so did the stature of these community burial grounds (see Isaac 1982:69; Crowell 1986; and Butler 1998). With the tradition that followed from the burial of family members in

⁶ The date given for the placement of Zachary and Elizabeth Taylor's gravestones is based on their epitaphs included in Margaret C. Klein's book *Tombstone Inscriptions of Orange County, Virginia.* The epitaph for Elizabeth Taylor reads: "wife of Zachary Taylor, dau of Hancock Lee of Ditchley, granddaughter of Richard Lee, grandmother of President Zachary Taylor, Great Aunt of President James Madison, great grandmother of Sarah Knox Taylor, wife of President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy" (1979:91). The gravestone for Zachary Taylor is similar in describing his ancestry and descendants, specifically as it concerns Sarah Knox Taylor, therefore indicating both gravestones were placed in the cemetery sometime after 1861.

private plantation burial grounds, later generations looked to the small family cemetery as the preferred site for burial. An 18th-century account by Philip Vickers Fithian reveals how churchyard burials were viewed by contemporary society and the neglect evident in some churchyard cemeteries:

At the Church to day I heard an impious Expression from a young Scotch-Man, Tutor in Mr Washingtons Family; he meant it for a Satire upon the neglect of the people in suffering their Grave Yard to lie common – He saw some Cattle & Hogs feeding and rooting in the yard; "Why, says he, if I was buried here it would grieve me to look up and see *Swine* feeding over me"! – But I understand only the lower sort of People are buried at the Church; for the Gentleman have private burying-Yards (Farish 1945:55-56).

Fithian was a tutor for the Carter family in Westmoreland County and wrote this entry in the winter of 1773. His reflections would have been well understood by the Taylor family and their peers living in 18th-century Orange County.

The fact that both Zachary Taylor and his wife's burials were not originally marked with gravestones is not surprising since an examination of all the Taylor cemeteries reveals only one gravestone dating from the 18th century. Erasmus Taylor, who died in 1794, had a gravestone placed above his burial at Greenfield (Klein 1979:64). A survey of the entire county finds only three other gravestones exist from the 18th century. The first of these has been mentioned already, that of Jane Todd Scott's at Clifton dating to 1731 (100). The second is found in the Cave family cemetery at Montebello marking an individual who died in 1762, though this is probably a later 19th-century gravestone (Ann Miller, personal communication 2004), and the third marks the grave of Capt. Charles Bruce who died in 1792 on the property called Soldier's Rest (Klein 1979:76, 89). William H. B. Thomas writes in the preface to Klein's book, "that through lack of care and occasional wanton destruction" the gravestones in the county have been lost (1979:v). No doubt some

gravestones from the 18th century have been lost, but other factors must be considered to explain the lack of gravestones.

Unlike the New England and Middle Atlantic regions, where availability of stone led to the establishment of a local stone carving tradition, the Virginia region has an absence of local stone suitable for gravestones (Deetz 1996; Crowell and Mackie 1984). If a gravestone was to be procured it had to be imported, and in 18th-century Virginia "the overwhelming majority of gravestones … were imported from England" (Crowell and Mackie 1984:12). Acquiring a gravestone from England was a prohibitively costly venture, a luxury that only the wealthiest in the community could afford. Due to the lack of available stone and the cost of acquiring gravestones the majority of 18th-century Virginians were buried in unmarked graves. For the Taylor family, prominent and wealthy members of the community, other factors besides cost play a role in the paucity of 18th-century gravestones found in their cemeteries.

In the 18th century, death was a community event with the ritual of burial centered on the family. In death a family member metaphorically traveled from the living community into the community of the dead found within the family cemetery, never losing his or her connection to the family community. It was not so much that an individual died, but that a member of the community had passed away. The burial ritual performed by the family can therefore be understood as a commemorative act replacing the need for a gravestone. To take this idea one step farther, the placement of a gravestone in the family cemetery to mark the grave of a Taylor family member may have seemed redundant to the living family community. As views concerning death changed in the 19th century more focus was placed on

commemorating the life of an individual with the placement of a gravestone (see Saum 1975; Shively 1988: 249-250; Tarlow 1999; Aries 1974). No longer did the ritual of burial suffice to commemorate the life of a family member. This can be seen in the Meadowfarm cemetery, where all the gravestones date to the 19th century.

The creation of three separate cemeteries by the Taylor family, one each at Greenfield, Meadowfarm and Bloomsbury, indicates that the practice of burying the dead in small family cemeteries was the prevalent tradition in the 18th-century Orange County area. This is seen most clearly in the case of the Meadowfarm cemetery. The Taylor family made a conscious decision to separate their burial ground from the larger community cemetery found in the parish churchyard. Necessity was not a factor in the creation of this cemetery. By contextualizing the available historical information one can see how the burial practice had become ingrained within the community and was strengthened by social tradition.

The Chew and Coleman Family Cemeteries

The extended Madison family community in 18th-century Orange County included the Taylor family, the mother and four brothers of Frances Taylor Madison, as well as the Chew and Coleman families, within this large kin-based community. Elender Coleman, a sister of Ambrose Madison, along with Martha Chew, a sister of Frances Madison, and their respective families, resided on plantations near Mount Pleasant. The previous section has shown that members of the Taylor family who died in the 18th century were not buried at Mount Pleasant, with the exception of Ambrose's wife Frances Taylor Madison. They were instead interred within three separate family cemeteries located on Taylor family plantations. Did the Chew and Coleman families also create family cemeteries on their own plantations?

Two members of the Coleman family, Elender and her husband James, along with five Chew family members, Martha, her husband Thomas, and three of their children - Thomas, Hannah and Elizabeth - are known to have died in Orange County during the 18th century (see Table 2). The exact locations of their deaths and subsequent burials are not known. The possibility exists that these individuals could have died and been buried at Mount Pleasant, but no historical documentation has been found to prove or disprove this assumption. Given that the creation of small family cemeteries on private plantations was the prevalent pattern of burial found in 18th-century Orange County, as seen with the Taylor family cemeteries, there is a strong likelihood that the Chew and Coleman family members were not buried in the Madison family cemetery. It is hypothesized in this section that they created cemeteries on their own plantations. The Chew and Coleman cemeteries, unlike those of the Taylor family, are no longer visible on the modern landscape. Their existence can be contextualized based on information provided from the Taylor family case study. The first step in this process is to place these families and their homes on the historic landscape.

In the spring of 1732, Ambrose Madison and Thomas Chew pooled their resources and moved their families from the Tidewater to their new homes in the Piedmont (Miller 2001:18). They may have been joined on the journey by Ambrose's sister Elender Coleman and her husband James. One can only imagine the spectacle of this traveling party meandering along ephemeral county roads as the cultivated fields of the Tidewater slowly melted away into the vastness of the Piedmont wilderness. Here and there a simple 'Virginia' patent house peeked out from beside the forested path as they made their way to their new home. Leading the way would have been the men on horseback, surveying ahead for the most expeditious route. Having already traveled the route many times before to check on their Piedmont land holdings the roads would have been familiar to the men. Not far behind were the wagons carrying their families and possessions; and behind them traveling on foot were their livestock and slaves.

Frances Madison and her younger sister Martha Chew, with the help of Elender Coleman, would occasionally take a head count to make sure that all their children, possibly around ten in all, were accounted for on the journey. The eldest of the children, James Madison (later to become James Madison, Sr. and the father of the President) had recently turned nine, and Joseph Chew who was close in age, were friends in childhood and throughout their lives (Ketcham 1990:4). Both may have ridden beside the wagons on their own mounts, while their younger siblings were watched over by their mothers and slave nursemaids. All three of Ambrose and Frances Madison's children were born in King & Queen County before the move west. Besides James, they had two daughters, Elizabeth who was almost seven at the time, and her younger sister Frances who had just recently turned six. Eleven children were born to Thomas and Martha Chew between 1723 and 1745, of which, as many as seven may have been born before the spring of 1732 (Chew and Holder 1983; Miller 2001:39; see Appendix 2).⁷ The first child of James and Elender

⁷ The first child, Joseph Chew, was born about 1723, soon after the marriage of his parents (Miller 2001:39). For the other six children possibly born before 1732 the exact dates of their births are not known, but broad timeframes can be constructed based on existing historical documentation found in court records and family genealogies (see Chew and Holder 1983; Sparacio and Sparacio 1985:7; Scott 1974 [1907]:183.; and Dorman 1961a:95). Three children, a son named Larkin, and two daughters,

Coleman was born in Orange County after 1732, so it is not believed that any of their brood added to the already overflowing wagons (see Appendix 3).

When the Madison and Chew families arrived on their land they immediately moved into houses that had been constructed before their arrival. The houses, along with other buildings, farm structures and improvements, were in place by 1726 when they are described in the patent appraisal accounts. The account appraises "The Buildings Workes & Improvements" of Chew's plantation "on the South Side of the Mountanes to be the The Vallue of £175.0.0" (Miller 2001:54). For Ambrose Madison's land on the "North side of ye Mountane Called Mount Pleasent Quarter" the value of the appraisal was £340.0.0 (54). The high value for the quarter at Mount Pleasant indicates that a sizeable plantation complex was in place by 1726 (22-23). Though no specific documentation exists concerning the Coleman land, it is surmised that the same was true for them and they immediately moved into a house constructed before their arrival.

As the story goes, Ambrose Madison did not live long in his new home on the Piedmont. With his death in August 1732 he left behind his wife Frances, their three young children and a sizeable community of kin. Even though Frances Madison, who as a widow with three young children, could have chosen to return to the relative familiarity of the Tidewater, she instead remained at Mount Pleasant within the infant frontier Piedmont community. Her decision is understandable given the fact that the early Orange County community was made up in large part by an extended family network. When Ambrose Madison died the patent land had not

Frances and Hannah, were born between 1723 and 1730. The other three, two sons Thomas and Coleby and one daughter named Elizabeth were born between 1723 and 1740. The four children born after 1732 in Orange County were Alice, Mildred, Samuel, and the last child James who was born about 1745 (Chew and Holder 1983).

been officially divided between him and his brother-in-law. The division took place in 1737, at which time Frances Taylor Madison acquired a life estate in the plantation, thereby solidifying her choice to stay (Dorman 1961b:30; Miller 2001:32). She continued to live at Mount Pleasant and played a leading role in the management of the plantation up until her death in 1761.

Thomas and Martha Chew, with their large family of eleven children - six sons and five daughters - lived due east of Mount Pleasant, just across the rolling hills of the Southwest Mountains (see Figure 9-2). Separated by a few miles, the Madison and Chew families would have been near neighbors. The historic documents show that close ties existed between the two neighboring families. Thomas and Martha Chew lived well into their eighties. Thomas Chew died in 1781 at the age of 83 and his wife Martha followed him to the grave sometime between 1782 and 1797 (Scott 1974[1907]:236; Chew and Holder 1983). In their later years they were supported by their unmarried daughter Hannah and also relied on the bonds of family and friendship with James Madison, Sr. Three of the Chew daughters – Hannah, Milly and Alice – were godmothers for a number of James Madison, Sr.'s children, and the children and grandchildren of his sisters Elizabeth and Frances (Clark 1958:82; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871; LVA, Daingerfield Family Bible Record [DFB] 1763-1898). In a letter from Joseph Chew to James Madison, Sr. he thanks him for the "repeated kindnesses" which Madison had shown to his mother (Ketcham 1990:16). Another letter written in 1797 by Joseph Chew, who lived in Montreal, Canada, to his own son Joseph, reveals why Madison was thanked for his "kindnesses." The letter states, "My father, Thomas Chew, once was possessed of a large property which he unfortunately lost in becoming security to

two persons for a large amount who failed" (Chew and Holder 1983). These debts forced Thomas Chew to sell or deed away most of the land he had acquired during his lifetime, including the original patent land upon which he resided with his wife and family. The home tract was deeded to Thomas' son James Chew who lived in Frederick County, Virginia (Sparacio and Sparacio 1986a:156). James held the deed until 1772 when he sold the land to James Madison, Sr. The tract of land included most of the original 1723 patent lands. The sale of the land between James Chew and James Madison, Sr. stipulated that a portion would be reserved "to Thomas the enjoyment of the land during his natural life" and also his wife if he preceded her in death (156). Such a stipulation indicates the attachment the Chew family had for the land, an attachment which though not definitive also shows the likelihood of their burials on the same land.

Thomas and Martha Chew, along with three of their children, are included in the list of possible 18th-century burials found within the Madison family cemetery (see Table 2). All five are tentatively included in the list because they probably died on the Chew patent property in close proximity to Mount Pleasant. By viewing the Chew family within the context of 18th-century burial practices one can presume though that a small family burial ground was located on their property. Just as the Taylor brothers created separate family cemeteries on their plantations, the Taylor sisters - Frances Madison and Martha Chew - did the same on their own land. Unlike the Taylor and Madison cemeteries, the Chew cemetery has not survived, and is now hidden beneath a plowed field or a modern house site. Though the 1772 deed does not mention a cemetery specifically, this portion of land must contain the final resting spot for the Chew family. The burial of a young son, named Thomas in honor of his father, would have been the first burial in the Chew family cemetery, occurring sometime between 1732 and the 1740s (Chew and Holder 1983; Sparacio and Sparacio 1985:7). Hannah and Elizabeth Chew never married. They outlived their parents and presumably resided on the Chew plantation up until their deaths sometime after 1797 (Chew and Holder 1983).

The study of the Taylor and Chew families and their cemeteries help to show that Elender Madison Coleman and her husband James Coleman were probably buried in a small cemetery on their own property. They resided on a plantation located roughly six miles due south of Mount Pleasant near the present day border between Albemarle County and Orange County (see Figure 9-11). The 1732 will of Ambrose Madison places the Coleman family on this property. In it Ambrose bequeaths "unto James Coleman and his wife Elender Six hundred acres of land ... adjoyning to the sd. Colemans plantation at the little Mountains" (Miller 2001:57).⁸ Elender and her husband resided in Orange County up until their deaths in the 1760s. Elender died about June 1761 and her husband died in November 1764 (Lawler and Lawler 1980:334, 337; Dorman 1961a:72). Elender may have been carried away by the same smallpox outbreak that killed George Taylor's wife Rachael and their infant son George (Ketcham 1990:16-17). If so, since smallpox is so

⁸ Genealogical and historical information only hints at the possibility that Elender Coleman and Ambrose Madison were siblings, though a strong circumstantial case can be made concerning a close blood tie between the two. Ann Miller writes, "a variety of published genealogical works have cited Elinor [or Elender] Coleman as a sister to Ambrose Madison, and although exact, contemporary documentation seems to be lacking, circumstantial evidence supports this relationship" (2001:48). Ambrose Madison's will contains this circumstantial evidence. In it he bequeaths the land to the couple for the duration of "their naturall lifes, and from and after their decease to the heirs of the body of the sd. Elender, lawfully begotten, or to be begotten" (57). If Elender did not have any heirs the land would return to the heirs of Ambrose Madison. When Elizabeth, the daughter of Ambrose and Frances Madison, was baptized on July 3, 1725 in King and Queen County one of her godparents was Elinor Madison, presumably the same woman who later married James Coleman and resided in the Southwest Mountains by 1732 (Clarke 1958:81; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871).

contagious, she would have been buried very quickly and in close proximity to where she died. The relatively long distance between the Coleman plantation and Mount Pleasant supports the idea that Elender and James Coleman were buried in a family cemetery on their own property. Like the Taylor family, and as is speculated for the Chews, the Coleman family probably had their own family burial ground, located somewhere on their property, but the exact location has been lost to time.

Elender and James Coleman had at least four children, all of whom outlived them and continued to live in the area (see Appendix 3). Their eldest son, born sometime between 1732 and 1735 was named Ambrose Coleman, possibly in honor of his deceased uncle. Three other children - Mary, James and Betty - were born between 1736 and 1743 (Lawler and Lawler 1980:334; Dorman 1961a:71). The Coleman children married into the local community. The younger James Coleman, after his first wife died, married Mildred Chew, the daughter of Thomas Chew (Chew and Holder 1983). His sister Betty married Thomas Scott and resided in Culpeper County (Scott 1982:360). Thomas was a son of Capt. John Scott, one of the first settlers in the Southwest Mountains and originally from Caroline County (LVA, Scott Family Bible Records [SFB], 1737-1930). Capt. Scott acquired 1,000 acres in 1729 from his brother-in-law Col. William Todd, a member of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe and one of the original patentees in the area. The Scott property called Clifton, adjoined and lay directly south of the Madison and Chew patent land (Scott 1982:355; see Figure 9-10).⁹

⁹ The Scott family cemetery at Clifton contains the earliest gravestone found in the area marking the burial of Jane Todd Scott, the wife of Capt. John Scott, who died on April 28, 1731 (Klein 1979:100; Miller 1988:32). Sometime after his wife's death and before 1745 Capt. Scott moved back to Caroline County (Scott 1982:359). He left his property in Orange County to his two sons Thomas and Johnny Scott. Johnny Scott took over control of the Clifton plantation and was a prominent citizen in the

The genealogical ties described above hint at the multifarious connections between Virginia families. These ties formed connections not only within the immediate Orange County area, but extended throughout Virginia. The Piedmont was an extension of the Tidewater planter community, with the community connections reinforced by the intricate social ties of marriage. The new Piedmont and older Tidewater communities were not separated by some invisible line but were socially and culturally bound together. The same traditions found in the Tidewater were carried over into the Piedmont with the new settlers. The practice of placing burial grounds on plantations was one of these traditions. With the Chew and Coleman families, the existence of their family cemeteries is difficult to prove since they no longer survive; but with the Taylor family, the cemeteries they placed on their plantations are still present and reveal some of the forces at work in the creation of family cemeteries.

The ties between the Madison, Chew and Coleman families in Orange County are well documented, but this did not mean that they shared the same burial ground. With Ambrose Madison's death in 1732 the burial ground behind the Mount Pleasant plantation house was created. It is inviting to speculate that since members of the Chew and Coleman families lived and died in close proximity to Mount Pleasant during the 18th century, they may have journeyed into the afterlife alongside the Madison family, with whom they had journeyed to the Piedmont years

local community. He died sometime between 1801 and 1805 and was buried in the family cemetery at Clifton, along with numerous other family members (363). By 1737, Capt. John Scott remarried and had two daughters. One of these daughters, Lucy, later married Capt. William Macon of Hanover County, and had a son named Thomas (Bentley 1982a:513; Scott 1982:363). This son, the grandson of Capt. John Scott, married Sarah Catlett Madison, a daughter of James Madison, Sr. (and the owner of the family bible quoted so often in this thesis). Thomas Macon and his wife Sarah, along with most of their children, are buried in the Madison family cemetery (see Chapter III and Appendix 1).

before. Without specific historical documentation one may never know, but by constructing a historical context for the human actions which created family cemeteries in the Orange County community one can see an overriding preference for small family cemeteries, predicated on an initial nuclear family and then growing with continued use by the descendants. This is seen specifically within the Taylor and Madison family cemeteries. For the Chew and Coleman families, neither cemetery has been preserved to understand the length of use, but an assumption can be made that since they no longer exist on the landscape the use of the two cemeteries did not continue past the 18th century.

Madison Family Cemeteries

This chapter has so far revolved around the families that were part of the original settlement in what became Orange County in 1734, and their continued use of burial traditions first practiced in the Tidewater areas of Virginia. As seen with the Madison and Taylor family cemeteries, and speculated for the Chew and Coleman families, the creation of a cemetery was a willful choice and the location was associated with the family residence. The location of an 18th-century burial is therefore intimately connected to the place where death occurred. This final section will discuss the early burials that occurred in the Madison family cemeteries, for it is believed that more than one Madison family cemetery existed on family land in the area.

Removing the Chew and Coleman family members from the list of possible burials found in Table 2, a different picture of the Madison family community of the dead unfolds. Only Madison family members remain - Ambrose and Frances Madison, their children, and the families of their children. Using existing historical documentation and genealogical information, the first part of this section will look at the families of Elizabeth Madison Willis Beale and Frances Madison Beale Hite, the daughters of Ambrose and Frances Madison. By understanding the historical context of burial practices prevalent in the Orange County area one can assume that the members of the daughters' families were not buried in the cemetery at Mount Pleasant, but instead were interred in small family cemeteries that they created on their own plantations.

The last part of this section will show that the early Madison family cemetery community of the dead is made up of at least seven family members: Ambrose Madison and his wife Frances Taylor Madison, and five children of James Madison, Sr. and his wife Nelly Conway Madison. James and Nelly had twelve children, of whom five died in childhood and were buried in the cemetery. The documentation for these burials will be discussed. The study of the Taylor, Chew and Coleman families and their respective cemeteries provides the context within which one can understand the early use of the Madison family cemetery. The burial of Ambrose Madison in 1732 and that of his wife Frances Taylor Madison in 1761 were the inception of the family cemetery. James Madison, Sr. inherited the property and continued to utilize the cemetery. His sisters Elizabeth and Frances resided on land they inherited from their father, and like their kin before them created their own family cemeteries.

The Families of Frances and Elizabeth Madison

Frances and Elizabeth married into the Beale, Willis and Hite families. Along with the Taylor, Chew and Coleman families, they all made up a part of the local extended Madison family community. All were considered local families in the early Orange County community, but like all the other inhabitants of the county at the time they were recent immigrants. They hailed from different parts of Virginia, and from outside the colony as was the case with the Hite family, but all were attracted to Orange County by the availability of land in the early 18th century (see Schlotterbeck 1980; and Walker 2004:52-60, 100-104). The local Madison family community grew as Frances Taylor Madison's children came of age and began to marry. As will be seen below, the community was in a constant state of flux due to deaths and remarriages, causing families to relocate to other areas in Virginia or beyond.

Frances Madison was born on March 6, 1726 in King & Queen County (Clarke 1958:81; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). She moved with her family to Mount Pleasant in the spring of 1732, and sometime around 1743, when she was 17, married Capt. Taverner Beale. Taverner, the eldest son of Thomas Beale from Richmond County, Virginia, was born in 1713, making him almost twice as old as his teenage wife (Hodges 1956:82). As late as 1740, Capt. Beale resided in Richmond County. In the mid-1740s, deeds and court proceedings indicate his presence in Orange County, and by June 1748 he is found as the church warden of Saint Thomas' Parish (Dorman 1958:54; Sparacio and Sparacio 1985a:10; Brockman 1959:5; Warren 1933:37). Even though Capt. Taverner Beale resided in the county for only a short time before his marriage, the Beales were prominent members of the local community. The Beale family owned large tracts of land in the Orange County area. In August 1728, Thomas Beale purchased 3,333 acres from Col. Henry Willis on the east side of the Southwest Mountains (VMHB 1924:53). Col. Willis initially acquired the land as an immense 10,000-acre patent earlier that same year, but he quickly subdivided it into smaller tracts selling it off to would-be buyers. Thomas Beale was one of these buyers, along with Ambrose Madison (Miller 1988:41). The 3,333 acre tract Ambrose acquired from Col. Willis was called the Black Level tract. It was split up prior to his death and bequeathed in his will to his three children. His daughter Frances Madison inherited 1,000 acres of the original 3,333 acre tract (Miller 1985:11-12).

Soon after the marriage of Capt. Taverner Beale and Frances Madison the first of their five children was born. A son, named Taverner after his father, was born about 1744 or 1745, followed by another son Charles and three daughters, Elizabeth, Frances and Anne, all born between 1747 and 1754 (Hodges 1956:82; Sparacio and Sparacio 1986a:109; Dorman 1961a:50, 92; Pecquet du Bellet 1907c:348). During this time Capt. Taverner Beale was a prominent member of the local community, a justice of the county court by 1749 and in that same year a member of the committee ¹⁰ charged with finding a suitable location for the new Orange County courthouse (Hall 1967:394; Thomas 1972:6).

¹⁰ Three of the six other committee members who decided on the location for the new courthouse were related by marriage to Capt. Taverner Beale: George Taylor, John Willis and Francis Moore (Scott 1974 [1907]:36). The relationships reveal the intricate personal and professional ties that were a part of life in the early Orange County community. George Taylor has already been mentioned. He owned Midland and was the uncle of Frances Madison Beale. John Willis was married to Frances' sister Elizabeth and therefore was a brother-in-law to Taverner. The relationship of Francis Moore is tenuous and has only been hinted at in the genealogy. Francis Moore may have been a step-brother of Nelly Conway Madison, the wife of Capt. Taverner Beale's brother-in-law James Madison, Sr. His father may have been John Moore, the second husband of Nelly Conway Madison's mother Rebecca (McGhan 1982a:740). Two other half-siblings of Nelly - Jane and William - were the offspring of

Capt. Taverner Beale died sometime in September or October 1756, leaving Frances Madison Beale widowed with five young children. On November 3, 1755 "being sick and weak in body" he wrote his will (Dorman 1961a:50). He lasted yet another year for it was not until October 29, 1756 that his will was presented to the Orange County court by his wife and his brother Richard Beale (51). The will of Capt. Taverner Beale provides an important clue in understanding where he died and therefore was buried. It indicates that he and his family resided on the 1,000 acre tract his wife inherited from her father. The will states, "In expectation that my wife will give the land and plantation whereon we now live to my son Taverner after her death I give him of my lands only the 400 acres which I bought of Colo. Chew" (50). Frances Madison Beale was not in possession of any other land in the area other than the 1,000 acre tract she inherited from her father. The land upon which Capt. Taverner and Frances Beale had their residence is located five miles south of Mount Pleasant (see Figure 9-12). Their neighbors were the Colemans who lived just two miles to the west. The house in which they lived has long since disappeared from the landscape, along with any burial ground associated with it. Even so, if the same burial patterns that have been found for the Taylor family, and speculated about for the Chew and Coleman families, were also a factor in the location of Capt. Taverner Beale's burial, he was probably buried near the house that his wife continued to live in after his death.

John and Rebecca (Conway) Moore. They are also found in Orange County around this time. Jane Moore married Erasmus Taylor, the brother of George Taylor. Erasmus Taylor also acted as legal guardian for Frances after her father died (Dorman 1961a:4; Brockman 1956:75). Jane Moore Taylor is buried in the Taylor family cemetery at Greenfield (Klein 1979:64). William Moore had his residence in Orange County by 1760 when he is listed as one of the godparents of Nelly Conway Madison, a daughter of James Madison, Sr. (Clark 1958:82; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871).

Frances Madison Beale took over the management of the plantation and raised her children, much like her own mother did when her husband Ambrose died. She was supported by the family and also a number of overseers who looked after the farming of the land and the 21 slaves that she inherited from her husband (Dorman 1961a:51). The difference between mother and daughter is that the daughter remarried. On December 15, 1760, in Orange County, she was married to the widower Jacob Hite ¹¹ (Hodges 1956:82; LVA, R. Bolling Batte Papers [RBBP] n.d.). Before the marriage took place Frances deeded the 1,000 acre tract of land inherited from her father, which she lived on, to her brother James Madison, Sr. to hold until her son Taverner reached majority (Sparacio and Sparacio 1986a:19-20).

The marriage between Frances Madison Beale and Jacob Hite doubled the size of their family. Jacob Hite had five children from his previous marriage, adding to the five children Frances had with Capt. Taverner Beale. They also added to their large family with three of their own - George, Eleanor and Susan. Of the ten children brought together by marriage the eldest in 1760 were beginning to come of age. The oldest was Elizabeth O'Bannon Hite born about 1740 (VHS, Edmundson Family Papers, 1781-1949). On December 22, 1763, almost three years to the day after her father remarried she was wed to her step-brother Col. Taverner Beale

¹¹ The Hite family followed a slightly different route from the other local families to their inclusion within the Orange County community. Jost Hite, the father of Jacob Hite, originally migrated from Germany in the 1720s, settling in Pennsylvania. By the early 1730s he had received a 40,000 acre grant on the Opequon Creek, south of present day Winchester, Virginia, in the Shenandoah Valley. The Hite family settled on a 1,000 acre tract of the grant land in 1731 with a number of other families, mostly recent immigrants from Germany and Ireland (Umstattd 1997:74). This area was included as part of Orange County in 1734 and in that same year Jost Hite is listed as one of the first justices for the new county (Brockman 1959:4). By the time his son Jacob Hite married into the Madison family in 1760 the original family tract had become part of Frederick County. The western part of Orange County was split off in 1743 to form Frederick County, but as can be seen in the marriage of Ambrose Madison's daughter to Jacob Hite, social ties connected the communities of the Piedmont and the Valley.

(Hodges 1956:85). A few years later in 1772 the tradition continued when Thomas Hite, a son of Jacob's from his previous marriage, married his step-sister Frances Madison Beale (Pecquet du Bellet 1907c:348).

Jacob Hite moved his family from Orange County around the time of the 1763 marriage of his daughter to his step-son. By 1764 vestry records for Frederick Parish in Frederick County show that he was a member of the vestry and also in charge of certain roads in the Opequon Creek area (Umstattd 1997:80). All of Jacob Hite's children from his previous marriage moved with them except for his eldest, Elizabeth, who stayed in Orange County with her new husband (and also stepbrother) Col. Taverner Beale. Frances Madison Beale Hite's children from her first marriage, Charles, Elizabeth, Frances and Anne, also made the move, though they continued to have close contact with the family community left behind in Orange County. Their eldest brother Col. Taverner Beale acted as legal guardian in Orange County for the lands they inherited from their father (Dorman 1961a:92). He acted in this capacity up until about 1772 when he and his wife Elizabeth and at least three of their children moved west to Shenandoah County, Virginia. Two of their children may have died prior to 1772 and were left behind in unmarked graves. Both of the children were sons, Charles Beale and James Madison Hite Beale. They are unaccounted for within the family genealogies and appear to have died in childhood (Hodges 1956). If they did die in Orange County before 1772 they are probably buried near the grave of their grandfather Capt. Taverner Beale on the land that Col. Taverner Beale had received from his mother.

Jacob Hite and his wife Frances, after living in Frederick County for a number of years, moved again and settled on the Enoree River in South Carolina by the early spring of 1776 (Umstattd 1997:83). Jacob Hite's youngest son from his previous marriage, James O'Bannon Hite, went with them to South Carolina. Jacob and Frances Hite's two young daughters Eleanor and Susan also accompanied them. Their son George, who was about 14 at the time, stayed behind in Virginia to attend the College of William and Mary (83). Also left behind in Virginia were the other offspring from Jacob and Frances' previous marriages. After 1772, when Col. Taverner Beale moved his family to Shenandoah County the descendants of Frances Madison Beale Hite are no longer found within the Orange County community.

Jacob Hite settled his family on a large tract of land in South Carolina that he had patented in 1774 (84, 88). Hite opened a mercantile business which catered to the neighboring Creek, Cherokee and Seminole tribes. Unfortunately, the Hite family was not destined to enjoy their new home in South Carolina for very long, nor did Frances ever see the rolling Piedmont hills of her Virginia home again. On July 1, 1776, a large war party of Cherokee attacked the Hite family at their plantation. A. G. Grinnan in his article entitled "The Fate of Frances Madison" speculates that since Jacob Hite sided with the Colonies when the Revolutionary War broke out, "British agents induced the Indians to take up arms" and specifically against Hite and his family (1897a:464). Though the specific reasons for the attack are not known the fate of the family is documented. The Cherokee war party first killed the Hite's son James as he was traveling to the tribe to placate them with gifts from his father's store. They then proceeded to the Hite house where Elizabeth Umstattd recounts in her book titled *Hite Family Homesteads*:

a war party of painted Cherokee appeared at Hite's house – dismembered and then killed Jacob, 57, and some of the slaves; captured Fanny (Madison) Beale Hite, 50, with at least one of her 13 and 15 year old daughters. They set fire to the buildings leaving Jacob in the ashes (1997:85).

From July 1 to August 9, 1776, Frances Madison Beale Hite was a captive of the Cherokee war party.

A journal written by a South Carolina soldier who was part of an expedition sent to quell the uprising gives some insight into the last days of her life. The soldiers followed the war party into Georgia through July and into early August. On August 8 they caught up with the Cherokee and their captives on the top of a mountain. The soldier writes in his journal, "We marched within three miles of the camp. Friday, the ninth, we came to the camp where we found them all gone and had killed Mrs. Hight [sic], whom they had took prisoner" (85). She was presumably buried where the soldiers found her on a lone mountaintop in Georgia, while her husband was buried near the home where he was killed. It is unknown what happened to their daughters Eleanor and Susan. Umstattd writes that family tradition indicates they remained captives of the Cherokee, with the possibility that one or both eventually ended up in Florida where they died some years later (86).

As can be seen in the genealogical and historical information available for Frances Madison Beale Hite and her large family, only three are believed to have died in Orange County. Of these only the death of her first husband Capt. Taverner Beale, Sr. is certain. The exact location of his burial is not known but it is presumed that he was buried near the house in which he resided. The deaths of her grandsons, the sons of Col. Taverner Beale, Jr., are speculative because genealogical information is not available for them after childhood. If they did die before 1772 and were buried in Orange County, they were probably buried near the grave of their grandfather. Without any further documentation concerning where these family members died it is impossible to say exactly where they are buried. This is also the case with the family of Frances' sister Elizabeth. She was also married twice, but unlike her sister, she lived in Orange County her entire life.

Elizabeth Madison was slightly less than a year older than her sister Frances. She was born on June 14, 1725 in King and Queen County and was baptized a few days later on July 3rd (Clarke 1958:81; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). Her godparents were her grandparents Col. James and Martha Taylor, Richard Thomas, an overseer for the Taylor family, and her aunt Elinor Madison (Clarke 1958:81; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871; Miller 2001:14). Like her sister Frances, she also married when she was seventeen. Sometime in 1742 or early 1743 she was married to John Willis (LVA, RBBP n.d.). He was the son of Col. Henry Willis, the same person who in 1728 sold two 3,333 acre tracts in the Southwest Mountains to Thomas Beale and Ambrose Madison (VMHB 1924:53; Miller 1988:41). Part of this land, a 1,000 acre tract, was inherited by Elizabeth Madison when her father died in 1732 (Miller 1985:12).

Col. Henry Willis was one of the justices of Spotsylvania County who presided over the Ambrose Madison murder trial and later was the clerk for the Orange County court when it was formed in 1734 (Castillo 1996:17; Dorman 1961b:1). He was also the founder of the town of Fredericksburg in Spotsylvania County and described in 1732 by Col. William Byrd as the "top man of the place" (Scott 1974[1907]:96). Even when acting as the court clerk for Orange County between 1734 and his death on September 14, 1740 he resided at his home Willis Hill which overlooked the town of Fredericksburg (Barnes and Barnes 1982:511). His son John Willis was born on August 17, 1724, probably at the ancestral Willis home of White Hall in Gloucester County, and grew up in the Fredericksburg area (504). At the time of his marriage to Elizabeth Madison he had just recently turned eighteen. The exact date of their marriage is not known, but on December 12, 1743, Mary, their first and only child, was born (LVA, DFB 1763-1898).

The earliest documentation that indicates John Willis and his wife were living in the Orange County area is found in an account book of James Madison, Sr. The account book starts in April 1744 and at this time John Willis is included in the accounts. His last entry is dated January 11, 1750 (MA 1744-1755). Sometime before April 1744, and probably at the time of his marriage, John Willis was living in the Orange County area. He is also found in the Orange County records in 1744 in a deed between him and Hancock Lee (Sparacio and Sparacio 1985:52).¹² By 1749, John Willis, at the age of 21, is listed as one of the justices for Orange County (Brockman 1959:5). His prominence within the county was almost a foreordained conclusion due to his family's high standing in the community, but his rise through the local ranks was not destined to be. John Willis died just five months short of his 26th birthday on March 5, 1750, leaving behind a wife and a young daughter (Barnes and Barnes 1982:511). His death appears to have been sudden and unexpected for he did not leave a will.

John and Elizabeth Willis made their home in the Southwest Mountains on the property that Elizabeth inherited in 1732 from her father (see Figure 9-13). In

¹² Hancock Lee was the husband of Mary Willis Lee, an older sister of John Willis. Hancock and Mary Lee resided in Spotsylvania County prior to 1744, moving to King George County sometime about 1745 and eventually residing in Fauquier County where they both died in the 1760s (Lee 1957:354). Hancock Lee had patented land in Orange County as early as 1734 and 1737. This land adjoined that of Thomas Chew in the Southwest Mountains (Dorman 1961:2). Hancock Lee and his wife never resided in Orange County. During the 30 years they were married they produced a large family of ten children. One of their oldest sons, Hancock Lee III born in 1740, married Winifred Eustace Beale in 1776. Winifred was a granddaughter of Thomas Beale and a niece of Capt. Taverner Beale, Sr. and Richard Beale (Barnes and Barnes 1982:510). Hancock and Mary Lee's youngest daughter Mary Willis, born in 1757, was married in 1779 to Ambrose Madison, the son of James Madison, Sr. (LVA, RBBP n.d.). This is the same Mary Willis Lee Madison who died in 1798 and was buried in the Madison family cemetery.

1747, John Willis, along with his brother-in-law Taverner Beale and Elizabeth's uncle James Coleman, were ordered by the Orange County court to "view the way from Louisa County line where the road from Albemarle County line through the said Louisa County ends to the road in this County near the said Willis's Plantation" (Miller 1984:129). This tract of land now encompasses the present town of Gordonsville in Orange County near the border with Albemarle and Louisa counties. When Col. Henry Willis, John's father, acquired the 10,000 acre patent in this area he subdivided and sold all of the land (Miller 1985:11). No deeds have been found indicating that John Willis acquired land in this area during his short lifetime.

Other evidence indicating that John Willis resided on the property his wife inherited is found in the vestry records for Fredericksville Parish. On November 8, 1747 the vestry ordered that the church wardens pay John Willis for constructing the "Church above ye Mountains" (Davis 1978:29). The records indicate that the church was built "ten miles above the foot of the Little Mountain [Southwest Mountains]" (16). He is not mentioned anywhere else in the vestry records indicating he was not a member of the vestry and did not live within the parish boundaries. Fredericksville Parish was located in what was then part of Hanover County, which was later split into the counties of Albemarle and Louisa (1). The parish straddled the Southwest Mountains just south of the Orange County line. The proximity of the parish and the site of the church John Willis built seem to indicate that his residence was just across the county border in Orange County.

Placing the residence of John Willis on the historic landscape is important in understanding the location of the cemetery Elizabeth may have created for the burial of her husband, and in turn the rest of her family. Since documentary evidence does not provide any details concerning his death one is left to speculate. In 1750, Ambrose Madison would have been the only member of the Madison family buried at Mount Pleasant. One can assume that Elizabeth chose to start her own family cemetery, burying her husband on their plantation, much like her own mother did some 18 years earlier at Mount Pleasant. The unmarked grave of John Willis likely now reposes somewhere under the present town of Gordonsville.

Like her sister Frances, Elizabeth Madison Willis did not remain a widow as their mother chose to do. She was remarried on January 1, 1753 to Richard Beale (Barnes and Barnes 1982:504). Richard was a brother of Capt. Taverner Beale, Sr., the husband of her sister Frances. So, for the three years before Capt. Beale died in 1756, Elizabeth and Frances were not only sisters but also sisters-in-law. At the time of the marriage in 1753, James Madison, Sr. was appointed guardian for Elizabeth's daughter Mary Willis. He acted as her legal guardian up through 1761 when she turned 18, managing the substantial estate left to her by her father John Willis (Dorman 1961a:40, 64).¹³ Richard and Elizabeth Beale had two daughters of their own, Molley and Anne, born sometime in the mid-1750s.

Richard Beale was born in Richmond County on December 19, 1723 (Hodges 1956:169). He is found in the Orange County records by 1749 when he patents land within the county and sells some land to James Cowherd (Hall 1967:285; Sparacio and Sparacio 1985:108). With these land dealings he may have been carving his own niche in the Orange County community. Prior to his marriage

¹³ Mary Willis later married Col. William Daingerfield, Jr. in 1763 and moved to Spotsylvania County. Ten children were born from this marriage; the eldest Catherine married George Washington Lewis in 1779, the son of Fielding Lewis and his wife Betty Washington Lewis (Bentley 1982:380). Fielding Lewis, a prominent merchant in the Fredericksburg area, was a contemporary of and had business dealings with James Madison, Sr. (MA 1755-1765). His wife Betty was a sister of President George Washington. Mary Willis Daingerfield outlived her husband who died in 1781. She died on her plantation Coventry in Spotsylvania County on February 16, 1819 (LVA, DFB 1763-1898).

he probably resided on the Beale family property that his father Thomas Beale acquired from Col. Henry Willis in 1728. He, along with his brother Capt. Taverner Beale, and two other brothers inherited this land when their father died sometime before 1749 (Sparacio and Sparacio 1985:108). After marrying Elizabeth his ties to the Orange County community began to grow and mature. By 1756 he is listed as one of the county justices and in 1757 is a vestry member for Saint Thomas' Parish (Brockman 1959:3; Warren 1933:37).

Richard Beale died in July or August 1771 leaving behind his wife and two young daughters (Dorman 1961a:90). No documentation exists stating where Richard Beale died, but his 1768 will can be used to understand where he resided in the county. The last part of his will describes his wishes for his step-daughter Mary Willis Daingerfield, who he refers to as Mildred. The will states, "I trust and hope my said wife Eliza. will give her land whereon I now live to my daughter Mildred" (89). Much like the will of Richard's brother Capt. Taverner Beale, where it was shown that Taverner resided on the plantation his wife Frances had inherited, the same is true for Richard. His residence was on the property his wife Elizabeth inherited from her father, the same land she lived on with her first husband John Willis. With Richard's death in 1771 the second of Elizabeth's husbands joined the small family cemetery on her plantation. By this time the cemetery behind Mount Pleasant contained not only Elizabeth's father Ambrose, but also her mother Frances who died in 1761, and three of her brother's children. Without documentary proof it is impossible to make any firm statements, but with the understanding that small family cemeteries on plantations were the norm in Orange County during the 18th century, one can assume that both John Willis and Richard Beale were buried on the

property Elizabeth inherited from her father and resided on for most of her life. The life of Elizabeth Madison Willis Beale came to an end on January 6, 1773 (Brockman 1949:9e). In her will dated December 11, 1772 she bequeathed her entire estate to her two daughters, Anne and Molley, and named her son-in-law William Daingerfield as the executor for her will (Dorman 1961a:95). It is not known where she was buried, but it is easy to speculate that she was laid to rest beside her two husbands on the property where she lived.

Her daughters appear to have moved out of Orange County to live with their step-sister Mary Willis Daingerfield in Spotsylvania County after the death of their mother. Anne was married sometime in the late 1770s to Maj. John Whitaker Willis, a grandson of Col. Henry Willis, and lived in Spotsylvania County up until her death in 1799 (McGhan 1982b:497). Molley, after being mentioned in her mother's 1772 will, is not found again within the documentary records, and genealogical information is silent concerning what happened to her. By 1782, all of the land that both sisters inherited from their mother was in the hands of Maj. Willis and his wife Anne, possibly indicating that Molley died sometime prior (Sparacio and Sparacio 1986a:206). She may have moved to Spotsylvania County with her sister Anne where she died, or possibly she died in Orange County soon after the death of her mother. If the latter is correct, then she too may be buried in the small family cemetery beside the graves of her mother and father.

Utilizing the existing historical and genealogical information some conclusions can be drawn concerning the burial locations of the seven individuals associated with the families of Frances Madison Beale Hite and Elizabeth Madison Willis Beale (see Table 2). Other than the knowledge that these individuals died in Orange County, nothing else is known of their exact burial locations. By asking specific questions of the existing documentary evidence, namely the wills of Capt. Taverner Beale, Sr. and his brother Richard Beale, one is able to see that small family cemeteries were probably created on the lands that Elizabeth and Frances inherited from their father. Ambrose Madison's daughters resided on these lands, separate from Mount Pleasant, and like the Taylor brothers, they created their own cemeteries in which their family members were buried. These assumptions reinforce the burial practices that are found in the study of the Taylor, Chew and Coleman families. And like the Chew and Coleman families, the cemeteries that the sisters created are no longer present on the modern landscape. If the descendants of both Elizabeth and Frances had continued to live in Orange County, using the cemeteries they had created, it is possible that the location of these cemeteries would still be visible. Instead, after the families moved out of the area, and the land passed on to other owners, the cemeteries disappeared from the cultural landscape and from family memory.

Further historical research may indicate that some of these individuals were in fact buried at Mount Pleasant because they died while visiting the plantation or because of other circumstances. The historical construction, utilizing only the scant documentary remains of the past, does not always play out the way one would assume. Without documentation one is left to speculate, but when the speculation is corroborated with contextual data some answers can be found. In the last section of this chapter the few early burials that occurred in the Madison family cemetery between 1732 and 1775 are revealed. The fact that all seven early burials involve individuals who lived and died at Mount Pleasant or Montpelier helps strengthen

some of the assumptions made in this chapter.

The First Burials in the Madison Family Cemetery

The seven earliest burials that occurred in the Madison family cemetery between 1732 and 1775 were of family members directly related to James Madison,

Sr. (Table 3). His father Ambrose Madison died when James was a young boy, and

TABLE 3Earliest Burials in Madison Family Cemetery				
Name	Death	Death Place	Family Relationship	
MADISON, Ambrose	27 Aug 1732	Mount Pleasant	Root Person	
MADISON, Catlett	18 Mar 1758	Mount Pleasant	Grandson	
MADISON, Frances Taylor	25 Nov 1761	Mount Pleasant	Wife	
MADISON, Infant Male	1766	Montpelier	Grandson	
MADISON, Stillborn Infant Male	12 Jul 1770	Montpelier	Grandson	
MADISON, Elizabeth	17 May 1775	Montpelier	Granddaughter	
MADISON, Reuben	5 Jun 1775	Montpelier	Grandson	

as described earlier in this chapter, was the first family member buried in the cemetery. His mother Frances Taylor Madison continued to reside at Mount Pleasant after her husband's death and died on November 25, 1761. On November 29th she was laid to rest beside her husband Ambrose (Clarke 1958:81; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871; Ketcham 1990:1). The five other burials in the cemetery were the offspring of James Madison, Sr. and his wife Nelly Conway Madison, who died as infants or young children. Circumstantial evidence indicates all of these children died either in the Mount Pleasant plantation house or in the brick mansion James Madison, Sr. constructed on the property around 1760. James Madison, Sr. married later than his sisters. He was in his mid-20s at the time of his marriage and already a prominent member of the local community. He was a member of the Orange County court by at least January 1749 and was a member of the vestry for St. Thomas' Parish in 1749 or earlier, because by 1751 he is listed as a church warden (Thomas 1972:15; Warren 1933:37). On September 15, 1749, James married Nelly Conway, the youngest daughter of Francis Conway, a prominent planter and merchant in Caroline County and one of the executors of Ambrose Madison's will (Clarke 1958:81; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871; Miller 2001:59). The marriage of James and Nelly is an example of the community ties that linked the Piedmont communities and the older settlements of the Tidewater. Ralph Ketcham explains it best:

As James Madison, Sr., managed his Piedmont farm, his attention was not distracted entirely from the "county below," as dwellers in the foothills called the lands on the Tidewater. He probably had to travel frequently to the navigable waters of the Rappahannock to market his tobacco, perhaps stored at the warehouse of his future father-in-law, Francis Conway (1696-1733), nine miles below Fredericksburg. Conway was a substantial merchant and planter of Caroline County who, since he was named an executor of the will of Ambrose Madison, probably had been a friend of the family's from the days when its estate centered on the Tidewater. In 1718 he had married Rebecca Catlett, and in the fifteen years of their marriage had at least six children, the youngest of whom, born the year before his death, was Nelly Conway (1732-1829), mother of President James Madison. Two of Nelly Conway's sisters married into the Taylor family of Orange County, and her brother Francis II seems to have been a particular friend of James Madison, Sr. (1990:5).

As this excerpt reveals, James Madison, Sr. may have been initially drawn to the Tidewater for business purposes, but the overlapping nature of community shows how social, economic and family ties are combined into one overall understanding of what community meant to 18th-century Virginians. The first child of James and Nelly Madison was James Madison, Jr., the future president. He was born March 16, 1751 ¹⁴ at Port Conway in Prince George County, the home of his grandmother Rebecca Catlett Conway Moore and her second husband John Moore. He was baptized soon after on March 31st, and sometime within the next few months was brought to his father's home in the Piedmont (Clarke 1958:80; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871; Ketcham 1990:9). The house where James Madison, Sr. and his wife Nelly made their first home was Mount Pleasant, the residence of his mother Frances Taylor Madison. Ann Miller speculates that, "An addition to the old house, or a second dwelling nearby may have been added for the young couple, or, alternately, as a dower residence for the senior Mrs. Madison" (2002:33). The early account book of James Madison, Sr. reveals a flurry of building repairs and furniture making occurring in the late 1740s and the first part of the 1750s (Miller 2002:33; MA 1744-1755).

The exact date for the construction of the brick house on the property is not known. Even though James Madison, Sr. was involved with building construction for other planters in the area his account books are silent concerning the construction of his own home (Miller 2002:33). One piece of evidence points towards a construction

¹⁴ James Madison, Jr. was born the year before Great Britain discarded the Julian calendar and adopted the Gregorian calendar. At the time of his birth the calendar on the wall would have read March 5, 1750, reflecting the eleven day discrepancy between the inaccurate Julian calendar and the improved Gregorian one. The Julian, or Old Style, year started on March 25, so James Madison was born at the end of the 1750 year or what is translated into the year 1751 New Style. The change from one calendar to the other took place in two phases. First, the date after December 31, 1751, nine months after his birth, became January 1, 1752. Second, the day after September 2, 1752, became September 14, 1752, eleven days being omitted from the calendar to make up for the inaccurate Julian calendar. James Madison therefore has two dates for his birthday: March 5, 1750 (Old Style) or March 16, 1751 (New Style). The New Style is usually the date given as his birthday, but Madison, and his contemporaries, would have sometimes used the Old Style date and/or year. The mixing of Old and New Style dates is found in the Sarah Catlett Madison Macon family bible where his birthday is recorded as March 5, 1751. All dates in this thesis are New Style unless otherwise designated as Old Style or appearing in the form 1750/1751 (Clarke 1958:80; Ketcham 1990:8-9).

date sometime around 1760. W. W. Scott¹⁵ recounts in his history of Orange County that,

Col. John Willis, a great-nephew of James, Jr., was told by him that the nucleus of the present structure was built when he was a mere lad, capable of carrying in his hands some of the lighter furniture from the old house to the new: which would fix the date at about 1760 (1974[1907]:208).

The task of carrying some of the lighter furniture from Mount Pleasant to the new house would have been possible for a young boy eight to ten years old, placing the date for the occupation of the house somewhere between 1759 and 1761 (Miller 2002:33-34). Knowing the dates during which James Madison, Sr. and his family were living at Mount Pleasant and then afterwards in the new brick house provides the setting for the lives and deaths of his children. Other than the first child, James Madison, Jr., all the other children of James and Nelly Madison were born in Orange County. In the 23 years after the birth of James Madison, Jr. they had eleven more children. The history and genealogies for six of these offspring will be discussed in detail in Chapter III, and the death and burial of James Madison, Jr. will be discussed in Chapter IV. The rest of this chapter will focus on the five offspring who did not live long enough to add to the Madison family genealogy.

The first of James and Nelly Madison's children to join their grandfather in the small family cemetery behind Mount Pleasant was Catlett Madison. The family bible recounts his birth and baptism:

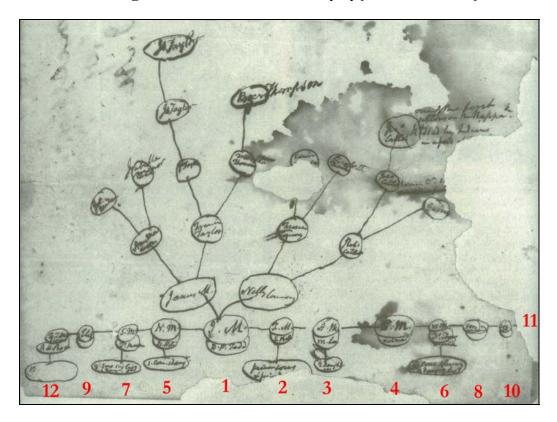
Catlett Madison was Born on Fryday Morning at 3 OClock February 10th 1758, & was Baptized by the Revd. Mr. James Maury February 22nd & had God-Fathers Col. Wm Taliaferro & Richard Beale & for God-Mothers Mrs. Elizabeth Beale & Miss Milly Chew (Clark 1958:81-82; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871).

¹⁵ William Wallace (W. W.) Scott probably gained this information first hand. He was the son-in-law of Col. John Willis, and by marriage would have been the 2nd great-nephew of James Madison, Jr. W. W. Scott could also trace his history back to the early settlement of Orange County. He was the 2nd great-grandson of Capt. John Scott of Clifton, the first of the Scott family to settle in the area.

The godparents had little time to enjoy their status as spiritual caretakers for their young ward. A little over a month after he was born Catlett passed away. The event was recorded in the family bible: "Catlett Madison Departed this Life on Saturday 18th of March 1758 at 3 o'Clock in the morning. Aged 36 days" (82). The naming of his aunt and uncle, Richard and Elizabeth Beale, along with his cousin Milly Chew, as godparents indicates that Catlett was born and baptized in Orange County. He lived his short life at Mount Pleasant with his grandmother, his parents and three eldest brothers, James, Francis and Ambrose, aged seven, four and three. In the ensuing years an unnamed male infant and a stillborn child were added to the burials in the cemetery. The family bible describes the stillborn event in stark terms: "Mrs. Madison Deliver'd of a Still born Child July 12th 1770" (Clark 1958:82; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). This child would have been born in the Montpelier brick house. The birth of the stillborn child was preceded by an infant son who was born and died on the same day sometime in 1766 (Massingberd 1975:142). The Sarah Madison Macon family bible does not include information for this son, nor is the entry included in another family bible located in the Princeton University Library (VHS, Madison Family Bible [MFB] 1749-1801). It is not known where the 1766 date comes from within the genealogical resources, but the existence of an unnamed infant son is certain.

A chart pedigree prepared by James Madison, Jr. relating the genealogy of his family includes this unnamed infant son within the offspring of his parents (Figure 10). Only eleven of the twelve children are represented in the existing chart, though it appears that the chart included all twelve offspring at one time. The paper on which the chart was drawn has seen some wear and tear over the years, and if one

FIGURE 10



Genealogical Chart of Madison Family by James Madison, Jr.

Chart Pedigree of Madison Family prepared by James Madison, Jr. with numbers superimposed indicating birth order of James Madison, Sr.'s children (James Madison Papers, Library of Congress).

looks closely at the bottom right hand corner of the chart, a line extends from the last circle and off the page where the paper has been ripped. The entry for the second to last of the twelve children, that of a son Reuben Madison, has been ripped from the chart. The numbers superimposed on the chart in Figure 10 represent the birth order of the offspring of James Madison, Sr. and his wife Nelly. The pedigree chart orders the children by their birth order from the central entry for the firstborn, James Madison, Jr., extending to the left for the females and to the right for the males. The infant son born in 1766 (8 in Figure 10) is represented by the second circle from the right containing the word 'Son'. The last circle also represents an unnamed 'Son', referring to the tenth child, the stillborn infant who was born in 1770. The lost entry to the right of this last circle, by process of elimination, must have contained the name of Reuben Madison born in 1771, the last son and eleventh child of James and Nelly Madison.

The short lives of the five young siblings of James Madison, Jr. are a pointed reminder of the high mortality rates among children in the 18th century. The deaths of the last two children provide an example of the diseases which were responsible for the high mortality. The ninth child of James and Nelly Madison was a daughter named Elizabeth, born on February 19, 1768. She was baptized a few days later by the pastor of St. Thomas' Parish, the Rev. Thomas Martin, and her two godmothers were the Chew sisters Alice and Milly (Clark 1958:82; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871; Warren 1933:32). Her brother Reuben was born a few years later on September 19, 1771 "between 5 & 6 o'Clock in the evening & was Baptized November 10th, by the Revd. Mr John Barnett and had for God-Fathers Mr Thomas Barbour & Mr James Chew & for God-Mothers Miss Alice & Milly Chew." The end of their short lives is recorded in the Sarah Madison Macon family bible just below the entries for their births:

Elizabeth Madison Departed this Life May 17th 1775, abt. Half after 12 OClock being Wednesday. Aged 7 years & 3 Months lacking 2 Days. Reuben Madison Departed this Life June 5th, 1775, at 11 OClock in the Morning being Monday. Aged 3 years 8 Months & 17 Days (Clark 1958:82; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871).

The cause of their deaths is not recorded in the Sarah Madison Macon family bible but in another family bible the cause is described as "dysentery and inflammation and perhaps worms" (VHS, MFB 1749-1801). Further evidence for their deaths is found in a letter written on June 19, 1775 from James Madison, Jr. to his college friend William Bradford:

Since I wrote last a Dysentry hath made an Irruption in my father's family. It has carried off a little sister about seven & a brother about four years of age. It is still among us but principally among the blacks. I have escaped hitherto, & as it is now out of the house I live in, I hope the danger is over. It is a disorder pretty incident to this Country & from some symptoms I am afraid will rage more generally this year than common (Hutchinson and Rachal 1962:152).

The recounting of his siblings death is included amongst other news that he passes on to his friend, coming right after the mention of the marriage of one of their college friends and before the description of events in Williamsburg concerning the opening actions of the Revolutionary War. The letter is a matter-of-fact recounting of the everyday facts of life for James Madison, Jr. and the surrounding Orange County area, a community that knew all too well the reality of childhood death and disease. The letter also confirms that Elizabeth and Reuben died at Montpelier in the brick mansion, or as James Madison, Jr. writes, "the house I live in." With their deaths in 1775, Reuben and Elizabeth were the last of the family members interred beside their grandparents in the early Madison family cemetery behind Mount Pleasant.

This chapter has constructed the early history of the Madison family cemetery, how the cemetery fits into the larger context of burial practices found in the early Orange County community and a reconstruction of the Madison family community of the dead that has been lost to time. The 18th-century cemetery is the hardest part of the story due to the paucity of historical documentation and the total lack of gravestones. Speculative analysis of the historical and genealogical information indicates that the early burials were of family members who died at Mount Pleasant, and later Montpelier. The extended family community made up of the Chew and Coleman families, along with the families of Frances Taylor Madison's daughters Frances and Elizabeth, created family cemeteries on their own plantations.

The genealogical information and existing historical documentation support these assumptions, but one must be cautious in unraveling the early history of the cemetery. As new documents come to light certain assumptions concerning who is found in the 18th-century cemetery's community of the dead may have to change, but that is a part of the construction of the story. The historical story is a never ending quest for knowledge. This chapter does not purport to answer all the questions or to have found the ultimate truths, but instead constructs the history of the early Madison family cemetery from the existing resources. This construction continues in the next chapter where the children of James Madison, Sr. who lived into adulthood and had families of their own are discussed to understand the reasons they did, or did not, bury their loved ones in the family cemetery at Montpelier.

CHAPTER III

GENEALOGICAL NARRATIVE: TELLING THE STORY OF THE MADISON FAMILY CEMETERY

The Death of Francis Madison as Recounted in Col. James Madison, Sr.'s Journal

The following is an excerpt from the personal journal of Col. James Madison, Sr. It is transcribed from the original found at Mayhurst in Orange County, Virginia. Mayhurst was built in 1859 by Col. John Willis, the great-grandson of Col. Madison. Recent remodeling of the house uncovered the journal along with a bundle of Madison family papers tucked away in a corner of the attic. This excerpt details the entries leading up to and just after the death of Col. Madison's son Francis in April of 1800.

[Page 44]	
April 2, [1800]	Rich. Carlton spied Betty in the Burial Ground yesterday, ¹
Wednesday	could not seize her before she slipped away through the Woods above the Mill. Reported this to me.
	Informed Carlton Not to pursue the Matter, for she means no
	harm ${\mathfrak E}$ visits for the sake of memory.
	Had Thunder on the $\mathfrak{Z}^{\mathrm{rd}}$ of Feb., may see the frost tomorrow. 2
April 3	Hard wind over night; some damage reported
Thursday	at Sawney's this morning. ³ A Cold Wind from the north, but no
-	frost with it. Rain has ceased though the clouds remain.

¹Richard Carlton was an overseer at Montpelier during the late 18th century. Betty was a Madison slave, believed to have been a nurse maid to the Madison children. The 'Burial Ground' refers to the Madison family cemetery located near where Mount Pleasant once stood. Other entries in the journal concerning the slave cemetery at Montpelier always refer to it as the "Negroe burial ground" or just simply "Negroe ground."

² A folk belief that is still found in modern-day Farmer's Almanacs concerning the notion that if there is a thunderstorm in February a frost will occur on the same day in April.

³ Sawney's refers to a guarter that was run by one of Madison's slaves.

	Have begun letter to Capt. Scott concerning his Objection to my Acct. sincerely Desire to Settle it ourselves without troubling any body else with it. Received messenger from my daughter Susan this evening with distressing news. ⁴ Francis has taken ill & the worst is feared.
April 4 Fryday	No news from my son this morning. Sent Harry at mid morning to Prospect Hill. ⁵ Returned with same news. Fear the worst. Harry mentioned the dam was breached & had mighty time getting across the Rapid Ann.

[Page 45 and 46 missing – This page had been removed from the pre-numbered folio book in which Col. James Madison, Sr. kept his journal. The passage was found in the loose family papers at Mayhurst. No date is found on the page but it is printed with the page number 45. The paper is the same quality and type as that found in the folio book, and the handwriting is that of Col. Madison.]

[April 4 or 5?]	This is not the way of things – Sons, grown sons, outlive their fathers, grow and prosper, live of the Life they have received with the toil of their hands, their minds – is that not the way of things. The children, they will die of this ailment & that scourge, which is the way of things. It is a miracle from Above that any child Lives, only to die in the Zenith of life
	Ambrose, my son [pen mark trails off the page] I cannot bear to give it thought, I do not desire to visit the Burial Ground once again Until it is my time. With the children, death was their Salvation for the tempest they endured in life. Suffer the children and forbade them not come unto Me; for of thine is the Kingdom of Heaven ⁶ In their deaths I was relieved for they broke the bonds of this earth, felt no pain in the earth below the heavens above.
	I found Betty at the Burial Ground – admonished her for paying so much heed to their graves – They are gone and no more, returned to the Savior that Delivered them to us. See to the others and do not stand idle by the stones that cannot hear you It seems so long past since I said those words For in her heart those children were hers as they are Mine

⁴ Col. James Madison, Sr. uses the title daughter in this case to refer to his daughter-in-law Susan Bell Madison, the wife of his son Francis Madison.

⁵ Prospect Hill was the plantation home of Col. Madison's son Francis Madison, located in Madison County just across the Rapidan River from Orange County.

⁶Bible reference, paraphrase of Matthew, Chap. 19, Verse 14.

[Page 47] April 5 Saturday	Great Thunder clouds with much hail and rain this afternoon, was a foreboding omen. A simple note from my daughter carried the melancholy news. My son Francis departed this Life about 10 OClock this morning. Aged 46 Years 9Months & 17 Days.
	Received a note from Capt. Scott expressing his sincere regrets. Hopes to make amends with our account, next week if my health holds I will visit him at Clifton. ⁷
April 6 Sunday	Set out this morning in the carriage for Middle Church, Mother and I were attended by James and Dolley and Frances. ⁸ Rev. Mr. Oneil preached on the 13 th chapter of Mark ~ Be ever on Watch for the Day and the Hour are unknown ~ The Rev. expressed his Belief that is was the Lords will found in the text, for he had prepared the sermon before he gained knowledge of our loss Returned home after church very tired Nelly returned with us and later took her leave home to Woodley Vale. ⁹
April 7 Monday	Attended burial of Francis. Interred at Prospect Hill. James and I traveled on horseback leaving my Dear wife and Dolley at Montpellier.

⁷ The Clifton plantation located south of Montpelier was the home of Capt. Johnny Scott, a fellow county justice and long time associate of Col. Madison. The account in question involves a disagreement over the debt Capt. Scott owed concerning blacksmith work Madison had done for him some years before. ⁸ The Middle Church, also called the Brick Church, was the main church for St. Thomas' Parish, located on the Taylor plantation Meadowfarm southeast of Orange Court House. Col. Madison refers to his wife Nelly Conway Madison as 'Mother' sporadically throughout the journal, usually referring to her by her name or 'my dear wife.' The 'James and Dolley' mentioned in the journal are his son James Madison, Jr. and his wife Dolley Payne Todd Madison who were living at Montpelier in the addition they had built onto the mansion. Frances is the youngest daughter of Col. Madison, who still resided at Montpelier. She would later marry Dr.

Robert Rose in January of 1801.

⁹Nelly Conway Madison was the daughter of Col. Madison's son Ambrose. By 1800 both her parents had passed away leaving her the property of Woodley Vale located southeast of Montpelier. The name was later changed to Woodley as it is known today.

The personal journal of Col. James Madison, Sr. does not exist, though the historians and archaeologists at Montpelier would heartily wish into existence such a document. The excerpt presented above is purely fictional. No journal exists for James Madison, Sr., nor is it known if he ever kept such a journal. The story presented above is similar in substance to the story of Frances Taylor Madison's burial which introduces Chapter II, meant as a way of bridging the gap between the documentary record and what the Madison family thought about the death and burial of their loved ones. The use of a fictional transcription is purposeful, to show that a story can be presented in different forms. The use of a fabricated historical document is not meant to mislead but instead to provide a tangible, albeit fictional, connection to the past.

Like all historical information the fictional story must be placed within context. The context is this thesis, in which storytelling is used to present information in a way that would otherwise be inaccessible. Taken out of context the fabricated transcription can be misinterpreted as an actual historical document, which is not the purpose of this thesis or the storytelling methodology in general. All of the characters are based on real historical people, and the setting and the events are gleaned from the historical record. The fictional part is the combining of all the elements into a cohesive story. The story is written by the author of this thesis based on his understanding of the historical character. The thoughts of those who lived before us cannot be reconstructed, but a story based on their lives can begin to construct the history in ways that open up plausible scenarios. The Madison family did not write the story of their past or of their cemetery, but by combining a storytelling method with existing historical, genealogical and archaeological information, a thought provoking construction of the history is presented. If the Madison family papers from Montpelier had survived, something akin to the fictional journal entry presented above may have existed, providing keen insight into the mind of James Madison, Sr. and the history of the family, but unfortunately, that is not the case. Maybe documentary treasures still await discovery in the dusty attics of historic homes in Orange County - only time will tell.

Finding the Dead within the Documents of the Living

Whereas the genealogy of the Madison family is an all encompassing lineage of people, the genealogy of the family cemetery is firmly rooted in time and space, for it is only through an understanding of the cemetery's history that this community of the dead comes into focus. Even with sparse documentation and a total lack of gravestones, a plausible construction of the 18th-century cemetery's history reveals that the early community of the dead was made up of the parents of James Madison, Sr. - Ambrose and Frances Madison - and five of his children who died in childhood (see Table 3). With the burial of Ambrose Madison in 1732, the history of the cemetery began, but it was through the continued use by his son James Madison, Sr., his family and their descendants, that the cemetery became an enduring feature on the physical and cultural landscape of Montpelier. The five Madison children who died in the 18th century did not have a chance to add to the family genealogy, but of the seven other offspring of James Madison, Sr., all reached adulthood, married and had families. Some of these grandchildren of Ambrose Madison were buried in the cemetery, along with their family members and descendants, while others were buried elsewhere in Virginia and throughout the United States. This chapter will trace the genealogies and histories of these families, the third generation of the Madison family and beyond.

By immersing oneself in the living communities that created, maintained and preserved the Madison family cemetery throughout its long history, the community of the dead begins to take shape. Unlike that found for the 18th century, the presence of historical documentation and gravestones makes constructing the history of the cemetery through the 19th and 20th centuries easier. Due to the destruction of the family papers from Montpelier a full accounting of the cemetery's history is not found in the existing record; but as the children of James Madison, Sr. created plantations and families of their own, they documented their own histories. A great deal of this documentation has survived in family correspondence, bible records and personal papers. As views towards death changed in the 19th century so did the customs of burial and commemoration. These changes are evident in the widespread use of obituaries and the increased use of gravestones. With additional information provided from census records a relatively complete genealogy of the Madison family cemetery can be constructed based on contextual historical analysis. This construction also provides glimpses into the larger social, cultural, and economic dynamics that affected the Madison family and their use of the cemetery.

The following chapter is split into four sections. The first section will present an overview of the individuals who were buried in the Madison family cemetery between 1776 and 1938 (Table 4). The gravestones, besides providing information about marked family members, are also used to understand which family

TABLE 4 All Possible Madison Family Cemetery Burials - 1776 to 1938					
Name Death Date Grave rendering Family Grouping					
MADISON, Unknown Female	1785/1795	Possible Unmarked	Ambrose Madison		
MADISON, Ambrose	3 Oct 1793	Possible Unmarked	Ambrose Madison		
MADISON, Mary Willis Lee	14 Mar 1798	Documented Unmarked	Ambrose Madison		
MACON, Francis Edward	14 Apr 1800	Possible Unmarked	Sarah Macon		
MADISON, James Sr.	27 Feb 1801	Documented Unmarked	James Madison, Sr.		
MACON, Elizabeth	25 Feb 1805	Possible Unmarked	Sarah Macon		
MADISON, John	23 Mar 1809	Possible Unmarked	William Madison		
ROSE, Ann Fitzhugh or Mary M.	1810/1820	Possible Unmarked	Frances Rose		
WILLIS, John	1 Apr 1811	Marked	Ambrose Madison		
MADISON, William F. Jr.	11 Jul 1812	Documented Unmarked	William Madison		
MADISON, Lucy Frances	28 Dec 1813	Possible Unmarked	William Madison		
SCOTT, John Mayo	23 Sept 1820	Documented Unmarked			
MADISON, James Edwin	6 Oct 1821	Documented Unmarked	William Madison		
WILLIS, Elizabeth Madison	6 Apr 1824	Possible Unmarked	William Madison		
MADISON, Robert Lewis	9 Feb 1828	Possible Unmarked	William Madison		
MADISON, Nelly Conway	11 Feb 1829	Documented Unmarked	James Madison, Sr.		
WILLIS, Lewis	1830/1832	Possible Unmarked	William Madison		
MADISON, Unknown Female	1830/1840	Possible Unmarked	William Madison		
MACON, Sarah Elizabeth	22 Jul 1831	Possible Unmarked	Sarah Macon		
WILLIS, Child Male	1832/1839	Possible Unmarked	William Madison		
MADISON, Frances Throckmorton	20 Aug 1832	Possible Unmarked	William Madison		
MADISON, John	10 Aug 1833	Possible Unmarked	William Madison		
PAYNE, Unknown Male	Bef Feb 1834	Documented Unmarked			
LEE, Mary Lee Willis	29 Mar 1836	Marked	Ambrose Madison		
MADISON, James Jr.	28 Jun 1836	Marked	James Madison, Jr.		

TABLE 4 All Possible Madison Family Cemetery Burials - 1776 to 1938			
Name	Death Date	Grave rendering	Family Grouping
LEE, John Willis	16 Feb 1837	Marked	Ambrose Madison
CONWAY, Reuben	3 Jan 1838	Marked	Sarah Macon
MACON, Thomas	26 Feb 1838	Marked	Sarah Macon
LEE, Ambrose Madison	26 Mar 1838	Marked	Ambrose Madison
MADISON, William	19 Jul 1843	Possible Unmarked	William Madison
PAYNE, William Temple	Aug 1843	Documented Unmarked	
MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison	17 Oct 1843	Marked	Sarah Macon
MADISON, Dolley Payne Todd	12 Jul 1849	Marked	James Madison, Jr.
MACON, Reuben Conway	1 May 1853	Possible Unmarked	Sarah Macon
MACON, Henry	12 Oct 1853	Possible Unmarked	Sarah Macon
LEE, Lucy C.	26 Aug 1855	Marked	Ambrose Madison
MADISON, Ambrose	26 Dec 1855	Marked	William Madison
MACON, William Ambrose	3 Apr 1856	Possible Unmarked	Sarah Macon
MARYE, Mary Frances Madison	13 Nov 1856	Marked	William Madison
MADISON, Letitia Ramolina Lee	2 Jan 1857	Marked	Ambrose & William Madison
LEE, Mary Willis	13 Apr 1859	Marked	Ambrose & William Madison
LEE, Frances Willis	17 Aug 1859	Marked	Ambrose & William Madison
MACON, Edgar	21 Jul 1861	Possible Unmarked	Sarah Macon
MADISON, Jane Bankhead Willis	16 May 1862	Documented Unmarked	William Madison
WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison	4 Nov 1862	Documented Unmarked	Ambrose Madison
MADISON, Letitia	1863/1870	Possible Unmarked	Ambrose & William Madison
WILLIS, Lucy Taliaferro Madison	16 Feb 1868	Marked	Ambrose & William Madison
WILLIS, Lucie S. Robinson	17 Feb 1869	Marked	Ambrose & William Madison
WILLIS, Claudia	14 Mar 1869	Marked	Ambrose & William Madison
MADISON, Mary S. Lee	1871/June 1878	Possible Unmarked	Ambrose & William Madison

TABLE 4 All Possible Madison Family Cemetery Burials - 1776 to 1938			
Name	Death Date	Grave rendering	Family Grouping
CONWAY, Lucy Hartwell Macon	13 May 1871	Marked	Sarah Macon
LEE, John Hancock	11 Sep 1873	Possible Unmarked	Ambrose & William Madison
LEE, Nelly	6 Jan 1876	Possible Unmarked	Ambrose Madison
MACON, James Hartwell Madison Sr.	3 Feb 1877	Marked	Sarah Macon
MACON, Lucetta Todd Newman	1 Jan 1878	Marked	Sarah Macon
MADISON, Alfred	12 May 1880	Marked	William Madison
CARSON, Frank	Feb 1881	Marked	
WILLIS, John	9 Dec 1885	Marked	Ambrose & William Madison
MADISON, Lucy Maria Hiden	27 Jul 1886	Marked	William Madison
MADISON, William Willis	1888	Possible Unmarked	William Madison
WILLIS, Nellie Ross	12 Apr 1893	Marked	Ambrose & William Madison
MACON, Thomas Newman	1899	Possible Unmarked	Sarah Macon
MADISON, Frances Branch Willis	28 Oct 1899	Marked	William Madison
MADISON, James Ambrose	28 Jun 1901	Marked	William Madison
WILLIS, Mary Lee	1908	Possible Unmarked	Ambrose & William Madison
WILLIS, Mary Elizabeth Lupton	1910/1920	Possible Unmarked	Ambrose & William Madison
WILLIS, Annie Scott	Aft 1910	Possible Unmarked	Ambrose & William Madison
WILLIS, John C. Jr.	10 Nov 1915	Possible Unmarked	Ambrose & William Madison
MADISON, James Willis	16 Feb 1916	Marked	William Madison
WILLIS, Bessie Milton	1926	Possible Unmarked	Ambrose & William Madison
MADISON, Ambrose Gilmer Sr.	28 Feb 1928	Marked	William Madison
MADISON, Susan Daniel	1938	Marked	William Madison

members are possibly buried within unmarked graves. The second section will discuss the history and archaeology of the deaths and burials of James Madison, Sr. and his wife Nelly Conway Madison. In the third section, the children of James Madison, Sr. who did not use the family cemetery at Montpelier will be discussed. Two daughters, Nelly Conway Madison Hite and Frances Taylor Madison Rose, married and moved out of Orange County. Francis Madison, the son whose death is described in the story at the beginning of this chapter, lived near Montpelier, but he and his family did not use the Madison family cemetery. The last section of this chapter will focus on the use of the cemetery by the families and descendants of three offspring of James Madison. By tracing the genealogy one is then able to construct the history of the cemetery from its earliest burial up through the death of Susan Daniel Madison in 1938, the 3rd great-granddaughter of Ambrose Madison.

To Be or Not to Be - That is the Question of Who is Buried in the Cemetery

Contained within Table 4 are the names of all the individuals possibly buried within the Madison family cemetery between 1776 and 1938. Of these, 31 individuals are commemorated with gravestones (see Table 1), and historical documentation indicates ten family members are buried within unmarked graves. The remaining 31 individuals are unaccounted for within the archaeological or historical record, but they are included as possible unmarked burials based on the construction of the Madison family cemetery's history contained within this chapter. The history was constructed using historical documentation, the genealogy of the Madison family (see Appendix 1), and the information provided from the19th- and 20th-century gravestones.

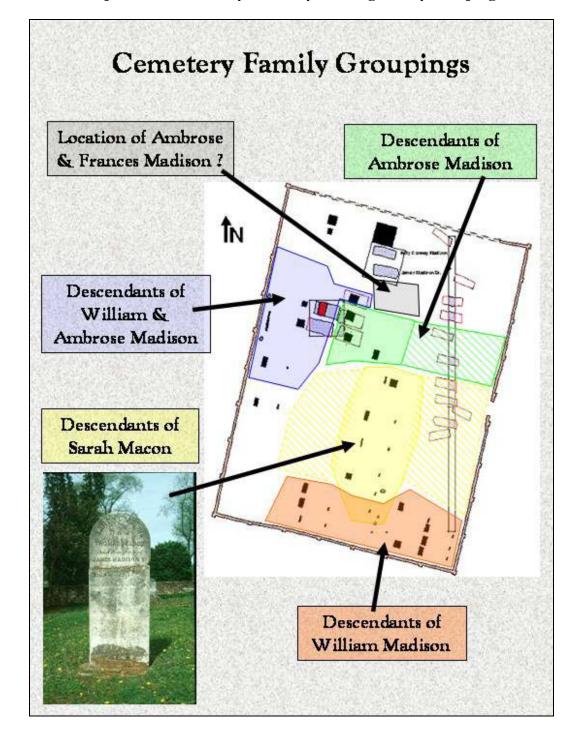
The gravestones are the most important resource in beginning to understand why the 31 possible unmarked burials are included within the cemetery. Even though the gravestones mark fewer than half of the burials and only represent laterperiod burials, they provide valuable clues regarding who is included in the unmarked community of the dead. The gravestones can be used as entry points into the genealogical data producing a research trail tracing the possible inclusion of unmarked ancestors and descendants of marked family members. The presence of a gravestone above a member of a nuclear family is a good indicator that other members of the same family are also buried in the cemetery in unmarked graves.

The locations of gravestones associated with the families and descendants of three of James Madison, Sr.'s offspring - Sarah Madison Macon, William Madison, and Ambrose Madison – reveal a pattern of burial in the family cemetery (Figure 11). Gravestones associated with William Madison are found in the southern part of the cemetery. Sarah Madison Macon's gravestone stands in the center of her family's area directly to the north of her brother's section, and Ambrose Madison's direct descendants, along with the descendants of both Ambrose and William through intermarriage, are buried in the northern section. The presence of these three subfamily sections within the Madison family cemetery shows the important role these nuclear families played in the history of the cemetery.

The families and descendants of Sarah, William and Ambrose account for 63 of the 72 individuals believed to make up the community of the dead (see Table 4). By placing each of these burials within the historical context of the living and dead

FIGURE 11

Map of Madison Family Cemetery Showing Family Groupings



communities which created, maintained and preserved the cemetery through time, a more complete picture of the history of the Madison family's use of the cemetery comes into focus. The remaining nine burials (Table 5) include those of James Madison, Sr. and his wife Nelly Conway Madison, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, and the burials of James Madison, Jr. and his wife Dolley Payne Todd Madison, which will be focused on in Chapter IV. James and Dolley Madison had no children and therefore left no direct descendants. A daughter of Frances Madison Rose, either Ann Fitzhugh or Mary M., died in Orange County before the family moved out of the area in the early 1820s. Her burial is described later in this chapter in the section dedicated to the Rose family. The remaining four burials found in Table 5 include an owner of Montpelier named Frank Carson, the son of General Winfield Scott who is documented to be buried in the cemetery, and two nephews of Dolley Madison, sons of her brother John Coles Payne - William Temple Payne and an unnamed son.

The burials of Frank Carson, the Scott son, and Dolley's nephews stand out because they do not fit neatly within the parameters of the genealogical approach

TABLE 5 Burials Unassociated with Family Groupings				
Name	Death Date	Grave rendering	Family Relationship	
MADISON, James Sr.	27 Feb 1801	Documented Unmarked	James Madison, Sr.	
ROSE, Ann Fitzhugh or Mary M.	1810/1820	Possible Unmarked	Frances Rose	
SCOTT, John Mayo	23 Sept 1820	Documented Unmarked		
MADISON, Nelly Conway	11 Feb 1829	Documented Unmarked	James Madison, Sr.	
PAYNE, Unknown Male	Bef Feb 1834	Documented Unmarked		
MADISON, James Jr.	28 Jun 1836	Marked	James Madison, Jr.	
PAYNE, William Temple	Aug 1843	Documented Unmarked		
MADISON, Dolley Payne Todd	12 Jul 1849	Marked	James Madison, Jr.	
CARSON, Frank	Feb 1881	Marked		

used in this chapter. Dolley's two nephews can indeed be considered members of the Madison family through collateral descent, but it is only through the presence of historical documentation that they are included in the cemetery's community of the dead.¹ Frank Carson has no relation to the Madison family. He owned and resided at Montpelier from 1857 until his death in 1881 (Miller 2002:151). His burial in the family cemetery is marked by a gravestone. The exact reason for his burial in the cemetery is unknown, though one can speculate that since he was a life-long bachelor and an immigrant from Ireland he chose to be buried on the property because it was the only home he knew in the United States. The reference for the Scott burial is found in the memoirs of Mary E. E. Cutts, a niece of Dolley Madison: "Lieut. Gen'l Scott's only son also lies within the enclosure, having died in childhood at Montpelier" (Langston-Harrison 2002:35). General Winfield Scott's son, John Mayo Scott, died on September 23, 1820, while the family was visiting Montpelier (Jensen 1999).

These four burials represent an unknown dimension which affects ones ability to completely understand the history of the Madison family cemetery. Due to the paucity of historical documentation such 'non-family' burials can slip through the cracks of historical research. The community of the living who used the family cemetery at Montpelier is made up of not only the Madison family, but also the subsequent owners and any number of families whose members may have died while visiting the property. Overseers may have also used the family cemetery. An 1844

¹ In a letter from John Coles Payne to his son-in-law James H. Causten, dated March 12, 1852, he writes concerning the family cemetery at Montpelier, "the whole of the Madison family are interred there who have died in that vicinity... my two sons lie there too" (Greensboro Historical Society [GHS] 1852a). The first son, whose name is unknown, died sometime before February 1834, because he does not appear in a letter in which Dolley Madison lists the children of her brother (VHS 1834). The second son, William Temple Payne, died at Montpelier in August 1843, when he was working as an overseer for Dolley Madison (Mattern and Shulman 2003:363, 365).

plat map shows the location of an overseer's house less than one hundred yards south of the cemetery (Lewis and Parker 1987:23-24). Very little is known about the many overseers who worked and possibly also died on the property. Burials such as these may only make up a small number of the total found within the cemetery, but they are included here to show the dynamic nature of the cemetery's long history. Future historical research may help bring to light more 'non-family' members buried within the Madison family cemetery, but for the time being, an understanding of the family's genealogy, informed by the historical context, allows one to create a relatively complete picture of the cemetery's community of the dead.

The Burials of James Madison, Sr. and Nelly Conway Madison

In order to understand the tradition of use exhibited within the Madison family cemetery one must begin with the burials of James Madison, Sr. and Nelly Conway Madison before pursuing the genealogies of their children. Without their inclusion in the cemetery, the small family plot behind Mount Pleasant might have disappeared like the cemeteries of James Madison, Sr.'s sisters Frances and Elizabeth (see Chapter II). With the burial of James Madison, Sr. in 1801, the history and use of the cemetery at Montpelier by the Madison family was solidified. Continued use strengthened the tradition started with the burial of Ambrose Madison some 70 years before, and through love of family and respect for tradition the family continued to bury their dead within the cemetery through the early 20th century.

During his lifetime Col. James Madison, Sr. was "the leading citizen of Orange County" (Ketcham 1990:389). He officially retired from public service in 1799 when he stepped down as county justice due to ill health, after serving for 50 years (Thomas 1972:15). He was one of the wealthiest landowners in the county and owned a total of 108 slaves at his death (Miller 2002:172; Orange County Courthouse [OCC], Will Book 4 1801). The last days of James Madison, Sr. are recounted in a letter from his son James Madison, Jr. to Thomas Jefferson written on February 28, 1801, the day after he died:

My father's health for several weeks latterly seemed to revive, and we had hopes that the approach of milder seasons would still further contribute to keep him with us. A few days past however he became sensibly worse, and yesterday morning rather suddenly, tho' very gently the flame of life went out (Mattern et al. 1991:475).

As has been quoted many times before, the Sarah Madison Macon bible simply states that, "James Madison departed this Life February 27th 1801, abt. 10 OClock in the morning being Fryday. Aged 77 Years and 11 Months" (Clark 1958:83; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). The patriarch of the Madison family was laid to rest soon afterwards in an unmarked grave in the family cemetery.

Twenty-eight years would pass before his wife Nelly Conway Madison joined him in the cemetery. She lived to the ripe old age of 97, outliving nine of her twelve children and passing her time at Montpelier in the company of her son James Madison, Jr. and the many guests he received during his presidency and retirement. Mary E. E. Cutts paints a vivid picture in her memoirs of the Madison matriarch in her last years:

Mrs. Madison Senior, or "the old lady" as she was usually called, kept up the primitive hours for meals to which she had been accustomed, and her time for receiving visits from the guests of her son was after her dinner and before his. Mr. Madison honored and loved his mother; his house was the resort of the distinguished men of the time; foreigners, tourists, artists and writers failed not to visit himself and Mr. Jefferson and they esteemed it a privilege to be taken at two o'clock, her audience hour, from the pictured hall and mirrored walls, to the old time wainscoted and closeted rooms of this most excellent woman! She was proud of her son, who had never given her a moment's anxiety, save for his health, during a long life. She was a lady of excellent education, strong mind and good judgment, action and will to her last moments; she took an interest in modern events as well as the many friends by whom she was surrounded; the love and admiration she

bestowed on her daughter in law, who studied her comfort was ever apparent. She lived to be ninety eight;² her usual seat was on a couch in the centre of a large room, a table in front, on which was her bible, prayer book and knitting, these divided her time. The gloves and stockings, with the name knit in by her were precious gifts to her grandchildren (Langston-Harrison 2002:18).

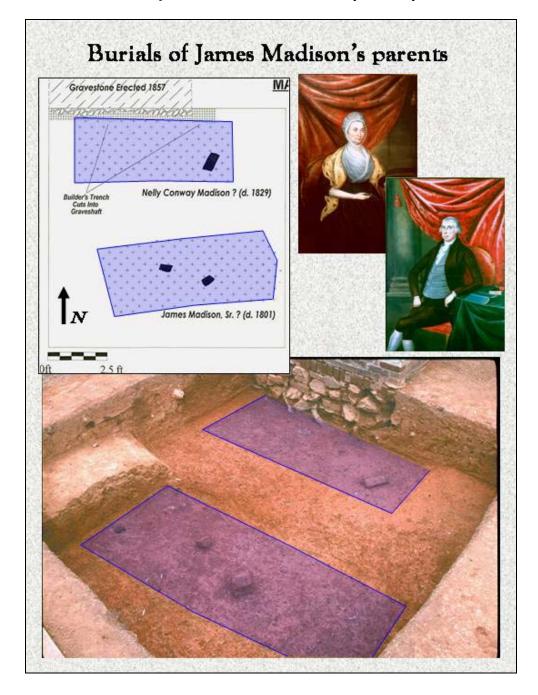
Nelly Conway Madison passed away on February 11, 1829 and was laid to rest in the family cemetery by the side of her husband, just a few short years before her eldest and famous son joined the cemetery's community of the dead in 1836 (Clark 1958:83; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871).

After the burial of James Madison, Jr. in the small family cemetery at Montpelier, countless numbers of people traveled to visit his final resting place. In 1839, one of these visitors, in describing the location of the president's grave, also mentions the location of James Madison, Sr. and his wife Nelly Conway Madison in the cemetery. The visitor's account states, "The remains of Mr. Madison lie in the adjacent family cemetery with those of his father and his mother by his right side" (LC 1839). Further evidence is found in a letter from James H. Causten, Jr. to his wife Annie Payne Causten, a niece of Dolley Madison, written in September 1852. In the letter he describes visiting the cemetery and seeing "the spot where he [James Madison, Jr.] lies and also his parents" (GHS 1852b). These accounts provide clear proof that both James Madison, Sr. and Nelly Conway Madison are buried in the family cemetery at Montpelier. Since the parents' graves are unmarked within the

² The discrepancy between the age 97 given in the thesis text and the age 98 found in the text of the Cutts' quote is due to the change from the Old Style Julian calendar to the New Style Gregorian calendar. Mary Cutts is using the Old Style date for Nelly Conway Madison's birthday, that of January 9, 1731. When her birthday is changed to the New Style it becomes January 20, 1732. The family bible describes her age at death as "97 years and one month" using the New Style date for her birthday (VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). In any case, the difference of one year does not belie the fact that Nelly Madison lived a long and fruitful life, but it does give one an idea of how people in the past dealt with the differences caused by the change in calendars. At the time the calendar was changed from the Julian to the Gregorian, Nelly Conway Madison would have already celebrated 20 birthdays using the Old Style date, and from the date given in the Cutts memoir, may have continued to use the Old Style date for the rest of her life.



The Burials of James Madison, Sr. and Nelly Conway Madison



The unmarked grave shafts of James Madison, Sr. and his wife Nelly Conway Madison are located directly south of President Madison's obelisk.

cemetery one must ask how these visitors knew of their locations.

Archaeological excavations have confirmed the presence of two unmarked graves in the location where the 1839 account states they were buried (Figure 12, also see Figure 11). No evidence was found to indicate that markers ever existed above the graves (Baxter 2000). The grave shaft closest to the burial of James Madison, Jr. is believed to be that of his mother Nelly Conway Madison. Her grave would therefore be located to the left of her husband. The traditional pattern of a husband and wife burial is the man on the right with the woman to his left. This has its roots in biblical tradition where God took Adam's left rib to create Eve (Riordan 2000). The grave shaft hypothesized to contain the burial of James Madison, Sr. is slightly longer than his wife's grave shaft. The 1839 visitor went on in the newspaper account to describe Nelly Conway Madison as "a remarkable woman" who "resembled her son in mind and appearance" (LC 1839). If this was the case, since her son was a fairly short man, standing roughly five feet and three inches tall, she herself must have also been diminutive in stature, possibly even more so due to her advanced age. It is very likely that her grave, the shorter of the two, is the one to the left, following the traditional pattern of a husband and wife burial.

Knowing the location of the parents' graves and their relationship to each other supports the 1839 account in its description, but it does not explain how visitors knew where they were within the Madison family cemetery. One can speculate that since Dolley Madison still resided at Montpelier in 1839, and a number of other Madison family members were living in the area, that the visitor found out through the family where the unmarked graves were located. The living Madison family community kept the history of the cemetery alive in their thoughts and memories, as can be seen in the later 1852 account. The knowledge of burial locations was passed down through the family and with the passing of living family members across the boundaries of death the knowledge was lost.

Not to Be - Those Who Were Not Buried in the Cemetery

Two of James Madison, Sr.'s daughters, Nelly Conway Madison Hite and Frances Taylor Madison Rose, married and moved out of the Orange County area. Nelly Hite's family and their descendants did not use the cemetery at Montpelier for the burials of their family members. One of Frances Rose's children was possibly buried in the cemetery before her family left the Orange County area. Francis Madison, the second oldest son of James Madison, Sr., lived and died on his plantation located near Montpelier, but he and his family are not buried in the family cemetery. In constructing the history of the Madison family cemetery it is just as important to understand why some family members were not buried in the cemetery at Montpelier. A brief discussion of these three offspring shows that an understanding of the family genealogy is not enough and that this information must be placed within a larger historical context.

The Family of Nelly Conway Madison Hite

Nelly Conway Madison, the eldest daughter of James Madison, Sr., was born on February 14, 1760, possibly while the family was still living in the old plantation house at Mount Pleasant. The family bible record adds a little more information stating that she "was born on Thursday morning just after Daybreak" (Clark 1958:82; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). She was married at Montpelier on January 2, 1783 to Maj. Isaac Hite, Jr. (Pecquet du Bellet 1907:366). Maj. Hite could already trace his connections within the community back to the Madison family. He was the nephew of Jacob Hite, the second husband of his wife's aunt, Frances Madison Beale Hite. After the marriage, Nelly resided with her husband in Frederick County, Virginia, in the Shenandoah Valley. She died at Belle Grove in Frederick County the day before Christmas 1802 and was buried in the Hite family cemetery at Long Meadow (Wayland 1925:274). Nelly Madison Hite was survived by her husband and three children (see Appendix 1). None of her descendants ever returned to the Orange County area after her death, so it is safe to speculate that they are not found within the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier.

The Family of Frances Taylor Madison Rose

Frances Taylor Madison, the youngest child of James Madison, Sr., was born at Montpelier on October 4, 1774 (Clark 1958:82; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). Her brother James Madison, Jr. was 23 at the time, just stepping out into the world beginning his fateful search for a vocation. By the time Frances married in Orange County on January 26, 1801, two of her older brothers, Francis and Ambrose, had already passed away, and her father, unbeknownst at the time, was in the midst of his final illness (Rose 1985:1; Ketcham 1990:389-390). Frances married Dr. Robert Henry Rose of Amherst County, Virginia, and they made their home on a tract of land she inherited from her father. The land, now called Litchfield, was part of the original patent owned by Thomas Chew and acquired by James Madison, Sr. in the late 18th century (Miller 1988:29; see Figure 9-14). Frances Madison Rose and her husband Robert raised a large family of eleven children, all of whom were born in Orange County before the family moved out of the area (see Appendix 1). The exact date the family left the county is unknown. In 1818, they sold Litchfield (Miller 1988:29). After the sale, Robert Rose appears to have moved south to set up a new property and house for his family, because in December 1820, Frances Madison Rose is found in the Orange County census as the head of her household. The census indicates her residence was close to her brother James Madison, Jr. at Montpelier and her niece Nelly Conway Madison Willis at Woodley, placing her, if not at Litchfield, somewhere in close proximity to her relatives, and possibly even living on one of their properties. Included in the census are what appear to be ten of her eleven children (United States Census Office [USCO], Orange County [OC] census 1820:100). The family had left the area by 1823 because on October 4th Frances died in Alabama and was buried in the Maple Hill Cemetery in Huntsville (Rose 1985:1; MA, The President's Sister, n.d.).

Sometime before 1820 one of Frances Madison Rose's eleven children died in Orange County and was presumably buried in the family cemetery at Montpelier. Nine of her eleven children are accounted for within the genealogical sources indicating they were alive after 1820 (Rose 1985; see Appendix 1).³ Two daughters, Ann Fitzhugh and Mary M., are described as dying in childhood within genealogical sources (Rose 1985:3; Massingberd 1975:142). Because only the head of the household is listed by name in the 1820 census, and all the other household members

³ Of the nine surviving children of Robert Rose and Frances Taylor Madison Rose all moved south and settled in the territories that became the states of Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi. The youngest of the children, James Madison Rose, like his namesake, was involved in an important national event, though not of the scale and magnitude of his uncle. James Madison Rose, while residing in Tennessee, befriended Davy Crockett, and during the Texas War of Independence joined his friend at The Alamo where he was killed in the 1836 battle (Rose 1985:2, 3).

are placed into age brackets, it is a challenge but not impossible to figure out which children were alive in 1820. All of the male Rose children are accounted for. The females listed include two children between the ages of 0 and 10, one between the ages of 16 and 26, one between the ages of 26 and 45, and Frances Rose listed as older than 45. The eldest of the Rose daughters was Nelly, born sometime around 1803, accounting for the one female in the 16 to 26 bracket. The one female between 26 and 45 is unknown and may have been a servant or another member of the Madison family. The census records indicate that two female children are between the ages of 0 and 10, but in 1820 three of the Rose daughters should have been included in this age bracket. One of these daughters, Frances, is known to have died sometime after 1836, so she would have been present in the 1820 census (Sparacio and Sparacio 1988:75). Ann Fitzhugh Rose and Mary M. Rose are known to have died young, but the location where they died is not known. A careful analysis of the census records indicates that one of these two daughters died prior to December 1820 in Orange County and was possibly buried in an unmarked grave in the family cemetery.

The Family of Francis Madison

Francis Madison is, as Ralph Ketcham describes him, the "shadowy figure" in the Madison family (1990:370). Other than the basic aspects of his life - his birth, marriage and death - very little is known about him. He was born on June 18, 1753 at Mount Pleasant "on Munday, Morning abt. 7 OClock" and was baptized soon afterwards by the Rev. Mungo Marshall, the pastor of St. Thomas' Parish. His godparents were his uncles Capt. Taverner Beale, Sr. and Erasmus Taylor, his aunt Frances Madison Beale, and his cousin Milly Chew, all members of the surrounding family community (Clark 1958:81; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). Unlike his elder brother James, who attended the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) in 1769 to further his education, Francis chose a different path, and in 1772, at the age of nineteen, he married Susan Bell (Ketcham 1990:25; Massingberd 1975:139). She was the daughter of Capt. William Bell, a local planter and fellow county justice with James Madison, Sr. (Brockman 1959:3; Sparacio and Sparacio 1986a:106). Francis Madison and his new wife resided at Montpelier or on land owned by Capt. Bell in Orange County right after their marriage, but by late 1777 they had settled in Culpeper County (later split off into Madison County in 1793) on land that James Madison, Sr. had recently acquired (Norfleet 1979:174; see Figure 9-16). This land, which Francis named Prospect Hill, was deeded to him by his father in 1778, and in the deed it states that his son already resided on the property (Miller n.d.). On this property, Francis and his wife raised a family of nine children (see Appendix 1).

All the children of Francis and Susan Madison outlived their father who died on April 5, 1800 at Prospect Hill (Clark 1958:83; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). He appears to have died very suddenly after a short illness. One of the few references mentioning Francis in the surviving Madison family correspondence concerns his final illness. In a letter from James Madison, Sr. to Capt. Johnny Scott dated April 4, 1800, he writes:

I have heard, by a messenger I dispatched this morning on purpose, from my son Francis, who was so ill last evening, that I was afraid I – should have heard of his death; he is no better, & I despair of his getting well again (MA 1800).

Francis Madison died the morning after this letter was written and was buried on his Prospect Hill plantation. No gravestones representing descendants of Francis are found in the Madison family cemetery, leading one to believe that he and his family were not buried there. Oral tradition, passed down through his descendants, indicates he is buried at Prospect Hill (Gilbert Queitszch, personal communication 2002; Dove 1975:223; Ann Miller, personal communication 2002).

Francis Madison was probably the first person interred in a small family cemetery, which still exists on the Prospect Hill property. The property has never passed out of the family and is now called Greenway. It is owned by the Queitszch family, who can trace their descent from Francis Madison back through the stepchildren of his daughter Catherine (Kitty) Bell Madison Taliaferro. The cemetery is located in an open field roughly 300 yards south of the main house and surrounded by a modern wooden rail fence (Figure 13). Mr. Gilbert Queitszch, the present owner of the property, states that the modern fence roughly follows an earlier fence line that enclosed the cemetery (personal communication 2002). The cemetery covers an area roughly 45 feet by 45 feet square. One gravestone, with four associated footstones, is present in the cemetery and displays the names of six family members: Francis Madison's daughter Kitty B. Madison, her husband Dr. Alex. S. Taliaferro (1798-1855), their son Fitzhugh Taliaferro (1828-1923) and his wife Sarah F. Twyman (1834-1871) and two of Fitzhugh's daughters Bettie T. Taliaferro (1870-1871) and Sallie W. Taliaferro (1862-1890).⁴ The gravestone appears to mark the last

⁴ Of the six names found on the gravestone all include their dates of birth and death except Catherine (Kitty) Bell Madison Taliaferro. No dates are present for her on the gravestone possibly indicating that she was buried elsewhere. A woman by the name of Catherine Taliferro [sic], age 70, is listed in the 1860 census living in Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania County, Virginia (USCO, Spotsylvania County [SC] census 1860:319). The exact year in which Catherine was born is not documented in family records, but a guardian account found for her in the Madison County court records indicates she probably turned 18 in late 1809, placing her birth sometime in 1791 (Sparacio and Sparacio 1986b:98). The age found in the 1860 census fits with this birth date. Catherine was the second wife of Dr. Alexander Spotswood Taliaferro. His first wife was Sally Ware Walker. The Catherine found in the census is living in the same household as Thomas R. Ware, age 45, and William Ware, age 40. The

FIGURE 13



Francis Madison Cemetery at Prospect Hill (Greenway)

of Francis Madison's descendants who were buried in the cemetery. A total of twelve fieldstone markers without inscriptions are scattered throughout the cemetery, associated, in some cases, with grave depressions. These fieldstones may mark the burials of Francis Madison, his wife, and some of their children and their families (Figure 14).⁵

exact relationship, if any, between Thomas and William found in the census and Dr. Taliaferro's first wife Sally is not known, but they may have been her nephews, adding a another piece of circumstantial evidence indicating that the woman in the census and Francis Madison's daughter are the same woman. Dr. Taliaferro's only son Joseph Fitzhugh Taliaferro, Catherine's step-son, was deeded Prospect Hill in 1854 and married Sarah Twyman sometime in 1858 or 1859. He made his home on the property, possibly one reason why his step-mother chose to move elsewhere. It appears that Catherine lived in Fredericksburg up until her death. A gravestone found in the churchyard at St. George's Episcopal Church in Fredericksburg reads: "Catherine Taliaferro Born 29th January 1791 Died 21st November 1869 Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord" (Quenzel 1951:114). ⁵ Catherine (Kitty) Bell Madison inherited the main house at Prospect Hill, along with the cemetery, and a part of the larger tract of land after the death of her mother Susan in 1834 (MA 1834:212-213).

Due to the lack of historical documentation it is almost impossible to explain why Francis Madison was buried at Prospect Hill and not in the family cemetery at Montpelier. Was it a specific choice he made before he died, or was it a matter of necessity on the part of his wife who was responsible for his burial? Something can be said for both views. Ralph Ketcham's biography of James Madison, Jr. implies that Francis was an aloof character who kept his distance from the rest of the family:

Francis, two years his [James Madison, Jr.'s] junior, is a shadowy figure almost never mentioned in family correspondence. No letters survive between him and his older brother. He married a local girl in 1772, established himself on a farm a few miles from Montpelier, and before his death in 1800 had at least four sons and five daughters, who together with their children shared in James Madison's estate in 1836. Otherwise, Francis Madison leaves no mark and apparently had little to do with his father's other children or with their affairs (1990:370).

Whether the lack of surviving correspondence is due to poor preservation or whether there never was any correspondence in the first place is impossible to know. The 'shadowy' Francis may have chosen to distance himself from his family, living the life of a simple farmer on the land he received from his father, but does this also imply that he chose to be buried in a cemetery apart from his family? At the time of his death only his grandparents, Ambrose and Frances Madison, his brother Ambrose and wife Mary along with one of their daughters, and his five young siblings were buried in the cemetery at Montpelier. The connection that Francis felt towards the family cemetery may not have been very strong. The increased focus on

The rest of the Prospect Hill property was divided between her other siblings. Two of her brothers never married and probably were buried at Prospect Hill: James F. Madison committed suicide sometime between 1827 and 1830 at Prospect Hill (Ann Miller, personal communication 2002); and William Madison lived well into his 70s, dying sometime between 1850 and 1860 in Madison County, possibly at Prospect Hill (USCO, Madison County [MC] census 1850:96). Three of Catherine's siblings, Nelly, Mary and Reuben, married and moved out of the area. The final three siblings married and lived out the rest of their lives in Madison County. Her sisters Elizabeth and Frances married into the Shepherd family and died in the Madison County area near Prospect Hill. Her brother Catlett M. Madison married Winny S. Routt in 1807 and made their home on part of the Prospect Hill property he inherited from his father and mother. They had no children and died sometime between 1850 and 1860 (96).

FIGURE 14



Taliaferro Gravestone and Fieldstone Markers in Francis Madison Cemetery

the cemetery by the family may have only come after James Madison, Sr. and other family members were buried there.

The burial of Francis Madison at Prospect Hill may best be understood within the framework of burial practices explicated in Chapter II. His family may have made a conscious choice to place his burial on his own plantation, to create a family cemetery apart from the rest of his family, following in the footsteps of the Taylor family and the cemeteries Francis's aunts Frances Madison Beale Hite and Elizabeth Madison Willis Beale created on their own plantations. After Francis was buried at Prospect Hill, his wife and the rest of his family continued to use the cemetery due to the fact that he was buried there. It was a burial practice based on tradition that had deep roots in Virginia society. But this tradition also had its roots in necessity, and as the short story at the beginning of this chapter implies, Francis Madison may have been buried at Prospect Hill due to other circumstances outside of his or his family's control.

Francis Madison died in the spring, a time when the flowers begin to bloom, a deep green grass begins to unfold from its winter hibernation, and with the coming of spring showers the rivers begin to rise. Located between Prospect Hill in Madison County and Montpelier in Orange County is the dividing line of the Rapidan River (see Figure 9). The river has many personalities depending on the season. During the hot dry summer a person could skip across it from stone to stone without getting his feet wet, but during the late winter and into the spring, with the thawing of the snows and the fresh rains, the river can live up to its historic name – the Rapid Ann (Scott 1974[1907]:114; Hagemann 1988:206). In 1800, there were no bridges over the river connecting the two counties. The only means of crossing was by fording the river. The closest ford, called Barnett's Ford, where the main road between the court houses of Orange and Madison crossed the river, was located on the southern edge of the Prospect Hill plantation. So if the river was up, and the ford impassable, the family would have, out of necessity, buried Francis Madison where he is found today.

Strong evidence for the necessity factor can be found in the weather journals that James Madison, Jr. kept for the period between 1798 and 1802. The journals show that rainfall was average during the last weeks of March and early April 1800, but what is of particular interest is the entry for April 5th, the day Francis died. The entry states that there was "Much Thunder & Lightening, with Hail & Rain all Night" (American Philosophical Society Library 1798-1802). A little over an inch of rain fell over night. With the slightest amount of rain the fast moving Rapidan can be a treacherous river to cross. The combination of all the elements of the weather – thunder, lightening, hail and rain – may have been enough for Susan Bell Madison to decide not to attempt to cross the river with her husband's coffin in the back of a wagon. She had already suffered from the loss of his life and did not want to possibly suffer the loss of his corpse, watching it float down the swift flowing Rapidan after the wagon overturned.

Whichever the case may be, whether the burial of Francis Madison at Prospect Hill was due to necessity brought about by the weather, or whether his family chose to start their own tradition with the burial of their husband and father on their own plantation, it affected the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier. Once his body was laid to rest in the ground at Prospect Hill the future of that cemetery was sealed with every new burial of a son or daughter or grandchild. His grave was the inception of the tradition and his family had no need for the cemetery at Montpelier. The cemetery at Montpelier was for their cousins while the one at Prospect Hill was their own.

One interesting aspect concerning the use of the family cemetery at Montpelier and the creation of the cemetery at Prospect Hill is the fact that Francis' brother William also lived in Madison County, on his property Woodberry Forest (see Figure 9-23), but he and his family used the cemetery at Montpelier, as will be discussed later in this chapter. The deciding difference between the two is that William Madison outlived his wife and most of his children and probably made the choice to bury his family at Montpelier, whereas Francis was outlived by his wife and children and had no choice in the matter. When Francis died his wife Susan made the decision, out of necessity and/or tradition, to bury him at Prospect Hill.

To Be - Those Who Were Buried in the Cemetery

This section will explore the genealogies and histories of three offspring of James Madison, Sr.: Sarah Catlett Madison Macon, Ambrose Madison and William Madison. The genealogies of the families combined with information from the gravestones and the historical record will be used to construct the use history of the cemetery. The families and descendants of Sarah, Ambrose and William comprise most of the community of the dead found within the Madison family cemetery. Through the use of a genealogical narrative the family members buried in unmarked and undocumented graves can be made to speak through the construction of the historical context.

The Family of Sarah Catlett Madison Macon

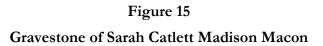
The family of Sarah Catlett Madison Macon contributed at least fourteen burials to the Madison family cemetery community of the dead, of which six are marked with gravestones and eight are unmarked (Table 6). The grave of Sarah Madison Macon (Figure 15) is the only child of James Madison, Sr., other than James Madison, Jr., that is marked in the cemetery. Her gravestone, unlike the one placed above her brother's grave some 20 years after his death, appears to have been placed soon after her death. Her husband, Thomas Macon, is also buried in the cemetery with a marker, along with two of their offspring and their wives: Lucy

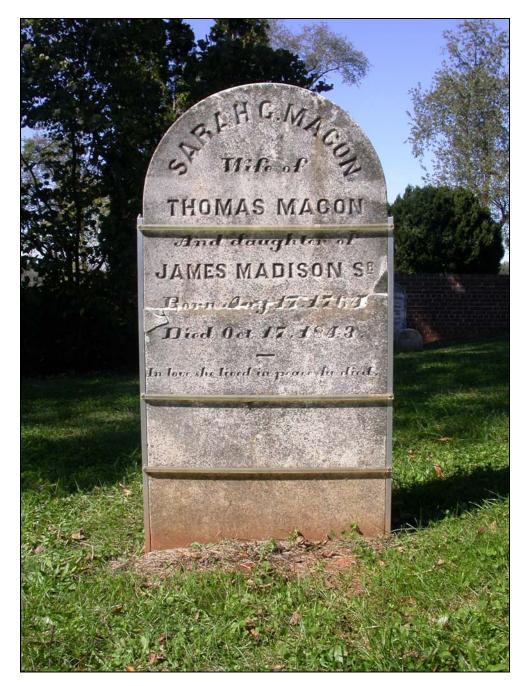
TABLE 6						
Sarah Macon Family Burials in Madison Family Cemetery						
Name	Death Date	Grave rendering	Family Relationship			
MACON, Francis Edward	14 Apr 1800	Possible Unmarked	Son			
MACON, Elizabeth	25 Feb 1805	Possible Unmarked	Daughter			
MACON, Sarah Elizabeth	22 Jul 1831	Possible Unmarked	Granddaughter			
CONWAY, Reuben	3 Jan 1838	Marked	Son-in-law			
MACON, Thomas	26 Feb 1838	Marked	Husband			
MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison	17 Oct 1843	Marked	Root Person			
MACON, Reuben Conway	1 May 1853	Possible Unmarked	Son			
MACON, Henry	12 Oct 1853	Possible Unmarked	Son			
MACON, William Ambrose	3 Apr 1856	Possible Unmarked	Son			
MACON, Edgar	21 Jul 1861	Possible Unmarked	Grandson			
CONWAY, Lucy Hartwell Macon	13 May 1871	Marked	Daughter			
MACON, James Hartwell Madison Sr.	3 Feb 1877	Marked	Son			
MACON, Lucetta Todd Newman	1 Jan 1878	Marked	Daughter-in-law			
MACON, Thomas Newman	1899	Possible Unmarked	Grandson			

Hartwell Macon Conway and her husband Reuben Conway, and James Hartwell Madison Macon and his wife Lucetta Todd Newman Macon. The construction of the family genealogy traces out the history of this nuclear family, fleshing out the community of the living who buried their loved ones and were buried in the marked and unmarked graves found within the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier.

Sarah Catlett Madison was the second oldest daughter and seventh child of James Madison, Sr. and Nelly Conway Madison. She was born at Montpelier on August 17, 1764 and continued to reside on the property until her marriage on February 4, 1790 (Clark 1958:82; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871; VHS, Genealogy of the Macon Family [GMF] n.d.). She married Thomas Macon,⁶ who was from Hanover

⁶ Even though Thomas Macon was born and raised in Hanover County, Virginia, he had strong ties to Orange County. His grandmother was Lucy Scott Macon (1737-1802), the daughter of Capt. John Scott and his second wife Elizabeth, who are discussed in Chapter II. Capt. Scott created the plantation of Clifton, which was adjacent to the original patent land of Ambrose Madison and Thomas Chew in the Southwest Mountains of Orange County. The burial of Capt. Scott's first wife





Jane is marked in the family cemetery at Clifton. Johnny Scott (1718-abt 1805), a half-brother of Lucy Scott Macon, still resided at Clifton when his great-nephew Thomas Macon married Sarah Catlett Madison at Montpelier (Miller 1988:31).

County, and raised a family of nine children, the first of which, James Hartwell Madison Macon, was born at Montpelier on July 3, 1791 (VHS, GMF n.d.). The exact whereabouts of their residence after 1791 is unknown, but by 1799 they are found in Orange County with their growing family. In that year the family acquired a 1,800 acre tract of land just two miles west of Montpelier called Somerset (Miller 1988:91; see Figure 9-17).

By 1799, there were already five children in the family, and this number would continue to grow; but in 1800 the first member of Sarah Macon's family was buried in the cemetery at Montpelier. On April 14, 1800, just nine days after Sarah Macon lost her older brother Francis, her own son named Francis Edward died (VHS, Thomas Macon, Sr. Bible [TMB] 1694-1877). The child was only seven months old. The historical record is silent concerning where this infant son was buried, but if the family was living at Somerset then his remains were presumably interred at Montpelier. The plantation house at Somerset was constructed by 1803, though the family already resided on the property before that time, possibly as early as the spring of 1800 (Miller 1988:91).

Less than a year after the death of Francis Edward another son, Edgar, was born on February 9, 1801. He was the sixth son of Sarah and Thomas Macon (VHS, GMF n.d.; VHS, TMB 1694-1877). His birth came just a few days before the death of his grandfather James Madison, Sr. on February 27th. Three more followed Edgar, a daughter Elizabeth in 1803, and two sons, Henry in 1805, and the last of the children, Reuben Conway in 1808 (VHS, GMF n.d.; VHS, TMB 1694-1877). Before the last two sons were born their sister Elizabeth died on February 25, 1805, after celebrating her first birthday that past November. Historical documents do not indicate the whereabouts of her burial, but the later use of the Madison family cemetery by Sarah Macon's family seems to indicate that Elizabeth was buried there also. The location of Francis Edward's burial at Montpelier is speculative since in 1800 the location of the family's residence is uncertain, but the death of Elizabeth in 1805, some two years after the house at Somerset was constructed, indicates the likelihood that her grave is contained within the cemetery at Montpelier.

Francis Edward and Elizabeth were the only children of Sarah Madison Macon to die in childhood. With the two earliest burials described and before the history and genealogy of the other seven offspring are discussed, one must understand the inception of the nuclear family's use of the larger family community cemetery. The burials of Sarah and Thomas Macon, though they were not the first from their family to be buried, were the first to be marked, and because of this can be considered the focal point for the tradition of use. Thomas Macon died on February 26, 1838 at Somerset and was buried in the family cemetery with a marker placed above his grave (VHS, TMB 1694-1877). Soon after his death the Somerset property was auctioned "to satisfy numerous debts on the estate" (Miller 1988:91). Sarah and three of her grown unmarried sons - William, Henry and Reuben continued to live at Somerset until 1840 where they are found together with their mother as the head of the household (USCO, OC 1840:15). By the time Sarah died on October 17, 1843, she was living with her daughter Lucy Macon Conway at Greenwood in Orange County. An obituary clipping found in the family bible that bears her name recounts her life and her last moments:

DIED, in Orange county, at the residence of Mrs. Conway, her daughter, on Tuesday evening, the 17th ult., Mrs. Sarah Catlett Macon, the relict of the late Thomas Macon, and the last surviving sister of the late President Madison, in the 80th year of her age. The immediate cause of her death was a paralysis, with which she was stricken several weeks previous to her dissolution ... In the course of her long and eventful life she had seen a variety of fortune. But in the time of her prosperity she was never known to be elated, nor in the time of her adversity was she ever seen to be cast down. Resignation to her lot, and cheerfulness in all circumstances, however adverse, characterized her till she closed her career on earth (VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871).

Soon after her death she was buried in the Madison family cemetery beside her husband and amongst the other members of her family.

Lucy Hartwell Macon Conway was the fourth child of Thomas and Sarah Macon. She was born on February 21, 1794 and married Reuben Conway⁷ on July 25, 1811 in Orange County (VHS, TMB 1694-1877; Clark 1958:84; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). Soon after their marriage they resided at Greenwood, a plantation that her father Thomas acquired for her in parts in 1812 and 1815 (Miller 1988:102). Greenwood lies directly east of Montpelier (see Figure 9-18). Reuben Conway died at Greenwood on January 3, 1838, a little over a month before his father-in-law Thomas Macon. His obituary states that he died "very suddenly … in the 50th year of his age" but the root cause of his demise may have started earlier in life (VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). In a letter from Nelly Conway Madison Willis to her aunt, Dolley Madison, in Washington, D.C. dated July 14, 1812, Nelly writes, "Reuben Conway drinking himself to death and his wife Lucy much distressed" (GHS 1812).

Besides this one negative glimpse, Reuben Conway's life appears to have been quite normal. Reuben was one of the pallbearers for James Madison, Jr. (Jennings 1983[1865]:51) and participated in local family and community activities, living the life of a simple farmer, which, as his obituary states, was "an occupation which seemed peculiarly congenial to his disposition" (VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871).

⁷ Reuben Conway and his wife Lucy Hartwell Macon Conway were second cousins. Reuben's grandfather, Francis Conway, Jr., was the brother of Nelly Conway Madison, the grandmother of Lucy (Massingberd 1975:142).

In his obituary, with its flowery prose, his life is seen as one of generosity and

benevolence:

A devoted husband, an affectionate relation, a sincere friend, a humane master, an obliging neighbor and a useful citizen – his loss will long be felt and deplored ... Under his hospitable roof the stranger and the friend ever met a warm and cordial welcome, and the friendless and destitute found an asylum and a home (VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871).

The epitaph on his gravestone is one of the longest found in the cemetery and reveals the emotions the family, and particularly his wife Lucy, had concerning his death:

He fed the hungry and the / naked clothed / Relieved the distressed and the / wretched soothed / The orphan on his grave will / shed the tear / The poor have cause to bless his / name in prayer (Chapman and Baxter 2000).

Through such commemorative devices as obituaries and gravestone epitaphs

the living community who buried their dead in the Madison family cemetery expressed their thoughts and feelings. Fond memories and reflections on human mortality glossed over the more indecorous aspects of reality. The obituaries and epitaphs also reveal the changing views towards death in the 19th century. No longer does one see the matter-of-fact reporting of death as exemplified in the James Madison, Jr. letter describing the death of his two young siblings Elizabeth and Reuben (see Chapter II). A more romantic view of mortality stressing individualism can be seen in the obituaries and epitaphs. The construction of the community of the dead found in the Madison family cemetery is not just a genealogical exercise, but must take into consideration the historical and cultural context in which each burial occurred.

On the south face of the obelisk that contains the epitaph for Reuben Conway is the simple inscription (Figure 16):



Figure 16 Lucy Hartwell Macon Conway Gravestone Inscription

She died at Greenwood where she lived with her unmarried nephew Thomas Newman Macon, the son of her older brother James Hartwell Madison Macon (USCO, OC 1870:295). The last entry in the family bible simply states that she "departed this life Saturday May 13th [between] 10-4 P.M. 1871" (VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). Lucy had received her mother's family bible and had continued to add entries and obituary clippings, providing an invaluable historical resource. But with her death there are no obituary clippings to add any insight into her life. All that is found is the last entry in the bible written for her in a different hand.⁸

⁸ After Lucy Macon Conway's death in 1871 the Sarah Madison Macon family bible was no longer used to record the deaths within the family and instead became a family heirloom. It was donated to

Before Lucy Macon Conway died and the family bible was relegated to heirloom status three of her younger brothers passed away in Orange County. All three, William Ambrose, Henry and Reuben, are found in the 1840 census living with their mother presumably at Somerset (USCO, OC 1840:15). Sometime during the 1840s, Reuben Conway Macon acquired land in the county, for in the 1850 census he is found with his two brothers William Ambrose and Henry living on this property. Reuben's occupation is listed as a farmer and his brother William Ambrose is a carpenter (USCO, OC 1850:264). None of the three brothers ever married. Within a few years of the 1850 census, all three brothers had passed away. Reuben died in 1853. His obituary states that he died "at his residence in Orange county, on the 1st day of May ... beloved and respected by all who knew him" (VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). On October 12th of that same year Henry died (VHS, TMB 1694-1877), and on April 3, 1856, William Ambrose Macon, the last of Lucy's younger brothers died. It is not known where Henry died, but William's obituary mentions that he passed away "at the residence of his sister" (VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871), possibly indicating that both Henry and William Ambrose resided at Greenwood after the death of their brother Reuben. Since all three brothers died in Orange County one can assume that they were buried at Montpelier, joining the graves of their parents and other family members.

Of the seven offspring of Sarah and Thomas Macon who lived to maturity, five are buried, along with members of their families, within the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier. Four have already been discussed. James Hartwell Madison

the Virginia Historical Society on March 25, 1954 by Eugenia Newman Knox, the wife of Lucy's great-grandnephew Conway Macon Knox (Clark 1958:80).

Macon, though he was the first born child of Sarah and Thomas Macon is the last of the five to be discussed in this section. Both James and his wife Lucetta Todd Newman are buried in the Madison family cemetery, and the possibility exists that their oldest son Thomas Newman Macon was also buried there in an unmarked grave. James and Lucetta were married on October 10, 1815 in Orange County (LVA, *Richmond Enquirer* [RE] 1815). They resided at Mount Athos, a plantation located between Somerset and Montpelier, where they are found in the 1820 census (Brockman 1959:54; USCO, OC 1820:80; see Figure 9-19). The young family in 1820 included only two children, Thomas Newman born in 1816, and Lucy Conwayella born on July 12, 1819 (VHS, GMF n.d.). Four additional children were born after 1820 with the last one, Reuben Conway Madison Macon, born on May 14, 1838 (Hurst 1998:327; Klein 1979:9). Of the six children, only two will be discussed in this section, the eldest child, Thomas Newman Macon, and the youngest, Reuben Conway Madison Macon. The four other children moved out of Orange County and died elsewhere in Virginia.⁹

In 1843, James and Lucetta Macon lost Mount Athos when the property was sold to pay off debts. They were not homeless long for in 1844 Lucetta's brother James Barbour Newman deeded to her a tract of land in Orange County called

⁹ The other four children of James and Lucetta Macon were: (1) Lucy Conwayella Macon Knox (1819-1872) who married Dr. John Knox (1817-1889) on July 4, 1846 and resided briefly in Orange County (VHS, GMF; LVA, RBBP; Brockman 1959:53). Sometime between 1850 and 1860 Lucy and her family moved to Richmond, Virginia (USCO, OC 1850:255; USCO, HC 1860:813). Lucy, along with her husband and three of their four children were buried at Hollywood Cemetery (LVA, RBBP); (2) Sarah Frances Macon Goss Hill (1824-Aft 1885). She married first, John W. Goss, on Sept. 15, 1853, and then second, Thomas Hill of Culpeper, Virginia (VHS, GMF; Brockman 1959:53). Thomas was the brother of Confederate General A. P. Hill (Jones 1974:64); (3) Edgar Barbour Macon (1830-1923) married Virginia A. Cason (1833-1905) and resided in Princess Anne County, Virginia, where they died (Brockman 1959:53); and (4) James Hartwell Madison Macon, Jr. (Abt 1833-Aft 1885) married Jennie McLean Bridges and moved to Richmond, Virginia, sometime prior to 1885. His descendants can still be found in the city. A number of his family members are buried at Hollywood Cemetery (LVA, RBBP).

Montchere (Brockman 1959:56). The location of Montchere is unknown, though it is very possible that it was a part of the original Mount Athos property (Ann Miller, personal communication 2003). James Hartwell Madison Macon died at Montchere on February 3, 1877, and his wife Lucetta Todd Newman Macon died less than a year later on January 1, 1878 (VHS, TMB 1694-1877; Chapman and Baxter 2000). When their parents died, the eldest son Thomas and the youngest, Reuben, were living with them. Thomas never married. Sometime in the 1840s, probably in 1843 when Mount Athos was sold, he moved in with his aunt Lucy Macon Conway at Greenwood. He is found there in the 1850 census and continued to reside with his aunt until her death in 1871 (USCO, OC 1850:258; USCO, OC 1870:295). In the 1880 census he is found living in a house next door to his brother Reuben, presumably on the Montchere property that he inherited from his mother (USCO, OC 1880:228). Thomas appears to have continued to live at Montchere until his death in 1899 (VHS, GMF n.d.). No gravestone exists in the county marking his final resting place. Due to the fact that he never married and had no family of his own one can assume that he was buried in the Madison family cemetery beside the graves of his parents, grandparents and other family members. His burial was probably undertaken by his younger brother Reuben, the only immediate family member living in Orange County at the time.

Reuben Conway Madison Macon and his family were not buried in the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier. They are included in this discussion since their burials at Graham Cemetery, the proprietary cemetery located on the outskirts of the town of Orange, reveals a shift in the use of the family cemetery at Montpelier. Even though the descendants of family members buried at Montpelier were still living in the area, such as Reuben and his family, they chose not to be buried in the family cemetery. Instead, they created their own small family plots in the larger community cemeteries. By the late 19th and early 20th century most of the county residents used the large community cemeteries of Graham Cemetery outside of the town of Orange (see Figure 9-21), and Maplewood Cemetery, located outside of Gordonsville (see Figure 9-22). These two cemeteries contain numerous descendants of the Madison family.

Reuben Macon, after serving in the Confederate army during the Civil War, married Emma Cassandra Riely in 1865 and resided in Orange County at Montchere (Hurst 1998:327; Brockman 1959:53). In the 1870 census, Reuben is listed as the head of a household that contained his wife, two of their children, and his elderly parents (USCO, OC 1870:302). Reuben and Emma had seven children. The first, Emily, was born on October 20, 1866, and the last child Evelyn was born in May 1882 (Brockman 1959:54; USCO, OC 1900:75). Reuben and his family resided at Montchere until 1883 when he acquired Chestnut Hill, a property located just south of the town of Orange (Miller 1988:21). His family attended Saint Thomas' Episcopal Church where Reuben was a member of the vestry, like his greatgrandfather James Madison, Sr. had been many years before him (Warren 1933:39). Reuben died on March 21, 1927 and was buried at Graham Cemetery, leaving behind six of his seven children and his wife (National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution [NSDAR], Freedom Hill Chapter [FHC] 1978a:43). His son Latimer Small Macon had died five years before his father on January 19, 1922 and was the first member of the family to be buried at Graham (43). Three of Reuben's other children and their families were also eventually buried at Graham along with

his wife Emma who died on January 13, 1942 at the advanced age of ninety-four (43).

In this section twelve of the fourteen burials associated with Sarah Macon have been discussed so far (see Table 6). In order to understand why the last two burials are included in the list one must delve into the history of Sarah and Thomas Macon's offspring who left the Orange County area. Two sons left the area and died elsewhere, but even so, they were members of the living community whose lives are representative of the cultural, social and economic dynamics which shaped the history of the Madison family cemetery.

The first son to leave was Edgar Macon. In a poignant note found in the

Thomas Macon family bible his father describes his departure:

Somerset House Orange County June 30th 1823 This day My Dear Son Edgar Macon, left this house and parted with his Parents, and set off on his journey to St. Augustain [sic], to qualify to his Commission as Attorney General of the Territory of East Florida. My wishes, my prayers, my hopes, shall follow my dear Son, this is all that I can do, and every thing else I must leave to that Blessed power that worketh all things after the Counsels of his own will Thomas Macon (VHS, TMB 1694-1877).

At the age of 22, Edgar Macon departed for Florida and as Thomas and Sarah bid

farewell to their son they well realized that it would possibly be the last time they

ever lay eyes on him. Unfortunately, that was the case, for he died in Florida on

November 11, 1829. His obituary is found in the Richmond Whig:

[Died] At Key West, in Florida, on the 11th inst. Col. EDGAR MACON, Counsellor and Attorney at Law ... Every exertion was made by his friends during his illness to afford him comfort and consolation, and, if possible, to effect his recovery; but it was decreed otherwise, and he sunk to an early grave in the 27th year of his age (Clark 1958:83; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871; McIlwaine 1974:50).

In 1823, when Sarah and Thomas Macon bid farewell to their son the pain and sorrow they felt at his departure was exacerbated by other concerns. The exact reasons why Edgar sought a law career in Florida are not known. One reason may have been the economic conditions in Virginia during the 1820s. Ralph Ketcham describes the effect that the "calamitous consequences of agricultural depression" had on James Madison, Jr. and the surrounding family community:

An unusual number of poor harvests during the eighteen-twenties, the steady exhaustion of the soil, and competition from rapidly opening rich farm lands in the West intensified the distress. Always short of cash, Virginia planters found it increasingly difficult to derive anything like the needed amount of coin for their crops. Farmers, large and small, faced grim alternatives: sale of land, sale of slaves, emigration, or impoverishment. Madison saw the results all around him: his sister Frances and her husband moved to Alabama; his nephew Robert Madison sought to go to New Orleans for his law career; his nieces increasingly married merchants and professional men living in cities; his Taylor cousins moved almost en masse to Kentucky ... many of Madison's neighbors were virtually reduced to being breeders of slaves for sale "down the river"; and both Jefferson and Monroe went broke. The prosperous way of life Virginia had known for nearly two centuries seemed in the eighteen-twenties to be near its end (1990:623).

The Macons were not immune to this distress and shared in its deprivations. As early as 1818 they were struggling financially, but they were able to hold out throughout their last years, not succumbing to their mounting debts until Thomas died in 1838 (Brockman 1959:57).

The second son of Sarah and Thomas Macon who left the area and was not buried in the Madison family cemetery was Conway Catlett Macon. Even though he and his family left the county by the late 1840s, two of his children are possibly found within the Montpelier cemetery's community of the dead. Conway was the second eldest child, born on October 15, 1792 (VHS, TMB 1694-1877; VHS, GMF n.d.). He served during the War of 1812, guarding the banks of the Potomac River, and when he returned home married Agnes Mayo on March 9, 1816, in Henrico County (Clark 1958:83; LVA, RBBP n.d.). Conway lived in Orange County for most of his life, but sometime around 1848 he sold his property, called Mount Erin, and moved to Norfolk County, Virginia, where he is found in the 1850 census with his family (Brockman 1959:54; USCO, Norfolk County [NC] census 1850:242). By 1854, the family was living in Richmond, Virginia, for in October of that year their second oldest child, Ellen Ann Macon, was married in the city to Felix H. Cave (LVA, RBBP n.d.). In the 1860 census, Conway and his family are found in Richmond where he is listed as a "Wharehouse Inspector" (USCO, HC 1860:330). The job title is explained in his obituary which appeared in a July 1860 ¹⁰ Richmond

newspaper:

Died – We regret much to have to announce the death of an estimable citizen, Conway C. Macon. He died suddenly at his residence on 7th street, near Grace, Thursday evening, in the 68th year of his age.

Mr. Macon was born in the county of Orange, A. D. 1792, where he spent the larger portion of his life. Of late years he resided in Richmond, and filled with ability the important office of tobacco inspector at Seabrook's warehouse. He was a nephew of President Madison, and a perfect type of an Old Virginia gentleman (Clark 1958:83; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871).

Conway was buried in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, and was survived by his

wife Agnes and four children. In 1869, his wife joined him in the family plot in

Hollywood where three of their children are also buried (LVA, RBBP n.d.).¹¹

¹⁰ Conway Catlett Macon died on June 28, 1860, yet he appears in the 1860 census where the census taker visited his house on July 12, 1860 (USCO, HC 1860:330, Household #613). The explanation for why he is still included in the census, even though by July 12 he is already dead, is due to the fact that the census portrays the members who are in a household on a certain date during the year. The date for the 1860 census was June 1, so what is seen in the census is a tabulation of the household as it existed on that date. The 1820 census represented the population during the whole month of August. For the 1830 through 1900 censuses the date of June 1 was used. In 1910 the date of April 15 was used and then in 1920 the census reflects the population on the date of January 1. This last date was used for all subsequent censuses up through the present.

¹¹ Agnes Mayo Macon (1796-1869), along with her three daughters Sarah Elizabeth Macon (1816-1831), Ellen Ann Macon Cave (abt 1824-1875), and Lucy Conway Macon Washington (1834-1887), have gravestones in the Macon family plot in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia. The youngest daughter, Josephine Macon, was born about 1836 for in the 1860 census she is listed as being 24 years old and in the 1850 census she is 15 years old (USCO, HC 1860:330; USCO, NC 1850:242). Other than finding her in the censuses nothing else is known about this daughter. Genealogical sources indicate that she possibly married a man by the name of Smith and moved out of the Virginia area, dying sometime after 1877 (LVA, RBBP). The burial location of Ellen's husband Felix H. Cave is not known, but one of their daughters, Agnes Macon Cave (1855-1856) is buried in the Cave family cemetery at Montebello in Orange County (Klein 1979:76). Lucy's husband Wallace Washington (1834-1894), and her three children Conway Macon Washington (1865-1867), Wallace Barron Washington (Feb. 15, 1869-Oct. 23, 1869), and Cecelia Washington (1871-1958) are all buried in the Hollywood Cemetery family plot (LVA, RBBP).

Conway and Agnes Macon had a total of five children, all of whom were born in Orange County. The burial locations of two of the five children are not known. A daughter named Sarah Elizabeth died on July 22, 1831 at Mount Erin in Orange County (LVA, RBBP n.d.; Clark 1958:83; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871; Brockman 1959:53). Since she died near the family cemetery at Montpelier one could speculate that she was buried there, but in Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond there is a gravestone for her in the Macon family plot (LVA, RBBP n.d.). The existence of her gravestone seems to settle the issue, but there is one glaring problem. At the time of her death in 1831, Hollywood Cemetery did not exist, and would not until 1847 (Mitchell 1985:8).

Two possible solutions for this problem can be speculatively constructed from the historical record. The first assumes she was buried in the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier at the time of her death in 1831. After the death of her father and his burial in Hollywood Cemetery, a gravestone was erected to commemorate her life even though her remains were not located there. The second possibility is that Sarah's remains were removed from the Madison family cemetery, and the gravestone does in fact mark her grave. If her remains were disinterred it possibly occurred around the same time that President Madison's obelisk was placed in the family cemetery. During the 1850s, the board of directors of Hollywood Cemetery decided that to increase the prestige of their financially struggling cemetery they would attempt to acquire the remains of three Virginia presidents – Jefferson, Madison and Monroe (Mitchell 1985:39; VHS, Minutes, Hollywood Cemetery Company [MHCC] 1847-1868:245, 356). They were successful in having the remains of Monroe removed from New York to Richmond in 1858, but Madison and Jefferson remain buried in their respective family cemeteries (Mitchell 1985:39). Conway Catlett Macon, one of the few surviving relations of the president still living in Virginia at the time, may have been involved with the discussions concerning the removal of James Madison, Jr.'s remains and then the subsequent marking of the president's grave. On September 15, 1857, the obelisk was placed in the family cemetery. The monument was carved by John W. Davies, a Richmond artisan who had close ties to Hollywood Cemetery. When the obelisk was brought by train from Richmond to Orange County, on the return trip the exhumed remains of Sarah Elizabeth Macon may have been brought to Hollywood Cemetery (see Chapter IV).

The last child of Conway and Agnes Macon who has not already been discussed is their only son Edgar, possibly named for his uncle who died in Florida. He was born in Orange County in 1827 and graduated from the Virginia Military Academy in Lexington, Virginia, about 1845 (Hurst 1998:327; LVA, Samuel French Bassett Biographical Sketches [SFBBS] n.d.). He is found with his family in Norfolk County in 1850 and is living in the household of his father in Richmond in 1860 with his wife Jane (USCO, NC 1850:242; USCO, HC 1860:330). Edgar and Jane had one son, also named Edgar, born on June 18, 1861 (LVA, SFBBS n.d.). Edgar Macon may never have seen his son for on July 21, 1861 he was killed at the First Battle of Manassas (Hurst 1998:327).

The possibility exists that Edgar Macon may have been buried in the Madison family cemetery. His body was carried from the battlefield and brought to Orange County. The 1861 Diary of Miss Fannie Page Hume provides an account of the battle's aftermath as experienced in the town of Orange:

Tuesday, July 23 ... Such a horrid sight! A long car loaded with dead and wounded was at the depot, the latter were being carried to the Hospital. Every one was so

anxious and excited. Depot completely crowded. A number of Yankee prisoners were on board ... Another train came up whilst we were there and our noble president, Jefferson Davis, was on board. All rushed forward to shake hands with him. He has a noble countenance and is very affable. He gave me a most hearty handshake. He gave us a beautiful little speech, telling us of our glorious victory, though dearly bought one, as those poor dead and wounded bodies could testify ... Edgar Macon was killed, his body was brought up for burial. I felt so much for his poor mother who was at Aunt Sarah's (Cortada 1983:50-51).

This account places both the remains of Edgar Macon and his grieving mother in Orange County in July 1861. The 'Aunt Sarah' mentioned in the account is Sarah Dade Bull who lived at Rebel Hall (Grymes 1994:17-18; Miller 1988:25).¹² This house, which is still standing in town, is located less than a hundred yards from the railroad tracks, possibly explaining why Agnes Mayo Macon was there on July 23, 1861, keeping vigil for the arrival of her son's remains from Manassas.

Since the account does not mention where Edgar Macon's body was buried and no gravestone exists anywhere in Virginia marking his grave, it is impossible to know with any certainty the location of his burial. The circumstantial evidence provided in the diary account seems to indicate he was buried in Orange County. Graham Cemetery, the local proprietary cemetery outside of the town of Orange has within it a plot containing the graves of unknown Confederate soldiers. Hospitals were located in the town throughout the Civil War and countless numbers of soldiers were buried in unmarked graves. How many were interred at Graham is not known. Passed down in local folklore, a story has been told and retold concerning the unknown Confederate burials and is recounted by Margaret Klein:

¹² Rebel Hall was built about 1849 but didn't acquire its name until sometime during the Civil War. Ann Miller writes in *Antebellum Orange* that Sarah Bull had a number of daughters who "were well known as local belles, and the house became a gathering place for Confederate officers during the Civil War" (1988:25). The 1861 Fannie Hume diary describes another incident related to the war that occurred at Rebel Hall. In May 1861 a train derailed just in front of the house and a number of South Carolinian soldiers were killed and injured. Rebel Hall was used as a hospital for the injured soldiers (Cortada 1983:37).

Caretaker Boots Davis related that long ago he was told by an elderly gentleman that there were 15 soldiers buried in that plot. The graves were extra long, but had been dug by a mule and pan. The old gentleman related that he had seen a wagon pull up and place the fifteen bodies covered by canvas, but without coffins, placed in the graves (1979:2).

In 1978, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, with this 'knowledge' in hand, erected 15 gravestones to mark these unknown soldiers (2). It is very unlikely that Edgar Macon's remains shared the same fate as those buried at Graham Cemetery. Since his mother was present to receive his remains, every effort would have been made to bury him quickly and decently. Where better than the hallowed grounds of his ancestors burial ground? His grave still lies unmarked, that is certain, but it is possibly within the cemetery of his family, where even if a grave is unmarked it is not unknown.

This venture through the genealogy and history of the sons of Sarah and Thomas Macon who left Orange County - Col. Edgar Macon who died in Key West, Florida, and the family of Conway Catlett Macon - reveals the many twists and turns in the events that shaped the Madison family cemetery's community of the dead. Even though the first Edgar Macon died far from home, his eponymous nephew, whom he never knew, may well have taken his place in the family cemetery. After Conway Macon's family left the county they appear to have harbored strong ties to the family cemetery. For those sons and daughters of Sarah and Thomas Macon who resided in Orange County all their lives, who watched their parents and other members of the Madison family pass away and witnessed their burials in the family cemetery, the connection was even more deeply felt.

The Family of Ambrose Madison

As described in the story introducing this chapter, James Madison, Sr. outlived two of his eldest sons, Francis and Ambrose. By 1798, three of the four members of Ambrose Madison's family had died and were buried in the Madison family cemetery - Ambrose, his wife Mary and one of their daughters. Through Nelly Conway Madison Willis, the one daughter that survived him, a number of descendants continued to live in the Orange County area and buried their dead in the cemetery of their ancestors. Besides the three burials mentioned above, an additional 23 descendants of Ambrose Madison are found in the family cemetery at Montpelier (Table 7). Tracing the genealogical ties is a study in complexity. A web of Madison family interrelations exists due to intermarriage between the descendants of Ambrose and his brother William. The descent of sixteen family members can be traced back to both Ambrose and William. Of the 26 family members found in Table 7, thirteen are marked with gravestones and historical documentation verifies the presence of two unmarked graves. Circumstantial evidence indicates that the rest of the possible burials are also included in the cemetery. The evidence which supports this assumption will be discussed in this section, along with the overall genealogy and history of Ambrose Madison's family and descendants.

Ambrose Madison, named for his grandfather, was born on January 27, 1755 at Mount Pleasant. He was baptized on March 2nd and had for godfathers his greatuncle James Coleman and his uncle George Taylor, and for godmothers his aunt Jane Moore Taylor and cousin Alice Chew (Clark 1958: 81; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). While his brother James focused on political service, Ambrose served in the military during the Revolutionary War. In 1775 he is found as a lieutenant in the Culpeper

TABLE 7 Ambrose Madison Family Burials in Madison Family Cemetery					
Name	Death Date	Grave Rendering	Family Relationship	Family Grouping	
MADISON, Unknown Female	1785/1795	Possible Unmarked	Daughter	Ambrose Madison	
MADISON, Ambrose	3 Oct 1793	Possible Unmarked	Root Person	Ambrose Madison	
MADISON, Mary Willis Lee	14 Mar 1798	Documented Unmarked	Wife	Ambrose Madison	
WILLIS, John	1 Apr 1811	Marked	Son-in-law	Ambrose Madison	
LEE, Mary Lee Willis	29 Mar 1836	Marked	Granddaughter	Ambrose Madison	
LEE, John Willis	16 Feb 1837	Marked	Great-grandson	Ambrose Madison	
LEE, Ambrose Madison	26 Mar 1838	Marked	Great-grandson	Ambrose Madison	
LEE, Lucy C.	26 Aug 1855	Marked	Great-granddaughter	Ambrose Madison	
MADISON, Letitia Ramolina Lee	2 Jan 1857	Marked	Great-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
LEE, Mary Willis	13 Apr 1859	Marked	Great-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
LEE, Frances Willis	17 Aug 1859	Marked	Granddaughter-in-law	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison	4 Nov 1862	Documented Unmarked	Daughter	Ambrose Madison	
MADISON, Letitia	1863/1870	Possible Unmarked	2nd great-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Lucy Taliaferro Madison	16 Feb 1868	Marked	Granddaughter-in-law	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Lucie S. Robinson	17 Feb 1869	Marked	Great-granddaughter-in-law	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Claudia	14 Mar 1869	Marked	2nd great-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
MADISON, Mary S. Lee	1871/June 1878	Possible Unmarked	2nd great-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
LEE, John Hancock	11 Sep 1873	Possible Unmarked	Grandson-in-law	Ambrose & William Madison	
LEE, Nelly	6 Jan 1876	Possible Unmarked	Great-granddaughter	Ambrose Madison	
WILLIS, John	9 Dec 1885	Marked	Grandson	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Nellie Ross	12 Apr 1893	Marked	2nd great-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Mary Lee	1908	Possible Unmarked	Great-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Mary Elizabeth Lupton	1910/1920	Possible Unmarked	Great-granddaughter-in-law	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Annie Scott	Aft 1910	Possible Unmarked	2nd great-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, John C. Jr.	10 Nov 1915	Possible Unmarked	Great-grandson	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Bessie Milton	1926	Possible Unmarked	2nd great-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	

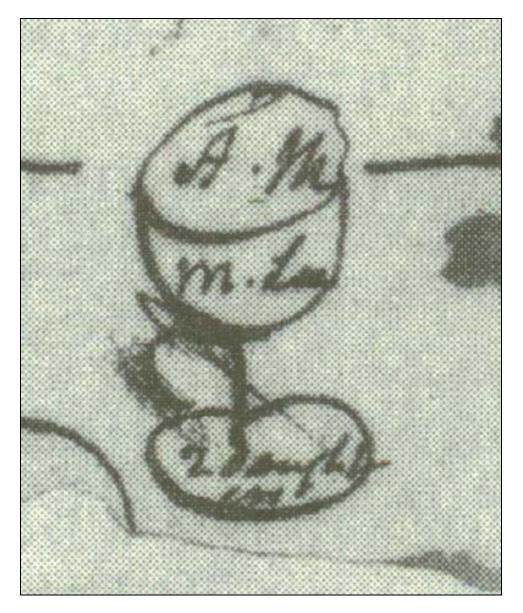
Minutemen and was probably involved in some of the early battles in Virginia (Thomas 1976:26). By 1777 he was serving in the 3rd Virginia Regiment as paymaster (LVA, SFB 1737-1930). Later in 1779 he was promoted to Captain of the Convention Army Guard Regiment stationed in Charlottesville guarding enemy prisoners of war. He was under the command of his cousin Col. Francis Taylor, the son of his great-uncle George Taylor (Scott 1974[1907]:251).

Soon after being furloughed from his duties in Charlottesville he married Mary Willis Lee, a distant cousin (see Chapter II, footnote 12). They were married on November 11, 1779 in Fauquier County, Virginia, and settled soon afterwards on 350 acres of land he received from his father just east of Montpelier (LVA, RBBP n.d.). Ambrose continued to be active in military affairs, serving as a major in the local county militia, but with the arrival of his first daughter, Nelly, on December 29, 1780, his energies focused on his young family (Scott 1974[1907]:262; LVA, SFB 1737-1930). The land Ambrose received from his father was officially deeded to him on March 22, 1781 (Sparacio and Sparacio 1986c:32). Ambrose called his plantation Woodley Vale (see Figure 9-15). The exact date for the construction of the house built on the property, which still stands today, is not known, though family tradition indicates it was built about 1787 (Miller 1988:28). Ambrose and his family resided on the property before this date. In 1782, he is shown on the 350 acres in the Virginia state census and tax lists with two other family members - his wife and young daughter Nelly (Scott 1974[1907]:236).

The early census and tax records also reveal that Ambrose Madison had another child, born sometime between October of 1782 and the next census taken in1785. In 1785, Ambrose is shown as the head of a household of four white family

FIGURE 17

Detail of Genealogical Chart by James Madison, Jr.



Detail of the chart pedigree drawn by James Madison, Jr. (see Figure 10) showing his brother Ambrose Madison (A. M), and his brother's wife Mary Willis Lee Madison (M. Lee), plus a circle for their offspring containing the words "2 daughters".

members (North 1908:98). James Madison, Jr.'s genealogical pedigree chart (Figure 17, see also Figure 10) indicates that his brother Ambrose has two daughters. One of these daughters was Nelly Conway Madison Willis, who Ralph Ketcham says,

"according to family tradition, was James Madison's favorite niece" (1990:370). It would seem that he would have known if his 'favorite niece' had a sister, so the chart pedigree must be correct. The sister appears to have died prior to 1795 and maybe even before the death of her father in 1793. In 1795, Mary is appointed as guardian for Nelly, but there is no mention of another daughter (Brockman 1956:71, 83). The unnamed daughter died as a young child and was probably buried in the Madison family cemetery since, as will be discussed below, her father and mother and later her sister Nelly were all buried there.

Unlike the 'shadowy' brother Francis, Ambrose played a larger role in family affairs. Ralph Ketcham writes that Ambrose "was until his early death a close, congenial, and valued colleague of his politician brother" (1990:370). Due to the fact that James Madison, Jr. was frequently removed from the county with his involvement in national politics, and his next oldest brother Francis seemingly removed himself from the family's affairs, the responsibilities of the eldest son fell upon Ambrose's shoulders. Ketcham explains:

Ambrose helped manage Montpelier, and in every way took part in family affairs and enterprises. He acted as one of his brother's political lieutenants locally, but was not otherwise active in public life. As James Madison, Sr., grew old and feeble, and his eldest son turned to politics, Ambrose became increasingly the capable, dependable heir to family responsibilities in Orange County. His sudden death in October 1793 left a chasm that probably was of major importance in turning James Madison's attention more towards family affairs (370).

On October 3, 1793, Ambrose Madison died at Woodley from yellow fever, which he had contracted while on a trip to Richmond, Virginia (Clark 1958:82; VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871; LVA, SFB 1737-1930). Less than five years later his wife Mary died on March 14, 1798, leaving behind their 18-year-old daughter Nelly (Headley 1987:223). The location of Ambrose Madison's burial is not mentioned in the historical record, but utilizing information concerning his wife's burial one can assume that they were both interred in the family cemetery at Montpelier. In a diary kept by Francis Taylor, a cousin of Ambrose and the same man he served with during the Revolutionary War, the burial and funeral of Mary Willis Lee Madison are described. The diary is found in the Library of Virginia and is quoted by Ketcham in this excerpt:

Her [Nelly Madison's] mother, who had died on March 14, 1798, was not buried until April 7, when on a mild, cloudy day, "a considerable large number of genteel people" gathered for the interment in the family cemetery. The sun came out in time for the many guests who stayed for supper to watch it set behind the Blue Ridge. The good weather continued the next day, when a "tolerable number of people" heard the famous blind preacher James Waddel deliver the funeral sermon at Orange Court House (1990:388).

It appears that the burial was postponed due to inclement weather, but the importance of the excerpt is that it indicates she was buried at Montpelier. Nowhere else in the county is there a better view of the sun setting on the Blue Ridge than the front lawn of Montpelier. From Woodley, the view of the Blue Ridge is blocked by the Southwest Mountains.

Nelly Conway Madison continued to live at Woodley after the death of her parents. James Madison, Jr. and his wife Dolley, who had no children of their own, looked after her as if she were their own daughter (Ketcham 1990:370). The bonds of affection between Nelly and her 'Uncle Jeames' lasted up until his death in 1836. She was present when he died and was the recipient of his last words. Paul Jennings was James Madison, Jr.'s 'body servant' and wrote down his recollections of his master's last moments with Nelly by his side:

I was present when he died. That morning Sukey brought him his breakfast, as usual. He could not swallow. His niece, Mrs. Willis, said, "What is the matter,

Uncle Jeames?" "Nothing more than a change of *mind*, my dear." His head instantly dropped, and he ceased breathing as quietly as the snuff of a candle goes out (Jennings 1983[1865]:51).

The Mrs. Willis in the excerpt is Nelly Conway Madison, for by 1836 she had been married and also widowed.

On November 12, 1804, Nelly Conway Madison and Dr. John Willis ¹³ were married in Orange County (LVA, SFB 1737-1930). They resided at Woodley, and from the union two children were born. Mary Lee Willis was born on September 8, 1806, and her younger brother John Willis was born on January 8, 1809, ¹⁴ both at Woodley (Chapman and Baxter 2000). Both Mary and John reached adulthood and married, having families of their own, but their father was not destined to be there to see those happy events. James Madison, Jr. was a particular friend of Dr. John Willis, the husband of his favorite niece. He was in Washington, D.C. at the time of his friend's death and was informed in a letter written to him on April 1, 1811 by another friend, Charles P. Howard,

Docr. Willis particularly requested that so soon as he was no more you should be informed of it. I have now to inform you that the melancholy event took place about noon this day. He was 36 years & about 6 Months Old (Stagg et al. 1996:240-241).

¹³ The great-grandfather of Dr. John Willis was Col. Francis Willis, the brother of Col. Henry Willis, the first clerk of the court for Orange County and the father of John Willis. The last John Willis mentioned was first cousin twice removed of Dr. John Willis and also the husband of Elizabeth Madison Willis Beale, the great-aunt of Nelly Conway Madison. In other words, Dr. John Willis and Nelly Madison were distant cousins on the order of second and third cousins many times removed. Dr. Willis was born on October 24, 1774 at White Hall in Gloucester County, the ancestral home of the Willis family in Virginia (Barnes and Barnes 1982:499). He was the last of the family to own the land, selling it in 1799 after his father, also called Francis Willis, died (Headley 1987:370). Dr. Willis moved to Orange County sometime around 1802 (LVA, RBBP n.d.).

¹⁴ Two dates exist in the historical record for the birth of John Willis. Some indicate he was born in 1810. His gravestone in the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier indicates he was born in 1810 (Chapman and Baxter 2000). It is believed though that he was actually born in 1809. A letter written by his eldest daughter Mary Lee Willis to W. W. Scott, the Orange County historian and also her brother-in-law, states, "For many years Papa was supposed to have been born in 1810 – he told me he found that it was a mistake – that he was born in 1809 – how he discovered the mistake I don't know" (LVA, SFB 1737-1930).

Dr. Willis died from yellow fever, the same disease that carried away Nelly's father in 1793 (Barnes and Barnes 1982:498). He was buried in the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier and a gravestone, possibly the first to be placed in the cemetery, was erected above his grave.

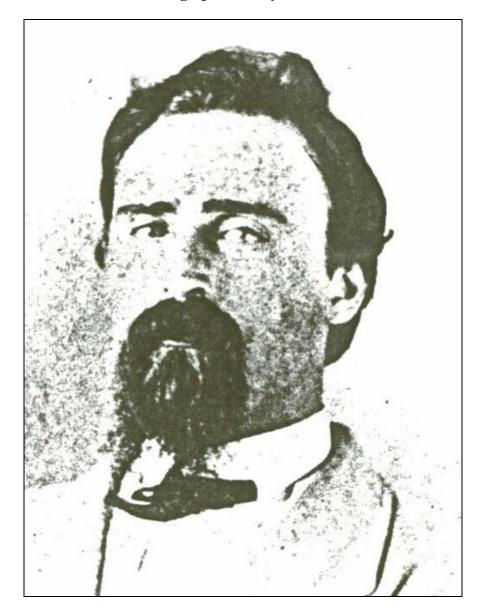
Nelly Conway Madison Willis continued to live at Woodley after the death of her husband. She never remarried. She watched many changes unfold in the community, from the depressed economy of the early 1800s, up through the boom years of the 1850s and the coming of the railroad through Orange Court House. From her home at Woodley, the sound of the whistle of the Orange and Alexandria could be heard as the train crossed the Gordonsville Road. She was there to see her Uncle James grow old and pass away, and her dear Aunt Dolley move to Washington, D.C. after selling Montpelier in 1844. Nelly was alive to hear the opening shots of the Civil War, and watched as her son Col. John Willis (Figure 18) and her son-in-law Col. John Hancock Lee led the secessionist movement in the county; but she did not live, possibly fortunately for her, to see the aftermath (Thomas 1972:36; Scott 1974[1907]:149).

On November 4, 1862, Nelly died at Howard Place (later called Mayhurst), the home of her son John (see Figure 9-20). The event is recounted in the 1862 diary of Fanny Hume:

Aunt Kate and Nellie went to "Howard Place" yesterday, and old Mrs. Willis died suddenly while they were there, had been quite unwell for two days, confined to her bed – it was a great shock to her family – poor old lady! Another *link* to the generation gone! (Grymes 1994:162).

The shock may not have been too great for the family since she was 81 years old when she died, but maybe, considering that her grandmother and namesake lived to be 97, the death of Nelly Willis did surprise the family.

Figure 18 Photograph of Col. John Willis



Nelly Conway Madison Willis was in every sense the matriarch of the Orange County Madison family community. She outlived most of her cousins and stayed in the area when many others in the family left. This status alone would indicate that she is buried beside her husband in the family cemetery, but there is no doubt, for in her will, she requested it: I desire that my body [be] plainly interred in the grave yard at Montpelier, as near as may be, to the grave of my deceased husband, and a simple monument be erected therein to mark the spot (Cortada 1966:26).

When she wrote her will in September 1860 her family had the ability to procure a gravestone. Her son Col. John Willis was a wealthy and prominent man in the community, and with the introduction of the railroad a gravestone could easily be attained from such cities as Richmond or Philadelphia. But in the ensuing years between 1860 and her death in 1862 everything changed. Her son Col. Willis had other more pressing issues to concern himself with, leaving the thought of procuring a gravestone for his mother till better days came after the war. Those days never came and at the end of the war Col. Willis' finances were in ruins. Whatever the reason, the grave of Nelly Conway Madison Willis never saw the 'simple monument' that she had requested in her will.

The two children of Nelly Conway Madison Willis both had large families who made their homes in the Orange County area and continued to use the family cemetery at Montpelier. The family and descendants of the elder child, Mary Lee Willis, will be discussed first. Mary died relatively young and many of her children died in childhood so only a few descendants directly related to her are buried in the family cemetery. Her husband Col. John Hancock Lee continued to live in the area and remarried twice. Even though the ties back to Ambrose Madison were severed with the death of Mary, the history and genealogy of her husband's family will also be discussed. The study of these descendants not only shows that many of them were buried in the Madison family cemetery, but also reveals the intricate and complex web of family connections found in the Orange County community. Mary Lee Willis married Col. John Hancock Lee on March 2, 1826 (LVA, RBBP n.d.). They resided in Orange County near Woodley and from the union five children were born. Col. Lee appears to have owned a store in the town of Orange during this time. In 1832, he is found on a petition sent to the state assembly requesting funding for the town's roads to be paved (Scott 1974[1907]:40). Col. John Lee is found in the 1840 census, but his wife Mary is not included in the census tabulations (USCO, OC 1840:14). She died on March 29, 1836, just a few days after her fifth child John Willis Lee was born on the 21st of March (Chapman and Baxter 2000). Due to the closeness in the dates of her death and the birth of her child it appears she died due to complications from childbirth.

Mary Lee Willis Lee was buried in the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier just behind the grave of her father Dr. John Willis. Her burial was not marked until sometime in the late 1850s, and for us, luckily so, because also included on her gravestone are two of her offspring who died in childhood. If not for the gravestone, the existence of these two children would not be known. The first of her children to die after her death was the last one born. John Willis Lee, less than a year old, passed away on February 16, 1837, and was followed to the grave a little over a year later by his six-year-old brother, Ambrose Madison Lee, who died on March 26, 1838 (Chapman and Baxter 2000). Mary and her two children are commemorated by a simple obelisk carved by John W. Davies, the same artisan who constructed James Madison, Jr.'s monument. The inscription on Mary's obelisk reads, "In Memory of My Wife", indicating that Col. John Lee acquired and placed the stone above her and his sons' graves.

The three other offspring of Col. John Lee and his wife Mary are also buried in the family cemetery. Two are also marked with obelisks, but the third lies in an unmarked grave. The two marked burials are Lucy C. Lee and Letitia Ramolina Lee Madison. The eldest child, Nelly, is located in an unmarked grave. Lucy, the second youngest child, was born on May 16, 1834 in Orange County (Chapman and Baxter 2000). After her mother died Lucy and her older sisters, Nelly and Letitia, lived with their grandmother Nelly Conway Madison Willis at Woodley where they are found in the 1840 census (USCO, OC 1840:25). Lucy was still living at Woodley in December 1852 when she is mentioned in a letter written by her sister Letitia to her friend Catherine Ambler Moncure Pecquet du Bellet living in Paris, France. In the letter, Letitia writes, that "Lucie sends you much love. She came out at Old Point quite brilliantly. Is still "fancy free" (quoted in Pecquet du Bellet 1907a:278). Her 'fancy free' spirit was extinguished in the bloom of life, for on August 25, 1855 she passed away at Woodley. The obelisk above her grave in the Madison family cemetery was placed there by her sister Letitia. On the front face are inscribed the words "My Sister" and on the back a broken stemmed rose (Chapman and Baxter 2000).

Letitia Ramolina Lee was born on June 20, 1829 in Orange County (Chapman and Baxter 2000). She was married at Woodley on May 13, 1853 to her second cousin Dr. Robert Lewis Madison (LVA, RBBP n.d.; Pecquet du Bellet 1907a:277). ¹⁵ After the marriage the couple lived in Petersburg, Virginia, where Dr.

¹⁵ Dr. Robert Lewis Madison was the grandson of William Madison and therefore the great-grandson of James Madison, Sr. His wife Letitia Ramolina Lee Madison was the great-granddaughter of Ambrose Madison and therefore the 2nd great-granddaughter of James Madison, Sr. Letitia and her husband Dr. Madison were therefore second cousins once removed. Due to the fact that there existed one more generation in Letitia's descent from James Madison, Sr. she traced her genealogical connection to her husband through her great-grandfather (Ambrose Madison), making the grandfather of her husband (William Madison) her 2nd great-uncle. Tracing the descent forward makes Dr. Madison's father (also named Robert Lewis Madison) Letitia's first cousin twice removed.

Madison started a private medical practice. Two daughters came of the marriage.

The first daughter Mary was born sometime in 1855 and the second, named for her

mother, was born sometime between June and December 1856. Their exact

birthdates are not known, but using the ages found in census records one can narrow

down the dates (USCO, Rockbridge County [RC] census 1860:229; USCO, OC

1870:265). Letitia did not live long enough to watch her young daughters grow for

she died on January 2, 1857 at Litchfield, her father's home in Orange County (see

Figure 9-14). The cause of her death is not known, but like her own mother, it may

have been due to complications from the birth of her last child. Letitia Ramolina

Lee Madison's obituary appeared a few days after her death in the *Richmond Enquirer*.

DIED – On the 2nd January, in the 28th year of her age, at the residence of her father in Orange county, Mrs. Letitia Romolini [sic] Madison, wife of Dr. Robert Madison, and daughter of John H. Lee, Esq.

Of her beautiful character we need not speak; it is known to her friends – why should we tell of it to others.

Whatever of comfort could be drawn therefrom – and it was not a little – was offered by the closing scenes of her life. Her death was not triumphant only; it was joyful. Thoroughly weaned from the things of earth, her thoughts were heavenward. Bidding an affectionate farewell to all, she had something kind and soothing, some gentle warning to each one, who hung in painful anxiety around her dving couch ...

Many an eye will moisten in Petersburg as it falls upon this notice of the death of one whose memory lingers among us like the fragrance of incense amid the stillness of the deserted sanctuary ... And many will join with us in the mournful office – all now left to us – of extending to her husband and family of her father that sympathy which they who have felt so great a loss must sorely need.

Thus they pass away, the youngest, the most beautiful, the best; and looking back upon life we measure the sad years by their monuments (LVA, RE 1857).

The offspring of a first cousin twice removed in relation back to Letitia, in this case Dr. Madison, is a second cousin once removed. For Dr. Madison, his wife's mother (Mary Lee Willis Lee) was his second cousin, and the offspring of a second cousin in relation to Dr. Madison is a second cousin once removed. The marriage of Letitia and Dr. Madison was not the first interconnection of Madison family lines. Letitia's father in 1839 married his second wife, Frances Willis, a granddaughter of William Madison and therefore the second cousin once removed of Letitia. When Letitia married her second cousin once removed - Dr. Madison - her step-mother was not only her husband's mother-in-law but also his first cousin.

Letitia was buried next to her younger sister Lucy in the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier. Her grave was marked by her husband with a simple marble obelisk.

After the death of his wife, Dr. Robert Madison moved to Lexington, Virginia, where he took a position on the faculty of the Virginia Military Institute (LVA, RBBP n.d.; Couper 1933:125). He remarried in 1860 to Helen T. Banister from Petersburg (Works Progress Administration [WPA] 1942:46). In the 1860 census he is found in Rockbridge County in the town of Lexington residing with his new wife and his two daughters Mary and Letitia (USCO, RC 1860:229). Precisely what happened to his two daughters, the children of Letitia, is not known, but Pecquet du Bellet states that they "died in the bloom of womanhood" and were buried in the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier (1907a:276). As already noted, both daughters, Mary, age five and Letitia, age three, are found in the 1860 census living with their father and his new wife in Rockbridge County. Only Mary is later found in the 1870 census. Not only is she found in Rockbridge County in her father's house but she also appears at the residence of her grandfather John H. Lee in Orange County (USCO, RC 1870:485; USCO, OC 1870:265). In both households she is listed as Mary L. Madison, age 15, and since she was the only person in the Madison family with this name who was this age, the listings must be for the same person. Since Letitia does not appear in the census records in either county she must have died sometime prior to 1870.

Letitia was alive in 1861 for she appears in the diary of Fanny Page Hume in an entry dated May 23rd:

... went up in the buggy and brought Jennie Ross and little Tishie Madison down. The latter went over in the buggy with Mollie and myself, the others walked over ... Little Tishie is the sweetest little thing I ever saw, she has taken a wonderful fancy to me. My heart always yearns over a little motherless child – God help such! (Cortada 1983:37).

'Little Tishie' stayed with Fanny Hume and her family overnight for the next day's entry states:

Sent Tishie up [back 'up' to town] this afternoon, had much difficulty in getting her off. Said she wanted to stay with me always. A darling little thing she is (37).

Dr. Madison, the father of 'little Tishie,' was in Orange Court House at the time beginning to set up a hospital that would later be used extensively after the Battle of First Manassas. He ran the hospital until April of 1862 (Couper 1933:125; Hurst 1998:255, 327; Cortada 1983:68). ¹⁶ The Fanny Hume diaries for 1861 and 1862, whose entries are filled with the births and deaths that occurred in the Orange community, does not mention little Tishie Madison again, so it is safe to assume that she did not die during this time. Where and when she died between 1863 and 1870 is not known. Whether it occurred while she was in Orange or living in Rockbridge County, it is very possible that she was buried in the family cemetery with her mother. Her remains could have been brought by train to Orange and placed in the family plot at Montpelier.

The double listing of Mary in the 1870 census provides a fortuitous insight not only into the continued family ties that were exhibited in frequent visits, but also the ease with which travel was possible due to the railroad. The county census taker visited the residence of her father on June 29, 1870 in Lexington, and another census

¹⁶ Dr. Robert Lewis Madison played a major role for the Confederacy during and after the Civil War. Called away from his duties at the Virginia Military Institute in Lexington, Virginia, he was assigned as the surgeon in charge of the hospital at Orange Court House from July of 1861 through April of 1862 (LVA, RBBP n.d.; Couper 1933:125; Hurst 1998:255, 327). He later served at the Battle of New Market, fought in the Shenandoah Valley on May 15, 1864, as the corps surgeon for the V.M.I. cadets (Couper 1933:125). After the war he returned to Lexington, Virginia, and V.M.I. where he continued to teach and was also the personal physician for Gen. Robert E. Lee and Com. Matthew F. Maury during their final illnesses (125).

taker listed her in her grandfather John H. Lee's household in Orange County on July 12, 1870 (USCO, RC 1870:485; USCO, OC 1870:265). Both census takers were attempting to document a specific point in time, listing the individuals present in a household for June 1, 1870. Which household did she reside in and who was she only visiting? The answer to this question requires more information than the historical record provides; but nevertheless, as is the case with her sister Letitia, wherever Mary died, her remains could have been placed in the family cemetery by the side of her mother.

The date of Mary's death can only be narrowed down to sometime between January 1871 and June 1878. She is mentioned in her grandfather's will written on January 25, 1871, in which she is bequeathed a "riding horse" (MA 1873). In her father's obituary in the June 6, 1878 edition of the *Southern Churchman* she is not found among the family that he left behind (LVA, RBBP n.d.). Dr. Madison and his second wife had five children, a daughter and four sons. Their eldest son died as an infant in 1861. The other four were still alive in 1878 and made up the "half grown daughter and 3 sons" that the obituary mentions (LVA, RBBP n.d.). ¹⁷ In 1878, Mary Madison would have been 23 years old, not someone who would be described

¹⁷ Dr. Robert Lewis Madison died on May 26, 1878 in Lexington, Virginia, and was buried in the Stonewall Jackson cemetery in the same town (Hurst 1998:327). His second wife Helen T. Banister Madison died in Athens, Georgia, in 1889 (LVA, RBBP). They had a total of five children: (1) Robert Lewis Madison, the eldest son named for his father was born in December 1860 in Lexington, Virginia, and died on June 14, 1861 in Petersburg, Virginia. He was buried in the Blandford Cemetery in Petersburg in the Banister family plot (LVA, RBBP). (2) Monro Banister Madison was born sometime in 1862 in Virginia and died in North Carolina in 1887. He never married (LVA, RBBP; USCO, RC 1870:485; USCO, RC 1880:28). (3) Margurite (Maggie) Banister Madison was born about 1863 in Virginia. She married Lee Hooper of Cullowhee, North Carolina, and died there sometime before 1954 (USCO, RC 1870:485; LVA, RBBP). (4) Dr. Robert Lee Madison was born February 17, 1867 in Lexington, Virginia. He married Ella Virginia Richards on November 25, 1891 and had five sons and one daughter. He was the founder of Western North Carolina College. He died on October 2, 1954 in Webster, North Carolina, and was buried at St. David's Episcopal Church in the same town (LVA, RBBP). And (5) Edmund Bolling Madison was born about 1871 in Virginia and died on February 1, 1948 in Athens, Georgia. He was married and had one daughter named Dolly Madison (USCO, RC 1880:28; LVA, RBBP).

as a "half grown daughter," but her step-sister Maggie would have been only 15 years old at the time and more accurately fits the description.

After following out the family genealogy of Letitia Ramolina Lee Madison, the only other descendant of Col. John H. Lee and his first wife Mary Lee Willis Lee who has not been discussed is their eldest daughter Nelly. She outlived all of her brothers and sisters, but never married. She lived to a relatively advanced age compared to the short lives of her sisters Lucy and Letitia, but her life, at least in her later years, does not appear to have been a happy one. Few family documents mention Nelly and very little is known about her, but through census records one is allowed a glimpse into her life. The story of Nelly Lee's life and death also provides an avenue through which the rest of her family can be discussed, specifically her father's second and then third wife and the offspring that came from these marriages. Nelly's step-mother, a half-sister and her father were all interred in the Madison family cemetery before she herself joined the community of the dead.

Nelly Lee was born sometime in 1827 soon after her parents married (USCO, Augusta County [AC] census 1860:805). She is found in the 1840 census living at Woodley with her grandmother Nelly Conway Madison Willis, but by 1850, while her sisters remained with their grandmother, she lived with her father John Hancock Lee and step-mother at their residence Brampton in Madison County (USCO, OC 1840:25; USCO, MC 1850:96). Nelly's father married his second wife Frances Willis on November 19, 1839 (Chapman and Baxter 2000; LVA, RBBP n.d.). Frances Willis' grandfather was William Madison, the great-uncle of Nelly and her siblings. In 1843, with the death of Frances' grandfather William, she inherited a portion of his Woodberry Forest property in Madison County (Dove 1975:304; Miller 1988:29). By 1846, John H. Lee had built the house he called Brampton on this property, and it was in this house where he, his wife and Nelly are found in the 1850 census (Dove 1975:304; USCO, MC 1850:96). By 1850, three new half-siblings were added to Nelly's extended (and convoluted) family and are recorded in the census. The oldest child was Mary Willis Lee, born on November 5, 1844, followed by another daughter Elizabeth born sometime in 1848 and a son Lewis Herman born on March 2, 1849 (Chapman and Baxter 2000; LVA, RBBP n.d.; Massingberd 1975:142). These were the only three children born to John H. Lee and his second wife.

In 1850, John H. Lee acquired Litchfield in Orange County, which was once a part of the Montpelier plantation. It is the same property that Frances Taylor Madison Rose had inherited from her father James Madison, Sr. in 1801, and was located about a half mile east of Woodley (see Figure 9-14). John H. Lee moved his family from Brampton to Litchfield in 1850 and resided on the property until 1868 (Miller 1988:29). The Litchfield house was the site of many deaths in the family. Besides the deaths of Lucy C. Lee in 1855, which possibly occurred at Litchfield, and that of her sister Letitia Ramolina Lee Madison in 1857, other deaths stalked the family through the 1850s. The first of which was Mary Willis Lee, the eldest daughter of John H. Lee and his second wife Frances, who died on April 13, 1859 (Chapman and Baxter 2000). She was buried in the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier near the graves of John H. Lee's first wife and his other children. Soon after his daughter's death his second wife also made the journey from the living to the community of the dead on August 17, 1859 (Alexandria Library 1987:190). She was buried in the Madison family cemetery beside the grave of her oldest child. The cause of death for both Mary and her mother Frances is not known, though the brief period of time separating their deaths may indicate that they succumbed to the same epidemic disease. The fate of Nelly Lee may shed some light on what this disease might have been. When John H. Lee moved from Brampton to Litchfield his daughter Nelly continued to reside with his family. She is not mentioned in the letter her sister Letitia wrote from Woodley in 1852, quoted above, nor do any other documents shed light on her whereabouts. The census records are the only source of information, but they are also particularly revealing. In the 1860 census, Nelly Lee is found living in Augusta County, Virginia, at the Western Lunatic Asylum in the town of Staunton. The census lists all the patients found at the asylum including their ailments. Nelly Lee's census entry indicates she is suffering from measles (USCO, AC 1860:805).

Measles is a highly contagious viral disease that historically usually manifested itself during the spring, possibly explaining the death of Nelly's half-sister Mary in April 1859. Measles itself was usually not fatal, but by weakening the immune system it could lead to more life-threatening complications such as pneumonia and encephalitis (inflammation of the brain). Adults are more likely than children to suffer complications from measles. This circumstantial evidence points to the possibility that both Nelly's half-sister Mary and her step-mother Frances may have died from measles. Nelly survived, though she seems to have suffered from the aftereffects for the rest of her life. In 1870, Nelly Lee is still at the Western Lunatic Asylum in Staunton, though at this time she is described as "insane" (USCO, AC 1870:221). The diagnosis of insanity is not unique, for all of the patients at the asylum are listed as such in the census, thus making it impossible to understand the subtleties of her illness. If Nelly did in fact contract measles in 1859 and survived the disease she may have suffered from complications, such as encephalitis, which could have led to debilitating physical and mental problems. Some of the aftereffects of encephalitis are epilepsy, delirium and dementia, all of which could be categorized under the historic usage of the word insane (World Book 1983:277).

While Nelly Lee remained hospitalized in Staunton through the 1860s her father continued to live at Litchfield with his two remaining children, Elizabeth and Lewis Herman (USCO, OC 1860:629). It appears that John H. Lee enjoyed the married life for it was not long before he remarried. On November 19, 1863, he was married for the third time at St. Thomas' Episcopal Church in the town of Orange (Warren 1933:67). His new bride, a 21-year-old beauty from Petersburg, Virginia, named Mary Branch Jones, moved into Litchfield soon after the marriage. Less than a year later, on September 22, 1864, she gave birth to a daughter named Norma (LVA, RBBP n.d.). She was John H. Lee's ninth child by three different wives. In 1868, John H. Lee sold Litchfield and moved to Woodley where his children by his second wife, Elizabeth and Lewis Herman, along with his third wife, their child and his granddaughter Mary L. Madison are found in the 1870 census (Miller 1988:29; USCO, OC 1870:265).

John H. Lee died in September of 1873 in Orange County (MA 1873). He is believed to be buried in the Madison family cemetery beside the two wives and five children who preceded him to the grave (LVA, RBBP n.d.). A brick footing, which may at one time have supported a gravestone, is located in close proximity to the burials of his family members. The burial of John H. Lee is the only other member of the family unaccounted for by a gravestone or documentary evidence, and with the close proximity of the footer to the rest of his family it seems likely that he is contained within the Madison family cemetery.

Nelly Lee, the eldest child of John H. Lee, died on January 6, 1876 (Alexandria Library 1987:191). An obituary for her appeared in the January 21st edition of the Alexandria Gazette in Alexandria, Virginia, but it does not mention the location of her death, whether it occurred at the asylum in Staunton or in Orange County (191). In the genealogical work of Pecquet du Bellet it is implied that she was buried with her family at Montpelier, though no stone exists to mark her grave (1907a:276). Since all her siblings, along with her mother Mary Lee Willis Lee, her step-mother Francis and her half-sister Mary, were buried in the family cemetery it seems likely that Pecquet du Bellet was correct. The simple fact that her family took the time to submit an obituary indicates that even though she may have died in the asylum at Staunton her family had not forgotten her. Her remains could have been brought back to Orange by train. Since Nelly's father died prior to 1876 he could not have submitted her obituary nor have been involved in her burial, but other family members such as her two half-siblings Elizabeth and Lewis Herman, along with her father's third wife were still alive at the time. The burial of Nelly was the last of this family line included in the Madison family cemetery.¹⁸

¹⁸ Of the three offspring born to John Hancock Lee and his second wife Frances Willis Lee, only the first, Mary Willis Lee, was buried in the Madison family cemetery. Elizabeth Madison Lee Bragg (1848-1907) married William Albert Bragg, Jr. (1840-1901) on December 11, 1872 and afterwards lived in Petersburg, Virginia, where both are buried in the Blandford Cemetery (LVA, RBBP n.d.; Massingberd 1975:141; Warren 1933:69). Lewis Herman Lee (1849-1878) married Georgia Garland Hansbrough Lee (1857-1934) on October 12, 1876 and continued to live in Orange County until his death from typhoid fever (LVA, RBBP n.d.; Pecquet du Bellet 1907a:285; WPA 1942:11). Both were buried in the Hansbrough family plot in Graham Cemetery outside the town of Orange. The third wife of John H. Lee, Mary W. Branch Jones Lee (1842-1898), died at Saluda near West Point, Virginia and was buried in the Blandford Cemetery in Petersburg (LVA, RBBP n.d.). Her daughter, Norma Overton Lee Woodward, married John Brockenbrough Woodward on December 3, 1885, and the whereabouts of their burial locations is not known (LVA, RBBP n.d.).

The remaining descendants of Ambrose Madison who are found buried within the Madison family cemetery are associated with the family of Col. John Willis, the son of Nelly Conway Madison Willis and Dr. John Willis, and the brother of Mary Lee Willis Lee. Five family members are found within marked graves and the possibility exists that an additional five are found within unmarked graves (see Table 7). The history of this line of the family is also a study in the complex interrelations caused by intermarriage within the family. Col. John Willis married his second cousin Lucy Taliaferro Madison, the granddaughter of William Madison, on July 2, 1839 in Orange County (LVA, SFB 1737-1930). From this union eight children were born, two of whom are possibly buried in the family cemetery at Montpelier: Mary Lee Willis and John C. Willis, Jr. (see Appendix 1). ¹⁹

Mary Lee Willis was born May 22, 1840 at Woodley in Orange County, Virginia, the home of her grandmother (LVA, SFB 1737-1930; Pecquet du Bellet 1907a:280). She is found in the census records living in the household of her father up through 1870 (USCO, OC 1850:253; USCO, OC 1860:679; USCO, OC 1870:319), after which her place of residence is not known. She is purported to have died in 1908, possibly in Orange County (LVA, RBBP n.d.). Mary never married, the exception from her four other sisters who did, and because of this one can speculate that she was buried in the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier beside the graves of her parents who predeceased her.

¹⁹ The fourth child of Col. John and Lucy Willis was Claudia Marshall Willis, born at Woodley in Orange County on July 16, 1846 (LVA, SFB 1737-1930; Scott 1982:377). The reason why information about this line of the family is found in the Scott Family Bible (SFB) is due to the marriage of Claudia to William Wallace Scott on September 29, 1869, the Orange County historian whose work is also widely referenced in this thesis, (Warren 1933:68). W. W. and Claudia Scott are buried in Maplewood Cemetery outside of Gordonsville (Klein 1979:24).

Col. John Willis, his wife Lucy Taliaferro Madison Willis, their daughter-inlaw Lucie S. Robinson Willis, and two grandchildren - Claudia Willis and Nellie Ross Willis - are all found buried within marked graves in the family cemetery (see Table 7). The presence of these marked graves appears to indicate that the eldest son of John and Lucy, John C. Willis, Jr., and other members of his family are also buried within the cemetery. John C. Willis, Jr. was born on July 21, 1844, while his family resided at Woodley, and at the age of seventeen he enlisted in the Confederate Army becoming a member of the Montpelier Guard, Company A of the 13th Virginia Infantry (LVA, SFB 1737-1930; Hurst 1998:350; Scott 1974 [1907]:266). He served with distinction for the rest of the war and afterwards on June 21, 1866 married Lucie S. Robinson at St. Thomas' Episcopal Church in the town of Orange (LVA, RBBP n.d.; Warren 1933:68). The union was not destined to last for on February 17, 1869, Lucie died from complications three days after the birth of a daughter. The daughter, Claudia, soon followed her mother to the grave dying on March 14, 1869 (LVA, SFB 1737-1930; Chapman and Baxter 2000). With the death of his young wife and daughter, John buried the first members of his new family within the walls of the cemetery at Montpelier.

Over one year later on October 26, 1870, John C. Willis, Jr. was married again to Mary Elizabeth Lupton, and from this marriage came six children to add to the one child that survived from the first marriage, James Shepherd Willis (LVA, RBBP n.d.; LVA, SFB 1737-1930). Of these children only one is known to be buried in the cemetery at Montpelier. Nellie Ross Willis died on April 12, 1893 at the age of seventeen. A gravestone exists above her burial (Chapman and Baxter 2000). Two other daughters, Annie Scott Willis and Bessie Milton Willis, are also believed to be buried at Montpelier in unmarked graves. Both appear to have never married and lived in the Orange County area all their lives. Annie was born in 1879. She is found in her father's household in 1910 listed as a school teacher. The exact date of her death is not known but it appears that she passed away sometime prior to 1920 (USCO, OC 1910:24). Bessie was born on October 15, 1873, and is also found in the 1910 census at her father's house with her occupation listed as a nurse (LVA, SFB 1737-1930; USCO, OC 1910:24). She died unmarried sometime in 1926 in Orange County, possibly while residing in Gordonsville (LVA, RBBP n.d.; Massingberd 1975:139). Specific documentation mentioning the locations of these two sisters' burials has not been found to date, but until information comes to light it is very likely that they were interred in the Madison family cemetery.

John C. Willis, Jr. and his second wife Mary appear to have resided in Orange County all of their lives. Though no gravestones mark the locations of their final rest, by viewing their lives from the perspective of the cemetery's history one can make a circumstantial case for their burial within unmarked graves. In close proximity to the marked graves of Col. John Willis, Lucie, the first wife of John C. Willis, Jr., and other marked family members, are located as many as seven grave shaft depressions. The presence of these depressions lends credence to the idea that others within this nuclear family line are buried within the cemetery. Two of these unmarked grave shaft depressions probably contain the remains of John C. Willis, Jr. and his second wife. As mentioned above, John and his family are found in the 1910 census living in Orange County. His occupation is listed as "railroad baggage master" (USCO, OC 1910:24), possibly explaining why he died on November 10, 1915 in Charlestown, West Virginia (Hurst 1998:350). Even if he was staying in the Charlestown area for any length of time, at his death his remains could have been brought back to Orange on the railroad for which he worked. In a 1930 newspaper article discussing the Madison family cemetery and the Daughters of the American Revolution's recent work in preserving the cemetery, the late residence of John C. Willis, Jr. is given as Gordonsville, Orange County (MA 1930). Mary Elizabeth Lupton Willis died sometime prior to the 1920 census, maybe even before her husband in 1915.

The members of John C. Willis, Jr.'s family were the last of Ambrose Madison's descendants buried in the Madison family cemetery. Future historical research will undoubtedly add to the story, filling in the gaps in the history and genealogy, and better delineating the family members found within the unmarked graves. This thesis does not answer all the questions or even begin to understand all of the stories, but it provides a start in unraveling the long and complex history of the third generation Madison family's use of the cemetery at Montpelier. The next section continues with this history, focusing on the family descendants of William Madison and their use of the cemetery up through the early 20th century.

The Family of William Madison

William Madison (Figure 19) was the youngest son of James Madison, Sr. and Nelly Conway Madison to survive into adulthood. He was born on May 1, 1762 at Montpelier (VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871; Clark 1958:82). He lived the life of a wealthy planter's son, attending the College of William and Mary where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and also benefiting from the tutelage and guidance of his eldest brother James Madison, Jr. (Ketcham 1990:370; Tyler 1896). He was old enough

Figure 19 Portrait of William Madison



Crayon portrait of William Madison by the French artist Saint-Memin. Figure copied from Norfleet 1979:184, with byline courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library.

towards the end of the Revolution to participate in the military actions near Yorktown and then later during the War of 1812 was placed in charge of militia units in Virginia (LVA, SFB 1737-1930; Norfleet 1979:187). During the interim he was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates from Madison County in 1794 and again between 1804 and 1811 (Scheel 1982:85; Ketcham 1990:370). In 1791, William Madison acquired 40 acres of land from his brother Francis in Culpeper County (which soon became Madison County in 1794), a part of the larger 1000-acre tract that Francis had received from their father James Madison, Sr. in 1784. By 1793, William had completed a house on the property which he called Woodberry Forest (see Figure 9-23) and at the death of his father in 1801 he received an adjoining 1,300-acre tract of land (Norfleet 1979:174, 182; Sparacio and Sparacio 1985:67).

On December 20, 1783, William Madison married Frances Throckmorton and less than two years later on April 28, 1785 the first of their eleven children was born, Rebecca Conway Madison (Grinnan 1897; VHS 1762-1828). William Madison and his wife Frances, eight of their eleven children, and thirteen descendant family members are buried in the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier. ²⁰ Gravestones mark the burials of nine family members, historical documentation places three unmarked burials in the cemetery, and the existence of the remaining eleven unmarked burials is based on circumstantial evidence (Table 8).

The historical and genealogical study of William Madison's family is wrought with melancholy sadness. Of the eleven offspring, only two survived their father who died in 1843. The reason for such a high mortality rate was the presence of

²⁰ The three offspring of William Madison who are not buried at Montpelier include: Rebecca Conway Madison Chapman (1785-1861) who married Reynolds Chapman (1778-1844) on February 18, 1802 and at their death were buried at Berry Hill, just south of the town of Orange, along with a number of their family members (VHS 1762-1828; Cortada 1983:13; Gottschalk 1959:31; Miller 1988:118; Perkins 1910:141); Alfred Madison, born September 11, 1791, died from tuberculosis and was buried in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on January 30, 1811 (Grinnan 1897; VHS 1762-1828; Stagg et al 1996:141; LVA, RE 1811); and Letitia Madison Slaughter (1806-1828) who married Daniel French Slaughter on September 6, 1825 and died a short time later in Culpeper County where she is believed to be buried within a Slaughter family cemetery (Carpenter 1914:209; VHS 1762-1828; LVA, RE 1828).

TABLE 8 William Madison Family Burials in Madison Family Cemetery			
Name	Death Date	Grave rendering	Family Relationship
MADISON, John	23 Mar 1809	Possible Unmarked	Son
MADISON, William Jr.	11 Jul 1812	Documented Unmarked	Son
MADISON, Lucy Frances	28 Dec 1813	Possible Unmarked	Daughter
MADISON, James Edwin	6 Oct 1821	Documented Unmarked	Son
WILLIS, Elizabeth Madison	6 Apr 1824	Possible Unmarked	Daughter
MADISON, Robert Lewis	9 Feb 1828	Possible Unmarked	Son
WILLIS, Lewis	1830/1832	Possible Unmarked	Son-in-law
MADISON, Unknown Female	1830/1840	Possible Unmarked	Granddaughter
WILLIS, Child Male	1832/1839	Possible Unmarked	Grandson
MADISON, Frances Throckmorton	20 Aug 1832	Possible Unmarked	Wife
MADISON, John	10 Aug 1833	Possible Unmarked	Son
MADISON, William	19 Jul 1843	Possible Unmarked	Root Person
MADISON, Ambrose	26 Dec 1855	Marked	Son
MARYE, Mary Frances Madison	13 Nov 1856	Marked	Granddaughter
MADISON, Jane Bankhead Willis	16 May 1862	Documented Unmarked	Daughter-in-law
MADISON, Alfred	12 May 1880	Marked	Great-grandson
MADISON, Lucy Maria Hiden	27 Jul 1886	Marked	Granddaughter-in-law
MADISON, William Willis	1888	Possible Unmarked	Grandson
MADISON, Frances Branch Willis	28 Oct 1899	Marked	Granddaughter-in-law
MADISON, James Ambrose	28 Jun 1901	Marked	Grandson
MADISON, James Willis	16 Feb 1916	Marked	Great-grandson
MADISON, Ambrose Gilmer Sr.	28 Feb 1928	Marked	Great-grandson

Marked

tuberculosis in the family (Stagg et al 1996:413; Norfleet 1979:190; Ann Miller, personal communication 2002). This disease, also called consumption in the historical documents, appears to have been the main culprit in sending so many of the family to an early grave. The first of William Madison's family to die from tuberculosis was the eldest son, John Madison, born on May 31, 1787 (VHS 1762-1828). He died at Montpelier on March 23, 1809. In a letter written to James Madison, Jr. in Washington, D.C., Paul Verdier states that "perhaps you may have heard of the death of John Madison, he died last thursday Morning at your Mothers"

1938

MADISON, Susan Daniel

Great-granddaughter

(Rutland1984:79). Since the first death in William Madison's family occurred at Montpelier this may have been the impetus for all of the future burials. As previously discussed, the family of Francis Madison, William's brother, also lived in Madison County. They did not use the family cemetery at Montpelier. Why William did not do the same as his brother may have been by choice or it may have come about by sheer chance and the circumstance of John Madison's death and burial at Montpelier.

The next burial of a family member is documented to have occurred at Montpelier. William "Billy" Madison, Jr. was the second oldest son, born on May 28, 1789 and died at Woodberry Forest on July 11, 1812 (VHS 1762-1828; LVA, RE 1812). Nelly Conway Madison Willis, in a letter written to her aunt Dolley Madison in Washington, D.C. recounts that "Poor Billy is no more, he died on Saturday evening & yesterday his remains were intered in the family burying ground" (GHS 1812). Billy's obituary, found in the *Richmond Enquirer*, states that death occurred at Woodberry Forest, and then in the above correspondence between Nelly and Dolley one can see he was buried at Montpelier. Even if the death and burial of Billy's brother John at Montpelier was simply a matter of chance, one can see in the burial of Billy a choice by the family to continue using the 'family burying ground.' With the premature deaths of William's two sons in 1809 and 1812 a tradition was started, and it was not long before more family burials occurred at Montpelier.

In the span of five years between 1809 and 1813 William and Frances Madison lost four of their eleven children. In between the deaths of John and Billy another son, Alfred, died in 1811 while in Philadelphia

where he placed himself under the direction of Doctors Rush and Physic, who determined that his complaint was a settled pulmonary affection. They did what they could for his preservation. But both medical and surgical aid proved of no avail. His doom was unalterably fixed; disease had invaded those extremities, where it seldom ends but with death; and it was there that he paid the last debt due to nature (LVA, RE 1811).

A little over a year after Billy Madison died he was joined in the family cemetery at Montpelier by his sister Lucy Frances Madison who died "At Woodbury Forest, Madison County, on the 28th of December, in her 14th year" (LVA, RE 1814). The family was allowed a few years respite after the death of Lucy, but this was shattered when her brother James Edwin Madison died on October 6, 1821 from the same consuming disease. The obituary for James found in the *Richmond Enquirer* mentions that he was "interred at Montpelier" (LVA, RE 1821). The last of the unmarried offspring of William and Frances, another son named John, died on August 10, 1833, "fallen a victim in the morning of his life to that remorseless disease which has heretofore hurried to an untimely grave so many members of his family" (LVA, RE 1833). The obituary continues on in describing that he died while traveling home from Warm Springs, in Bath County, Virginia. His ultimate journey home led him to an unmarked grave within the family cemetery at Montpelier.

With the passage of time the remaining offspring of William and Frances Madison grew into adulthood, married and had families of their own; but within these families the onslaught of misfortune was not abated. Robert Lewis Madison, the fifth child of William and Frances, was born on March 3, 1794 at Woodberry Forest (VHS 1762-1828; LVA, RBBP n.d.). Through sheer luck or the benefit of a healthier constitution he lived beyond his teenage years and married Eliza Strachan on July 10, 1816 in Petersburg, Virginia (LVA, RBBP n.d.; LVA, RE 1816). From this union came two children before Robert also succumbed to tuberculosis on February 9, 1828 (LVA, RBBP n.d; see Appendix 1). A few days later on February 17 the family was visited by tragedy again when Robert's sister Letitia Madison Slaughter died (LVA, RE 1828). And to add to the family's eventful month, on February 22 a third child was born to Robert and Eliza, a son who was given the name of his deceased father. This Robert Lewis Madison would later marry his second cousin, Letitia Ramolina Lee, as previously discussed in this chapter, and then bury his wife in the family cemetery near the unmarked grave of his father. Eliza Strachan Madison stayed at Woodberry Forest for a short period of time and then moved back to Petersburg, Virginia where she died on November 18, 1837 and was buried in the Blandford Cemetery (LVA, RBBP n.d.).

Elizabeth Madison, the second youngest daughter of William and Frances, was born on October 5, 1802. In 1819 at the age of 16 she married Lewis Willis (VHS 1762-1828; McGroarty 1981:741; Pecquet du Bellet 1907a:285). From this marriage two children were born before Elizabeth passed away on April 6, 1824 (LVA, RE 1824). Frances Willis, a daughter of Lewis and Elizabeth, would later become the second wife of Col. John Hancock Lee, and would be buried in 1859 in a marked grave within the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier. The burial of Frances Willis Lee at Montpelier may indicate that her mother, along with her father and a young sibling are also found in the cemetery. Lewis Willis died sometime between 1830 and 1832 in Culpeper County, Virginia. The obituary of Frances Throckmorton Madison, found in the September 7, 1832 edition of the *Richmond Enquirer*, implies that Lewis had predeceased his mother-in-law. The obituary states that "two little grand children, whom the death of parents had cast under her immediate care" were residing at Woodberry Forest at the time of her death (LVA, RE 1832). These two children could only be the offspring of Lewis Willis, the daughter Frances and an unnamed male child. What happened to the male child is not known, but it appears that he died prior to the 1840 census because he does not appear in the household of his grandfather William Madison (USCO, MC 1840:317).

The matriarch of the family, Frances Throckmorton Madison, went to her grave on August 20, 1832, after many years of suffering from the same disease that ravaged her family (Norfleet 1979:190). She outlived only three of her eleven children, but one of those, her youngest son John would in 1833 join her in death. William Madison continued to live at Woodberry Forest. Two years after the death of his first wife he married again, to Nancy Jarrell.²¹ At the age of 81, William Madison passed away at his home in Madison County on July 19, 1843 and, as Elizabeth Norfleet writes, "It is presumed that he is buried at Montpelier, as there is no burying ground on the Woodberry Forest property" (Norfleet n.d.). The 1843 deaths of William Madison in July and that of his sister Sarah Catlett Madison Macon in October marked the end of an era. All of the sons and daughters of James Madison, Sr. had passed away, with some of them and their families contained within the walls of the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier. The continued use of the cemetery into the 20th century by the family and descendants of William Madison reinforces the assumption that he, his wife, and all of the family so far discussed in this section are buried at Montpelier.

²¹ Nancy Jarrell (1792-1860) was not only the second wife of William Madison, but also appears to have been his mistress during the time he was married to Frances Throckmorton Madison (Ann Miller, personal communication 2002). Sometime between 1810 and 1820 Nancy gave birth to an illegitimate son who took the name John "Jack" R. Madison. Jack is found living at Woodberry Forest in the household of William Madison and his second wife Nancy in the 1840 census (USCO, MC 1840:317). After the death of William Madison in 1843, Nancy lived at Woodberry Forest for a short duration, eventually moving to Ohio in the early 1850s where she dies in 1860 (USCO, MC 1850:96; MA n.d.[ca.1987]). Jack Madison married Lucy F. Routt on March 8, 1841, they had three children: James Madison, Mary F. Madison, and Lucy F. Madison. Jack died sometime between 1847 and 1850 and is believed to be buried in the Routt family cemetery near Somerset in Orange County, along with his wife who died sometime between 1870 and 1880.

The only male child of William and Frances Madison who lived to a relatively old age was Maj. Ambrose Madison. On September 16, 1819, he married Jane Bankhead Willis of Willis Grove, Orange County, and soon after acquired a tract of land in Orange County which he named Cleveland (Warren 1929; LVA, Virginia Herald [VH] 1819; Miller 1988:108; see Figure 9-24). Ambrose and Jane had a total of seven children, only one of whom died in childhood. The remaining six lived to adulthood, married and had families, and of these, four are believed to be buried in the family cemetery at Montpelier along with their descendants.²² The first child was a daughter, Lucy Taliaferro Madison, whose history and genealogy have already been discussed in this chapter. She married her second cousin Col. John Willis and was buried within the cemetery at Montpelier in a marked grave. The second child of Ambrose and Jane was Mary Frances Madison born April 12, 1822 (Pecquet du Bellet 1907a:286). She later married Col. Robert Burton Marye of Fredericksburg on June 22, 1843 and from the marriage two sons were born: Alfred and Ambrose (LVA, Richmond Whig [RW] 1843; LVA, RBBP n.d.). After thirteen years of marriage Mary passed away on November 13, 1856 and was buried in the Madison family cemetery beneath a marble obelisk. Her husband and children eventually moved out of the area after the Civil War so their burials are not contained within the cemetery.

The possibility exists that one of Ambrose and Jane Madison's offspring died as a young child. Census records indicate that a young female child, born sometime between 1821 and 1825, was living in the Cleveland household in 1830 (USCO, OC

²² The two youngest daughters of Maj. Ambrose Madison married and moved out of the area. Eliza Lewis Madison (1834-1886) married Col. Thomas Dorsey Taliaferro and moved to Cook County, Texas where they died and were buried (Massingberd 1975:141; Nicklin 1981:505). Leila Bankhead Madison (1837-1870/1900) married William Pope Dabney (1829-1894) and moved to Powhatan County, Virginia where they raised a large family (Massingberd 1975:141; Warren 1929; Pecquet du Bellet 1907a:286).

1830:319). All of the other children born by this time are accounted for, leaving the one unknown female. The possibility exists that the child enumerated in the census was not an offspring of Maj. Ambrose Madison and instead was a cousin or other relation to the family; but the opposite could also be true. In the 1840 census all of the children are accounted for except for the mysterious unknown female child, thereby indicating that she died or that she was a family member who moved out of the household during the interim (USCO, OC 1840:15). Without further documentation the exact history of this unknown female cannot be exposed, but for now it is possible that an unnamed female child of Ambrose and Jane Madison was buried at Montpelier sometime between 1830 and 1840.

When William Madison died in 1843 his son Maj. Ambrose Madison inherited Woodberry Forest and resided on the property. Ambrose lived the simple life of a farmer up until his own death on December 26, 1855 and was buried in the Madison family cemetery beneath a simple red sandstone marker (Miller 1988:108; USCO, MC 1850:96; LVA, RW 1856; Figure 20). His wife continued to live at Woodberry Forest up until her death on May 16, 1862 (LVA, RBBP n.d.). In the 1862 diary of Fanny Hume the entry for Sunday May 18th states that "Cousin Jane Madison ... died night before last – was buried this afternoon at Montpelier" (Grymes 1994:95). Much like the death of Nelly Conway Madison Willis later that same year, the circumstances of the war economy precluded any attempt to procure a gravestone for the burial of Jane, so now she lies in an unmarked grave beside the marked grave of her husband.

The last of the burials associated with the family of William Madison and the last of the Madison family genealogy to be discussed in this chapter are the

Figure 20 Gravestone of Maj. Ambrose Madison



descendants of James Ambrose Madison and William Willis Madison, two sons of Maj. Ambrose Madison. The possibility exists that William Willis Madison was buried at Montpelier though he is believed to have died in Shreveport, Louisiana in 1888 (Grymes 1994:51). William married Roberta Willis Taliaferro sometime in the late 1840s or early 1850s and moved to Texas about 1859. When his wife died in the 1860s he left Texas and settled in Louisiana, though it appears that he made frequent trips back to Virginia. In 1861 he is found visiting in the area and then in the 1880 census he is found in the household of his brother Dr. James Ambrose Madison (Cortada 1983:64; USCO, OC 1880:229). Further research will hopefully unearth more of the later history of William Willis Madison. For now, the possibility exists that if he did remain in Orange County after 1880 and up until his death then he could have been buried in the cemetery at Montpelier, and even if he did die in Louisiana his remains may have made their last visit to his home county by railroad to be interred within the family burying ground.

James Ambrose Madison, the son of Ambrose and Jane Madison, was born at Cleveland on July 14, 1828 (Massingberd 1975:141). He attended the University of Virginia and the Virginia Military Institute, and later matriculated through the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia to complete his medical studies (LVA, SBFSB n.d.; LVA, RBBP n.d.). In 1850 he married Lucy Marie Hiden and soon after in 1851 the first of their seven children was born (Massingberd 1975:141). Four of these seven children are buried in the cemetery at Montpelier.²³ In 1857, Dr. Madison acquired a tract of land adjacent to Montpelier where he built a house (Miller 1988:99). The house and the land are now part of the Montpelier museum property. In this house Dr. Madison raised his family, watched the calamitous affects of the Civil War come and go in the county, and worked as a farmer and

²³ The three offspring of Dr. James Ambrose Madison who are not buried at Montpelier are: Fanny Throckmorton Madison (ca.1853-aft.1870) married Rev. Joseph A. French about 1870 and afterwards moved out of the Orange County area (Massingberd 1975:141); Edward Cooper Madison (1857-1937) married Elizabeth Fox Stagg (1864-1952) and resided in the Newport News, Virginia area all their lives where - they are buried in the Peninsula Memorial Cemetery (MA, Col. James Gordon Madison Family Tree n.d.); and Joseph Hiden Madison (1868-1930/1940) married Emma C. about 1902 and resided near Scottsville in Albemarle County, Virginia (Massingberd 1975:141; USCO, Albemarle County [AC] 1910:7).

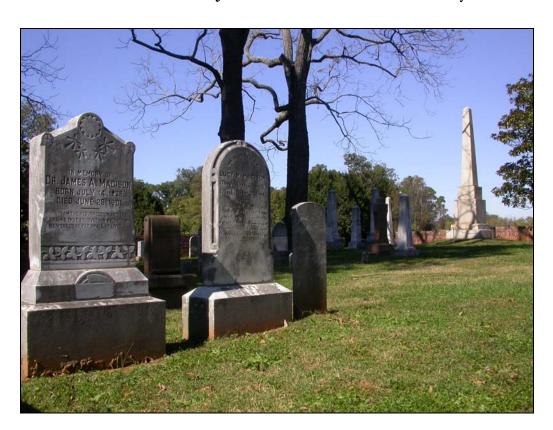


Figure 21 Gravestones of Dr. James Ambrose Madison and Family

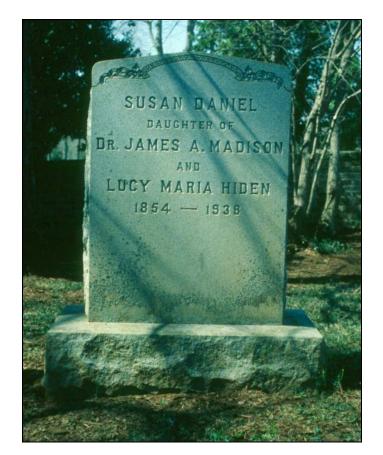
Contained in the far southeast corner of the Madison family cemetery are (from left to right) the gravestones of Dr. James Ambrose Madison, his father Maj. Ambrose Madison in the background, his first wife Lucy Hiden Madison, and their eldest son Ambrose Gilmer Madison.

physician up until his passing on June 28, 1901 (LVA, RBBP n.d.; Figure 21).

The first of James and Lucy Madison's children to die was not the first of the family to be buried in the cemetery at Montpelier. On May 12, 1880, Alfred Madison died in a railroad accident in southwest Virginia and was buried in the vicinity of the accident (MA 1901). Dr. Madison, in the last months of his life, arranged to have the remains of his son buried in the family cemetery at Montpelier, at which time the gravestone above Alfred's burial was placed. Before Alfred Madison was brought home Dr. Madison lost his first wife Lucy on July 27, 1886. He was married again

on April 18, 1893 to Frances Branch Willis at St. Thomas' Episcopal Church and just six years later in 1899 attended her funeral at the same church (Warren 1933:75). After the death of Dr. Madison, two of his unmarried children, James and Susan, continued to live in the area. His son James Willis Madison lived in the town of Orange and worked as a school teacher. He died on February 16, 1916 and was buried by his surviving sister Susan in the Madison family cemetery (USCO, OC 1910:88). On February 28, 1928, Ambrose Gilmer Madison, the eldest child of Dr. James Madison, died in New York where he had moved with his family and worked as a salesman. Soon after Ambrose's death his wife, Margaret McGary Madison, had

Figure 22 Gravestone of Susan Daniel Madison



him cremated and sent his remains to Virginia. The remains were presumably received by Susan, the only surviving sibling living in the area, and the urn was buried in the family cemetery with a gravestone (Davis 2002).

Susan Daniel Madison never married and lived her whole life in the small Orange County community where she was born and raised. In the 1900 census she is found living with her father Dr. Madison in the house near Montpelier, and after his death, when the property was bought by William duPont, she is found in the 1920 census living in a boarding house in Gordonsville (USCO, OC 1900:87; USCO, OC 1920:100). When the William Byrd Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution approached Marion duPont concerning stewardship of the cemetery they were put in contact with Susan to represent the Madison family (NSDAR, WBC 1930). She would have been one of a very few who still had ties to the old cemetery, and it is fitting that at her death in 1938 she was buried within the walls of her ancestors' hallowed ground (Figure 22). With Susan Daniel Madison's burial the last of the Madison family joined the community of the dead at Montpelier.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUDING THE (HI)STORY: CONTEXTUALIZING COMMEMORATION

Newspapers have copied or promulgated the error that no one knew where was his [James Madison, Jr.'s] grave. Where should it be but by the side of his father, mother, brothers and sisters and their relatives, in the old family burying ground surrounded by a brick wall, and shaded by his own loved forest trees, forever dead to the pomp of life! Tho' beautiful Montpelier has passed into other hands, this sacred spot has always been revered – should anyone attempt to desecrate it, there are his <u>own relatives</u> and <u>neighbors</u> with watchful eyes and jealous hearts, willing and able to defend the graves of their forefathers.

- Mary E. E. Cutts memoir ca.1850 (Langston-Harrison 2002:35).

The fictional stories that introduced the previous two chapters assist in the construction of the long, complex, and in many cases untold history of the Madison family cemetery. The stories, through a careful application of the existing historical and archaeological record, expand upon specific events that shaped the history of the cemetery. Whether through the fictional voice of James Madison, Jr. who recounts the story of his grandmother Frances Taylor Madison's burial in Chapter II or in the fictional journal entry of James Madison, Sr. regarding the death of his son Francis in Chapter III, the stories contextualize historical events that in such perspicuity are not found within the existing records. For the beginning of this chapter there is no need for a fictional story. Mary Cutts provides an appropriate introduction for this last chapter which will answer the questions posed in this thesis: Why are some burials in the Madison family cemetery marked and others unmarked? And in particular, why

was James Madison, Jr.'s burial not marked with a gravestone until twenty-one years after his death?

The quote from the Mary Cutts memoir encapsulates the themes and concepts which lie at the heart of this thesis. The 'cemetery as community' concept allows one to see James Madison, Jr. and the ancestors and descendants buried by his side as the community of the dead. The community of the living is made up of those "relatives and neighbors" who with "watchful eyes and jealous hearts" maintained and preserved the cemetery and the memory of the Madison family. But the living community is also made up of those outside the family, as exemplified by the newspapers, which, as Cutts writes, promulgate erroneous information. The unmarked grave of James Madison, Jr. is not lost to the family, but without the presence of a gravestone the community of the living outside the family has no means of finding "where was his grave."

Mary Cutts' description of the family cemetery and the location of the unmarked burial of James Madison, Jr. reinforce what has already been stated in this thesis. James Madison, Jr.'s unmarked grave was not an oversight on the part of the Madison family, but instead, the burial was left unmarked because he was a member of the family. Family members were buried before him in unmarked graves, and with his burial he joined this community of the dead. His commemoration was his name and lineage; the family cemetery with its surrounding brick wall was his grave marker.

Using the Mary Cutts quote as an entry point into the contextual history of the Madison family cemetery reveals a dynamic history of many past and many present communities of the living and the dead. In order to answer the questions posed in this thesis one must try to understand how the living communities perceived the commemoration of the dead community. By returning to the question posed in the title of this thesis one can see how concepts of commemoration changed through time and reflect the actions of the many past living communities. Who was buried in James Madison's grave? James Madison, Jr., the family member, was buried in the cemetery at Montpelier at the time Mary Cutts wrote her memoirs. President James Madison is not yet found in the small family burial ground, and would not be until after September 15, 1857, when the obelisk was erected above his grave. To ask why James Madison, Jr.'s grave and other burials in the cemetery were marked or not marked requires an informed engagement with the historical context.

What does it mean to mark burials? In response, to commemorate the lives of family members found in the community of the dead. But this answer leads to other questions: Why are more than half the burials not marked? Were their lives not worthy of commemoration? No, the unmarked burials were still commemorated, but in ways that are no longer readily apparent to the modern viewer. To understand why some burials are marked and others are unmarked one must first understand how the living communities viewed death and burial, and the historical context in which their actions took place. For those in the past who buried their loved ones in unmarked graves it was not because they viewed the burials as less important, but rather it is modern bias that causes perceived inequality. Utilizing the concept of *différance* put forward in this thesis one can see that any commemorative action in the cemetery is informed not only by the form of that action but also by the context in which the action took place. Therefore, the construction of the historical context for the commemorative act of marking a grave

or leaving a grave unmarked is a way of interpreting the meaning of the action. Burial does not exist within a cultural or social vacuum, but instead is informed by everything that makes up the context within which the commemorative action occurred.

Simple straightforward answers do not exist for the questions asked. The questions are proposed as a means of engaging the past. To ask why certain burials are marked and others are unmarked in the Madison family cemetery is to view from the modern perspective the contrasts seen within the material culture and the documentary record. The genealogical construction of the community of the dead found in Chapter II and Chapter III reveals that over half the burials are unmarked, but more importantly it surmounts the barrier of relying solely on the gravestones to understand the history of the cemetery. The contrast between marked and unmarked graves provides a way through which the historical context of the cemetery can be engaged to find meaning within the differences. As Aubrey Cannon writes:

Mortuary practices do not change because they float free of social and historical circumstances and are therefore more subject to external influence (Kroeber 1927:313) or the less consistent consciousness of tradition that is born of infrequent application (Adams 1968:203). They change because they serve as media for social expression and because they derive meaning through contrast with contemporary and past expressions. The ability to perceive contrast is therefore the key to understanding the general rule of positive expressive association while systematically accounting for exceptions to it (1989:446).

The marked and unmarked graves are equally important. One type of grave rendering cannot be held privileged over the other. The differences between the two, along with how the one defers its meaning from the other, provide information concerning perceptions of commemoration held by the many living communities who created, maintained and preserved the Madison family cemetery through time.

What is a Marked or an Unmarked Grave Anyway?

Before moving forward, one sometimes has to take a step backward. The momentum of this thesis has propelled forward the questions that must be answered, but before the questions find their just rewards, more questions must be asked of the questions themselves. Basically, before the 'why' can be answered the 'what' must be approached: What is a marked or an unmarked grave anyway?

The marked graves, as defined in this thesis, consist of the gravestones that are present within the modern cemetery. Gravestones provide epitaphs, names, and dates; information that can be read as text by the modern observer to let the dead speak. But are these the only commemorative markers that existed? Did wooden grave markers, which have not stood the test of time, once stand in the Madison family cemetery? In addition, do the present gravestones represent all the gravestones which have been placed in the cemetery? Occurrences of vandalism have been found in the historical record. Did these destructive events remove grave markers from the cemetery landscape, and therefore from the view of the present research?

The questions above bring into focus the limitations of the visible material culture studied in the Madison family cemetery. Further information can be obtained from the archaeological and historical record to understand what the past living communities thought and the present modern research can justifiably call a marked grave. To the modern visitor, the cemetery contains granite, marble and sandstone gravestones that stand vigil over their buried wards. The brick wall encompasses and defines the extent of the hallowed ground, and simple quartz and greenstone fieldstones are scattered ubiquitously and unobtrusively throughout

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portions of the burial ground. Each of these landscape features has a story to tell, but what of the features that are no longer visible on the landscape? For the past living communities of the Madison family what did they perceive as a marked grave? The early graves were not marked with inscribed gravestones but they still spoke to the family, invoking the past that was buried below the ground.

Wooden Grave Markers?

The use of wooden markers in the Madison family cemetery is not documented within the existing historical or archaeological record. To hypothesize that such markers may have existed, one must place the Madison family cemetery within the context of mortuary display found in other historic period cemeteries. As seen in Chapter II, burial traditions were brought from the Tidewater to the new Piedmont settlements. In 1986, N. V. Mackie wrote, "To date, no documentary or archeological evidence has been discovered to verify either the manufacture or use of wooden markers in Tidewater Virginia" (52). Since this statement was made archaeological excavations at Flowerdew Hundred in Virginia and at St. Mary's City, Maryland, have found evidence for the use of wooden markers during the 17th century (Deetz 1993:37; Riordan 1997:35-38). Before these discoveries, Mackie and others assumed that wooden markers may have existed in Virginia because of examples found in Charleston, South Carolina (Ravenel 1942; Rose 1933). In New England, wooden grave markers are documented to have existed in 17th-century cemeteries before the proliferation of stone markers in the 18th century (Forman 1968; Benes 1975). From these examples one can see that the tradition of placing

wooden markers did exist in the American colonies during the 17th century, but their widespread use throughout the colonies or beyond this time period is not a certainty.

On a more localized level, there is no indication that wooden markers were used with any regularity in the Orange County area. Margaret Klein, in her survey of Orange County cemeteries, found no evidence for wooden markers and no oral history to indicate that at one time they did exist (1979). An early 18th-century account, written by a visitor to Germanna, the plantation of Governor Alexander Spotswood located in the eastern portion of the county, shows that the use of wooden markers in the area was not common:

My uncle died being the governor's factor at a place called Germawa [sic] in the upper parts of this Colony whom he berried their and put pails about his berrial place which is not very common in this country (*The William and Mary College Quarterly* [WMQ] 1898a:253).

The author of the account may simply be describing a wooden fence that Spotswood had placed around the burial ground. The other possibility is that the "pails" may have looked similar to the head of a bed frame with the name and burial information carved or simply painted onto the wooden marker. These types of markers leave a definite signature within the archaeological record. Holes for the posts are formed either by digging, or by staking the post directly into the ground (Riordan 1997:36-37). Evidence for wooden grave marker posts was not found during the archaeological survey of the Madison family cemetery.

The evidence does not definitively prove or disprove the existence of wooden grave markers in the Madison family cemetery. Even if they were used, the family would have understood their temporary nature. A wooden marker is even simpler in function than the uninscribed fieldstone markers which are present in the cemetery. At least with fieldstone markers some degree of permanency was attained. Whether there was a symbolism attached to the marker, or it was merely used to mark the location of a burial, the placement of wooden and/or fieldstone markers was not exhibitive of a permanent commemorative action on the part of the living family community. With the deterioration of the wood or the loss of family memory through the passage of time, the graves of the deceased buried below either wood or fieldstone were forgotten.

If wooden markers with the names of family members were placed within the cemetery they could not be considered in the same light as the existing inscribed gravestones. The question of why some graves are marked and others are unmarked can therefore be amended to denote the contrast between the permanency of the commemorative act of placing a gravestone and the impermanent commemoration exhibited in the placement of wooden markers, fieldstone markers, or the simple act of leaving a burial unmarked. Permanency should not be misunderstood to correlate with importance, for both marked and unmarked graves were commemorative actions by the living community. The perceived permanency exhibited in the placement of a gravestone may obfuscate historic perceptions of commemoration. The act of burial, the planting of an individual in the ground, is itself a marker on the landscape, which for the living community who witnessed the act left an indelible mark on their memory. Permanency is just one aspect of the context which must be engaged to understand the historic living communities and their views concerning death and burial.

Vandalism and its Effects

Before one can begin to focus on the history of commemoration found within the Madison family cemetery, as exhibited in the material culture of the gravestones, one must first decide if the permanency of this commemorative action is as certain as first believed. Vandalism has occurred in the Madison family cemetery through the years, though it is believed, not to the extent that gravestones have been broken, desecrated and removed from the cemetery, lost to the present study. This section will describe the historical and archaeological evidence to support this conclusion, and thereby show that the marked community of the dead found in the cemetery is representative of the commemorative actions of the historic living communities.

In 1998, vandals knocked over Dolley Madison's gravestone breaking it into three pieces (see Figure 6). This was not an isolated event. The 20th-century history of the Madison family cemetery is replete with numerous episodes of vandalism. Edward 'Buck' Smith, who worked for the duPont family, as did his father before him, grew up on the Montpelier property and remembers at least three separate incidents when all of the gravestones, except that of the President's obelisk, were toppled over by vandals (personal communication 2000). In 1954, Marion duPont Scott, the owner of Montpelier, had many of the "tombstones reset" in the cemetery, and later in 1973, she replaced the broken marble gravestone of Nellie Ross Willis with a new granite marker (see Table 1; NSDAR, WBC 1954, 1973; also quoted in Schmidt 2000). The wanton destruction by vandals does not appear to have affected the integrity of the gravestones as a whole. A 1937 list of all the gravestones found within the cemetery matches exactly with the existing material culture, with the exception of Susan Daniel Madison's gravestone which was placed in the cemetery after her burial in 1938 (Wayland 1937:399). Nellie Ross Willis' broken marble tablet and the present condition of the other gravestones in the cemetery exhibit the rough treatment received through time, but even so, no gravestones appear to have been lost during the 20th century.

Similar to the 1937 list of gravestones, an 1863 account by a Civil War soldier who visited the Madison family cemetery provides a glimpse of the gravestones which existed at that time. The soldier describes President Madison's obelisk, the location of Dolley Madison's grave, and continues with a description of the gravestones walking in a straight line from north to south in the cemetery:

Nearby stands a beautiful white marble monument bearing the inscription, "My Wife." On the base, "In Memory of Letitia, wife of Dr. R. L. Madison." ... Nearby stands another beautiful shaft inscribed, "My Sister." On the base are the words "Lucy W. Lee," "born" and "died," such and such a date. The whole enclosure is filled with graves, many of them nameless, on the others occur the names Willis, Conway, Macon, Marye, etc. (Justice 1836-1893; Miller 2002:145-146).

When the historic account is compared with the layout of the cemetery one can see a correlation between the names and the locations of gravestones. The Lee and Willis family names are found in the Ambrose & William Madison section of the cemetery just to the south of President Madison's monument; the Conways and Macons are contained in the Sarah Macon area; and Mary Marye is located in the far southern portion of the cemetery in the William Madison section (see Figure 11). Only one gravestone is not mentioned in this account. The soldier would have walked by the marked grave of Ambrose Madison who died in 1855 and was the father of Mary Marye (see Table 1, gravestone 6; and Figure 20. His gravestone was apparently not mentioned because it marked a Madison-named family member buried in the Madison family cemetery.

Between the 1863 account and the 1937 listing the possibility exists that one gravestone was removed from the cemetery. A brick footing that may have once supported a gravestone is located in the Ambrose & William Madison section of the cemetery (see Figure 11). It possibly marks the grave of Col. John Hancock Lee who died in 1873 (see Table 1, gravestone 26). Archaeological excavations reveal that the footing was constructed when the grave shaft was initially backfilled. The bottom section is vaulted, with each end of the vault extending beyond the width of the actual grave. The vaulted construction allowed for the subsidence of the grave shaft without affecting the footing's stability. The intention to place a marker on the footing may have never come to fruition. No evidence of mortar was found on the footing to indicate that a stone had been placed on top of it. If the gravestone had been toppled over one could presume that pieces of the stone would have been deposited in the archaeological record, but nothing was discovered in the excavations surrounding the footing. Considering the fact that the original stones for Reuben Conway and Nellie Ross Willis (see Table 1) are still present in the cemetery, it seems likely that if a gravestone did exist for the footing it would still be present in some form.

The archaeological and historical records confirm the possibility that all of the gravestones ever placed in the Madison family cemetery have been preserved. Archaeology does not reveal evidence of additional gravestone footers or post holes for wooden markers. The documentary record, though replete with episodes of vandalism, indicates that no gravestones were lost through the long history of the cemetery. The living communities that created the cemetery also appear to have been very active in maintaining and preserving the gravestones. One can therefore assume that the gravestones are an accurate representation of the historic living communities' commemorative actions. By understanding that the marked graves are a product of these commemorative actions, and not a byproduct of preservation, the questions asked in this thesis are one step closer to being answered.

Commemorating the Dead in the Landscape of the Living

The fictional stories that introduce the previous two chapters are not the only stories found in this thesis. The textual content of the chapters are a story, a narrative constructed from the historical, genealogical and archaeological records. The historical narratives in Chapter II and Chapter III construct the Madison family cemetery's community of the dead, from the 18th century originating burials up through the last burials in the early 20th century. This chapter tells the story of the historic living communities and their commemorative actions which created the marked and unmarked graves found in the cemetery.

The 79 individuals who make up the Madison family cemetery's community of the dead are found in Table 9. It is not a complete compilation of all the burials contained within the cemetery. The archaeological record hints that as many as 100 burials may exist (see Introduction). Future research will undoubtedly uncover more information. Some of the burials included in Table 9 may not have been buried in the cemetery, and additional burials may be added to the list, but for now, this thesis has constructed a relatively complete picture of the community of the dead buried in the Madison family cemetery. By quantifying and personifying the community of the dead one can understand when burials occurred, the overall patterns of use exhibited by the burials, and also gain better insight into the communities of the living who

TABLE 9						
Madison Family Cemetery Burials 1732-1938						
Name	Death Date	Age	Grave Rendering	Family Relationship	Family Grouping	
MADISON, Ambrose	27 Aug 1732	36	Possible Unmarked	Root Person		
MADISON, Catlett	18 Mar 1758	0-1	Possible Unmarked	Grandson	James Madison, Sr.	
MADISON, Frances Taylor	25 Nov 1761	61	Possible Unmarked	Wife		
MADISON, Infant Male	1766	0-1	Possible Unmarked	Grandson	James Madison, Sr.	
MADISON, Stillborn Infant Male	12 Jul 1770	0-1	Possible Unmarked	Grandson	James Madison, Sr.	
MADISON, Elizabeth	17 May 1775	7	Possible Unmarked	Granddaughter	James Madison, Sr.	
MADISON, Reuben	5 Jun 1775	3	Possible Unmarked	Grandson	James Madison, Sr.	
MADISON, Unknown Female	1785/1795	2-12	Possible Unmarked	Great-granddaughter	Ambrose Madison	
MADISON, Ambrose	3 Oct 1793	38	Possible Unmarked	Grandson	Ambrose Madison	
MADISON, Mary Willis Lee	14 Mar 1798	40	Documented Unmarked	Granddaughter-in-law	Ambrose Madison	
MACON, Francis Edward	14 Apr 1800	0-1	Possible Unmarked	Great-grandson	Sarah Macon	
MADISON, James Sr.	27 Feb 1801	77	Documented Unmarked	Son	James Madison, Sr.	
MACON, Elizabeth	25 Feb 1805	1	Possible Unmarked	Great-granddaughter	Sarah Macon	
MADISON, John	23 Mar 1809	21	Possible Unmarked	Great-grandson	William Madison	
ROSE, Ann Fitzhugh or Mary M.	1810/1820	3-13	Possible Unmarked	Great-granddaughter	Frances Rose	
WILLIS, John	1 Apr 1811	36	Marked (1830s-1840s?)	Great-grandson-in-law	Ambrose Madison	
MADISON, William F. Jr.	11 Jul 1812	23	Documented Unmarked	Great-grandson	William Madison	
MADISON, Lucy Frances	28 Dec 1813	13	Possible Unmarked	Great-granddaughter	William Madison	
SCOTT, John Mayo	23 Sept 1820	1	Documented Unmarked		Non-family	
MADISON, James Edwin	6 Oct 1821	23	Documented Unmarked	Great-grandson	William Madison	
WILLIS, Elizabeth Madison	6 Apr 1824	21	Possible Unmarked	Great-granddaughter	William Madison	
MADISON, Robert Lewis	9 Feb 1828	33	Possible Unmarked	Great-grandson	William Madison	
MADISON, Nelly Conway	11 Feb 1829	97	Documented Unmarked	Daughter-in-law	James Madison, Sr.	
WILLIS, Lewis	1830/1832	29-36	Possible Unmarked	Great-grandson-in-law	William Madison	
MADISON, Unknown Female	1830/1840	5-19	Possible Unmarked	2nd g-granddaughter	William Madison	
MACON, Sarah Elizabeth	22 Jul 1831	14	Possible Unmarked	2nd g-granddaughter	Sarah Macon	

TABLE 9						
Madison Family Cemetery Burials 1732-1938						
Name	Death Date	Age	Grave Rendering	Family Relationship	Family Grouping	
WILLIS, Child Male	1832/1839	8-19	Possible Unmarked	2nd g-grandson	William Madison	
MADISON, Frances Throckmorton	20 Aug 1832	67	Possible Unmarked	Granddaughter-in-law	William Madison	
MADISON, John	10 Aug 1833	25	Possible Unmarked	Great-grandson	William Madison	
PAYNE, Unknown Male	Bef Feb 1834	4-14	Documented Unmarked		Non-family	
LEE, Mary Lee Willis	29 Mar 1836	29	Marked (late 1850s)	2nd g-granddaughter	Ambrose Madison	
MADISON, James Jr.	28 Jun 1836	85	Marked (1857)	Grandson	James Madison, Jr.	
LEE, John Willis	16 Feb 1837	0-1	Marked (late 1850s)	3rd g-grandson	Ambrose Madison	
CONWAY, Reuben	3 Jan 1838	49	Marked	Great-grandson-in-law	Sarah Macon	
MACON, Thomas	26 Feb 1838	72	Marked	Grandson-in-law	Sarah Macon	
LEE, Ambrose Madison	26 Mar 1838	6	Marked (late 1850s)	3rd g-grandson	Ambrose Madison	
MADISON, William	19 Jul 1843	81	Possible Unmarked	Grandson	William Madison	
PAYNE, William Temple	Aug 1843	20-23	Documented Unmarked		Non-family	
MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison	17 Oct 1843	79	Marked	Granddaughter	Sarah Macon	
MADISON, Dolley Payne Todd	12 Jul 1849	81	Marked (1858)	Granddaughter-in-law	James Madison, Jr.	
MACON, Reuben Conway	1 May 1853	45	Possible Unmarked	Great-grandson	Sarah Macon	
MACON, Henry	12 Oct 1853	47	Possible Unmarked	Great-grandson	Sarah Macon	
LEE, Lucy C.	26 Aug 1855	21	Marked	3rd g-granddaughter	Ambrose Madison	
MADISON, Ambrose	26 Dec 1855	59	Marked	Great-grandson	William Madison	
MACON, William Ambrose	3 Apr 1856	58	Possible Unmarked	Great-grandson	Sarah Macon	
MARYE, Mary Frances Madison	13 Nov 1856	34	Marked	2nd g-granddaughter	William Madison	
MADISON, Letitia Ramolina Lee	2 Jan 1857	27	Marked	3rd g-granddaughter 2nd g-granddaughter-in-law	Ambrose & William Madison	
LEE, Mary Willis	13 Apr 1859	14	Marked	3rd g-granddaughter 3rd g-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
LEE, Frances Willis	17 Aug 1859	39	Marked	2nd g-granddaughter-in-law 2nd g-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	

TABLE 9						
Madison Family Cemetery Burials 1732-1938						
Name	Death Date	Age	Grave Rendering	Family Relationship	Family Grouping	
MACON, Edgar	21 Jul 1861	34	Possible Unmarked	2nd g-grandson	Sarah Macon	
MADISON, Jane Bankhead Willis	16 May 1862	59	Documented Unmarked	Great-granddaughter-in-law	William Madison	
WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison	4 Nov 1862	81	Documented Unmarked	Great-granddaughter	Ambrose Madison	
MADISON, Letitia	1863/1870	7-14	Possible Unmarked	4th g-granddaughter 3rd g-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Lucy Taliaferro Madison	16 Feb 1868	47	Marked	2nd g-granddaughter-in-law 2nd g-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Lucie S. Robinson	17 Feb 1869	24	Marked	3rd g-granddaughter-in-law 3rd g-granddaughter-in-law	Ambrose & William Madison	
WILLIS, Claudia	14 Mar 1869	0-1	Marked	4th g-granddaughter 4th g-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
MADISON, Mary S. Lee	1871/June 1878	16-23	Possible Unmarked	4th g-granddaughter 3rd g-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
CONWAY, Lucy Hartwell Macon	13 May 1871	77	Marked	Great-granddaughter	Sarah Macon	
LEE, John Hancock	11 Sep 1873	70	Possible Unmarked	2nd g-grandson-in-law 2nd g-grandson-in-law	Ambrose & William Madison	
LEE, Nelly	6 Jan 1876	49	Possible Unmarked	3rd g-granddaughter 3rd g-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	
MACON, James Hartwell Madison Sr.	3 Feb 1877	85	Marked	Great-grandson	Sarah Macon	
MACON, Lucetta Todd Newman	1 Jan 1878	79	Marked	Great-granddaughter-in-law	Sarah Macon	
MADISON, Alfred	12 May 1880	18	Marked (1901)	3rd g-grandson	William Madison	
CARSON, Frank	Feb 1881	62	Marked		Non-family	
WILLIS, John	9 Dec 1885	75-76	Marked	2nd g-grandson 2nd g-grandson-in-law	Ambrose & William Madison	
MADISON, Lucy Maria Hiden	27 Jul 1886	56	Marked	2nd g-granddaughter-in-law	William Madison	
MADISON, William Willis	1888	62	Possible Unmarked	2nd g-grandson	William Madison	
WILLIS, Nellie Ross	12 Apr 1893	17	Marked	4th g-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison	

TABLE 9 Madison Family Cemetery Burials 1732-1938					
Name	Death Date	Age	Grave Rendering	Family Relationship	Family Grouping
				4th g-granddaughter	
MACON, Thomas Newman	1899	83	Possible Unmarked	2nd g-grandson	Sarah Macon
MADISON, Frances Branch Willis	28 Oct 1899	57	Marked	2nd g-granddaughter-in-law	William Madison
MADISON, James Ambrose	28 Jun 1901	72	Marked	2nd g-grandson	William Madison
WILLIS, Mary Lee	1908	68	Possible Unmarked	3rd g-granddaughter 3rd g-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison
WILLIS, Mary Elizabeth Lupton	1910/1920	64-74	Possible Unmarked	3rd g-granddaughter-in-law 3rd g-granddaughter-in-law	Ambrose & William Madison
WILLIS, Annie Scott	Aft 1910	31+	Possible Unmarked	4th g-granddaughter 4th g-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison
WILLIS, John C. Jr.	10 Nov 1915	71	Possible Unmarked	3rd g-grandson 3rd g-grandson	Ambrose & William Madison
MADISON, James Willis	16 Feb 1916	60	Marked	3rd g-grandson	William Madison
WILLIS, Bessie Milton	1926	53	Possible Unmarked	4th g-granddaughter 4th g-granddaughter	Ambrose & William Madison
MADISON, Ambrose Gilmer Sr.	28 Feb 1928	77	Marked	3rd g-grandson	William Madison
MADISON, Susan Daniel	1938	84	Marked	3rd g-granddaughter	William Madison

created, maintained and preserved the cemetery through time.

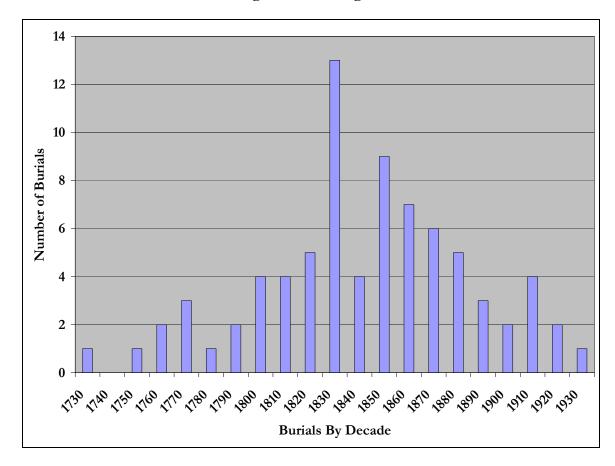
Commemoration exists in many forms. Within the Madison family cemetery, the gravestones are a visible sign of the actions living family members took to commemorate members of the community of the dead. The marked graves stand in stark contrast to the unmarked graves known to exist within the cemetery's hallowed ground. By placing all the burials within the historical context, the meaning of why certain graves are marked and others are unmarked will be discovered. The changes seen in mortuary display, as Cannon writes, "derive meaning through contrast with contemporary and past expressions" (1989:446). By understanding the context of what came before and after each burial, the type of grave rendering, whether marked or unmarked, can be explained.

Patterns of Death and Display Revealed in the Community of the Dead

When the information provided in Table 9 for the community of the dead is viewed across time, patterns of use in the Madison family cemetery are revealed. Breaking the burials down by decade from the 1730s through the 1930s shows how the family's use of the cemetery changed through time (Figure 23). The early cemetery was a small burial ground that was not used very intensively. From 1732 through the 1790s, only ten burials occurred, with a peak of three burials occurring in the 1770s. Ambrose and Frances Madison, the original owners of the property, and the five offspring of James Madison, Sr. who died in childhood were interred in a small burial ground behind Mount Pleasant. The remaining three burials included the grown son of James Madison, Sr., Ambrose Madison, along with his wife and a young daughter. The last three burials are a precursor for the peak use of the

Figure 23

Chart Showing Burials through Time



cemetery starting in the 1800s and continuing through the 1870s.

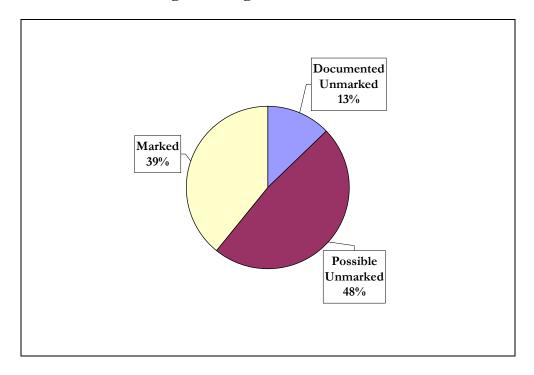
At the height of use, from the 1830s through the 1850s, one-third of the total number of burials (26 out of 79 burials) occurred in the cemetery. The increase in burials from the 1800s through the 1870s is due to the large size of the Madison family living community using the cemetery during this period (see Chapter III). As the 3rd-generation Madison families died off or moved out of the area the use of the cemetery decreased, as seen from the 1870s onward. The decrease can also be attributed to the advent and use of local proprietary community cemeteries. The family history of Reuben Conway Macon, described in Chapter III, is an example of

this shift from the family to the community cemeteries of Graham and Maplewood located outside the towns of Orange and Gordonsville (see Figure 9-21 and 9-22). By the early 20th century, with at least 79 burials and probably more contained within the cemetery walls, it was filled to capacity, so that future burials were limited. Unmarried members of the family community could be interred in the cemetery, such as James Willis Madison and Susan Daniel Madison, but little room was left for large family burial plots. The expansion of the cemetery was not a possibility since the Madison family did not own Montpelier. With the last burial in 1938 the family's use of the cemetery ended.

The cemetery at Montpelier contains more unmarked than marked graves. Based upon the information provided in Table 9 one can see the breakdown of the marked and unmarked community of the dead (Figure 24). Of the total 79 graves, 31 are marked with gravestones, ten are documented unmarked graves, and 38 possible unmarked graves exist based upon the historical and genealogical construction of the cemetery's history. If one views the relationship of marked and unmarked graves chronologically from 1732 to 1938 some interesting insights can be found concerning when the historic living communities placed gravestones within the landscape of the dead.

The archaeological method of seriation presupposes that "a graph of the popularity of any cultural trait" will have a small beginning followed by an increase towards a peak and then gradually fade away (Deetz 1996:93-95; see also Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966). Eighteenth-century markers are not present in the cemetery. Based on what has been presented in Chapter II, this is not surprising. The absence of markers fits within the historical context of burial in Orange County. What is

Figure 24

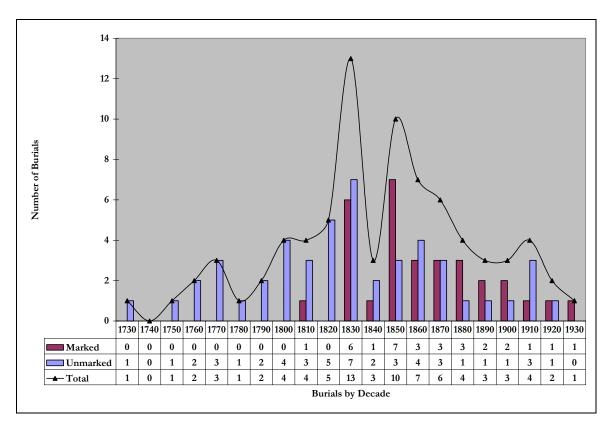


Pie Chart Showing Percentage of Marked vs. Unmarked Graves

surprising is the rapid increase in the number of marked graves that occurs in a relatively short period of time in the early- to mid-19th century. Looking at death dates, the peak use of the cemetery occurred between the 1830s and the 1850s, and the marked graves peak at roughly the same time (Figure 25). A very short period of gradual increase leads to a peak in the use of marked graves. In the 1830s and 1840s, nearly equal numbers of marked and unmarked graves exist, and then by the 1850s the marked graves outnumber the unmarked graves by a ratio of three to one. The increase is even more apparent when one adjusts the chart to allow for the knowledge that some gravestones were placed in the cemetery some years after the

Figure 25

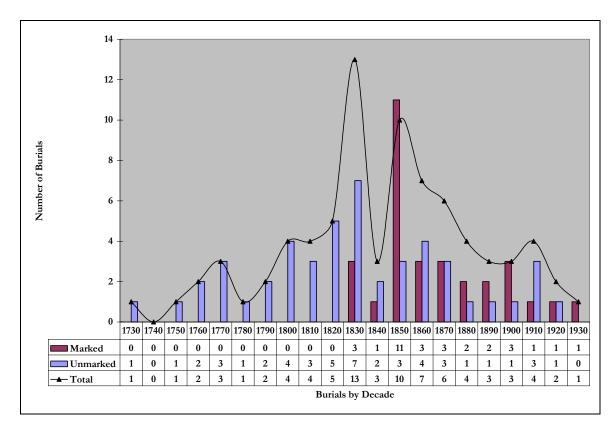
Marked and Unmarked Graves Based on Death Dates



actual death and burial of a family member (Figure 26; see Table 1).¹ In the 1850s, one third of the total marked graves (11 out of 31) appear in the cemetery. The four

¹ For seven family members the dates of their death and burial do not match up with the dates on which their graves were marked (see Table 1). Alfred Madison died in a railroad accident in southwest Virginia in 1880 and his remains were moved to the family cemetery and marked in 1901(MA 1901). Dolley Madison died in Washington, DC in 1849. Her remains were not buried and marked at Montpelier until January 1858 (LVA, RE 1858; Donovan 1966:329). James Madison, Jr. was buried in 1836 and the obelisk was placed above his grave on September 15, 1857. Mary Lee Willis Lee and two of her children died in the 1830s and their marker was placed sometime in the late 1850s. The gravestone of Dr. John Willis, who died in 1811, may not date to the time of his burial but instead is stylistically similar to gravestones which appear in New England between 1830 and the early 1840s (David Via, personal communication 2001). In addition, for Reuben Conway and Nellie Ross Willis who have two gravestones that are still present within the cemetery, the date of burial is used for the placement of the original gravestone. Nellie Willis' gravestone was replaced by Marion duPont Scott in 1973 (NSDAR, WBC 1973). The second gravestone for Reuben Conway was placed in the cemetery sometime in the late 1850s.

Figure 26 Marked and Unmarked Graves Based on Marker Dates



marked graves found for the 1830s and 1840s represent a slight increase towards the peak, but the burst of markers found in the 1850s is an important episode in the history of the cemetery. From this peak period through the 1930s, the decline in marked graves roughly matches the overall decline in the use of the cemetery.

What is missing from the analysis so far is an engagement with the historical context. The information has been presented but not contextualized. The analysis is important but one must delve further into the historical context, delve deeper into the communities of the living who shaped the history of the cemetery to truly begin to understand why some burials are unmarked and others are marked, and why President James Madison's grave was marked while that of James Madison, Jr., the

family member, lay unmarked for over twenty years. In this brief analysis one can see that the community of the dead cannot exist outside of the historical context of the living communities, who through their commemorative actions created the history of the Madison family cemetery.

The Beginnings of the Commemorative Story

The Madison family cemetery began as a small burial ground within the physical and cultural landscape of Mount Pleasant, the original Madison home on the property. In late August of 1732, Ambrose Madison was buried behind Mount Pleasant by his wife and family. The history of the Madison family and their cemetery at Montpelier began with this one burial. As the small burial ground grew with the interment of James Madison, Sr.'s children, and the burial of Frances Madison in 1761, fieldstones were probably placed above the graves to simply mark their locations so that future gravediggers would not disturb their rest. Inscribed gravestones were not placed above the 18th-century graves because of the effort and money it would have taken to import them from England (Crowell and Mackie 1984:12). Very few of their neighbors had gravestones in their own family burying grounds (see Chapter II). The act of burial in the small plot behind Mount Pleasant can be understood as a commemorative act replacing the need for a gravestone. In the 18th century, death was a community event with the ritual of burial centered on the family (Sloane 1991:25). It was not so much that an individual died, but that a member of the community had passed away. The communal event of the burial and funeral, the documenting of the family members' lives in the family bible, these were

commemorative actions by which the living family community remembered their deceased members.

By the early 1760s, the central focus of the Madison plantation shifted from the original home at Mount Pleasant to the new brick house of Montpelier located one-quarter of a mile to the east. The structures at Mount Pleasant remained on the landscape up through the 1770s, used as dwellings for overseers and slaves (Reeves 2003). By the 1790s, when James Madison, Sr.'s son Ambrose Madison and his wife Mary Willis Lee Madison were buried in the cemetery, the physical and cultural landscape within which the old family burial ground existed had disappeared. Mount Pleasant was no longer present to provide reference for the burial ground. Archaeological excavations outside the cemetery's north wall revealed evidence of post holes, possibly associated with a wooden rail fence that enclosed the early burial ground (Baxter 2000). A simple rail fence, used to keep livestock out of the graves, was no longer sufficient to define the boundaries of the cemetery within the landscape of Mount Pleasant, and instead a more permanent brick wall was constructed to recreate, maintain and preserve the cemetery within the larger cultural landscape of Montpelier.

The exact date for the construction of the brick wall is not found within the existing documentary record. The earliest reference for the brick wall comes from an 1839 visitor's account:

The remains of Mr. Madison lie in the adjacent family cemetery with those of his father and his mother by his right side, and room on his left for those who may follow him. Many relatives are interred within the same enclosure, which is covered with box and ornamental trees, and the whole surrounded by a neat brick wall (LC 1839).

This quote has already been used in Chapter III to help verify the burial locations of James Madison, Sr. and Nelly Conway Madison; both of whose grave shafts were uncovered in archaeological excavations (see Figure 12). Since the dates of these burials are known, a comparison between the orientations of the graves and the brick wall can provide a rough timeframe for the wall's construction.

Studies of historic period cemeteries have shown that graves are usually oriented to nearby structures or landscape features such as buildings or fence lines (Riordan 1997). In the Christian burial tradition graves are oriented on an east/west axis with the head facing to the east. Without a reference point, such as a nearby wall, graves were oriented usually to the rising or the setting sun (Rahtz 1978). Assuming that burials postdating the wall's construction are oriented in line with it, then differences in orientation for the parents' burials indicate whether one or the other predate the wall construction. Nelly Conway Madison's burial in 1829 appears to have occurred after the wall was built because her grave lines up with the president's monument, which is in line with the brick wall. The 1801 burial of James Madison, Sr. has a slightly different orientation, seemingly indicating he was buried before the wall was built. Based on the orientations of these two graves it appears that the wall was constructed between 1801 and 1829.

Additional archaeological information can help narrow down the date even further. As part of the ongoing restoration of the Montpelier mansion begun in 2002, extensive research has been done on the architectural fabric of the building. The original portion of the mansion was constructed by 1760. Additions were made to the mansion during two separate periods, between 1797 and 1799, and again from 1808 through 1812 (Miller 2002). Three distinct compositions of mortar were used in the separate building episodes. Analysis of the mortar used in the construction of the cemetery's brick wall reveals that it is similar to that used in the 1790s mansion work (Ray Canneti, personal communication 2004). The 1790s date does not seemingly fit within the timeframe provided from the analysis of the grave orientations; but since the mortar in the wall does not date to the last period of mansion work it places the date for the construction of the cemetery wall closer to the second construction episode, and thereby possibly soon after the burial of James Madison, Sr. in 1801.²

Whether the brick wall was constructed in the late 1790s or between the deaths of James Madison, Sr. and his wife, it was nonetheless an important event in the history of the family cemetery. Archaeological excavations in the cemetery have shown that the dimensions and configuration of the brick wall have not changed since it was originally erected (Baxter 2000). The importance of this finding becomes obvious when one views the total number of burials contained within the early 19th-century cemetery. By 1798, only ten burials made up the community of the dead, and by 1829 the total number had reached 23 (see Table 9), a relatively small number to be enclosed within a 95- by 70-foot brick wall. Taking into consideration the sub-family groupings associated with the families and descendants of Sarah Macon,

² Known brick work dating to the period between the later two episodes of mansion construction work, as hypothesized for the cemetery wall, does not exist on the property to be analyzed. One can assume though that if a dateable wall did exist it would be more similar to the 1790s mansion construction then the last period work. This reasoning is based on the understanding that different brick masons were involved in the separate mansion building episodes and that Madison slaves were the main labor force used in this work. The brick mason who worked on the 1790s construction was a white craftsman named Richardson (Miller 2002:3). The skills which the slaves learned under his guidance, such has how to mix mortar, would have been knowledge that the slaves would have kept and continued to use on the property, even if the white brick mason did not continue to work for the Madisons after the mansion work was done. For the 1808 to 1812 mansion work a brick mason by the name of Hugh Chisholm was hired (3, 52). He would have also relied on the Madison slaves for his labor source, but he would have brought his own unique techniques and methods, which explains the differences found in the mortars used for the different mansion building campaigns.

Ambrose Madison and William Madison present within the walls of the cemetery (see Figure 11) one can see that the early 19th-century living family community was thinking ahead. They understood that one day they would be counted among the Madison family community of the dead. By 1809, one member from each of the three families had been buried in the cemetery. The history of the cemetery shows that these three families and their descendants make up most of the burials, but in the early 19th century enough space was initially enclosed to include all of the 3rdgeneration Madison family. As the history played out, the families of Francis Madison, Nelly Conway Madison Hite and Frances Taylor Madison Rose (except for one daughter) were not buried within the cemetery. The space initially set aside for them was instead used by later generations of the families who were buried in the cemetery.

The foresight that the living community had in planning the layout of the brick wall and the space within brings into focus larger social and cultural trends taking place in 19th-century America. David Sloan writes, "As the 19th century approached, the living began to develop a new relationship to the dead, and the number of fenced or walled graveyards increased" (1991:21). This pattern of mortuary display was a product of changing views concerning death. Beginning in the 19th century "death had ceased to be a transcendental phenomenon and had become a social one; the most important relationships had become horizontal (between dead people and living ones) rather than vertical (between man and God)" (Hijiya 1983:354). No longer did the ritual of burial suffice to commemorate the life of a family member. By permanently defining the area of the family cemetery, burial within that space commemorated the dead family members and also the living

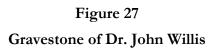
community of which they were once a part. John Stilgoe writes that family cemeteries on plantations "did not order the land; no roads converged on them and no villages grew about them. But they ordered residents' perception of the land and gave identity to every neighborhood" (1982:231). The construction of the brick wall can be seen therefore as a commemorative act. By enclosing and defining the area of the family cemetery it preserved the memory of the family just as a gravestone commemorates the memory of an individual.

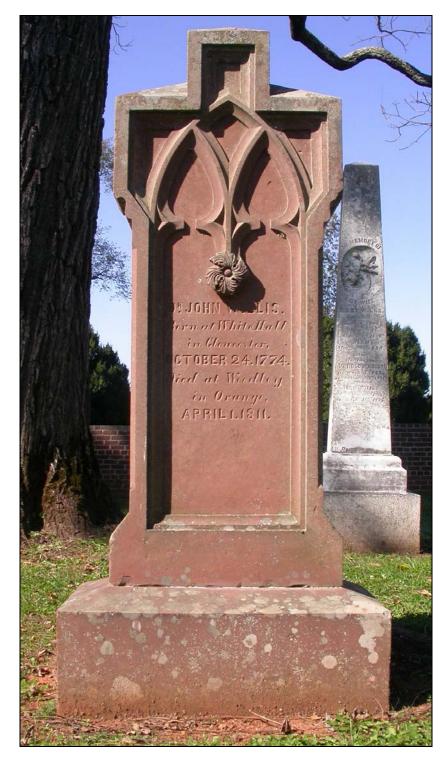
The construction of the brick wall not only defined the Madison family cemetery on the landscape but also was a commemorative action that appears to have subsumed the need to place gravestones within the cemetery. For the Madison family it may have seemed redundant to place a gravestone above a Madison family member when they were already buried in the Madison family cemetery. This idea has been proposed in Chapter II for the Taylor family cemeteries in Orange County, and specifically the Meadowfarm cemetery, where most of the gravestones date from the 19th century. A similar pattern can be seen for the Madison cemetery at Montpelier. The lack of 18th-century gravestones can be explained based on the economics of the commemorative action, but can also be seen as a tradition of choice started with the 18th-century living community and carried forward by their descendants into the early 19th century. It raises the question: Was there a tradition in the Madison family of not marking burials?

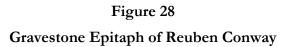
For James Madison, Sr., one of the wealthiest and most prosperous planters in the area during his lifetime, if he had chosen to place gravestones above the burials of his parents, his children and other family, it would not have been outside his means to do so. The historical and archaeological record indicates that James Madison, Sr. did not make this choice. And when he died in 1801 the living community did not mark his grave, but they may have taken it one step closer to marking by building the brick wall. The burial of James Madison, Sr., the patriarch of the family, may have been the impetus for such an action, a defining statement of permanency that planted the cemetery within the physical and cultural landscape of the family plantation and the larger community. One can see in this action a continuation of 18th-century thought, in which death was viewed as a "transcendental phenomenon" commemorated within the family community's rituals of burial and funeral (Hijiya 1983:354), and also the dawning of a 19th-century worldview which romanticized and individualized death (Shively 1988: 249-250; Aries 1974).

The Three Earliest Gravestones

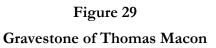
The introduction of gravestones is a unique event in the history of the Madison family cemetery, which also reflects the changing ideas concerning death that occurred in the larger social and cultural realm of the 19th century. A study of the three earliest gravestones found in the cemetery supports the supposition that a tradition of not marking burials existed in the family, and also marks a transitional period leading to the increase in gravestones which occurs in the 1850s. Since the marked graves found in the cemetery are representative of the commemorative actions of the living community one can look at the history of the gravestones to understand how they differ from the unmarked graves. The commonalities shared between the early markers are compared with the history of the earlier unmarked graves to reveal how larger social and cultural contexts are reflected in the actions of the living community.













The three earliest gravestones found in the cemetery mark the burials of non-Madison family members. The earliest dates from 1811 and marks the grave of Dr. John Willis, though, as previously discussed, the gravestone may date to the 1830s or early 1840s (David Via, personal communication 2001; Figure 27). Dr. John Willis was the husband of Nelly Conway Madison Willis, the daughter of Ambrose Madison and a niece of James Madison, Jr. The other two gravestones date to 1838: Reuben Conway was the husband of Lucie Hartwell Macon Conway, a daughter of Sarah Catlett Madison Macon (Figure 28); and Thomas Macon was the husband of Sarah (Figure 29). The commonalities shared by these three individuals are that they were the husbands of Madison family members and they were survived by their spouses. Technically, John Willis, Reuben Conway and Thomas Macon married into and therefore were members of the Madison family, but when the history of the cemetery's community of the dead prior to 1838 is reviewed one can see that they were the first non-Madison adult males buried in the cemetery (see Table 9). One exception exists. Lewis Willis, the husband of Elizabeth Madison Willis who was a granddaughter of James Madison, Sr., is believed to have been buried in an unmarked grave in the cemetery sometime between 1830 and 1832. Lewis Willis was the husband of a Madison family member, but he was not survived by his wife, who died in 1824.

The living community that marked the three earliest graves did so because they were unique burials in the history of the cemetery. By 1839, as many as 36 individuals were buried in the cemetery but only three graves were marked (see Table 9). When one considers that such an important family member as James Madison, Jr. was buried in the cemetery in 1836, in an unmarked grave, one can begin to fathom the strength of family tradition. The earliest gravestones found in the cemetery commemorated the lives of three individuals who by their birth had ties to other prominent Virginia families, but who were buried within the cemetery of the Madison family. John Willis, Reuben Conway and Thomas Macon were marked within the cemetery at Montpelier because the living community included their surviving wives. The markers that the wives placed above their husbands' graves not only commemorated the specific historical circumstances of their burials but were also a visual and permanent "memorial to a relationship" (Tarlow 1999:131).

The gravestones of Lucy Conway (see Figure 16) and Sarah Macon (see Figure 15) bring the commemorative act full circle by bearing testimony to the bonds of marriage with the descriptive phrase 'wife of' included in their epitaphs. If Nelly Conway Madison Willis' burial had received the marker she had requested in her will one can assume the same referential tie would have been found on her gravestone (Cortada 1966:26). The bonds of marriage existed even beyond death and the gravestones reiterate these ties, between stone and memory for the living, within the landscape of the cemetery. The absence of a marker for Lewis Willis is tied to the fact that his wife preceded him in death. With Elizabeth Madison Willis' inclusion in the unmarked community of the dead she metaphorically paved the way for her husband's inclusion within that same community.

An addendum to the 1839 newspaper account, which describes the Madison family cemetery, asks incredulously if it is possible that James Madison, Jr.'s grave "cannot now be recognized!" (LC 1839). His grave was only known to the visitor because family members could point to the location. If Dolley Madison had been successful in procuring a gravestone, the marked grave of her husband would have been similar to the earliest three gravestones mentioned above. In Dolley Madison's will, drafted in 1841, she requested that "a plain monument" be erected "over the remains of my dear Husband' and at her death that she "be laid by his side" beneath an accompanying marker (Mattern and Shulman 2003:355-356). The marker that Dolley envisioned was plain and simple, a commemoration of her husband and the life they shared. Even though Dolley's request was not fulfilled, the unmarked burial of James Madison, Jr. was not forgotten by the family, attested to by Mary Cutts' eloquent defense of the family cemetery in her memoir; and, as described below, neither was it forgotten by those outside of the family.

From Favored Son to Founding Father

James Madison, Jr. was born on March 16, 1751 at Port Conway in Prince George County, Virginia (VHS, SCMMB 1764-1871). He was the eldest of twelve offspring born to James Madison, Sr. and Nelly Conway Madison. The history of his illustrious life dare not be repeated for it has been recounted by numerous scholars over the years (see Ketcham 1990; Adair 1945; Brant 1941, 1948 & 1950; Ellis 2000; Hunt-Jones 1977; Rutland 1981 & 1984; and Colbourn 1974). From one accomplishment to the next James Madison, Jr. traveled through his life, from Williamsburg to Philadelphia to New York, and finally, to the capital of Washington, D.C., but always with his home at Montpelier in his memories and thoughts. His life's journey ended very quietly at Montpelier on June 28, 1836, with his favorite niece Nelly Conway Madison Willis and his slave Paul Jennings standing by his side as "he ceased breathing as quietly as the snuff of a candle goes out" (Jennings 1983 [1865]:51). With his passing another member of the Madison family was carried to the family burying ground.

On June 30, 1836 a large assembly of family, friends and slaves accompanied the body of James Madison, Jr. as he was carried to the cemetery by the pallbearers: ex-Governor of Virginia James Barbour, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Philip Pendleton Barbour, Charles P. Howard and Reuben Conway (Jennings 1983 [1865]:51). Gov. Barbour provides a description of the burial scene in a eulogy read some months afterwards:

... He was a devoted husband, a kind brother, a warm friend, a good neighbor and an indulgent master. Many of you were at his funeral; you must have seen his slaves decently attired in attendance, and their orderly deportment; the profound silence was now and then broken by their sobs - they attended the procession to the grave. There are none of us, I fear, who have not drank of the cup of affliction, heavily drugged by the untimely bereavement of a dear child or affectionate companion; such will but too well remember, that so long as the remains continued on earth, the tie that connected us seemed not entirely dissolved; but, while standing on the verge of the grave, and seeing the corpse deposited, and hearing the pious man give utterance to the fearful sentence "dust to dust," whose fulfillment by some friendly hand flung back its hollow and mournful sound, how it pierced our souls; how we felt that the separation was now final - that all was gone. At this part of the service it was not only the body servant, who was standing directly by me, that, by his sobs and sighs, showed how severely he felt his bereavement in the loss of a kind and indulgent master, but the hundred slaves gave vent to their lamentations in one violent burst that rent the air; methought it ascended to heaven, and was heard with joy by the heavenly host, as a redeeming item in that great account which he, in common with all the sons of Adam, had to meet (Barbour 1836).

In death, James Madison, Jr. joined the 31 unmarked family burials in the cemetery at Montpelier (see Table 9).³ Above his grave a simple fieldstone was probably placed to mark the location of the Madison's favored son, "shaded by his own loved forest trees, forever dead to the pomp of life!" (Langston-Harrison 2002:35).

The burial of James Madison, Jr. in 1836 occurred in the early stages of a

marked increase in the use of the family cemetery. Between 1830 and the late 1850s

³ The grave of Dr. John Willis, who died in 1811, is marked with a gravestone that appears to have been placed in the cemetery, as discussed earlier in this thesis, sometime in the 1830s or 1840s, and therefore possibly after the death of James Madison, Jr. (David Via, personal communication 2001).

roughly one-third of the cemetery's total number of burials were received into the community of the dead (see Figure 25). In the 1840s three additional graves were added to the cemetery, and then in the 1850s at least ten family members were buried, some in unmarked but most in marked graves. As seen in Figure 26, the 1850s was a period of heavy use by the family, and this use can be seen in the proliferation of gravestones that occurred. Eleven gravestones are known to have been placed in the cemetery at this time, some of which commemorated individuals who had died in the 1830s, one in particular being James Madison, Jr. The increased use and the large number of gravestones indicate that changes were occurring within the family concerning how they viewed the commemoration of their community of the dead.

In 1844, the debts that James Madison, Jr. left behind finally caught up with his wife Dolley and she was forced to sell Montpelier. The family ties to the cemetery remained strong as exemplified by the large number of burials occurring in the 1850s and its continued use into the early 20th century (see Table 9). Even so, outside influences began to shape how the family community of the living viewed their responsibilities in creating, maintaining and preserving the hallowed ground of their ancestors and the burials of their own contemporary loved ones. The placement of markers in the cemetery during the 1850s was the family's reaction, in part, to the outside world and their interest in the final resting place of a Founding Father, but it also represented an assimilation of 19th-century views towards death and burial. The commemorative act of placing a gravestone in the cemetery symbolized the romantic, individualistic and sentimental themes embedded within contemporary culture and society. For the 19th-century living community death had become a social phenomenon in which the "most important relationships had become horizontal (between dead people and living ones) rather than vertical (between man and God)" (Hijiya 1983:354; see also Stannard 1975). Burial in the Madison family cemetery was still a potent symbolic act of connection between the past and contemporary living and dead communities, but the placement of a gravestone created a tangible and physical connection between the dead and the living.

The burial of James Madison, Jr. lay unmarked and undisturbed within the Madison family cemetery until September 15, 1857 when the monumental obelisk that now stands above his grave was put into place. No documents have been found mentioning who procured the monument, but by delving into the contextual history of the cemetery some interesting scenarios come to light. In the early 1850s, Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia, was interested in acquiring the remains of three of the Virginia Presidents: Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe (Tharp 1996; VHS 1847-1868). The cemetery was successful in acquiring the remains of James Monroe (Mitchell 1985:35-45; DuPriest 1985:21-22), but Jefferson and Madison remain buried in their respective family cemeteries. In 1854, William H. Macfarland bought Montpelier:

MONTPELIER: W. H. Macfarland has purchased Montpelier, the former residence of James Madison, Esq., the fourth president of the U.S.A. We are glad that this estate has fallen into the hands of a Virginian and it is to be hoped that a suitable monument may now be erected over the remains of Virginia's eminent statesman and patriot (*Fredericksburg News*, 6 March 1854).

In the 1850s, Macfarland was the primary trustee for Hollywood Cemetery before it was incorporated and he served as a member of its board of directors (VHS 1847-

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1868; Mitchell 1985). His purchase of Montpelier and ties to Hollywood Cemetery cannot be considered just an interesting coincidence.

One can speculate that William Macfarland bought the property to facilitate the acquisition of President Madison's remains, and the placement of a "suitable monument" as the above newspaper article mentions, only came about after the Madison family rejected Hollywood Cemetery's plans. When Dolley Madison sold Montpelier in 1844 to Henry Moncure no stipulation existed in the deed preserving the ownership of the cemetery for the family, and instead with each successive sale the cemetery was transferred as part of the property (Miller 2002:125-127; see also Schmidt 2000). This circumstance may have led Macfarland to believe he could have acquired not only Montpelier, but also the right as the property owner to do what he saw fit with the cemetery. Macfarland's plan may not have been as sinister as one would imagine for he was a great admirer of President Madison. In 1836 he presented the eulogy for the departed ex-president at a memorial service in Richmond, and in the 1860s he was an ardent Unionist who strove in the opening stages of the Civil War to preserve the United States that Madison had done so much to create (Miller 2002:140; Gaines 1969:54).⁴ The Madison family may have realized

⁴ In 1834, James Madison, Jr. wrote down for posterity his "Advice to My Country" which was to be disclosed posthumously and may be considered the closest thing to an epitaph that he would have wished for to mark his grave. William Macfarland would have surely known of this 'advice' and would have ardently supported its cause:

As this advice, if it ever see the light, will not do so till I am no more, it may be considered as issuing from the tomb, where truth alone can be respected, and the happiness of man alone consulted. It will be entitled, therefore, to whatever weight can be derived from good intentions, and from the experience of one who has served his Country in various stations through the period of forty years; who espoused in his youth, and adhered through his life, to the cause of its liberty; and who has borne a part in most of the great transactions which will constitute epochs of its destiny. The advice nearest to my heart and deepest in my convictions is that the union of the states be cherished and perpetuated. Let the open enemy to it be regarded as the Pandora with her box opened, and the disguised one, as the Serpent creeping with his deadly wiles into Paradise (quoted in Ketcham 1990:671).

that Macfarland had good intentions but refused to allow Hollywood Cemetery to take away a member of their community of the dead.

The events surrounding Macfarland's purchase of Montpelier and attempted acquisition of President Madison's remains did forever affect the cemetery in another way. Hollywood Cemetery appears to have taken a lead role in the procurement and placement of the president's monument in the Madison family cemetery. John W. Davies, a Richmond area stone carver, carved the president's monument and six other obelisks found within the cemetery between 1856 and 1859 (see Table 1). Another Richmond native, James D. Browne produced the wrought iron entrance gate for the cemetery (Figure 30).⁵ Both Davies and Browne were involved extensively in the business dealings of Hollywood Cemetery and other cemeteries in Richmond during this time period.⁶ An account of the monument's construction found in the Fredericksburg News (see entire quote in Introduction) does not specifically reveal who the "gentlemen" were who "set about the task of procuring one" (1857), but the description of the work is unintentionally revealing. The article describes how "in digging for a suitable foundation, it became necessary to go below the coffin, which was consequently exposed to view" (Fredericksburg News, 1857). Morbid curiosity may have been a factor but one can also see in this description a

⁵ Of note concerning the gate is the date of 1720 which does not refer to any specific important event within the Madison family or their ownership of Montpelier. The property was patented in 1723, owned outright by Ambrose Madison in 1726, and then he became the first burial in 1732. The date appears to be an example of how either the family was not involved in the procurement of the gate, or that family memory was not long enough to remember the exact date of the property's acquisition. ⁶ John W. Davies constructed a family vault in Hollywood cemetery in the 1850s that was used as the cemetery's public vault up through the early 1880s (VHS 1868-1892). His name is also scattered liberally through the company's records and minutes from the board of director's meetings (VHS 1847-1868 & 1868-1892). J. D. Browne, as an iron artisan, was closely involved in the construction of many of the grave plots found within Hollywood Cemetery and other cemeteries in Richmond (Mitchell 1985; David Via, personal communication 2002). J. W. Davies and J. D. Browne had their places of business directly next door to each other on Main Street in Richmond (Cowards 1855:80; VHS 1856:128).

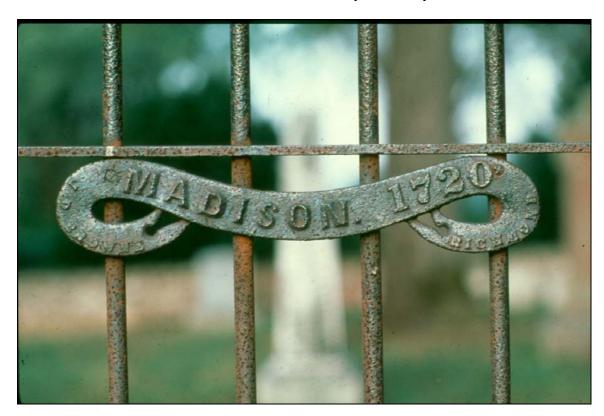


Figure 30 Entrance Gate to Madison Family Cemetery

construction technique that was required for all monuments in Hollywood Cemetery:

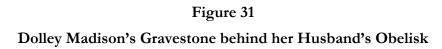
No monument should be erected unless the foundation commences from the bottom of the grave, bricked with an arch to cover the sarcophagus or coffin (Hollywood Cemetery 1875:35).

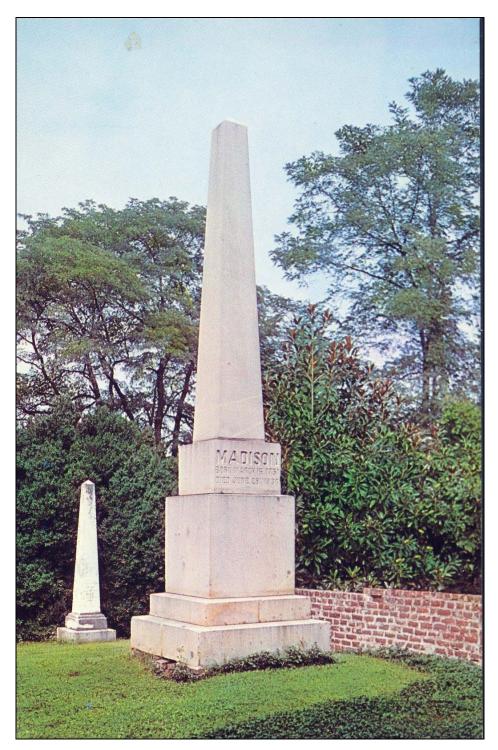
The consolidated red clay soil found at Montpelier does not require such a foundation, making it very likely that laborers from outside of Orange County were involved in the construction. The brick of the arch was replaced with local greenstone, but on all other counts the construction of the obelisk's foundation, revealed during the archaeological survey of the cemetery, fits this description (Baxter 2000).

When Dolley Madison sold Montpelier she moved to Washington, D.C., where she died on July 12, 1849. She was initially buried in the public vault at Congressional Cemetery and then moved in 1852 by her niece Annie Payne Causten to the vault of her husband's family in the same cemetery (Mattern & Shulman 2003:325). Her wish, found in her will, was to be buried by the side of her husband, but those who were responsible for her reburial died before they could complete the task (Mattern & Shulman 2003:355-356; Schmidt 2000). She was not buried at Montpelier until 1858. A newspaper article found in the January 26, 1858 issue of the *Richmond Enquirer* describes the circumstances of her final journey home:

We learn that the remains of Mrs. Madison were brought from Washington by her nephew, Mr. Cutts, on Wednesday, the 13th inst., and deposited in the cemetery at Montpelier, near the monument recently placed by the citizens of this county over the grave of her husband. This, we understand, was in compliance with a wish expressed by Mrs. Madison herself. Circumstances unavoidable have heretofore delayed it. It would, however, have been consummated when the Madison monument was erected in September last, if her relatives in Washington had known at the time that this was about being done (LVA, RE 1858).

The most noticeable aspect of Dolley Madison's burial is the location of her gravestone. Sometime after her burial at Montpelier a gravestone was procured from J. W. Davies, the same stone carver who had constructed President Madison's obelisk, and the stone was placed above her grave behind that of her husband (Figure 31). The 1839 newspaper account that describes the cemetery indicates that there was "room on his [James Madison, Jr.'s] left for those who may follow him" (LC 1839). One can assume that this 'room' is in reference to Dolley, but after President Madison's monument was put in place no space was left for the burial of Dolley between the obelisk and the brick wall. From the two accounts included above one can see that the descendants of Dolley Madison were not involved in the





construction of the president's obelisk, for if they were, one can imagine that other plans would have been proposed, allowing Dolley to be placed beside her husband.

Seven of the nine obelisks found in the Madison family cemetery were carved by the stonemason John W. Davies, with President Madison's grave marker being the most visible example of his work. Besides Dolley Madison's obelisk, which is known to have been placed after her burial in 1858, it is not known when the others were erected in the cemetery. The possibility exists that they may have been procured by the family before the president's grave was marked. If so, the marking of the graves may be seen as a resistance to moving James Madison, Jr. to Hollywood Cemetery. Two obelisks that were not made by Davies are found above the graves of Lucy C. Lee (d. August 1855) and her sister Letitia Ramolina Lee Madison (d. January 1857). Both were made by a gravestone carver in Philadelphia. Lucy's obelisk contains within the epitaph the words 'My Sister' indicating that Letitia most likely procured the stone, and then the epitaph for Letitia shows that her husband placed the marker (Chapman & Baxter 2000). The specific use of one carver from Philadelphia may represent simple choice, but it also shows that 19thcentury views of death and burial were affecting the commemorative practices of the family even before President Madison's grave was marked.

The social and cultural traditions of death found in the 19th century stressed individualism and sentimentality, but at the heart of the commemorative practices was the connection between the living and the dead. This was not exceptionally different from how the early Madison living community viewed their cemetery, but the form of commemoration in which these 19th-century ideas manifested is now readily apparent within the modern cemetery. For the Madison family, the placement of a monument above the burial of James Madison, Jr. marked a turning point in the cemetery's history. No longer was the cemetery simply for the family, but it was inextricably tied to the larger community of the nation that looked to the graveyard as a shrine, as a visible and physical connection to the almost mythical history of Madison as the last of the Founding Fathers. This thesis does not attempt to discredit or take away from the importance of James Madison, Jr., but it does attempt to show that more than just one person and one story are contained within the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier.

One final point, turn back through the pages of this thesis to Figure 12. One can see that the grave shaft of Nelly Conway Madison, the mother of James Madison, Jr., is partially disturbed by his obelisk's foundation. There are several possible reasons for this. One is a lack of family participation in the construction of the monument in 1857; another is that in the 28 years since Nelly Madison's burial the family memory concerning the location of her grave had faded with time. Still another explanation, and one that this thesis provides, involves the question posed in the title. One can see that the James Madison commemorated by the obelisk *is* the President and *was* not the Madison family member. The significance of placing a monument in the cemetery to mark the grave of such an important national figure superseded the unfortunate fact that it was built partially on top of Madison's mother.

EPILOGUE

How does one end the story when so much more can be told? The past, the story of the Madison family cemetery, is what is now contained between the covers of this thesis, and in time the story will be rewritten, revised and recreated. For nearly 275 years the cemetery at Montpelier has witnessed innumerable events of magnitude and mundanity, of intense bereavement and ecstatic joy, the simple life histories of the individuals who made up the cemetery's communities of the living and the dead. But these simple lives are what constitute the past that historians and archaeologists yearn to understand. Cemeteries have been fodder for archaeological study from the very beginnings of the modern field, and the core of that morbid curiosity extends as far back as humans have been human. The beauty of the contextual study of a cemetery and the past living and dead communities who shaped its history is that everything lies open at the fingertips of analysis, but to this is also added the downside of never possibly being able to answer all the questions that stem from the research.

The questions answered in this thesis were seemingly simple yet also exceeding complex: Why are some burials in the Madison family cemetery marked and others unmarked? And in particular, why was President James Madison's burial not marked with a gravestone until twenty-one years after his death? The answers have been constructed by accepting Derrida's proclamation that "nothing exists outside of the context" (1988:152). All of the commemorative actions whose traces

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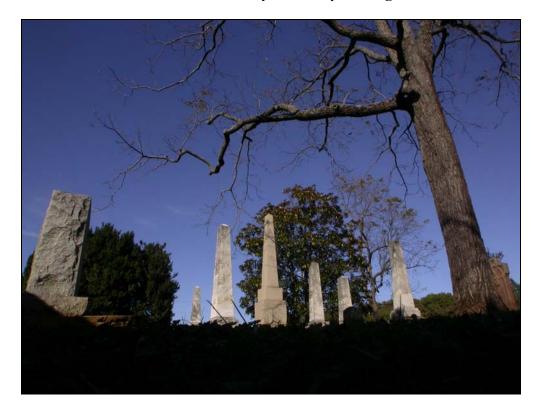
are found within the material culture and documentary record of the cemetery exist within a context that imbues the actions with meaning. The actions do not stand naked in time and space, but inform and are informed by the historical, cultural, social milieu within which they exist, yet these numerous connections transcend simple categorizations. Therefore, the meaning of any commemorative action must rely on a contextual construction of the existing research without attempting to impose modern bias upon historical perspective, and also at the same time realize that questions can and will be continually asked of the questions themselves. For the modern Montpelier visitor an unmarked grave is such a foreign concept that they can simply be put off by the shock of the discovery. For the archaeologist and historian trained to understand and accept the existence of bias it is still hard to fully comprehend what the historic communities are revealing through their past actions.

The many living communities who have shaped the history of the Madison family cemetery are contained within this thesis. The unmarked communities, whose stories are the hardest to fully grasp, speak through the contextual construction of the history and genealogy. The marked communities when viewed in association with and contrast to the unmarked can provide new and insightful ways of understanding the history exhibited in the gravestones or the lack thereof. And from the present perspective of the modern living communities who delve into this history, this past, and hope to find answers, this thesis is a story that can be added to and expanded upon with every study of a historic period cemetery.

This thesis bears testimony to the innumerable stories contained within the walls of the Madison family cemetery at Montpelier. The cemetery is not just a plot of land, filled with cold and lifeless brick and stone and bone. The marked and

unmarked graves are not just names and dates, places and things; the family cemetery represents the lives of those who have come before us. One cannot go back in time and ask the historic living communities to tell us the stories, or follow them to the cemetery to point out where their wives, fathers, mothers, children are buried. One cannot weep beside the open grave for a young life taken too soon, or stand by the gravestone of Dolley with the memory of her beauty in our thoughts. What one can do is try to capture some of these memories, this history, and present it in the best way possible. What has been found through archaeological, historical and genealogical research can be used to tell new stories, different stories, stories that say something about the past, and hope in the end that justice has been served to the forgotten memories, and history, of this solemn spot.

Figure 32 View of Madison Family Cemetery looking North



APPENDIX 1

DESCENDANTS OF AMBROSE MADISON

First Generation

1. **Ambrose MADISON**^{1,2,3,4} was born^{5,6} about 1696 in King and Queen County, Virginia. He died^{1,5,7,8,9,10,11,12} 27 Aug 1732 in Mount Pleasant, Spotsylvania County (later Orange County), Virginia from Poisoning and was buried^{4,13} 29 Aug 1732 in Madison Family Cemetery.

Ambrose married^{1,2,4,7,8,14,15,16,17} **Frances Taylor MADISON**^{1,2,18}, daughter of Col. James TAYLOR Jr. and Martha Thompson TAYLOR, on 24 Aug 1721 in King and Queen County, Virginia. Frances was born^{1,19} 30 Aug 1700. She died^{1,4,7,12,18,20,21,22} 25 Nov 1761 in Mount Pleasant, Orange County, Virginia from smallpox? and was buried^{4,13,22,23} 29 Nov 1761 in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

- + 2 M i. Col. James MADISON Sr. was born 27 Mar 1723 and died 27 Feb 1801.
- + 3 F ii. Elizabeth Madison Willis BEALE was born 14 Jun 1725 and died 6 Jan 1773.
- + 4 F iii. Frances Madison Beale HITE was born 6 Mar 1726 and died 9 Aug 1776.

Second Generation

 Col. James MADISON Sr. (Ambrose) was born^{1,7,8,24} 27 Mar 1723 in King and Queen County (later Caroline County), Virginia and was baptized 21 Apr 1723 in King and Queen County (later Caroline County), Virginia. He died^{1,4,7,10,24,25,26,27} 27 Feb 1801 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{4,13,28,29} in Madison Family Cemetery.

James married^{1,4,7,8,30} **Nelly Conway MADISON**¹, daughter of Francis CONWAY Sr. and Rebecca Catlett Conway MOORE, on 15 Sep 1749. Nelly was born^{1,4,7,12} 9 Jan 1731/1732 in Caroline County, Virginia. She died^{1,4,7,12,25,31,32,33,34,35} 11 Feb 1829 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{4,13,28,29} in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

5 M i. James MADISON Jr. was born^{7,36,37,38,39,40} 16 Mar 1751 in Port Conway, Prince George County, Virginia and was baptized 31 Mar 1751 in Port Conway, Prince George County, Virginia. He died^{7,10,36,38,40,41,42} 28 Jun 1836 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{4,36,38,43} 29 Jun 1836 in Madison Family Cemetery. James married^{1,44,45,46} **Dolley Payne Todd MADISON**¹, daughter of John PAYNE Jr. and Mary Coles PAYNE, on 15 Sep 1794 in Harewood, Jefferson County, Virginia. Dolley was born^{1,36,38,47,48} 20 May 1768 in Rowan County (later Guilford County), North Carolina. She died^{1,49,50} 12 Jul 1849 in Lafayette Square, Washington D.C. and was buried^{13,36,38,49,51} 13 Jan 1858 in Madison Family Cemetery.

- + 6 M ii. Francis MADISON was born 18 Jun 1753 and died 5 Apr 1800.
- + 7 M iii. Maj. Ambrose MADISON was born 27 Jan 1755 and died 3 Oct 1793.
 - 8 M iv. Catlett MADISON⁵² was born^{7,16,52} 10 Feb 1758 in Mount Pleasant, Orange County, Virginia and was baptized¹⁶ 22 Feb 1758 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{7,52,53} 18 Mar 1758 in Mount Pleasant, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{4,13} in Madison Family Cemetery.
- + 9 F v. Nelly Conway Madison HITE was born 14 Feb 1760 and died 24 Dec 1802.
- + 10 M vi. William MADISON was born 1 May 1762 and died 19 Jul 1843.
- + 11 F vii. **Sarah Catlett Madison MACON** was born 17 Aug 1764 and died 17 Oct 1843.
 - 12 M viii. Infant MADISON^{4,12,54,55} was born^{4,12,54} 1766 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{4,12,54} 1766 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{4,13} in Madison Family Cemetery.
 - F ix. Elizabeth MADISON⁵⁴ was born^{7,53,54} 19 Feb 1768 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia and was baptized⁵³ 22 Feb 1768 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{7,53,54,56,57} 17 May 1775 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia from Dysentery and was buried^{4,13} in Madison Family Cemetery.
 - 14 M x. Stillborn Infant MADISON^{7,12,54,55} was born^{4,12,53,54} 12 Jul 1770 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{4,12,53,54} 12 Jul 1770 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia from Stillborn and was buried^{4,13} in Madison Family Cemetery.
 - 15 M xi. Reuben MADISON^{7,54} was born^{7,53,54} 19 Sep 1771 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia and was baptized⁵³ 10 Nov 1771 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{7,53,54,56,57} 5 Jun 1775 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia from Dysentery and was buried^{4,13} in Madison Family Cemetery.
- + 16 F xii. Frances Taylor Madison ROSE was born 4 Oct 1774 and died 4 Oct 1823.
- Elizabeth Madison Willis BEALE⁵⁸ (Ambrose) was born^{7,20,24,59} 14 Jun 1725 in King and Queen County (later Caroline County), Virginia. She died^{7,20,60} 6 Jan 1773 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Orange County, Virginia.

Elizabeth married (1) **John WILLIS**⁶¹, son of Col. Henry WILLIS and Anne Alexander Smith WILLIS, about 1742. John was born^{62,63,64} 17 Aug 1724. He died^{12,61,65} 5 Mar 1750 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

+ 17 F i. Mary Willis DAINGERFIELD was born 12 Dec 1743 and died 16 Feb 1819.

Elizabeth also married^{12,63,66,67} (2) Richard BEALE, son of Thomas BEALE and Elizabeth

Taverner BEALE, on 1 Jan 1753 in Orange County, Virginia. Richard was born^{58,67,68} 19 Dec 1723 in Farnham Parish, Richmond County, Virginia. He died^{58,61,67,69} Jul 1771 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- + 18 F ii. Anne Beale WILLIS was born after 1753 and died 8 Mar 1799.
 - 19 F iii. Molly BEALE^{70,71} was born about 1755. She died^{70,71} after 1772.
- Frances Madison Beale HITE⁷² (Ambrose) was born^{7,12,14,24,73} 6 Mar 1726 in King and Queen County (later Caroline County), Virginia and was baptized 9 Apr 1726 in King and Queen County (later Caroline County), Virginia. She died^{7,24,73,74,75,76} 9 Aug 1776 in Cherokee, Georgia.

Frances married (1) **Capt. Taverner BEALE Sr.**^{2,77}, son of Thomas BEALE and Elizabeth Taverner BEALE, about 1743. Taverner was born⁷⁷ 1713 in Farnham Parish, Richmond County, Virginia. He died^{73,77,78,79} Sept/Oct 1756 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

+

- 20 M i. Col. Taverner BEALE Jr. was born about 1744/1745 and died 1810.
 - 21 M ii. **Charles BEALE**^{61,72,79,80} was born⁸¹ about 1747. He died 1772/1783 in Frederick County or Shenandoah County, Virginia.
 - 22 F iii. **Elizabeth Beale HARRISON**^{61,72,79,80} was born⁸² 1747/1753 in Orange County, Virginia and remembered in an obituary on May 1824 in Alexandria Gazette, Alexandria, Virginia. She died 8 May 1824 in Virginia.

Elizabeth married⁸³ **George HARRISON**^{61,84}, son of Burr HARRISON and Ann Barnes HARRISON. George was born^{84,85} 22 Mar 1744/1745 and was baptized⁸⁴ 8 Apr 1744/1745. He died⁸⁶ after 1820.

- + 23 F iv. Frances Madison Beale HITE was born 1 Oct 1749 and died after 1776.
- + 24 F v. Anne Beale HARRISON was born 31 Mar 1754 and died 6 Nov 1785.

Frances also married^{77,87} (2) **Jacob HITE**^{2,73,88,89}, son of Jost HITE and Anna Maria du Bois HITE, on 15 Dec 1760 in Orange County, Virginia. Jacob was born^{88,90} about 1715. He died^{76,88,91} 1 Jul 1776 in South Carolina.

They had the following children:

25 M vi. George HITE⁹² was born⁹³ 1761.

George married Deborah Rutherford HITE⁹⁴.

- 26 F vii. Eleanor HITE⁹² died⁹² 1776 in South Carolina.
- 27 F viii. **Susan HITE** died⁹² 1776 in South Carolina.

Third Generation

 Francis MADISON^{95,96} (James, Ambrose) was born^{7,16,95} 18 Jun 1753 in Mount Pleasant, Orange County, Virginia and was baptized¹⁶ 1 Jul 1753 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{25,95,97} 5 Apr 1800 in Prospect Hill, Madison County, Virginia and was buried^{98,99} in Prospect Hill, Madison County, Virginia. Francis married^{95,100} **Susan Bell MADISON** "Susannah"¹⁰¹, daughter of Capt. William BELL Sr. and Mary Bell ALCOCKE, on 29 Oct 1772. Susannah was born¹⁰² 1750/1757. She died^{103,104,105} 1834 in Prospect Hill, Madison County, Virginia and was buried in Prospect Hill, Madison County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 28 M i. James F. MADISON^{106,107} was born^{97,108} 1775/1779 in Madison County, Virginia. He died^{105,109} 1827/1830 in Prospect Hill, Madison County, Virginia from Suicide and was buried¹¹⁰ in Prospect Hill, Madison County, Virginia.
- 29 M ii. William MADISON^{106,107,111} was born^{97,108,111} about 1778 in Virginia. He died¹¹¹ 1850/1860 in Madison County, Virginia and was buried in Prospect Hill, Madison County, Virginia.
- + 30 F iii. Elizabeth Conway Madison SHEPHERD was born about 1780 and died 13 Nov 1850.
- + 31 F iv. Nelly Madison WOOD was born about 1784 and died 16 Feb 1819.
- + 32 F v. Mary C. B. Madison SMITH was born about 1786 and died 1807/1835.
 - 33 M vi. Catlett M. MADISON^{106,107,112} was born^{97,102,108} 1786/1790 in Madison County, Virginia. He died^{12,113} 1850/1860 in Madison County, Virginia and was buried in Prospect Hill, Madison County, Virginia.

Catlett married¹² **Winny S. Routt MADISON**¹¹³, daughter of Unknown ROUTT, on 17 Mar 1807. Winny was born^{102,108,113} 1780/1790 in Virginia. She died¹¹³ 1850/1860 in Madison County, Virginia and was buried in Prospect Hill, Madison County, Virginia.

- + 34 M vii. Reuben Conway MADISON was born 1786/1790 and died 1821/1837.
 - F viii. Catherine (Kitty) Bell Madison TALIAFERRO^{106,107,112,114} was born¹¹⁵ 29 Jan 1791 in Madison County, Virginia. She died¹¹⁵ 21 Nov 1869 in Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania County, Virginia and was buried¹¹⁵ Nov 1869 in Saint George's Parish, Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania County, Virginia.

Catherine married¹⁰⁷ **Dr. Alexander Spotswood TALIAFERRO**¹¹², son of Baldwin TALIAFERRO and Anne Spotswood Burwell TALIAFERRO, on 20 Jun 1835 in Madison County, Virginia. Alexander was born^{111,114,116} 1798 in Virginia. He died^{114,116} 1855 in Madison County, Virginia and was buried¹¹⁴ in Greenway (Prospect Hill), Madison County, Virginia.

- + 36 F ix. Frances T. Madison SHEPHERD was born 1792/1798 and died 25 Mar 1866.
- Maj. Ambrose MADISON (James, Ambrose) was born^{7,8,16,117} 27 Jan 1755 in Mount Pleasant, Orange County, Virginia and was baptized¹⁶ 2 Mar 1755 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{7,8,53,95,100,118} 3 Oct 1793 in Woodley, Orange County, Virginia from Yellow Fever and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.

Ambrose married¹¹⁹ **Mary Willis Lee MADISON**^{95,120}, daughter of Hancock LEE Jr. and Mary Willis LEE, on 11 Nov 1779 in Fauquier County, Virginia. Mary was born⁶⁴ 9 Nov 1757 in Fauquier County, Virginia. She died^{95,121,122,123,124,125} 14 Mar 1798 in Woodley, Orange County, Virginia and was buried¹²² 7 Apr 1798 in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

- + 37 F i. Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS was born 29 Dec 1780 and died 4 Nov 1862.
 - 38 F ii. Unknown MADISON^{7,95} was born¹²⁶ 1783/1785 in Orange County, Virginia. She died 1785/1795 in Woodley, Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.
- Nelly Conway Madison HITE^{52,127} (James, Ambrose) was born^{7,52,53,128} 14 Feb 1760 in Mount Pleasant, Orange County, Virginia and was baptized⁵³ 6 Mar 1760 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{52,128,129} 24 Dec 1802 and was buried^{12,128} in Long Meadow, Frederick County, Virginia.

Nelly married^{7,52,55,130} **Maj. Isaac HITE Jr.**^{7,52}, son of Col. Isaac HITE Sr. and Eleanor Eltinge HITE, on 2 Jan 1783 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia. Isaac was born^{52,128} 7 Feb 1758. He died^{52,128,131} 24 Nov 1836 and was buried¹²⁸ in Long Meadow, Frederick County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 39 M i. James Madison HITE⁵² was born^{52,132} 10 Apr 1788. He died^{52,132} 8 Dec 1791.
- + 40 F ii. Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN was born 1 Dec 1789 and died before 1836.
- + 41 M iii. James Madison HITE Sr. was born 29 Jan 1793 and died 11 Jan 1860.
- + 42 F iv. Frances Madison Hite RANSOM.
- William MADISON^{4,52} (James, Ambrose) was born^{7,53,133,134,135} 1 May 1762 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia and was baptized⁵³ 23 May 1762 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{7,8,31,52,136} 19 Jul 1843 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia and was buried^{13,137} in Madison Family Cemetery.

William married^{8,52,100,133,135} (1) **Frances Throckmorton MADISON**^{4,52}, daughter of Robert THROCKMORTON and Lucy THROCKMORTON, on 20 Dec 1783. Frances was born^{8,52,133,135,138,139} 24 Feb 1765 in Hail Western, Gloucester County, Virginia. She died^{32,52,140} 20 Aug 1832 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia from Tuberculosis and was buried¹³ in Madison Family Cemetery.

- + 43 F i. **Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN** was born 28 Apr 1785 and died 5 Feb 1861.
 - 44 M ii. John MADISON¹⁴¹ was born^{133,135,141} 31 May 1787 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia. He died^{133,135,142,143,144} 23 Mar 1809 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia from Tuberculosis and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.
 - 45 M iii. William F. MADISON Jr. "Billy"¹⁴¹ was born^{133,135,141} 28 May 1789 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia. He died^{133,135,141,142,145} 11 Jul 1812 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia from Tuberculosis and was buried^{13,146} 13 Jul 1812 in Madison Family Cemetery.
 - 46 M iv. Alfred MADISON¹⁴¹ was born^{133,135,141} 11 Sep 1791 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia. He died^{133,135,141,147,148,149,150} 30 Jan 1811 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania from Tuberculosis.
- + 47 M v. Robert Lewis MADISON was born 3 Mar 1794 and died 9 Feb 1828.

+48 M vi. Maj. Ambrose MADISON was born 12 Mar 1796 and died 26 Dec 1855. vii. James Edwin MADISON¹⁴¹ was born^{133,135,141} 28 May 1798 in Woodberry 49 Μ Forest, Madison County, Virginia. He died32,133,135,141,151 6 Oct 1821 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia from Tuberculosis and was buried^{13,32,151} in Madison Family Cemetery. viii. Lucy Frances MADISON¹⁴¹ was born^{133,135,141} 18 Aug 1800 in Woodberry 50 F Forest, Madison County, Virginia. She died135,141,152 28 Dec 1813 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia from Tuberculosis and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery. +51 F ix. Elizabeth Madison WILLIS was born 5 Oct 1802 and died 6 Apr 1824. + 52 F x. Letitia Madison SLAUGHTER was born 8 Mar 1806 and died 17 Feb 1828. xi. John MADISON was born^{133,135} 30 Mar 1808 in Woodberry Forest, Madison 53 M County, Virginia. He died32,153,154 10 Aug 1833 in Warm Springs, Bath

County, Virginia from Tuberculosis and was buried¹⁵⁴ in Madison Family Cemetery.

William also married¹⁴⁹ (2) Nancy Jarrell MADISON¹⁵⁵ on 28 Jun 1834. Nancy was born^{149,155} 1792 in Virginia. She died99,149 1860 in Ohio.

They had the following children:

- 54 M xii. John (Jack) R. MADISON was born 1810/1820 and died 1847/1850. +
- 11. Sarah Catlett Madison MACON "Sally"⁵⁴ (James, Ambrose) was born^{7,36,53,54,156,157,158,159} 17 Aug 1764 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia and was baptized⁵³ 15 Sep 1764 in Orange County, Virginia. She died36,54,157,158,160,161 17 Oct 1843 in Greenwood, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

Sally married^{36,54,157,158,162,163} Thomas MACON^{54,157}, son of Capt. William MACON and Lucy Scott MACON, on 4 Feb 1790 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia. Thomas was born^{36,38,54,157,158,164,165} 11 Jun 1765 in Fairfield, Hanover County, Virginia. He died^{32,36,38,54,157,158,161} 26 Feb 1838 in Somerset, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

- +55 M 1. James Hartwell Madison MACON Sr. was born 3 Jul 1791 and died 3 Feb 1877.
- +Μ ii. Conway Catlett MACON was born 15 Oct 1792 and died 28 Jun 1860. 56
 - 57 F iii. Lucy Hartwell Macon CONWAY^{54,112} was born^{36,38,54,157,158} 21 Feb 1794 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{25,36,38,54,157} 13 May 1871 in Greenwood, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

Lucy married^{36,161,163} Reuben CONWAY^{54,112,165,166,167}, son of Catlett CONWAY Sr. and Susannah Fitzhugh CONWAY, on 25 Jul 1811. Reuben was born^{36,38,54,163} 11 Mar 1788. He died^{36,38,54,161,163} 3 Jan 1838 in Greenwood, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

iv. William Ambrose MACON¹¹² was born^{157,158} 15 May 1797 in Orange County, 58 M Virginia. He died^{157,158,161,163} 3 Apr 1856 in Greenwood, Orange County,

Virginia and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.

- 59 M v. Francis Edward MACON was born^{157,158} 5 Sep 1799 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{157,158} 14 Apr 1800 in Somerset, Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.
- 60 M vi. **Col. Edgar MACON** was born^{157,158} 9 Feb 1801 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{25,157,158,163} 11 Nov 1829 in Key West, Florida.
- 61 F vii. **Elizabeth MACON** was born^{54,157,158} 4 Nov 1803 in Somerset, Orange County, Virginia. She died^{54,157,158} 25 Feb 1805 in Somerset, Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.
- 62 M viii. Henry MACON¹¹² was born^{157,158} 16 Dec 1805 in Somerset, Orange County, Virginia. He died¹⁵⁷ 12 Oct 1853 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.
- 63 M ix. **Reuben Conway MACON**¹¹² was born^{54,157,158} 27 Feb 1808 in Somerset, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{25,157,158,163} 1 May 1853 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.
- 16. Frances Taylor Madison ROSE^{54,112} (James, Ambrose) was born^{7,53,54,168} 4 Oct 1774 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia and was baptized⁵³ 30 Oct 1774 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{7,54,168} 4 Oct 1823 in Huntsville, Madison County, Alabama and was buried¹⁶⁹ in Maple Hill Cemetery, Huntsville, Madison County, Alabama.

Frances married¹⁶⁸ **Dr. Robert Henry ROSE**^{54,112}, son of Col. Hugh ROSE and Caroline Matilda Jordan ROSE, on 26 Jan 1801 in Orange County, Virginia. Robert was born¹⁶⁸ 1770/1780 in Amherst County, Virginia. He died^{54,168} 1 Aug 1833 in Randolph, Tipton County, Tennessee from spasmodic cholera.

- + 64 M i. Dr. Hugh Francis ROSE Sr. was born 1801 and died 1856.
- + 65 M ii. Ambrose James ROSE was born 1802 and died 3 May 1837.
- + 66 F iii. Nelly Conway Rose NEWMAN was born about 1803 and died before 1836.
- + 67 M iv. Henry ROSE was born 1804 and died after 1860.
- + 68 M v. Samuel Jordan ROSE was born 1805 and died 1868.
- + 69 M vi. Robert H. ROSE was born about 1806/1810 and died after 1858.
 - 70 F vii. Ann Fitzhugh ROSE⁵⁴ was born 1807/1810 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{12,54,170,171} 1810/1820 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.
- + 71 M viii. Dr. Erasmus Taylor ROSE was born 4 Apr 1808 and died 12 Aug 1874.
 - 72 F ix. Frances M. ROSE^{54,112,171} was born¹⁷⁰ 1810/1820. She died¹⁷² after 1836.
 - 73 F x. Mary M. ROSE^{54,171} was born¹⁷⁰ 1810/1820.
 - 74 M xi. **James Madison ROSE**⁵⁴ was born¹⁷⁰ about 1815 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{171,173,174} 1836 in The Alamo, Texas.
- 17. **Mary Willis DAINGERFIELD** "Molley or Winifred"^{58,61,70,175,176,177} (Elizabeth Madison Willis BEALE, Ambrose) was born^{178,179} 12 Dec 1743 and is included in the tax list on¹⁸⁰ 1787 in

Spotsylvania County, Virginia. She died¹⁷⁹ 16 Feb 1819 in Coventry, Spotsylvania County, Virginia.

Molley or Winifred married^{63,181} **Col. William DAINGERFIELD Jr.**^{61,176}, son of William DAINGERFIELD Sr. and Apphia Fauntleroy DAINGERFIELD, on 10 Mar 1763. William died^{179,182} 17 Sep 1781 in Saint George's Parish, Spotsylvania County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- + 75 F i. Catherine Daingerfield LEWIS was born 25 Jun 1764.
 - F ii. Elizabeth Daingerfield MAGILLE^{71,176,182} was born¹⁸¹ 8 Feb 1766. She died¹⁸¹ 1 Feb 1791.

Elizabeth married¹⁸¹ Col. Charles MAGILLE¹⁸¹ on 21 Apr 1789.

77 M iii. **John DAINGERFIELD**^{176,182} was born¹⁸¹ 7 Nov 1767. He died^{176,182} after 1787.

John married^{176,181} Frances Southall DAINGERFIELD¹⁷⁶ on 22 Jun 1787.

78 M iv. William DAINGERFIELD III¹⁸² was born¹⁸¹ 5 Aug 1769. He died¹⁸¹ 29 Sep 1808.

William married Elizabeth Thruston DAINGERFIELD¹⁷⁶.

79 M v. Henry DAINGERFIELD^{176,182} was born¹⁸¹ 27 Jun 1775. He died¹⁸¹ 15 Feb 1815.

Henry married¹⁸¹ Elizabeth Mynn Thruston DAINGERFIELD¹⁸¹ on 10 Aug 1793.

- 80 M vi. Willis DAINGERFIELD¹⁷⁹ was born¹⁷⁹ 12 Apr 1773. He died¹⁷⁹ 8 Apr 1778.
- + 81 F vii. Molly (Mary) Daingerfield Turberville BATTAILE was born 8 Mar 1775 and died 2 Jan 1809.
 - 82 F viii. Ann Daingerfield BATTAILE^{176,182} was born¹⁷⁹ 28 Aug 1776.

Ann married¹⁷⁹ Hay BATTAILE¹⁷⁹ on 18 Feb 1794.

83 F ix. Sarah Daingerfield HOOEY^{176,182} was born¹⁷⁹ 3 Feb 1779.

Sarah married¹⁷⁹ Nathaniel H. HOOEY¹⁷⁹ on 20 Aug 1807.

84 M x. Lewis Willis DAINGERFIELD¹⁷⁹ was born¹⁷⁹ 6 Apr 1781.

Lewis married¹⁷⁹ **Fanny Duerson DAINGERFIELD**¹⁷⁹ on 10 Nov 1803. Fanny was born¹⁸³ 6 Nov 1786. She died¹⁸³ 20 Jun 1834.

 Anne Beale WILLIS^{58,70,71,184} (Elizabeth Madison Willis BEALE, Ambrose) was born⁷¹ after 1753 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{185,186,187,188,189} 8 Mar 1799 in Spotsylvania County, Virginia and was buried in St. George's Episcopal Church, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Anne married¹⁹⁰ **Maj. John Whitaker WILLIS** "Jack "61,188, son of Col. Lewis WILLIS and Mary Champe WILLIS. Jack died^{191,192} 6 Jun 1802 in Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania County, Virginia and was buried^{191,192} 7 Jun 1802 in St. George's Episcopal Church, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

- 85 F i. Unknown Willis SEARS⁶¹.
- 86 F ii. Unknown Willis HOOMES⁶¹.
- 87 F iii. Unknown Willis EPPERSON⁶¹.
- Col. Taverner BEALE Jr.^{2,72} (Frances Madison Beale HITE, Ambrose) was born about 1744/1745 in Orange County, Virginia. He died⁷⁷ 1810 in Clifton Forge, Shenandoah County, Virginia.

Taverner married^{2,89} **Elizabeth O'Bannon Hite BEALE** "Betty"², daughter of Jacob HITE and Catherine O'Bannon HITE, on 22 Dec 1763. Betty was born about 1740. She died¹⁹³ after 1795.

They had the following children:

88 M i. John BEALE^{194,195} was born⁸⁰ 1764/1771. He died¹⁹⁶ 1809.

John married (1) Margaret Skilling Penn BEALE².

John also married (2) Rhoda Trigg BEALE².

- 89 M ii. **Charles BEALE**^{194,195} was born^{80,197} 1764/1767. He died 1767/1772? in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Orange County, Virginia.
- 90 F iii. Elizabeth Beale STEENBERGEN^{194,195} was born⁸⁰ 1764/1771.

Elizabeth married Unknown STEENBERGEN¹⁹⁵.

91 F iv. **Catherine Beale JORDAN**^{89,194,195} was born⁸⁹ 25 Sep 1765. She died^{89,198} 22 Feb 1856 in Botetourt County, Virginia and was buried⁸⁹ in Locust Bottom Church.

Catherine married⁸⁹ **Capt. John JORDAN**⁸⁹ on 28 Apr 1789. John was born⁸⁹ 1755. He died⁸⁹ 1835.

- 92 M v. James Madison Hite BEALE^{194,195} was born^{80,197} after 1767. He died 1767/1772? in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Orange County, Virginia.
- + 93 M vi. Thomas BEALE Sr. was born 1773 and died Sep 1820.
 - 94 F vii. Mary Beale HIGGINS^{194,195}.

Mary married Unknown HIGGINS¹⁹⁵.

23. Frances Madison Beale HITE^{72,79,199} (Frances Madison Beale HITE, Ambrose) was born⁹² 1 Oct 1749. She died after 1776.

Frances married^{92,200} **Thomas HITE**^{61,201}, son of Jacob HITE and Catherine O'Bannon HITE, on 10 Nov 1772. Thomas was born⁹² 13 Sep 1750. He died^{92,200} Aug 1776 in New Hopewell, Jefferson County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

 95 F i. Frances Madison Hite WILLIS²⁰² was born²⁰⁰ 4 Oct 1776. She died^{201,203} 27 Jul 1857 in Charles Town, West Virginia.

Frances married^{200,201,204} **Carver WILLIS**^{200,205,206}, son of Francis WILLIS and Elizabeth Edwards WILLIS, on 16 Dec 1798 in Berkeley County, Virginia. Carver was born^{200,201} 1774.

 Anne Beale HARRISON^{61,72,79,80,207} (Frances Madison Beale HITE, Ambrose) was born^{207,208} 31 Mar 1754 in Orange County, Virginia. She died²⁰⁷ 6 Nov 1785 in Fauquier County or Loudon County, Virginia.

Anne married^{207,208,209} **Cuthbert HARRISON**^{61,84}, son of Burr HARRISON and Ann Barnes HARRISON, on 15 Jan 1773 in Dunmore Parish, Fauquier County, Virginia. Cuthbert was born^{84,207,210,211} 11 Aug 1749 and was baptized^{84,211} 17 Sep 1749. He died^{211,212} 1824 in Washington County, Kentucky.

They had the following children:

- 96 M i. **Taverner HARRISON**^{207,213} was born^{207,208} 20 Mar 1774 in Dunmore Parish, Fauquier County, Virginia. He died^{208,214} 24 Jan 1789.
- 97 M ii. Burr HARRISON^{207,215} was born^{207,208} 15 Feb 1776 in Hamshire Parish.
- 98 F iii. Anne Frances HARRISON^{207,216} was born^{207,208,217} 15 Jun 1778 in Loudoun County, Virginia. She died^{207,208,218} 9 Jun 1779.
- 99 F iv. Elizabeth Beale Harrison BRASTERE^{207,219} was born^{207,208} 10 Apr 1780 in Fauquier County, Virginia.

Elizabeth married²²⁰ Robert BRASTERE^{61,208}.

100 F v. Ann (Nancy) Barnes Harrison COX^{207,221} was born^{207,208} 17 Jan 1782 in Fauquier County, Virginia.

Ann married^{208,222} Nathaniel COX^{61,208} on 15 Aug 1810.

101 M vi. **Francis Madison HARRISON**^{207,223} was born^{207,208,224} 27 Oct 1784. He died^{208,225} 17 Jan 1860.

Fourth Generation

 Elizabeth Conway Madison SHEPHERD^{106,107,112} (Francis, James, Ambrose) was born^{97,226} about 1780 in Madison County, Virginia. She died²²⁷ 13 Nov 1850.

Elizabeth married^{107,226,228} **Alexander SHEPHERD**^{107,229}, son of Andrew SHEPHERD Sr. and Elizabeth Bell SHEPHERD, on 22 Feb 1798 in Madison County, Virginia. Alexander was born^{12,229,230} 4 Jan 1770. He died²³¹ 1832.

They had the following children:

102 F i. **Susan M. SHEPHERD**¹⁰⁵.

31. **Nelly Madison WOOD** "Ellen, Elinor"^{106,107,112} (Francis, James, Ambrose) was born⁹⁷ about 1784 in Madison County, Virginia. She died^{232,233} 16 Feb 1819 in Petersburg, Virginia.

Ellen, Elinor married **William Bell WOOD**^{234,235,236}, son of Capt. Joseph WOOD Jr. and Margaret Bell WOOD "Peggie", on 31 Oct 1804 in Locust Grove, Madison County, Virginia. William was born¹² 1781/1786 in Orange County, Virginia and resided²³⁵ before 1816 in Woodville, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{237,238} 1830/1836.

They had the following children:

103 F i. Margaret Wood TAPPAN died^{112,238} after 1836.

Margaret married Unknown TAPPAN¹¹².

- 104 F ii. Elizabeth WOOD²³⁹ died²³⁹ 11 May 1829 in Petersburg, Virginia.
- 105 F iii. **Susan M. Wood PORTER**²⁴⁰ died^{112,238} before 1836.

Susan married²⁴⁰ **George C. PORTER**²⁴⁰ on 25 Oct 1825 in Orange County, Virginia. George was born²⁴⁰ in Orange County, Virginia.

- 106 M iv. Joseph WOOD died^{112,238} after 1836.
- Mary C. B. Madison SMITH "Polly"^{106,107} (Francis, James, Ambrose) was born⁹⁷ about 1786 in Madison County, Virginia. She died^{12,112,238,241} 1807/1835.

Polly married^{107,242} **William H. SMITH**²⁴², son of David SMITH, on 31 Oct 1804 in Orange County, Virginia. William died²⁴³ after 1818.

They had the following children:

- 107 M i. Walton SMITH²⁴⁴ died^{112,238} after 1836.
- 108 F ii. Mary C. B. Smith BUCK "Nancy"^{103,244} died^{112,238} after 1836.

Nancy married¹⁰³ John BUCK^{103,112,238} on 7 Jan 1831 in Locust Grove, Madison County, Virginia. John was born¹⁰³ in Fredericksburg, Virginia. He died²³⁸ after 1836.

34. **Reuben Conway MADISON**^{106,107} (Francis, James, Ambrose) was born^{97,245} 1786/1790. He died^{107,246} 1821/1837 in Alabama.

Reuben married Winna (Winny) MADISON^{149,246}. Winna died¹⁰⁷ after 1837.

They had the following children:

- 109 F i. **Mary MADISON**^{149,246} was born²⁴⁶ before 1818.
- 110 M ii. Francis MADISON^{149,246} was born²⁴⁶ before 1818.
- 111 M iii. James MADISON^{149,246}.
- 112 M iv. William MADISON^{149,246}.
- 113 F v. Eugenia E. MADISON^{149,246}.
- 114 F vi. Elizabeth MADISON^{149,246}.
- 36. Frances T. Madison SHEPHERD "Fannie"^{106,107,247} (Francis, James, Ambrose) was born^{108,248} 1792/1798 in Madison County, Virginia. She died^{12,247} 25 Mar 1866 in Madison County, Virginia and was buried in Prospect Hill, Madison County, Virginia.

Fannie married¹⁰⁷ (James) Thomson SHEPHERD^{107,112,247}, son of Andrew SHEPHERD Sr. and Elizabeth Bell SHEPHERD, on 22 Dec 1831 in Madison County, Virginia. (James) was born^{247,248,249} 7 Feb 1788 in Virginia. He died²⁴⁷ 16 Jul 1868 and was buried in Prospect Hill, Madison County, Virginia.

- + 115 M i. Walton Francis SHEPHERD was born 25 Sep 1835 and died 20 Mar 1891.
- 37. Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS^{95,112} (Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,250} 29 Dec 1780 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia. She died²⁵¹ 4 Nov 1862 in Howard Place (later Mayhurst), Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{252,253} 6 Nov 1862 in Madison Family Cemetery.

Nelly married^{8,95,254,255} **Dr. John WILLIS**^{95,256,257}, son of Francis WILLIS and Elizabeth Perrin WILLIS, on 12 Nov 1804 in Orange County, Virginia. John was born^{8,36,61,258,259} 24 Oct 1774 in White Hall, Gloucester County, Virginia and resided²⁵⁶ 1802/1811 in Woodley, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{36,259,260} 1 Apr 1811 in Woodley, Orange County, Virginia from Yellow Fever and was buried^{36,259} in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

- + 116 F i. Mary Lee Willis LEE was born 8 Sep 1806 and died 29 Mar 1836.
- + 117 M ii. Col. John WILLIS was born 8 Jan 1809/1810 and died 9 Dec 1885.
- 40. Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN^{52,112} (Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born^{52,132} 1 Dec 1789. She died^{112,238} before 1836.

Nelly married^{12,52,149} **Dr. Cornelius BALDWIN**⁵² on 1809. Cornelius was born^{12,52} 1791. He died^{12,52} 1849.

They had the following children:

- + 118 F i. Eleanor Conway Baldwin DAVISON was born 1805? and died after 1848.
 - 119 F ii. Mary Briscoe BALDWIN^{112,149} was born^{12,52,261} 20 May 1811 in Belle Grove, Frederick County, Virginia. She died^{12,52,262} 1877.
 - 120 M iii. **Dr. Isaac Hite BALDWIN**^{112,149} was born^{12,52,262} 1813. He died^{12,52} 1882.
- + 121 F iv. Ann Maury Baldwin HAY was born 1817 and died after 1845.
- + 122 M v. James Madison BALDWIN died after 1836.
- + 123 M vi. **Dr. Robert Stuart BALDWIN Sr.** was born 1824 and died after 1865.
 - 124 M vii. Cornelius BALDWIN^{112,238} died²⁶³ before 1836.
- 41. James Madison HITE Sr.^{52,112} (Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born^{12,52,132} 29 Jan 1793. He died^{12,52,264} 11 Jan 1860.

James married^{12,52,264} Caroline Matilda Irvine HITE on 12 Jan 1815.

They had the following children:

- + 125 F i. Caroline Matilda Hite BAKER.
- + 126 M ii. Isaac Irvine HITE Sr. was born 1820.
- + 127 M iii. James Madison HITE Jr.
- + 128 F iv. Ann Eliza Hite SKINKER was born 1831.
- 42. Frances Madison Hite RANSOM^{12,52,265} (Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose).

Frances married James Lackland RANSOM12,52,265.

They had the following children:

129 F i. Georgianna Hite Ransom WASHINGTON¹² was born^{12,52,265} about 1822 in Jefferson County, Virginia. She died^{12,52,265} 3 Dec 1860 in San Francisco, California.

Georgianna married^{12,52,265} **Benjamin Franklin WASHINGTON**^{12,52}, son of John Thornton Augustine WASHINGTON and Elizabeth Conrad Bedinger WASHINGTON, on 22 Oct 1845 in Charlestown, Virginia.

Benjamin was born^{12,52,265} 17 Apr 1820 in Cedar Lawn, Jefferson County, Virginia. He died^{12,52,265} 22 Jan 1872 in San Francisco, California.

43. **Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN** "Becky"^{52,112,266,267} (William, James, Ambrose) was born¹³⁵ 28 Apr 1785 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia and signed a will²⁶⁸ 20 Mar 1860 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{269,270} 5 Feb 1861 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried²⁷¹ 7 Feb 1861 in Berry Hill, Orange County, Virginia.

Becky married^{272,273} **Reynolds CHAPMAN**^{52,112}, son of Richard CHAPMAN and Elizabeth Reynolds Chapman GREEN, on 18 Feb 1802 in Madison County, Virginia. Reynolds was born^{52,272,274,275} 22 Jul 1778 in Prior Park, King William County, Virginia. He died^{52,276} Feb 1844 in Berry Hill, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{61,266} in Berry Hill, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 130 M i. William Madison CHAPMAN^{52,266,277} died²⁶⁸ 1846.
- + 131 F ii. Jane Madison Chapman SLAUGHTER was born about 1806 and died 1850/1860.
- + 132 M iii. Judge John Madison CHAPMAN was born 1810 and died 1879.
- + 133 M iv. James Alfred CHAPMAN was born 1813 and died 1876.
 - 134 F v. Mary Ella Chapman MEYERS^{61,141} died²⁷⁸ before 1860.

Mary married²⁷⁹ Moses MEYERS^{141,280} on 2 Mar 1847.

- 135 M vi. **Richard Conway CHAPMAN**^{61,141} was born²⁸¹ about 1819.
- 47. **Robert Lewis MADISON**^{112,141,282} (William, James, Ambrose) was born^{133,135,141,283} 3 Mar 1794 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia. He died^{32,133,135,141,284,285,286} 9 Feb 1828 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia from Tuberculosis and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.

Robert married^{287,288,289} **Eliza Strachan MADISON**²⁸², daughter of Alexander Glass STRACHAN and Sarah Field STRACHAN, on 10 Jul 1816 in Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia. Eliza was born²⁹⁰ 4 Nov 1797 in Dinwiddie County, Virginia. She died²⁹¹ 18 Nov 1837 in Petersburg, Virginia from Consumption or Tuberculosis and was buried²⁹² 20 Nov 1837 in Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- + 136 M i. Dr. Thomas Cooper MADISON was born 1817 and died 1866.
- + 137 M ii. William Alexander MADISON was born 1817/1820 and died 5 Aug 1849.
- + 138 M iii. Dr. Robert Lewis MADISON was born 22 Feb 1828 and died 26 May 1878.
- 48. Maj. Ambrose MADISON^{4,112,141} (William, James, Ambrose) was born^{36,133,135,141} 12 Mar 1796 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia. He died^{36,293} 26 Dec 1855 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia and was buried^{4,36} in Madison Family Cemetery.

Ambrose married^{134,294,295} **Jane Bankhead Willis MADISON**^{4,134,141,296,297}, daughter of William Champe WILLIS "Gentleman Billy" and Lucy Taliaferro WILLIS, on 16 Sep 1819 in Willis Grove, Orange County, Virginia. Jane was born^{141,296,298,299,300,301,302} 1803 in Virginia. She died^{141,295,296,303} 16 May 1862 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia and was buried^{300,304} 18 May 1862 in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

+	139	F	i.	Lucy Taliaferro Madison WILLIS was born 22 Jul 1820 and died 16 Feb 1868.
	140	F	 11.	Unknown MADISON ³⁰⁵ was born ³⁰⁵ 1821/1825. She died ^{305,306} 1830/1840 in Cleveland, Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.
+	141	F	 111.	Mary Frances Madison MARYE was born 12 Apr 1822 and died 13 Nov 1856.
+	142	Μ	iv.	William Willis MADISON was born 1826 and died 1888.
+	143	Μ	v.	Dr. James Ambrose MADISON was born 14 Jul 1828 and died 28 Jun 1901.
+	144	F	vi.	Eliza Lewis Madison TALIAFERRO was born 1834 and died 1886.
+	145	F	vii.	Leila Bankhead Madison DABNEY was born 1837 and died 1870/1900.
51.				ison WILLIS "Eliza" ^{61,112,141,296,297,307} (William, James, Ambrose) was Oct 1802 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia. She died ^{308,309} 6 Apr

Eliza married^{296,299,307} **Lewis WILLIS**^{61,112,141,296,297,299,307}, son of William Champe WILLIS "Gentleman Billy" and Lucy Taliaferro WILLIS, on 21 May 1819 in Madison County, Virginia. Lewis was born 1796/1801 and was counted in a census 1830 in Culpeper County, Virginia. He died 1830/1832 in Culpeper County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

+ 146 F i. Frances Willis LEE was born 27 Jul 1820 and died 17 Aug 1859.

1824 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia from Tuberculosis.

- 147 M ii. Child WILLIS¹⁴⁰ was born 1820/1824. He died¹⁴⁰ 1832/1839 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia.
- Letitia Madison SLAUGHTER^{54,112,310} (William, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,54,135} 8 Mar 1806 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia. She died^{135,285} 17 Feb 1828 in Culpeper County, Virginia from Tuberculosis.

Letitia married **Sen. Daniel French SLAUGHTER**^{54,112,285,310,311}, son of Capt. Philip SLAUGHTER and Peggy French Strother SLAUGHTER, on 6 Sep 1825 in Madison County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 148 M i. Gen. James Edwin SLAUGHTER^{54,310,311} was born³¹² 1825/1828.
- + 149 M ii. **Maj. Philip Madison SLAUGHTER** was born about 1827 and died 23 Dec 1887.
- 54. John (Jack) R. MADISON (William, James, Ambrose) was born³¹³ 1810/1820. He died⁹⁹ 1847/1850 in Orange County or Madison County, Virginia and was buried⁹⁹ in Routt Family Cemetery, Somerset, Orange County, Virginia.

John married **Lucy F. Routt MADISON**, daughter of William Pope ROUTT and Margaret W. ROUTT, on 8 Mar 1841. Lucy was born³¹⁴ about 1820 in Orange County, Virginia. She died 1870/1880 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried⁹⁹ in Routt Family Cemetery, Somerset, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 150 M i. **James A. MADISON**³¹⁴ was born^{314,315} about 1842 in Orange County, Virginia. He died³¹⁵ after 1870.
- 151 F ii. Mary F. MADISON³¹⁴ was born^{314,315} about 1843 in Orange County, Virginia. She died³¹⁵ after 1870.
- 152 F iii. Lucy M. MADISON³¹⁴ was born³¹⁴ about 1847 in Orange County, Virginia. She died after 1870.
- 55. James Hartwell Madison MACON Sr.^{61,112} (Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born^{36,38,157,158} 3 Jul 1791 in Montpelier, Orange County, Virginia and resided^{165,316} before 1843 in Mt. Athos, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{36,38,157,158} 3 Feb 1877 in Montchere, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

James married^{36,163,317} Lucetta Todd Newman MACON, daughter of Thomas NEWMAN and Lucy Barbour NEWMAN, on 10 Oct 1815 in Orange County, Virginia. Lucetta was born^{36,38,163} 9 Jan 1799. She died^{36,38} 1 Jan 1878 in Montchere, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

- + 153 M i. Thomas Newman MACON was born 1816 and died 1899.
- + 154 F ii. Lucy Conwayella Macon KNOX was born 12 Jul 1819 and died 1 Mar 1872.
- + 155 F iii. Sarah Frances Macon Goss HILL was born Aug 1824 and died after 1885.
- + 156 M iv. Edgar Barbour MACON was born 5 Apr 1830 and died 11 Mar 1923.
- + 157 M v. James Madison MACON Jr. was born about 1833 and died after 1885.
- + 158 M vi. **Reuben Conway Madison MACON** was born 14 May 1838 and died 21 Mar 1927.
- 56. Conway Catlett MACON^{25,112,157} (Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born^{25,157,158} 15 Oct 1792 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{25,157,158,318} 28 Jun 1860 in Seventh Street, Richmond, Virginia and was buried³¹⁹ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

Conway married^{320,321} **Agnes Mayo MACON**⁶¹, daughter of William MAYO and Elizabeth Bland Poythress MAYO, on 5 Mar 1816 in Henrico County, Virginia. Agnes was born³²² 1796 in Henrico County, Virginia. She died³²³ 21 Jun 1869 in Richmond, Virginia from Paralysis and was buried^{324,325} 22 Jun 1869 in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 159 F i. Sarah Elizabeth MACON⁶¹ was born^{25,326} Dec 1816 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{25,163,327,328,329} 22 Jul 1831 in Mount Erin, Orange County, Virginia and was buried³³⁰ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.
- + 160 F ii. Ellen Ann Macon CAVE was born about 1824 and died 24 Oct 1875.
- + 161 M iii. Edgar MACON was born 1827 and died 21 Jul 1861.
- + 162 F iv. Lucy Conway Macon WASHINGTON was born 30 May 1834 and died 24 Jul 1887.
 - 163 F v. Josephine Macon SMITH was born³³¹ about 1836. She died after 1877.

64. Dr. Hugh Francis ROSE Sr.⁵⁴ (Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose) was

born^{12,54,171} 1801 in Virginia. He died^{12,54} 1856.

Hugh married **Emma Taliaferro Newman ROSE**^{54,171}, daughter of Capt. Francis NEWMAN. Emma was born¹⁷¹ about 1808 in Maryland.

They had the following children:

	164	F	i.	Ellen Conway Rose JONES ^{54,171} was born ¹⁷¹ 1830/1840.		
				Ellen married Richard James JONES ^{54,171} .		
	165	F	 11.	Octavia ROSE ^{54,171} was born ¹⁷¹ 1830/1840.		
	166	F	 111.	Ann Fitzhugh Rose BELL ^{54,171} was born ¹⁷¹ 1830/1840.		
				Ann married Dr. W. L. BELL ^{54,171} .		
	167	F	iv.	Frances Madison ROSE ^{54,171} was born ¹⁷¹ about 1833.		
	168	F	v.	Eliza Camilla Rose ROGERS ^{54,171} was born ¹⁷¹ about 1834.		
				Eliza married H. A. ROGERS ^{54,171} .		
	169	F	vi.	Emma Newman Rose MOORE ^{54,171} was born ¹⁷¹ about 1838.		
				Emma married T. A. MOORE ^{54,171} .		
	170	Μ	vii.	Hugh Francis ROSE Jr. ^{54,171} was born ¹⁷¹ about 1840.		
				Hugh married Margaret Ellen Rose ROSE ^{54,332} , daughter of Henry ROSE and Sarah J. Smith ROSE. Margaret was born ³³² about 1848.		
	171	Μ	viii.	Robert ROSE ^{54,171} was born ¹⁷¹ about 1842.		
+	172	Μ	ix.	Samuel Patrick ROSE was born about 1844.		
	173	Μ	х.	James Madison ROSE ¹⁷¹ .		

65. Ambrose James ROSE^{54,112} (Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose) was born^{12,54} 1802. He died¹⁷¹ 3 May 1837 in Lowndes County, Mississippi.

Ambrose married Elizabeth Kelly ROSE^{54,171,333}. Elizabeth was born⁵⁴ in Mississippi.

They had the following children:

174 F i. Frances T. Rose WINSTON^{54,149,246} was born³³³ 9 Jul 1829.

Frances married William WINSTON^{54,149}.

- 175 F ii. Jane N. ROSE^{54,246} was born³³³ 24 Aug 1833.
- 66. **Nelly Conway Rose NEWMAN**^{54,112} (Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose) was born¹⁷⁰ about 1803. She died¹⁷² before 1836.

Nelly married¹⁷¹ **Capt. John Francis NEWMAN**⁵⁴ on 11 Oct 1824 in Madison County, Alabama. John died^{171,172} before 1836 in Desoto County, Mississippi.

- 176 M i. Edward Woodyear NEWMAN¹⁷¹.
- 177 M ii. Hollis Fryer NEWMAN¹⁷¹.
- + 178 F iii. Ellen Rose Newman WHEELOCK died 1869.

- + 179 F iv. Mary Frances Newman ROSE.
- 67. Henry ROSE^{54,112} (Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose) was born^{12,54,171,334} 1804 in Virginia. He died³³⁴ after 1860.

Henry married **Sarah J. Smith ROSE**^{54,171}. Sarah was born³³⁴ about 1822 in Kentucky and resided⁵⁴ in Rushville, Illinois. She died³³⁴ before 1860.

They had the following children:

- + 180 M i. Robert Henry ROSE was born 2 Dec 1843.
 - 181 M ii. **Samuel Jordan ROSE**^{54,332} was born³³² about 1846 and resided^{54,332} in Macon, Tennessee.
 - 182 F iii. Margaret Ellen Rose ROSE^{54,332} was born³³² about 1848.

Margaret married **Hugh Francis ROSE Jr.**^{54,171}, son of Dr. Hugh Francis ROSE Sr. and Emma Taliaferro Newman ROSE. Hugh was born¹⁷¹ about 1840.

183 F iv. Nancy T. Rose Belle MCCARTY "Nannie"^{54,332} was born³³² about 1850/1851.

Nannie married (1) **Dr. Unknown BELLE**^{54,332}.

Nannie also married (2) Unknown MCCARTY^{54,332}.

68. **Samuel Jordan ROSE**^{54,112} (Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose) was born^{12,54,171,332} 1805 in Virginia. He died^{12,54,332} 1868.

Samuel married³³² (1) **Prudence W. Jones ROSE**^{54,171}, daughter of J. W. JONES, on 28 Aug 1839 in Shelby County, Tennessee.

They had the following children:

184 M i. John R. ROSE³³² was born³³² about 1844.

Samuel also married³³² (2) **Dorothy Ann W. Jones ROSE**^{54,171}, daughter of J. W. JONES, on 28 May 1847 in Tipton County, Tennessee. Dorothy was born³³² about 1822/1823.

They had the following children:

- 185 F ii. Martha W. ROSE³³² was born³³² about 1849.
- 186 M iii. Bronson Bayliss ROSE^{54,332} was born³³² about 1851 and resided^{54,332} in Texas.
 Bronson married Alice T. Lytle ROSE^{54,332}.
- 187 F iv. **Maria Jones ROSE**^{54,332}.
- 188 F v. Polly Ward Rose HALL^{54,332}.

Polly married John G. HALL^{54,332}.

69. **Robert H. ROSE**⁵⁴ (Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose) was born^{170,171,334} about 1806/1810 in Virginia. He died²⁶³ after 1858.

Robert married³³⁴ **Nancy Campbell White ROSE**¹⁷¹, daughter of Alexander CAMPBELL, on 2 Apr 1840 in Schuyler County, Illinois. Nancy was born³³⁴ about 1817 in Kentucky.

189 F i. Mary **ROSE**³³⁴ was born³³⁴ about 1842.

County, Illinois.

- F ii. Susannah T. Rose STEWART³³⁴ was born³³⁴ about 1843.
 Susannah married³³⁴ Edwin H. STEWART³³⁴ on 2 Nov 1864 in Schuyler
- 191 M iii. Robert Madison ROSE³³⁴ was born³³⁴ 24 Feb 1846.

Robert married Emily Catherine Noble ROSE³³⁴.

192 F iv. Frances H. T. Rose MANLOVE³³⁴ was born³³⁴ about 1849.

Frances married³³⁴ **Orlando MANLOVE**³³⁴ on 20 Apr 1877 in Schuyler County, Illinois.

193 F v. Sarah Anna Rose PRENTISS³³⁴ was born³³⁴ about 1856.

Sarah married³³⁴ **Samuel PRENTISS**³³⁴ on 21 Mar 1878 in Schuyler County, Illinois.

194 F vi. Carrie May Rose ALLPIN³³⁴ was born³³⁴ about 1858.

Carrie married³³⁴ **James H. ALLPIN**³³⁴ on 14 Nov 1883 in Schuyler County, Illinois.

71. Dr. Erasmus Taylor ROSE⁵⁴ (Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose) was born¹⁷¹ 4 Apr 1808 in Virginia. He died^{54,171} 12 Aug 1874 in Memphis, Shelby County, Tennessee and was buried¹⁷¹ in Elmwood Cemetery, Memphis, Tennessee.

Erasmus married **Mary Louise Rose ROSE**^{54,171}, daughter of John Nicholas ROSE and Mary Mutter ROSE, on 27 Mar 1845 in Calvary Church, Memphis, Tennessee. Mary was born³³⁴ about 1815 in Virginia and resided⁵⁴ in Macon, Georgia. She died³³⁴ 1853/1860.

They had the following children:

- 195 F i. Mary Ella ROSE^{54,334} was born³³⁴ about 1846. She died³³⁴ after 1874.
- 196 M ii. John Nicholas ROSE^{54,334} was born³³⁴ about 1849 in Tennessee.
- 197 M iii. Hugh James ROSE^{54,334} was born³³⁴ about 1851.
- 198 M iv. **Robert ROSE**^{54,334} was born³³⁴ about 1853.

Robert married Matilda W. Christian ROSE^{54,334}.

- 199 M v. Henry ROSE³³⁴.
- 75. **Catherine Daingerfield LEWIS**^{71,176,177,182,265,335} (Mary Willis DAINGERFIELD, Elizabeth Madison Willis BEALE, Ambrose) was born^{181,336} 25 Jun 1764 in Coventry, Spotsylvania County, Virginia.

Catherine married^{176,181,336} **Maj. George Washington LEWIS**^{176,177,182,265,335}, son of Col. Fielding LEWIS Sr. and Betty Washington LEWIS, on 15 Oct 1779 in Spotsylvania County, Virginia. George was born^{188,265,337,338} 14 Mar 1757 in Marmion, King George County, Virginia. He died^{265,339} 1821 in Marmion, King George County, Virginia.

- + 200 F i. Mary Willis Lewis WILLIS was born 24 Jun 1782 and died 8 Oct 1834.
- 81. Molly (Mary) Daingerfield Turberville BATTAILE^{176,179,182,189,297} (Mary Willis

DAINGERFIELD, Elizabeth Madison Willis BEALE, Ambrose) was born¹⁷⁹ 8 Mar 1775. She died^{176,179,182} 2 Jan 1809.

Molly married¹⁷⁹ (1) Gawin Corbin TURBERVILLE^{179,340} on 5 Apr 1792.

They had the following children:

+ 201 F i. Mary Willis Turberville TALIAFERRO.

Molly also married^{176,189,297} (2) **Capt. John BATTAILE**^{176,189,297}, son of Hay BATTAILE and Mary Willis BATTAILE, on 18 Nov 1807.

93. Thomas BEALE Sr.¹⁹⁴ (Taverner BEALE, Frances Madison Beale HITE, Ambrose) was born³⁴¹ 1773 in Shenandoah County, Virginia. He died³⁴² Sep 1820 in New Orleans, Louisiana and was buried³⁴² 8 Sep 1820 in Protestant Cemetery, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Thomas was not married (1) to Chloe DELANEY³⁴³.

They had the following children:

202 M i. **Thomas BEALE Jr.**³⁴⁴ was born³⁴⁴ about 1800. He died³⁴⁵ 22 Oct 1823 in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Thomas also married (2) Celeste de Grandpre BEALE^{194,346}.

They had the following children:

- 203 F ii. Eliza BEALE³⁴⁶ was born³⁴⁶ Dec 1815.
- 204 F iii. Celeste BEALE³⁴⁴ was born³⁴⁴ Sep 1818.
- 205 M iv. James William BEALE³⁴² was born³⁴² Jan 1820. He died³⁴² after 1855.
- 206 M v. Octavine BEALE³⁴⁷ was born³⁴⁷ May 1821.

Fifth Generation

115. Walton Francis SHEPHERD^{107,249,348} (Frances T. Madison SHEPHERD, Francis, James, Ambrose) was born^{247,249} 25 Sep 1835 in Virginia. He died²⁴⁷ 20 Mar 1891.

Walton married **Sallie Twyman SHEPHERD**³⁴⁹, daughter of Isaac Smith TWYMAN and Eliza Ann Hill TWYMAN.

They had the following children:

207 M i. Edwin Davis SHEPHERD¹⁰⁷ died¹⁰⁷ after 1945.

116. **Mary Lee Willis LEE**^{52,61} (Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{36,38} 8 Sep 1806 in Woodley, Orange County, Virginia. She died^{36,38,350} 29 Mar 1836 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

Mary married^{61,351} **Col. John Hancock LEE**^{52,61,141}, son of Willis LEE and Polly (Mary) Richards LEE, on 2 Mar 1826. John was born^{65,352} 18 Jul 1803 in Fauquier County, Virginia. He died 11 Sep 1873 in Woodley?, Orange County, Virginia and was buried³⁵³ in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

208 F i. Nelly LEE⁵² was born^{354,355,356} about 1827 in Orange County, Virginia. She

died³⁵⁷ 6 Jan 1876 and was buried³⁵⁸ in Madison Family Cemetery.

- + 209 F ii. Letitia Ramolina Lee MADISON was born 20 Jun 1829 and died 2 Jan 1857.
 - 210 M iii. Ambrose Madison LEE³⁶ was born^{36,38} 7 Feb 1832 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{36,38} 26 Mar 1838 in Orange County or Madison County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.
 - 211 F iv. Lucy C. LEE⁵² was born^{36,38} 16 May 1834 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{36,38} 26 Aug 1855 in Litchfield or Woodley, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.
 - 212 M v. John Willis LEE³⁶ was born^{36,38} 21 Mar 1836 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{36,38} 16 Feb 1837 in Orange County or Madison County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.
- 117.**Col. John WILLIS**⁹⁵ (Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,36,259} 8 Jan 1809/1810 in Woodley, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{8,36,95,141,259} 9 Dec 1885 in Clifton, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,61,259} in Madison Family Cemetery.

John married^{8,359} **Lucy Taliaferro Madison WILLIS**⁹⁵, daughter of Maj. Ambrose MADISON and Jane Bankhead Willis MADISON, on 2 Jul 1839 in Orange County, Virginia. Lucy was born^{8,95,141,250,295,360,361} 22 Jul 1820 in Willis Grove, Orange County, Virginia. She died^{8,36,95,141,259,362,363} 16 Feb 1868 in Oakburn, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,259,364} in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

- 213 F i. Mary Lee WILLIS⁹⁵ was born^{8,95,250,365} 22 May 1840 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{95,366} 1908.
- + 214 F ii. Jane Champe Willis RICHARDSON was born 27 Mar 1842 and died 1910.
- + 215 M iii. John C. WILLIS Jr. was born 21 Jul 1844 and died 10 Nov 1915.
- + 216 F iv. Claudia Marshall Willis SCOTT was born 16 Jul 1846 and died 23 Jan 1912.
- + 217 F v. Nelly Conway Willis WILLIS was born 1 Oct 1848 and died 7 May 1923.
 - 218 F vi. Lucy Cornelia Willis MORRIS "Corrie"^{8,95} was born^{8,95} 3 Mar 1852. She died³⁶⁷ 1889.

Corrie married^{8,95,367} **Charles MORRIS**⁹⁵ on 18 Nov 1880. Charles resided³⁶⁷ in Caroline County, Virginia . He died⁹⁵ 1910.

- + 219 M vii. Ambrose Madison WILLIS was born 2 Mar 1854.
- + 220 M viii. **Rev. Andrew Johnson WILLIS** was born 10 Jul 1858 and died after 1911.

118.**Eleanor Conway Baldwin DAVISON**^{12,52,112,149} (Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born¹² 1805?. She died^{112,238} after 1848.

Eleanor married^{12,52} Edward Jaquelin DAVISON Sr.^{12,149} on 1835. Edward was born⁵² 1805. He died²³⁸ after 1848.

- + 221 F i. Eleanor Cornelia Davison PEDIGO was born 1836.
 - 222 F ii. Mary Baldwin DAVISON⁵² was born⁵² 1837. She died⁵² 1846.

- 223 M iii. Edward Jaquelin DAVISON Jr.⁵² was born⁵² 1842. He died⁵² 1844.
- 224 M iv. Judge William Smith DAVISON was born 1845 and died 1904.
- 225 F v. Edmonia Louise DAVISON⁵² was born⁵² 1848. She died⁵² 1856.
- 121.**Ann Maury Baldwin HAY**^{12,112,149} (Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born^{12,52,262} 1817. She died^{112,238} after 1845.

Ann married^{12,52,262} Isaac Hite HAY^{52,149} on 1844.

They had the following children:

+

- + 226 M i. John Baldwin HAY was born 1845.
- 122. James Madison BALDWIN^{52,112,149} (Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) died^{112,238} after 1836.

He had the following children:

- 227 M i. Hite BALDWIN⁵².
- 228 F ii. Mary BALDWIN⁵².
- 229 M iii. Briscoe BALDWIN⁵².
- 230 F iv. Ann BALDWIN⁵².
- 231 F v. Eleanor BALDWIN⁵².
- 123.**Dr. Robert Stuart BALDWIN Sr.**^{12,112,149} (Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born⁵² 1824. He died^{112,238} after 1865.

Robert married²⁶⁴ Letitia Jane Speck BALDWIN¹² on 1847. Letitia was born^{12,52} 1824.

They had the following children:

- 232 M i. Cornelius Hite BALDWIN⁵² was born⁵² 1846. He died⁵² 1864.
- 233 M ii. Robert Stuart BALDWIN Jr.⁵² was born⁵² 1848.
- 234 F iii. Frederica Briscoe BALDWIN⁵² was born⁵² 1850. She died⁵² 1883.
- + 235 F iv. Augusta Madison Baldwin WATTS was born 1852.
 - 236 M v. William Daniel BALDWIN⁵² was born⁵² 1856. He died⁵² before 1872.
 - 237 F vi. Martha Daniel BALDWIN⁵² was born⁵² 1865. She died⁵² 1883.
- 125.**Caroline Matilda Hite BAKER**^{12,52,149} (James Madison HITE, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose).

Caroline married Maj. Alexander BAKER^{52,149,368}.

They had the following children:

- 238 M i. Alexander BAKER⁵².
- 239 F ii. Lillian BAKER⁵².
- 126.**Isaac Irvine HITE Sr.**^{12,149} (James Madison HITE, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born^{12,52,368} 1820.

Isaac married^{12,52,368} (1) Susan Meade HITE^{52,149} on 1838.

They had the following children:

240	Μ	i.	William Meade HITE ⁵² .
241	Μ	 11.	Isaac Irvine HITE Jr. ⁵² .
242	F	 111.	Susan Hite BAKER ⁵² .
			Susan married Unknown BAKER ⁵² .
243	F	iv.	Mary Meade Hite BAKER ⁵² .

Mary married Unknown BAKER⁵².

Isaac also married (2) Ann Maria Hopkins Cutler HITE⁵², daughter of Unknown HOPKINS.

127. James Madison HITE Jr.¹⁴⁹ (James Madison HITE, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born³⁶⁸ in Guilford, Clarke County, Virginia.

James married^{52,368} Harriet Green Meade HITE^{12,52,149} on Dec 1849.

They had the following children:

244 M i. Drayton Meade HITE⁵².

245 F ii. Mattie HITE⁵² died⁵² 1886.

128. Ann Eliza Hite SKINKER¹⁴⁹ (James Madison HITE, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born^{12,52,368} 1831 in Guilford, Clarke County, Virginia.

Ann married^{12,52,368} Thomas Julian SKINKER Sr.^{12,52,149} on 12 Jun 1848.

They had the following children:

246 M i. Thomas Julian SKINKER Jr.⁵² was born^{52,368} 1849.

Thomas married^{52,368} Nannie Brown Rose SKINKER⁵² on 1872.

- + 247 M ii. Hampson SKINKER.
- + 248 M iii. Cornelius Hite SKINKER Sr..
- + 249 M iv. Hugh Garland SKINKER Sr..
- 131. Jane Madison Chapman SLAUGHTER^{141,266,369,370} (Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born³⁷¹ about 1806 in Virginia. She died^{278,371} 1850/1860.

Jane married²⁶⁸ **Dr. Thomas Towles SLAUGHTER**^{141,370,372}, son of Capt. Philip SLAUGHTER and Peggy French Strother SLAUGHTER, on 24 Jul 1828. Thomas was born^{141,371} 1804 in Virginia. He died¹⁴¹ 1890.

They had the following children:

- 250 M i. Thomas Towles SLAUGHTER Jr.¹⁴¹.
- 251 M ii. Larkin SLAUGHTER¹⁴¹.
- 252 M iii. Unknown SLAUGHTER¹⁴¹.
- 253 M iv. **Capt. Reynolds Chapman SLAUGHTER**^{141,370} was born³⁷¹ about 1831 in Virginia.

Reynolds married **Louis Lake SLAUGHTER**^{141,370}. Louis was born¹⁴¹ in Vicksburg, Mississippi.

- +254 M v. Lt. Col. Philip Peyton SLAUGHTER was born 10 Aug 1834 and died 21 Apr 1893. 255 M vi. Thomas Towles SLAUGHTER¹⁴¹ was born^{371,373} 30 Mar 1836 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{373,374} 27 Jun 1862 in Battle of Gaines Mill, Virginia and was buried³⁷³ in Berry Hill, Orange County, Virginia. +256 Μ vii. Dr. Alfred Edwin SLAUGHTER was born 7 Aug 1838 and died 11 Jan 1883. M viii. James Shepherd SLAUGHTER^{141,370} was born^{371,373} 3 Oct 1842 in Orange 257 County, Virginia. He died^{141,373} 17 Oct 1871 in Vicksburg, Mississippi from Yellow Fever. ix. Col. Mercer SLAUGHTER was born 25 Feb 1844 and died 10 May 1897. +258 Μ 259 Μ x. Richard Chapman SLAUGHTER¹⁴¹ was born³⁷¹ about 1846 in Virginia. 132. Judge John Madison CHAPMAN^{52,61,266} (Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born⁵² 1810 in Virginia. He died⁵² 1879. John married²⁶⁸ Susan Digges Cole CHAPMAN^{52,61,266} on 3 Aug 1841. Susan was born^{52,375} about 1825 in Effingham, Prince William County, Virginia. They had the following children: 260 F +i. Mary Ella Chapman CHAPMAN was born about 1841. 261 F <u>ii</u>. Constance CHAPMAN^{141,376} was born¹⁴¹ about 1842. She died^{141,375,376} before 1844. 262 F iii. Emma Chapman Boykin CULVER was born about 1842. +263 F iv. Susan (Susie) Ashton Chapman PERKINS was born about 1846. +264 F v. Sallie Foote Alexander CHAPMAN^{141,376} was born³⁷⁵ about 1848. +265 F vi. Belle Chapman MONCURE was born 1858. vii. Ashton Alexander CHAPMAN^{141,376} was born¹⁴¹ 1867. 266 Μ Ashton married¹⁴¹ Nannie Eaton Gregory CHAPMAN¹⁴¹ on 1895. Nannie was born¹⁴¹ in Oxford, North Carolina. viii. Jane Slaughter CHAPMAN³⁷⁶. 267 F ix. John Madison CHAPMAN³⁷⁶. 268 M x. John Madison CHAPMAN³⁷⁶. 269 Μ
 - 270 F xi. **Cora CHAPMAN**³⁷⁶.
- 133. James Alfred CHAPMAN^{141,377} (Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born¹⁴¹ 1813 and was counted in a census 1870 in Bedford County, Virginia. He died¹⁴¹ 1876.

James married¹⁴¹ Mary Edmonds McKinney CHAPMAN^{141,378} on 1837. Mary was born¹⁴¹ 1817. She died¹⁴¹ 1886.

They had the following children:

+ 271 F i. Anna Madison Chapman MCGUIRE was born 1844 and died 1904.

136.Dr. Thomas Cooper MADISON¹¹² (Robert Lewis, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{117,379} 1817 in Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia. He died¹¹⁷ 1866 in St. Louis, Missouri.

Thomas married Laura Reade MADISON.

They had the following children:

- 272 F i. Constance A. Read MADISON³⁸⁰ was born³⁸¹ 12 Jun 1854 in Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia. She died³⁸² 8 Aug 1854 in Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia and was buried³⁸³ Aug 1854 in Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, Virginia.
- 273 F
 ii. Fannie Lee MADISON³⁸⁴ was born³⁸⁵ 13 Aug 1857 in Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia. She died³⁸⁶ 22 Jan 1862 in Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia and was buried³⁸⁷ in Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, Virginia.
- 137.William Alexander MADISON¹¹² (Robert Lewis, William, James, Ambrose) was born³⁷⁹ 1817/1820. He died³⁸⁸ 5 Aug 1849 in New Orleans, Louisiana from Yellow Fever.

William married³⁸⁹ **Elizabeth Rebecca Stockdell MADISON**³⁹⁰, daughter of John Young STOCKDELL and Charlotte Corday Meade STOCKDELL, on 14 Sep 1841 in Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia. Elizabeth was born³⁹¹ 3 Jul 1820. She died³⁹² 29 Aug 1906.

They had the following children:

- 274 M i. John Young Stockdell MADISON³⁹³ was born³⁹⁴ about 1842. He died³⁹⁵ Aug 1862 and was buried³⁹⁶ in Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, Virginia.
- 275 F ii. Eliza Stockdell Madison JONES³⁹⁷.

Eliza married Hackley Turnbull JONES³⁹⁸.

276 M iii. William Alexander MADISON³⁹⁹.

William married Lucy Edmunds Wilkes MADISON⁴⁰⁰.

- 277 M iv. Ryland (Richard) MADISON⁴⁰¹.
- 278 M v. Robert L. MADISON⁴⁰².
- 138. Dr. Robert Lewis MADISON^{52,112,403} (Robert Lewis, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{282,404,405} 22 Feb 1828 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia and was adopted²⁸² after 1837 in By Robert Strachan in Petersburg, Virginia. He died^{405,406} 26 May 1878 in Lexington, Rockbridge County, Virginia and was buried^{405,407} in Stonewall Jackson Cemetery, Lexington, Virginia. There were other parents.

Robert married^{36,408,409,410} (1) **Letitia Ramolina Lee MADISON**⁵², daughter of Col. John Hancock LEE and Mary Lee Willis LEE, on 13 May 1853 in Woodley, Orange County, Virginia. Letitia was born^{36,38} 20 Jun 1829 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{36,38,411} 2 Jan 1857 in Litchfield, Orange County, Virginia from Birth Complications? and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

- 279 F i. Mary S. Lee MADISON⁵² was born^{412,413,414} about 1855 in Virginia. She died^{358,415} 1871/June 1878 and was buried³⁵⁸ in Madison Family Cemetery.
- 280 F ii. Letitia MADISON "Tishie"^{52,416} was born⁴¹³ June-Dec 1856. She died^{358,413,417} 1860/1870 in Rockbridge or Orange County, Virginia? and was buried³⁵⁸ in Madison Family Cemetery.

Robert also married^{403,418,419} (2) **Helen T. Banister MADISON**^{403,420}, daughter of John Monro BANISTER and Mary Burton Augusta Bolling BANISTER, on 26 Jan 1860 in St. Paul's Church, Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia. Helen was born^{414,421} 1828 in Virginia. She died⁴²² 1889 in Athens, Georgia.

They had the following children:

- 281 M iii. Robert Lewis MADISON⁴²³ was born⁴²⁴ Dec 1860 in Lexington, Rockbridge County, Virginia. He died⁴²⁵ 14 Jun 1861 in Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia and was buried⁴²⁶ in Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, Virginia.
- 282 M iv. Monro Banister MADISON⁴²⁷ was born^{61,414,428} 1862 in Virginia. He died⁴²⁹ 1887 in North Carolina.
- + 283 F v. Margurite (Maggie) B. Madison HOOPER was born about 1863 and died before 1954.
- + 284 M vi. Robert Lee MADISON was born 17 Feb 1867 and died 2 Oct 1954.
- + 285 M vii. Edmond Bolling MADISON was born about 1871 and died 1 Feb 1948.
- 139. Lucy Taliaferro Madison WILLIS⁹⁵ (Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,95,141,250,295,360,361} 22 Jul 1820 in Willis Grove, Orange County, Virginia. She died^{8,36,95,141,259,362,363} 16 Feb 1868 in Oakburn, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,259,364} in Madison Family Cemetery.

Lucy married^{8,359} **Col. John WILLIS**⁹⁵, son of Dr. John WILLIS and Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, on 2 Jul 1839 in Orange County, Virginia. John was born^{8,36,259} 8 Jan 1809/1810 in Woodley, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{8,36,95,141,259} 9 Dec 1885 in Clifton, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,61,259} in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

- 286 F i. Mary Lee WILLIS is printed as #213.
- + 287 F ii. Jane Champe Willis RICHARDSON is printed as #214.
- + 288 M iii. John C. WILLIS Jr. is printed as #215.
- + 289 F iv. Claudia Marshall Willis SCOTT is printed as #216.
- + 290 F v. Nelly Conway Willis WILLIS is printed as #217.
 - 291 F vi. Lucy Cornelia Willis MORRIS is printed as #218.
- + 292 M vii. Ambrose Madison WILLIS is printed as #219.
- + 293 M viii. Rev. Andrew Johnson WILLIS is printed as #220.
- 141. Mary Frances Madison MARYE¹⁴¹ (Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{36,38,295} 12 Apr 1822 in Madison County, Virginia. She died^{36,38} 13 Nov 1856 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{4,36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

Mary married^{430,431} **Col. Robert Burton MARYE**^{61,141}, son of John Lawrence MARYE and Anne Marye Burton MARYE, on 22 Jun 1843 in Cleveland, Orange County, Virginia. Robert was born^{61,430,432} 1819 in Fredericksburg, Virginia. He died⁴³³ 25 May 1881 in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

They had the following children:

+ 294 M i. Alfred J. MARYE was born about 1846 and died after 1877.

+ 295 M ii. Ambrose M. MARYE was born about 1856 and died 1897.

142. William Willis MADISON^{141,434} (Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{4,141,295,301,435} 1826 in Cleveland, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{4,141,435} 1888 in Shreveport, Louisiana.

William married **Roberta Willis Taliaferro MADISON**^{141,434}, daughter of William Thomas Warren TALIAFERRO and Fanny Barnes Harrison TALIAFERRO. Roberta died⁴³⁵ after 1860 in Texas.

They had the following children:

i. Unknown MADISON¹⁴¹.

143. **Dr. James Ambrose MADISON**^{4,141} (Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{36,38,141,295,436} 14 Jul 1828 in Cleveland, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{36,38} 28 Jun 1901 in Montpelier, Dr. James Madison House, Madison District, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{4,36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

James married¹⁴¹ (1) **Lucy Maria Hiden MADISON**^{4,141} on 1850. Lucy was born³⁶ 24 Jan 1830. She died^{36,38} 27 Jul 1886 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{4,36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

+

- 297 M i. Ambrose Gilmer MADISON Sr. was born 1851 and died 28 Feb 1928.
 - 298 F ii. Fanny Throckmorton Madison FRENCH¹⁴¹ was born⁴³⁷ about 1853. She died after 1870.

Fanny married **Rev. Joseph A. FRENCH**^{4,141} about 1870.

- 299 F iii. **Susan Daniel MADISON**¹⁴¹ was born^{36,38} Sep 1854. She died^{4,36,38} 1938 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{4,36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.
- 300 M iv. **James Willis MADISON**¹⁴¹ was born^{36,38} 26 Nov 1855. He died^{36,38} 16 Feb 1916 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{4,36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.
- + 301 M v. Edward Cooper MADISON was born 1857 and died 1937.
 - 302 M vi. Alfred MADISON¹⁴¹ was born^{36,38} 10 Aug 1861 in Montpelier, Dr. James Madison House, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{36,38} 12 May 1880 in Berkeley trestle on Southern Railway, Virginia from Accident and was buried^{4,36,38} Jun 1901 in Madison Family Cemetery.
- + 303 M vii. Joseph Hiden MADISON was born 1868 and died 1930/1940.

James also married^{36,438} (2) **Frances Branch Willis MADISON** "Fannie"^{36,295}, daughter of Richard Henry WILLIS and Lucy Mary Nalle WILLIS, on 18 Apr 1893 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. Fannie was born^{36,38} 9 Apr 1842. She died^{36,38} 28 Oct 1899 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

144. Eliza Lewis Madison TALIAFERRO^{141,434} (Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{141,295} 1834 in Cleveland, Orange County, Virginia. She died 1886 in Cook County, Texas and was buried in Woodberry Forest, Madill, Oklahoma.

Eliza married^{4,141} **Col. Thomas Dorsey TALIAFERRO**^{141,434}, son of William Thomas Warren TALIAFERRO and Fanny Barnes Harrison TALIAFERRO, on 1854. Thomas was born¹² in Fauquier County, Virginia. He died in Cook County, Texas and was buried in Woodberry Forest,

Madill, Oklahoma.

They had the following children:

- 304 F i. Fanny Lewis TALIAFERRO¹⁴¹.
- 305 F ii. Jane TALIAFERRO¹⁴¹.
- 306 F iii. Edmonia TALIAFERRO¹⁴¹.
- 145.Leila Bankhead Madison DABNEY¹⁴¹ (Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{4,134,141,295} 1837 in Cleveland, Orange County, Virginia. She died 1870/1900.

Leila married⁴¹⁹ **Judge William Pope DABNEY**¹⁴¹ on 18 Jan 1857 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia. William was born 1829 and resided¹⁴¹ in Powhatan County, Virginia . He died 1894.

They had the following children:

307	Μ	i.	Robert Kelso DABNEY ¹⁴¹ was born ¹⁴¹ 1858.
308	F	 11.	Leila Dabney TAYLOR ¹⁴¹ .
			Leila married Marshall TAYLOR ¹⁴¹ . Marshall resided ¹⁴¹ in Richmond, Virginia .
309	F	 111.	Julia Byrd DABNEY ¹⁴¹ .
310	Μ	iv.	Percy DABNEY ¹⁴¹ .

Percy married Ethel Crane DABNEY¹⁴¹.

- 311 M v. Champe DABNEY¹⁴¹.
- 312 M vi. James Madison DABNEY¹⁴¹.
- 313 F vii. Ruby Bailey DABNEY¹⁴¹.
- 146. Frances Willis LEE "Fannie"^{112,141} (Elizabeth Madison WILLIS, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{36,38,354} 27 Jul 1820 in Virginia. She died^{36,38,439} 17 Aug 1859 in Litchfield, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

Fannie married^{36,61,299,440} **Col. John Hancock LEE**^{52,61,141}, son of Willis LEE and Polly (Mary) Richards LEE, on 19 Nov 1839. John was born^{65,352} 18 Jul 1803 in Fauquier County, Virginia. He died 11 Sep 1873 in Woodley?, Orange County, Virginia and was buried³⁵³ in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

- 314 F i. Mary Willis LEE^{141,299} was born^{36,259} 5 Nov 1844 in Orange County?, Virginia. She died^{36,259} 13 Apr 1859 in Litchfield, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,259} in Madison Family Cemetery.
- + 315 F ii. Elizabeth (Lizzie) Madison Lee BRAGG was born 1848 and died 18 Mar 1907.
- + 316 M iii. Lewis Herman LEE was born 2 Mar 1849 and died 30 Jul 1878.

149.**Maj. Philip Madison SLAUGHTER**^{54,310,311} (Letitia Madison SLAUGHTER, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{312,441} about 1827. He died⁴⁴¹ 23 Dec 1887 in Albany, Alabama.

Philip married Clementine Luzenburg SLAUGHTER⁵⁴. Clementine was born in New

Orleans, Louisiana.

They had the following children:

317 M i. Edward Luzenburg SLAUGHTER⁵⁴.

Edward married Lucy Williams SLAUGHTER⁵⁴.

+ 318 F ii. Mary Clementine Slaughter HAMILTON.

153. Thomas Newman MACON^{61,163} (James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born¹⁵⁸ 1816 in Mt. Athos, Orange County, Virginia. He died¹⁵⁸ 1899 in Montchere, Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Madison Family Cemetery.

He had the following children:

319 M i. Edward C. MACON⁴⁴² was born⁴⁴² about 1861.

154.Lucy Conwayella Macon KNOX⁶¹ (James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born^{158,443} 12 Jul 1819 in Mt. Athos, Orange County, Virginia. She died^{158,444} 1 Mar 1872 in Richmond, Virginia and was buried⁶¹ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

Lucy married¹⁶³ **Dr. John KNOX**⁴⁴⁵, son of Arthur KNOX and Mary Jane KNOX, on 2 Jul 1846 in Orange County, Virginia. John was born^{445,446,447} 9 Jul 1817 in Ireland. He died⁶¹ 23 Aug 1889 in Richmond, Virginia and was buried^{448,449} 25 Aug 1889 in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

They had the following children:

320 M i. John Clement KNOX⁴⁵⁰ was born^{445,447} after Jun 1850.

John married Unknown Yancey KNOX⁶¹.

- 321 F ii. Lucetta (Lucretia) Madison KNOX^{445,451} was born⁴⁵² 8 Jan 1852. She died⁴⁵³
 16 Feb 1914 and was buried⁴⁵⁴ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.
- 322 F iii. Mary KNOX⁴⁴⁵ was born⁴⁵⁵ 19 Sep 1858. She died⁴⁵⁶ 19 Sep 1874 and was buried⁴⁵⁷ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.
- + 323 M iv. Conway Macon KNOX was born 7 May 1863 and died 5 Jun 1948.
- 155. Sarah Frances Macon Goss HILL ⁶¹ (James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born¹⁵⁸ Aug 1824 in Mt. Athos, Orange County, Virginia. She died¹⁴⁹ after 1885 in Culpeper County, Virginia.

Sarah married¹⁶³ (1) John W. GOSS on 15 Sep 1853.

Sarah also married (2) Thomas HILL "Top"61,458, son of Maj. Thomas HILL .

They had the following children:

- 324 M i. **A. P. HILL**.
- 325 M ii. Corrie B. M. HILL.
- 156.Edgar Barbour MACON^{158,459} (James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born¹⁶³ 5 Apr 1830 in Mt. Athos, Orange County, Virginia. He died¹⁶³ 11 Mar 1923 in Princess Anne County, Virginia.

Edgar married¹⁶³ Virginia A. Cason MACON⁴⁶⁰ on 4 Sep 1851 in Princess Anne County,

Virginia. Virginia was born¹⁶³ 18 Jan 1833 in Princess Anne County, Virginia. She died¹⁶³ 20 Jun 1905 in Princess Anne County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

326	Μ	i.	William M. MACON ⁶¹ .
327	F	 11.	Sarah Macon MAUPIN ⁶¹ .
			Sarah married John C. MAUPIN ⁶¹ .
328	Μ	 111.	Barbour MACON ⁶¹ .
329	Μ	iv.	Nathaniel MACON ⁶¹ .
330	Μ	v.	Henry MACON ⁶¹ .
331	F	vi.	Bessie MACON ⁶¹ .
332	F	vii.	Ann Lucetta Macon CORNICK61.

Ann married John CORNICK⁶¹.

157.James Madison MACON Jr.^{61,158} (James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born⁴⁶¹ about 1833 in Mt. Athos, Orange County, Virginia. He died¹⁴⁹ after 1885 in Richmond, Virginia.

James married Jennie McLean Bridges MACON¹⁶³.

They had the following children:

- + 333 M i. James Madison MACON III was born 14 Oct 1882 and died 6 Nov 1977.
- 158. **Reuben Conway Madison MACON**^{61,149,158} (James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born^{163,405,462,463,464} 14 May 1838 in Mt. Athos, Orange County, Virginia. He died^{163,405,462,464} 21 Mar 1927 in Chestnut Hill, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{405,462,463,464} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Reuben married^{163,465} **Emma Cassandra Riely MACON** "Mother Macon"⁴⁶⁶, daughter of James Purvis RIELY and Catherine Brent RIELY, on 1865. Mother Macon was born^{163,462,463,465,467} 1 Oct 1847 in Winchester, Virginia. She died^{163,462,463,467} 13 Jan 1942 in Chestnut Hill, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{462,463,467} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- + 334 F i. Emily (Emma) Brent Macon STAIR was born 20 Oct 1866.
- + 335 M ii. **Rev. Clifton MACON** was born about 1868.
- + 336 F iii. Kate Conway Macon Paulson HOFFMASTER was born 30 Nov 1872 and died 12 Jul 1947.
 - 337 M iv. **James Conway MACON**^{316,434} was born⁴⁶⁸ about 1876 in Orange County, Virginia. He died⁴⁶⁹ after 1911.

James married^{316,470} **Frances Armstead Taliaferro MACON**^{316,434}, daughter of Charles Champe TALIAFERRO Jr. and Marie Barclay TALIAFERRO, on 22 Jun 1910 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. Frances resided³¹⁶ before 1910 in Mount Sharon, Orange County, Virginia .

- + 338 M v. Latimer Small MACON was born 12 Oct 1877 and died 19 Jan 1922.
 - 339 M vi. James Riely MACON³¹⁶ was born^{462,464,468} 18 Feb 1880 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{462,464} 16 Mar 1962 and was buried^{462,464} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

James married **Helen Cressler MACON**³¹⁶. Helen was born⁴⁶⁴ 23 Oct 1880. She died⁴⁶⁴ 23 Jul 1969 and was buried⁴⁶⁴ in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

- + 340 F vii. **Evelyn Madison Macon Atwood TALCOTT** was born May 1882 and died 1976.
- 160.Ellen Ann Macon CAVE⁶¹ (Conway Catlett MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born⁴⁷¹ about 1824 in Virginia. She died⁴⁷² 24 Oct 1875 in Richmond, Virginia and was buried⁴⁷³ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

Ellen married⁴⁷⁴ **Felix H. CAVE**^{61,475}, son of Richard CAVE and Maria CAVE, on 17 Oct 1854 in Richmond, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 341 F i. Agnes Macon CAVE⁴⁷⁶ was born^{476,477} 13 Dec 1855. She died^{476,477} 12 Aug 1856 and was buried^{476,477} in Montebello, Orange County, Virginia.
- 161.Edgar MACON³³¹ (Conway Catlett MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born^{331,405,471} 1827 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{117,405,478} 21 Jul 1861 in First Battle of Manassas, Virginia and was buried⁴⁷⁸ in Orange County, Virginia.

Edgar married Jane MACON³³¹. Jane was born³³¹ about 1840.

They had the following children:

- 342 M i. Edgar MACON¹⁶³ was born¹¹⁷ 18 Jun 1861. He died after 1885.
- 162. Lucy Conway Macon WASHINGTON (Conway Catlett MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born⁴⁷⁹ 30 May 1834. She died⁴⁸⁰ 24 Jul 1887 in Richmond, Virginia and was buried⁴⁸¹ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

Lucy married⁴⁸² **Wallace WASHINGTON**⁴⁸³ on 8 Dec 1864 in Monumental Church, Richmond, Virginia. Wallace was born⁴⁸⁴ 9 Oct 1834. He died⁴⁸⁵ 23 Mar 1894 and was buried⁴⁸⁶ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 343 M i. **Conway Macon WASHINGTON**⁶¹ was born⁶¹ 6 Sep 1865. He died⁴⁸⁷ 3 Dec 1867 and was buried⁴⁸⁸ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.
- 344 M ii. **Wallace Barron WASHINGTON**⁶¹ was born⁴⁸⁹ 15 Feb 1869. He died⁴⁹⁰ 23 Oct 1869 and was buried⁴⁹¹ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.
- 345 F iii. **Cecelia WASHINGTON**⁶¹ was born⁴⁹² 13 May 1871. She died⁴⁹³ 19 May 1958 and was buried⁴⁹⁴ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.
- 172.**Samuel Patrick ROSE**^{54,171} (Hugh Francis ROSE, Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose) was born¹⁷¹ about 1844.

Samuel married (1) Celeste Coombs ROSE^{54,171}.

Samuel also married (2) Mildred L. Cage ROSE^{54,171}.

They had the following children:

- 346 F i. Harriet Howard ROSE⁵⁴.
- 347 F ii. Telisflora ROSE⁵⁴.
- 348 M iii. Hugh Francis ROSE⁵⁴.
- 178.**Ellen Rose Newman WHEELOCK**^{54,171} (Nelly Conway Rose NEWMAN, Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose) died^{12,54} 1869.

Ellen married Rev. John Ambrose WHEELOCK^{12,54,171}. John died^{12,54} 1866.

They had the following children:

349 F i. Elizabeth Josephine WHEELOCK⁵⁴.

179. **Mary Frances Newman ROSE**^{54,171} (Nelly Conway Rose NEWMAN, Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose).

Mary married James ROSE^{54,171}.

They had the following children:

350 M i. William Arthur ROSE⁵⁴.

William married Ella Baggett ROSE⁵⁴.

351 M ii. Dr. Francis Newman ROSE⁵⁴.

Francis married Mary E. Clements ROSE⁵⁴.

+ 352 F iii. Nelly Conway Rose BAGGETT.

180.**Robert Henry ROSE**^{54,332} (Henry ROSE, Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose) was born³³² 2 Dec 1843 in Illinois.

Robert married Margaret M. Fisher ROSE "Maggie"54,332.

They had the following children:

- 353 F i. Nellie Madison ROSE⁵⁴.
- 354 F ii. **Belle ROSE**⁵⁴.
- 355 M iii. Hugh Francis ROSE⁵⁴.
- 356 F iv. Sadie Madison ROSE⁵⁴.
- 200. Mary Willis Lewis WILLIS^{265,339,495} (Catherine Daingerfield LEWIS, Mary Willis DAINGERFIELD, Elizabeth Madison Willis BEALE, Ambrose) was born^{188,339} 24 Jun 1782. She died^{265,363} 8 Oct 1834.

Mary married^{177,188,335,496} **Col. Byrd Charles (Lewis) WILLIS**^{265,497,498}, son of Col. Lewis WILLIS and Anne Carter Champe WILLIS, on 3 Nov 1800 in King George County, Virginia. Byrd was born^{177,335,499} 27 Aug 1781. He died^{177,500} 1 Oct 1846.

They had the following children:

357 M i. Lewis WILLIS⁵⁰¹ was born^{177,335} Sep 1801. He died^{177,502} 1835 in Pensacola, Florida from Drowned.

Lewis married (1) **Lucia Hackley WILLIS**^{335,503}, daughter of Richard S. HACKLEY and Harriet HACKLEY. Lucia was born⁵⁰⁴ about 1808. She

died504 1829.

Lewis also married (2) **Harriet Randolph WILLIS**^{335,505}, daughter of Thomas Eston RANDOLPH. Harriet died⁵⁰⁶ 28 Nov 1832 in Tallahassee, Florida.

Lewis also married (3) Hester Dennis Savage WILLIS^{335,507}. Hester was born³³⁵ in Eastern Shore, Maryland.

358 F ii. Catherine Daingerfield Willis Gray MURAT^{265,508} was born^{265,335,509} 17 Aug 1803. She died^{265,510} 6 Aug 1867.

Catherine married⁵⁰⁹ (1) Atchinson GRAY^{335,509,511} on 1821. Atchinson died⁵⁰⁹ 1822.

Catherine also married²⁶⁵ (2) **Charles Louis Napoleon Achille MURAT**^{265,512,513}, son of Joachim MURAT and Caroline Bonaparte MURAT, on 20 Jul 1826 in Washington D.C.. Charles was born²⁶⁵ 1801 and resided⁵¹⁴ 1821 in New York . He died^{265,513} 18 Apr 1847 in Florida.

359 F iii. Anne Carter Willis BOTTS⁵¹⁵ was born^{335,509} 5 Feb 1805.

Anne married **Thomas Hutcheson BOTTS**^{335,516}. Thomas resided⁵⁰⁹ in Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania County, Virginia . He died⁵⁰⁹ 1827.

- 360 M iv. **John W. WILLIS**⁵¹⁷ was born^{335,509,518} 26 Apr 1807. He died^{335,363,509,519} Aug 1833 in Key West, Florida from bilious fever.
- + 361 M v. Col. George WILLIS was born Jun 1809 and died 10 Apr 1861.
 - 362 F vi. Infant WILLIS^{335,520} was born⁵²¹ 1811.
 - 363 F vii. Mary Byrd Willis DALLAS^{335,522} was born⁵⁰⁹ 23 Nov 1813.

Mary married Commodore Alexander James DALLAS USN 335,509,523.

364 F viii. Ellen Attoway Willis Duval BROCKENBROUGH⁵²⁴ was born^{335,509} 23 Mar 1816.

Ellen married (1) Samuel H. DUVAL^{335,525}.

Ellen also married (2) William Henry BROCKENBROUGH335,526.

365 M ix. Achilles Murat WILLIS⁵²⁷ was born^{335,509,513} 15 Oct 1817 in Blenheim, Albemarle County, Virginia and resided⁵⁰⁹ 1905 in Beaver, Oklahoma. He died⁵⁰⁹ after 1905.

> Achilles married⁵¹³ **Florence Edwina Ambler WILLIS**^{509,528} on 1846. Florence resided⁵⁰⁹ 1905 in Beaver, Oklahoma . She died⁵⁰⁹ after 1905.

201. Mary Willis Turberville TALIAFERRO^{340,529} (Molly (Mary) Daingerfield Turberville BATTAILE, Mary Willis DAINGERFIELD, Elizabeth Madison Willis BEALE, Ambrose).

Mary married **William Francis TALIAFERRO**^{340,434,529}, son of James Garnett TALIAFERRO and Wilhelmina Wishart TALIAFERRO, on Dec 1815. William was born^{340,434} 1790 in King George County, Virginia and resided³⁴⁰ in Peckatone, Westmoreland County, Virginia . He died⁴³⁴ 1836.

They had the following children:

366 F i. Martha Fenton Taliaferro BROWN⁵³⁰ died⁵³⁰ 4 Mar 1900.

Martha married⁵³⁰ George Frederick BROWN⁵³⁰ about 1840.

367	F	ii.	ii. Cornelia Lee Jamieson ARMISTEAD ⁵³⁰ .		
			Cornelia married (1) Lt. Unknown JAMIESON USN ⁵³⁰ .		
			Cornelia also married (2) Gen. Lewis ARMISTEAD ⁵³⁰ . Lewis died ⁵³⁰ Jul 1863 in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.		
368	F	 111.	Elizabeth Madison Taliaferro BROWN ⁵³⁰ .		
			Elizabeth married Dr. B. F. BROWN ⁵³⁰ .		
369	F	iv.	Catherine Corbin Taliaferro ROSE ⁵³⁰ .		
			Catherine married Dr. W. W. ROSE ⁵³⁰ .		
370	Μ	v.	Gawin Corbin TALIAFERRO ⁵³⁰ .		

Sixth Generation

209. Letitia Ramolina Lee MADISON⁵² (Mary Lee Willis LEE, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{36,38} 20 Jun 1829 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{36,38,411} 2 Jan 1857 in Litchfield, Orange County, Virginia from Birth Complications? and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

Letitia married^{36,408,409,410} **Dr. Robert Lewis MADISON**^{52,112,403}, son of Robert Lewis MADISON and Eliza Strachan MADISON, on 13 May 1853 in Woodley, Orange County, Virginia. Robert was born^{282,404,405} 22 Feb 1828 in Woodberry Forest, Madison County, Virginia and was adopted²⁸² after 1837 in By Robert Strachan in Petersburg, Virginia . He died^{405,406} 26 May 1878 in Lexington, Rockbridge County, Virginia and was buried^{405,407} in Stonewall Jackson Cemetery, Lexington, Virginia. There were other parents.

They had the following children:

- 371 F i. Mary S. Lee MADISON is printed as #279.
- 372 F ii. Letitia MADISON is printed as #280.
- 214. Jane Champe Willis RICHARDSON⁹⁵ (John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,250} 27 Mar 1842 in Virginia. She died⁵³¹ 1910.

Jane married^{8,365,532} Maj. John D. RICHARDSON⁹⁵ on 30 Dec 1875 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. John was born⁵³³ about 1835 in Virginia. He died⁵³⁴ after 1883.

They had the following children:

- + 373 F i. Maria Jane Richardson POLLOCK was born 6 Apr 1877 and died 1960.
 - 374 F ii. Lucy Lee Richardson WILLIS^{95,365} was born^{8,95,462,535} 29 Oct 1878. She died^{462,535} 26 Jul 1955 and was buried^{462,535} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Lucy married⁹⁵ **Lewis Byrd WILLIS**^{95,536}, son of William Byrd WILLIS and Nelly Conway Willis WILLIS, on 1918. Lewis was born^{8,95,462,535,537} 27 Mar 1884. He died^{462,535} 23 Jun 1963 and was buried^{462,535} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

- + 375 M iii. Ambrose Madison RICHARDSON was born Mar 1881.
- + 376 F iv. Alice Balmaine Richardson SHILLITO was born 29 Jun 1883.
- 215. John C. WILLIS Jr. "Johnnie"^{61,95,538,539,540} (John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,541,542,543} 21 Jul 1844 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{542,543} 10 Nov 1915 in Charlestown, West Virginia.

Johnnie married^{8,36,95,259,544,545} (1) **Lucie S. Robinson WILLIS**^{61,95} on 21 Jun 1866 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. Lucie was born^{36,259} 24 Dec 1844. She died^{8,36,259} 17 Feb 1869 in Oakburn?, Orange County, Virginia from Birth Complications and was buried^{36,259} in Madison Family Cemetery.

They had the following children:

- + 377 M i. James Shepherd WILLIS was born 26 Jul 1867 and died 1908.
 - 378 F ii. Claudia WILLIS³⁶ was born^{36,38} 14 Feb 1869. She died^{36,38} 14 Mar 1869 in Oakburn?, Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

Johnnie also married^{8,95,365,541,546} (2) **Mary Elizabeth Lupton WILLIS**^{61,95} on 26 Oct 1870. Mary was born^{541,542,547} Feb 1846 in Virginia. She died⁵⁴² 1910/1920.

They had the following children:

- + 379 F iii. Lucie Madison Willis TAYLOR was born 24 Feb 1871 and died 1944.
 - 380 F iv. Bessie Milton WILLIS⁹⁵ was born^{8,95,541,542,547,548} 15 Oct 1873 in Virginia. She died^{95,549,550} 1926.
 - 381 F v. Nellie Ross WILLIS⁹⁵ was born^{8,36,38,95,547,551} 1 Aug 1875 in Virginia. She died^{36,38,541} 12 Apr 1893 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.
- + 382 M vi. John Byrd WILLIS was born 21 Mar 1877.
 - 383 F vii. Annie Scott WILLIS^{61,95} was born^{8,95,541,542,547} Feb 1879 in Virginia. She died⁵⁴² after 1910.
- + 384 M viii. Rev. William Taylor WILLIS was born 21 Sep 1885 and died Aug 1971.
- 216. Claudia Marshall Willis SCOTT⁹⁵ (John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,250,552,553,554} 16 Jul 1846 in Virginia. She died^{8,552,553,554} 23 Jan 1912 and was buried^{553,554} in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Claudia married^{8,95,545,552,553,554} **William Wallace SCOTT**⁹⁵, son of Col. Garret SCOTT and Sarah Ellen Nalle SCOTT, on 29 Sep 1869 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. William was born^{8,553,554,555,556} 10 Apr 1845 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{553,554,555,556} 16 Jan 1929 in Charlottesville, Virginia and was buried^{553,554,556} in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

- 385 M i. Philip Henshaw SCOTT⁸ was born⁸ 15 Jul 1871. He died⁸ 17 Jul 1871.
- + 386 M ii. Philip Henshaw SCOTT Sr. was born 14 Feb 1873 and died 1 Feb 1962.
 - 387 F iii. Claudia Dennis Scott Blakeman GRIMSLEY^{8,95,550} was born^{8,552} 18 Oct 1874. She died⁵⁵² after 1938.

Claudia married⁵⁵² (1) **Dr. Robert Sylvester BLAKEMAN**^{95,550} on 8 Jan 1899.

Claudia also married (2) **Thomas Edwin GRIMSLEY**^{95,550}. Thomas died⁵⁵² before 1938.

- 388 M iv. Robert Lewis Madison SCOTT⁸ was born^{8,552,554} 29 Sep 1876. He died^{8,95,552,554} 5 Oct 1918 from influenza, pneumonia and was buried⁵⁵⁴ in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.
- + 389 F v. Ellen Ritchie Scott CHAPMAN was born 14 Mar 1880.
- + 390 M vi. Garret Willis SCOTT was born 6 Feb 1882 and died 26 Mar 1927.
- + 391 F vii. **Caroline Barbour Scott STRATTON** was born 29 May 1883 and died 15 Feb 1918.
 - 392 M viii. Wyclif (Wickliffe) SCOTT⁸ was born^{8,553,554,557} 27 Dec 1885. He died^{8,95,553,554,557} 18 Feb 1906 in Roanoke, Virginia from Typhoid and was buried^{8,553,554} 19 Feb 1906 in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.
 - 393 M ix. John SCOTT^{8,95} was born^{8,554,557} 1 May 1888. He died^{95,550,554,557} 18 Mar 1933 and was buried⁵⁵⁴ in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.
- 217. Nelly Conway Willis WILLIS⁹⁵ (John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,250,462,535,557,558,559} 1 Oct 1848 in Virginia. She died^{462,535,558,559} 7 May 1923 and was buried^{462,535,558,559} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Nelly married^{8,534,537,560} **William Byrd WILLIS**^{95,295}, son of Richard Henry WILLIS and Lucy Mary Nalle WILLIS, on 9 May 1878 in Fairfield, Clarke County, Virginia. William was born^{462,535,537,558,561} 23 Mar 1836. He died^{462,535,558,561} 16 Aug 1913 in Charlottesville, Virginia and was buried^{462,535,558,561} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- + 394 F i. Jane (Janie) Bailey Willis MULICK was born 3 May 1879 and died after 1948.
 - 395 M ii. Lewis Byrd WILLIS^{95,536} was born^{8,95,462,535,537} 27 Mar 1884. He died^{462,535} 23 Jun 1963 and was buried^{462,535} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Lewis married⁹⁵ **Lucy Lee Richardson WILLIS**^{95,365}, daughter of Maj. John D. RICHARDSON and Jane Champe Willis RICHARDSON, on 1918. Lucy was born^{8,95,462,535} 29 Oct 1878. She died^{462,535} 26 Jul 1955 and was buried^{462,535} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

396 F iii. **Mary Lee Willis BROWNING**^{95,562} was born^{8,95,537} 12 Aug 1886. She died^{563,564} 1952.

Mary married^{95,470} **John William BROWNING**^{95,565}, son of Gustavus Judson BROWNING and Sarah Thomas BROWNING, on Oct 1911 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia.

219. Ambrose Madison WILLIS⁹⁵ (John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born⁸ 2 Mar 1854. He died in San Francisco, California.

Ambrose married^{8,367} Maude Bagley WILLIS⁹⁵ on 17 Nov 1885 in San Francisco, California.

Maude was born³⁶⁷ in New Orleans, Louisiana.

They had the following children:

- + 397 M i. David Madison WILLIS Sr. was born 21 Aug 1886.
- 220. Rev. Andrew Johnson WILLIS^{52,534} (John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born⁸ 10 Jul 1858. He died after 1911.

Andrew married⁸ (1) Margaret Mitchell WILLIS^{52,566} on 18 Nov 1885.

They had the following children:

- + 398 M i. **Dr. John Mitchell WILLIS** was born 25 Nov 1886.
- + 399 M ii. Andrew Hunter WILLIS Sr. was born 24 Apr 1888.
- + 400 F iii. Margaret Willis BLIVEN.

Andrew also married (2) Georgette Strider WILLIS^{52,567}.

221.Eleanor Cornelia Davison PEDIGO⁵² (Eleanor Conway Baldwin DAVISON, Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born⁵² 1836.

Eleanor married⁵² John H. PEDIGO⁵² on 1855. John was born⁵² 1823.

They had the following children:

- + 401 F i. Eleanor Conway Pedigo EDWARDS was born 1857.
 - 402 F ii. Lallie Louis PEDIGO⁵² was born⁵² 1859.
 - 403 F iii. Jenny Grey PEDIGO⁵² was born⁵² 1861.
 - 404 M iv. Robert Edward PEDIGO⁵² was born⁵² 1863.
 - 405 M v. Norborne Elijah PEDIGO⁵² was born⁵² 1865.
 - 406 M vi. Mack Henry PEDIGO⁵² was born⁵² 1867.
 - 407 F vii. Mary Louisa PEDIGO⁵² was born⁵² 1870.
 - 408 M viii. John Hardin PEDIGO⁵² was born⁵² 1871.
 - 409 F ix. Ann Maury PEDIGO⁵² was born⁵² 1878.
 - 410 M x. Jessie Davison PEDIGO⁵² was born⁵² 1880.
- 224.Judge William Smith DAVISON⁵² (Eleanor Conway Baldwin DAVISON, Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born⁵² 1845. He died⁵² 1904.

William married⁵² Anna Maria DAVISON⁵² on 1876. Anna was born⁵² 1848.

They had the following children:

- 411 F i. Edmonia Louisa DAVISON⁵² was born⁵² 1881.
- 412 M ii. Cecil Armstrong DAVISON⁵² was born⁵² 1883. He died⁵² 1888.
- 413 M iii. Fontaine Hite DAVISON⁵² was born⁵² 1884.
- 414 M iv. Joseph William DAVISON⁵² was born⁵² 1888.
- 415 F v. Anna DAVISON⁵² was born⁵² 1894. She died⁵² 1894.

226. John Baldwin HAY⁵² (Ann Maury Baldwin HAY, Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN, Nelly

Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born⁵² 1845.

John married Cornelia Badger HAY⁵². Cornelia died⁵² 1879.

They had the following children:

416 F i. Alice Hay LEEDS⁵².

Alice married John LEEDS⁵².

417 M ii. Errol HAY⁵².

235.Augusta Madison Baldwin WATTS⁵² (Robert Stuart BALDWIN, Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born⁵² 1852.

Augusta married⁵² Thomas L. WATTS⁵² on 1875.

They had the following children:

418 F i. Mary Baldwin WATTS⁵² was born⁵² 1879.

247.**Hampson SKINKER**⁵² (Ann Eliza Hite SKINKER, James Madison HITE, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose).

Hampson married (1) Maria Carr SKINKER⁵².

Hampson also married (2) Annie Mai Kennerley SKINKER⁵².

They had the following children:

- 419 F i. Mary Clothilde SKINKER⁵².
- 420 F ii. Dorothy Ann SKINKER⁵².
- 248. Cornelius Hite SKINKER Sr.⁵² (Ann Eliza Hite SKINKER, James Madison HITE, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose).

Cornelius married^{52,129} Minnie Lee Gravey SKINKER⁵² on 1888.

They had the following children:

- 421 M i. Howard SKINKER⁵².
- 422 M ii. Cornelius Hite SKINKER Jr.⁵².
- 423 F iii. Lois Evelyn SKINKER⁵².
- 249. Hugh Garland SKINKER Sr.⁵² (Ann Eliza Hite SKINKER, James Madison HITE, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose).

Hugh married Annie Lee Rucker SKINKER⁵².

They had the following children:

- 424 M i. Hugh Garland SKINKER Jr.⁵².
- 425 M ii. Julian Hampson SKINKER⁵².
- 426 F iii. Susan Hite SKINKER⁵².
- 254.**Lt. Col. Philip Peyton SLAUGHTER**^{141,370} (Jane Madison Chapman SLAUGHTER, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{371,373} 10 Aug 1834 in Orange County, Virginia. He died³⁷³ 21 Apr 1893 in Orange County, Virginia.

Philip married⁵⁶⁸ Emma Thompson SLAUGHTER^{141,370} on 10 Jan 1871 in St. Thomas'

Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

+ 427 F i. Elizabeth Pendleton Slaughter SMITH.

256. Dr. Alfred Edwin SLAUGHTER^{141,370,569} (Jane Madison Chapman SLAUGHTER, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{371,373,570} 7 Aug 1838 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{373,570} 11 Jan 1883 in Gordonsville, Orange County, Virginia.

Alfred married¹⁴¹ **Eugenia Taylor SLAUGHTER** "Jennie"^{141,370} on 1869. Jennie was born^{141,569,571} 1842. She died^{569,571} 1929 and was buried^{569,571} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- + 428 F i. Jane Chapman Slaughter MOORE was born 28 Jun 1872 and died 10 Apr 1936.
- + 429 M ii. **Robert Carroll SLAUGHTER Sr.** was born 21 Oct 1873 and died 10 Jan 1960.
- + 430 F iii. Sadie Patton Slaughter SNIDOW.

431 M iv. Alfred Edwin SLAUGHTER Jr.¹⁴¹.

258. Col. Mercer SLAUGHTER^{141,370} (Jane Madison Chapman SLAUGHTER, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{141,370,371,373} 25 Feb 1844 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{141,370,373} 10 May 1897 in Richmond, Virginia and was buried³⁷³ in Berry Hill, Orange County, Virginia.

Mercer married^{545,572} **Mary Shepherd Bull SLAUGHTER**^{141,370}, daughter of Marcus BULL Jr. and Sarah Taliaferro Dade BULL, on 24 Feb 1870 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. Mary was born⁵⁷³ 13 Jul 1845. She died^{573,574,575} 10 Dec 1886 and was buried^{573,574,575} in Selma, Orange County, Virginia (Slaughter, Willis, Bull Cemetery).

They had the following children:

- 432 M i. Mercer SLAUGHTER⁵⁷⁴ was born^{574,575,576} 29 Oct 1871. He died⁵⁷⁶ 9 Feb 1873 and was buried^{574,575} in Selma, Orange County, Virginia (Slaughter, Willis, Bull Cemetery).
- 433 M ii. Lester SLAUGHTER⁵⁷⁴ was born^{574,575,576} 19 May 1874. He died^{574,575,576,577} 5 Aug 1874 and was buried^{574,575,576} in Selma, Orange County, Virginia (Slaughter, Willis, Bull Cemetery).
- 434 F iii. Mary L. SLAUGHTER^{141,574,578} was born^{573,574,575} 3 Jun 1875. She died^{573,574,575} 17 Jun 1879 and was buried^{573,574,575} in Selma, Orange County, Virginia (Slaughter, Willis, Bull Cemetery).
- 435 M iv. Sidney N. SLAUGHTER⁵⁷⁴ was born^{574,575,576} 30 Mar 1877. He died^{574,575,576} 13 Aug 1877 and was buried^{574,575,576} in Selma, Orange County, Virginia (Slaughter, Willis, Bull Cemetery).
- 436 M v. Vivian SLAUGHTER¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1880. He died^{141,572} 1918 in Flanders, Belgium from KIA.

260.**Mary Ella Chapman CHAPMAN**^{52,266} (John Madison CHAPMAN, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born³⁷⁵ about 1841.

Mary married⁵⁴⁵ **Dr. Nathaniel CHAPMAN**²⁶⁶ on Nov 1867 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

437	Μ	i.	Ridgely CHAPMAN ⁵² .
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- 438 F ii. Mary Sigismunda CHAPMAN⁵².
- 439 F iii. Emma Boykin Chapman SMOOT⁵².

Emma married Mitchell SMOOT⁵².

- 440 M iv. John Madison CHAPMAN⁵².
- 441 M v. Nathaniel CHAPMAN⁵².
- 442 F vi. Cora CHAPMAN⁵².
- 443 F vii. Helen CHAPMAN⁵².
- 444 F viii. Minnie Thomas CHAPMAN⁵².
- 445 M ix. John Webb CHAPMAN⁵².
- 262. Emma Chapman Boykin CULVER^{52,376} (John Madison CHAPMAN, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born³⁷⁵ about 1842.

Emma married⁵⁷⁹ (1) **Capt. Robert V. BOYKIN Sr.**^{52,376} on Feb 1864 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

446 F i. Virginia Young Boykin GRANT⁵².

Virginia married **Unknown GRANT**⁵². Unknown was born⁵² in Norfolk, Virginia.

447 F ii. Mary Madison Boykin POWERS¹⁴¹.

Mary married **Unknown POWERS**¹⁴¹. Unknown was born¹⁴¹ in Washington, D.C..

448 M iii. Robert V. BOYKIN Jr.¹⁴¹ resided¹⁴¹ in Glymont, Charles County, Maryland .

Emma also married (2) Samuel CULVER^{141,376}.

263.**Susan (Susie) Ashton Chapman PERKINS**^{141,376} (John Madison CHAPMAN, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born³⁷⁵ about 1846.

Susan married¹⁴¹ Calvin PERKINS¹⁴¹ on 1878.

- 449 M i. **Blakeney PERKINS**¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1880.
- 450 F ii. Belle Moncure PERKINS¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1881.
- 451 M iii. Ashton Chapman PERKINS¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1883.
- 452 F iv. Mary Anderson PERKINS¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1884.
- 453 F v. Louis Allen PERKINS¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1885.
- 454 M vi. William Alexander PERKINS¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1886.

265.**Belle Chapman MONCURE**^{141,376} (John Madison CHAPMAN, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born¹⁴¹ 1858.

Belle married^{141,580} **William MONCURE**¹⁴¹ on Dec 1878 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. William was born¹⁴¹ 1851.

They had the following children:

- 455 M i. **Dr. William MONCURE**¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1880.
- 456 F ii. Belle Perkins MONCURE¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1882.
- 457 M iii. Vivienne Daniel MONCURE¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1885.

271.**Anna Madison Chapman MCGUIRE**¹⁴¹ (James Alfred CHAPMAN, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born¹⁴¹ 1844. She died¹⁴¹ 1904.

Anna married¹⁴¹ Joseph D. MCGUIRE¹⁴¹ on 1866. Joseph was born¹⁴¹ 1842. He died¹⁴¹ 1914.

They had the following children:

- 458 M i. **Maj. James Clark MCGUIRE**¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1867 and resided¹⁴¹ in New York, New York .
- 459 F ii. Mary Madison MCGUIRE¹⁴¹.
- 283.**Margurite (Maggie) B. Madison HOOPER**⁴¹⁴ (Robert Lewis, Robert Lewis, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{414,428} about 1863 in Virginia. She died⁵⁸¹ before 1954.

Margurite married Lee HOOPER⁵⁸². Lee resided⁵⁸³ in Cullowhee, North Carolina.

They had the following children:

- 460 M i. Col. D. Lee HOOPER⁵⁸⁴ resided⁵⁸⁵ 1954 in Cullowhee, North Carolina.
- 461 M ii. Osburn HOOPER⁵⁸⁶ resided⁵⁸⁷ 1954 in Lakeland, Florida.
- 284. Robert Lee MADISON⁴¹⁴ (Robert Lewis, Robert Lewis, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{413,428,588} 17 Feb 1867 in Lexington, Rockbridge County, Virginia. He died⁵⁸⁹ 2 Oct 1954 in Webster, North Carolina and was buried⁵⁹⁰ in St. David's Episcopal Church, Webster, North Carolina.

Robert married⁵⁹¹ **Ella Virginia Richards MADISON**⁵⁹² on 25 Nov 1891. Ella was born⁵⁹³ in Elizabeth, New Jersey. She died⁵⁹⁴ 18 Dec 1948.

They had the following children:

- 462 M i. Robert Edward MADISON⁵⁹⁵ died⁵⁹⁶ before 1954.
- 463 M ii. James Ambrose MADISON⁵⁹⁷ died⁵⁹⁸ before 1954.
- 464 M iii. Dr. William MADISON⁵⁹⁹ died⁶⁰⁰ before 1954.
- 465 M iv. **Monro Bolling MADISON**⁶⁰¹ resided⁶¹ 1954 in Webster, North Carolina. He died⁶⁰² after 1954.
- 466 F v. Anne Madison REED⁶⁰³ resided⁶¹ 1954 in Florida. She died⁶⁰⁴ after 1954.
- 467 M vi. **John Banister MADISON**⁶⁰⁵ resided⁶¹ 1954 in Webster, North Carolina. He died⁶⁰⁶ after 1954.

285.Edmond Bolling MADISON⁴²⁸ (Robert Lewis, Robert Lewis, William, James, Ambrose) was born⁴²⁸ about 1871. He died⁶⁰⁷ 1 Feb 1948 in Athens, Georgia.

Edmond married Unknown MADISON. Unknown resided⁶¹ 1954 in Athens, Tennessee . She died⁶¹ after 1954.

They had the following children:

468 F i. **Dolly MADISON**⁶¹.

287.Jane Champe Willis RICHARDSON is printed as #214.

- + 469 F i. Maria Jane Richardson POLLOCK is printed as #373.
 - 470 F ii. Lucy Lee Richardson WILLIS is printed as #374.
- + 471 M iii. Ambrose Madison RICHARDSON is printed as #375.
- + 472 F iv. Alice Balmaine Richardson SHILLITO is printed as #376.
- 288.John C. WILLIS Jr. is printed as #215.
- + 473 M i. James Shepherd WILLIS is printed as #377.
 - 474 F ii. Claudia WILLIS is printed as #378.
- + 475 F iii. Lucie Madison Willis TAYLOR is printed as #379.
 - 476 F iv. Bessie Milton WILLIS is printed as #380.
 - 477 F v. Nellie Ross WILLIS is printed as #381.
- + 478 M vi. John Byrd WILLIS is printed as #382.
 - 479 F vii. Annie Scott WILLIS is printed as #383.
- + 480 M viii. Rev. William Taylor WILLIS is printed as #384.
- 289.Claudia Marshall Willis SCOTT is printed as #216.
 - 481 M i. Philip Henshaw SCOTT is printed as #385.
- + 482 M ii. Philip Henshaw SCOTT Sr. is printed as #386.
 - 483 F iii. Claudia Dennis Scott Blakeman GRIMSLEY is printed as #387.
 - 484 M iv. Robert Lewis Madison SCOTT is printed as #388.
- + 485 F v. Ellen Ritchie Scott CHAPMAN is printed as #389.
- + 486 M vi. Garret Willis SCOTT is printed as #390.
- + 487 F vii. Caroline Barbour Scott STRATTON is printed as #391.
 - 488 M viii. Wyclif (Wickliffe) SCOTT is printed as #392.
 - 489 M ix. John SCOTT is printed as #393.
- 290.Nelly Conway Willis WILLIS is printed as #217.
- + 490 F i. Jane (Janie) Bailey Willis MULICK is printed as #394.
 - 491 M ii. Lewis Byrd WILLIS is printed as #395.
 - 492 F iii. Mary Lee Willis BROWNING is printed as #396.
- 292. Ambrose Madison WILLIS is printed as #219.
- + 493 M i. David Madison WILLIS Sr. is printed as #397.

293.Rev. Andrew Johnson WILLIS is printed as #220.

- + 494 M i. Dr. John Mitchell WILLIS is printed as #398.
- + 495 M ii. Andrew Hunter WILLIS Sr. is printed as #399.
- + 496 F iii. Margaret Willis BLIVEN is printed as #400.
- 294.**Alfred J. MARYE**^{61,141} (Mary Frances Madison MARYE, Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born⁴³² about 1846 in Virginia. He died after 1877.

Alfred married⁶⁰⁸ Nancy C. Anderson MARYE^{61,141}.

They had the following children:

- 497 M i. **Robert B. MARYE**¹⁴¹.
- 498 M ii. Ambrose Madison MARYE¹⁴¹.
- 499 F iii. Janey Colquhoun MARYE¹⁴¹.
- 500 M iv. William Gordon MARYE¹⁴¹.
- 295.**Ambrose M. MARYE**^{61,141} (Mary Frances Madison MARYE, Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born⁴³² about 1856 in Virginia. He died 1897.

Ambrose married Leila McLachlen Ellis MARYE⁶⁰⁹.

They had the following children:

- 501 M i. **Madison MARYE**⁶¹⁰.
- 297. Ambrose Gilmer MADISON Sr.¹⁴¹ (James Ambrose, Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{4,141,437} 1851 in Virginia. He died^{36,38} 28 Feb 1928 in New York, New York and was buried^{4,36,38} in Madison Family Cemetery.

Ambrose married **Margaret McGary MADISON**^{4,141}, daughter of John MCGARRY and Catherine McKuhne MCGARRY, about 1870. Margaret was born⁶¹¹ 1866? in Scotland. She died⁶¹¹ 10 Oct 1940 in Brooklyn, New York.

- 502 F i. Margaret Daniel MADISON "Aggie, Dolley"^{141,611} was born 1873.
- 503 F ii. Kate MADISON¹⁴¹.
- 504 M iii. William MADISON^{141,611} was born⁶¹¹ 1876 and resided⁶¹¹ in Philadelphia . William married Mabel MADISON⁶¹¹.
- 505 M iv. Ambrose Gilmer MADISON Jr. "Pete "141 was born 1877. He died 1958.
- + 506 F v. Annie Madison MCGRAW.
 - 507 vi. Unknown MADISON⁶¹¹.
 - 508 vii. Unknown MADISON⁶¹¹.
 - 509 viii. Unknown MADISON⁶¹¹.
 - 510 ix. Unknown MADISON⁶¹¹.
 - 511 x. Unknown MADISON⁶¹¹.
 - 512 xi. Unknown MADISON⁶¹¹.

- 513 xii. Unknown MADISON⁶¹¹.
- 514 xiii. Unknown MADISON⁶¹¹.
- 301.**Edward Cooper MADISON**^{4,141} (James Ambrose, Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{4,141,437} 1857. He died⁴ 1937 and was buried⁴ in Peninsula Memorial Cemetery, Newport News, Virginia.

Edward married^{141,419} **Elizabeth (Lizzie) Fox Stagg MADISON**^{4,141}, daughter of John F. STAGG, on 22 Jul 1886 in Richmond, Virginia. Elizabeth was born^{4,141} 1864. She died⁴ 1952 and was buried⁴ in Peninsula Memorial Cemetery, Newport News, Virginia.

They had the following children:

515 F i. Ida Renshaw Madison PATRICK^{4,141} was born^{4,141} 1887. She died⁴ 1934 and was buried⁴ in Peninsula Memorial Cemetery, Newport News, Virginia.

Ida married **Thomas PATRICK**^{4,141}. Thomas was buried⁴ in Peninsula Memorial Cemetery, Newport News, Virginia.

516 F ii. **Susan Daniel Madison RICHARDS**^{4,141} was born^{4,141} 1891. She died⁴ 1957 and was buried⁴ in Roanoke, Virginia.

Susan married **Dr. C. C. RICHARDS**^{4,141}.

517 F iii. Lucy Hiden Madison HADEN^{4,141} was born^{4,141} 1893. She died⁴ 1971 and was buried⁴ in Charlottesville, Virginia.

Lucy married⁴ Chesley A. HADEN^{4,141} on 1919.

+ 518 M iv. James Gordon MADISON Sr. was born 1900 and died 1981.

303.Joseph Hiden MADISON¹⁴¹ (James Ambrose, Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{4,141,612,613} 1868 in Montpelier, Dr. James Madison House, Orange County, Virginia. He died⁴ 1930/1940.

Joseph married⁶¹³ Emma C. MADISON⁶¹³ about 1902. Emma was born⁶¹³ about 1882.

They had the following children:

- 519 F i. Fannie F. MADISON⁶¹³ was born⁶¹³ about 1902.
- 520 F ii. Helen Y. MADISON⁶¹³ was born⁶¹³ about 1904.
- 521 M iii. John C. MADISON⁶¹³ was born⁶¹³ about 1907.
- 315.Elizabeth (Lizzie) Madison Lee BRAGG^{141,299,614} (Frances Willis LEE, Elizabeth Madison WILLIS, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{141,354,615} 1848 in Brampton, Madison County, Virginia. She died^{141,616} 18 Mar 1907 in Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia from Tuberculosis (Consumption) and was buried⁶¹⁷ in Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, Virginia.

Elizabeth married^{141,299,568,618} **William Albert BRAGG Jr.**¹⁴¹, son of William Albert BRAGG Sr. and Ann Eliza Jones BRAGG, on 11 Dec 1872 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. William was born^{141,619} 9 Jan 1840 in Petersburg, Dinwiddie County, Virginia. He died^{141,620} 7 Feb 1901 in Richmond, Virginia from Cancer and was buried⁶²¹ in Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg, Virginia.

They had the following children:

522 M i. Hancock Lee BRAGG^{141,299,622} was born¹⁴¹ 1874.

- + 523 F ii. Elise Calvin Bragg VALENTINE was born 1876.
- + 524 F iii. Frances Madison Bragg SMALL was born 1878.
- 316. Lewis Herman LEE⁵⁴ (Frances Willis LEE, Elizabeth Madison WILLIS, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{54,299,354,462,623} 2 Mar 1849 in Brampton, Madison County, Virginia. He died^{54,61,462,624} 30 Jul 1878 in Langley, Orange County, Virginia from Typhoid Fever and was buried⁴⁶² Aug 1878 in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Lewis married^{54,299,532,625} **Georgia Garland Hansbrough LEE**^{54,299,625,626}, daughter of Rev. John Strother HANSBROUGH and Mary Ballard HANSBROUGH, on 12 Oct 1876 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. Georgia was born⁴⁶² 20 Jun 1857. She died⁴⁶² 7 Aug 1934 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried⁴⁶² Aug 1934 in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 525 F i. Mary Madison LEE "Mamie"^{54,61,299} was born^{462,627} 28 Oct 1878 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{462,628} 26 Jun 1968 in Boston, Virginia and was buried⁴⁶² in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.
- 318. Mary Clementine Slaughter HAMILTON⁵⁴ (Philip Madison SLAUGHTER, Letitia Madison SLAUGHTER, William, James, Ambrose).

Mary married Hugh Mercer HAMILTON⁵⁴.

They had the following children:

- 526 F i. Cornelia Long HAMILTON⁵⁴.
- 527 M ii. Edwin Slaughter HAMILTON⁵⁴.
- 528 F iii. Kathryn HAMILTON⁵⁴.
- 529 M iv. Philip HAMILTON⁵⁴.
- 323.**Conway Macon KNOX** (Lucy Conwayella Macon KNOX, James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born⁶²⁹ 7 May 1863 in Richmond, Virginia. He died⁶³⁰ 5 Jun 1948 and was buried⁶³¹ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

Conway married⁶³² Eugenia Ewellen Newman KNOX⁶³³, daughter of Conway NEWMAN and Eleanor Taylor NEWMAN, on 7 Nov 1901. Eugenia was born^{634,635} 10 Jan 1880. She died^{636,637} 12 Apr 1967 and was buried⁶³⁸ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 530 F i. Eleanor Temple KNOX⁶³⁹ was born⁶⁴⁰ 5 Oct 1903.
- 531 F ii. Mary Madison Knox HUBBARD⁶⁴¹.

Mary married Harrison HUBBARD⁶⁴².

532 F iii. Eugenia Newman Knox LINDSEY⁶⁴³ was born⁶⁴⁴ 30 Jan 1911.

Eugenia married **Daniel Weisiger LINDSEY**⁶⁴⁵. Daniel was born⁶⁴⁶ 30 Jul 1908. He died⁶⁴⁷ 13 May 1974 and was buried⁶⁴⁸ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

333.James Madison MACON III⁶¹ (James Madison MACON, James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born⁶¹ 14 Oct 1882 in Richmond, Virginia. He died⁶¹ 6 Nov 1977 in Richmond, Virginia and was buried⁶¹ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

James married⁶¹ **Ellen Walker Meade MACON**⁶¹, daughter of Everard Benjamin MEADE and Lucy Gilmer MEADE, on 1920. Ellen was born⁶¹ 10 Oct 1884. She died⁶¹ 16 Oct 1961 and was buried⁶¹ in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia.

They had the following children:

533 M i. James Madison MACON IV^{538,649} was born⁶¹ 16 Aug 1919 in Richmond, Virginia and resided^{538,649} 1930 in Richmond, Virginia.

James married **Gertrude Randolph Carter MACON**⁶¹. Gertrude was born⁶¹ 25 Sep 1921.

334.Emily (Emma) Brent Macon STAIR³¹⁶ (Reuben Conway Madison MACON, James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born³¹⁶ 20 Oct 1866 in Orange County, Virginia.

Emily married^{316,650} **Jacob STAIR**³¹⁶ on 12 Mar 1890 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 534 M i. **Jacob STAIR Jr.**⁴⁶⁹.
- 535 F ii. Virginia Gordon STAIR⁴⁶⁹.
- 335.Rev. Clifton MACON³¹⁶ (Reuben Conway Madison MACON, James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born^{466,468} about 1868 in Orange County, Virginia.

Clifton married Janet Bruce MACON³¹⁶.

They had the following children:

- 536 F i. Margaret Bruce MACON⁴⁶⁹.
- 537 F ii. Emma MACON⁴⁶⁹.
- 336.Kate Conway Macon Paulson HOFFMASTER³¹⁶ (Reuben Conway Madison MACON, James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born^{316,462,464} 30 Nov 1872 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{316,462,464} 12 Jul 1947 and was buried^{462,464} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Kate married^{316,438} (1) **Frank Gormley PAULSON**^{316,469} on 12 Apr 1892 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 538 M i. Charles Henry PAULSON⁴⁶⁹.
- 539 M ii. Daniel McKee PAULSON⁴⁶⁹.

Kate also married⁴⁶⁹ (2) **George Edward HOFFMASTER**^{316,464} after 1911. George was born^{316,462} 13 Dec 1864. He died^{316,462} 19 Apr 1944 and was buried⁴⁶² in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

338. Latimer Small MACON³¹⁶ (Reuben Conway Madison MACON, James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born^{316,462,464} 12 Oct 1877 in Orange County, Virginia. He died^{462,464} 19 Jan 1922 and was buried^{462,464} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Latimer married **Milly Slagle MACON**³¹⁶. Milly was born^{462,464} 10 Aug 1876. She died^{462,464} 26 May 1948 and was buried^{462,464} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 540 M i. Latimer Small MACON Jr.⁶⁵¹.
- 541 M ii. Jacob Slagle MACON⁶⁵¹.
- 340. Evelyn Madison Macon Atwood TALCOTT "Eva "³¹⁶ (Reuben Conway Madison MACON, James Hartwell Madison MACON, Sarah Catlett Madison MACON, James, Ambrose) was born^{462,465,467,652} May 1882 in Orange County, Virginia. She died^{462,467,652} 1976 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried^{462,467,652} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Eva married^{316,653} (1) Henry Dickson ATWOOD³¹⁶ on 23 Apr 1902 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. Henry died⁶⁵¹ 1902/1911.

They had the following children:

542 M i. Henry Martyn ATWOOD⁶⁵¹ was born⁴⁶² 1903. He died⁴⁶² 1971 and was buried⁴⁶² in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Eva also married⁶⁵¹ (2) **Harry Pickard TALCOTT**³¹⁶ before 1911. Harry was born^{462,652} 21 Nov 1882. He died^{462,652} 18 Apr 1955 and was buried^{462,652} in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 543 M ii. Henry M. TALCOTT⁶⁵² was born⁶⁵² 1903. He died⁶⁵² 1971 and was buried⁶⁵² in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.
- 352. Nelly Conway Rose BAGGETT⁵⁴ (Mary Frances Newman ROSE, Nelly Conway Rose NEWMAN, Frances Taylor Madison ROSE, James, Ambrose).

Nelly married William T. BAGGETT⁵⁴. William resided⁵⁴ in California .

They had the following children:

- 544 F i. Nelly Rose BAGGETT⁵⁴.
- 361.Col. George WILLIS^{534,654} (Mary Willis Lewis WILLIS, Catherine Daingerfield LEWIS, Mary Willis DAINGERFIELD, Elizabeth Madison Willis BEALE, Ambrose) was born^{335,509} Jun 1809. He died^{509,655} 10 Apr 1861 in Pensacola, Florida and was buried⁶⁵⁵ in Wood Park, Orange County, Virginia.

George married⁵⁰⁹ (1) Martha Payne Waring Fauntleroy WILLIS^{335,509,656} on 1833. Martha was born⁵⁰⁹ in Middlesex County, Virginia. She died⁵⁰⁹ 1839.

They had the following children:

545 F i. Virginia C. Willis CARY⁵³⁴.

Virginia married^{534,580} **Charles E. CARY**⁵³⁴ on 11 Jun 1885 in Wood Park, Orange County, Virginia.

- 546 F ii. Mary S. WILLIS⁶⁵⁷ died⁶⁵⁷ after 1861.
- 547 F iii. Isabella WILLIS⁶⁵⁷ died⁶⁵⁷ after 1861.

George also married⁵⁰⁹ (2) **Sallie Innes Smith WILLIS**^{335,509,658} on 1841. Sallie was born^{509,659} about 1821 in Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania County, Virginia. She died³³⁵ 1863.

They had the following children:

- 548 F iv. **Delia WILLIS**⁶⁵⁹ was born⁶⁵⁹ about 1843 in Florida.
- 549 F v. **Catherine WILLIS**⁶⁵⁹ was born⁶⁵⁹ about 1845 in Florida.
- 550 M vi. **Byrd Charles WILLIS**^{543,659} was born^{543,659} 1847 in Pensacola, Florida. He died⁵⁴³ 19 Dec 1911 in Richmond, Virginia.
- 551 F vii. **Sally WILLIS**⁶⁵⁹ was born⁶⁵⁹ about May 1850 in Wood Park, Orange County, Virginia.

Seventh Generation

373. Maria Jane Richardson POLLOCK^{8,95,365} (Jane Champe Willis RICHARDSON, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,95,462} 6 Apr 1877. She died⁴⁶² 1960 and was buried⁴⁶² in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Maria married⁹⁵ **George Lauman POLLOCK**⁹⁵ on 1907. George was born^{95,462} 1874 in Chicago, Illinois. He died⁴⁶² 1961 and was buried⁴⁶² in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 552 F i. Janie Willis POLLOCK⁹⁵ was born⁹⁵ 1909. She died⁹⁵ 1912.
- 553 F ii. Margaret Lee POLLOCK⁹⁵ was born⁹⁵ 1914. She died⁹⁵ after 1975.
- 375.**Ambrose Madison RICHARDSON**^{95,365} (Jane Champe Willis RICHARDSON, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born⁸ Mar 1881.

Ambrose married⁹⁵ Louise McDonald RICHARDSON⁹⁵ on 1912.

They had the following children:

- 554 M i. Irving RICHARDSON⁹⁵ was born⁹⁵ 1914. He died⁹⁵ after 1975.
- 555 M ii. Ambrose Madison RICHARDSON⁹⁵ was born⁹⁵ 1916. He died⁹⁵ after 1975.
- 556 F iii. Louise RICHARDSON⁹⁵ was born⁹⁵ 1919. She died⁹⁵ after 1975.
- 376. Alice Balmaine Richardson SHILLITO^{95,365} (Jane Champe Willis RICHARDSON, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born⁸ 29 Jun 1883.

Alice married⁹⁵ Philip Brown SHILLITO⁹⁵ on 1909.

They had the following children:

557 F i. Jane Champe SHILLITO⁹⁵ was born⁹⁵ 1917. She died⁹⁵ after 1975.

377.James Shepherd WILLIS^{61,95} (John C. WILLIS, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,95,547} 26 Jul 1867 in Virginia. He died⁹⁵ 1908.

James married⁹⁵ Evelyn McDonald WILLIS⁹⁵ on 1891. Evelyn was born 1865/1875. She died⁹⁵ after 1891.

They had the following children:

558 M i. George WILLIS⁹⁵ was born⁹⁵ 1891/1908. He died⁹⁵ after 1891.

379.Lucie Madison Willis TAYLOR⁹⁵ (John C. WILLIS, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,95,547,660} 24 Feb 1871 in Virginia. She died⁶⁶¹ 1944.

Lucie married^{95,662} **Moncure Robinson TAYLOR**⁹⁵, son of John Charles Randolph TAYLOR and Martha Jefferson TAYLOR, on 1901. Moncure was born^{95,663} 23 Feb 1851. He died^{95,664} 7 Dec 1915.

They had the following children:

+ 559 M i. John Byrd TAYLOR was born 1903.

382.John Byrd WILLIS^{61,95} (John C. WILLIS, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,95,541,547} 21 Mar 1877 in Virginia.

John married⁹⁵ Verna Gabbert WILLIS^{95,665} on 1908.

They had the following children:

560 F i. Mary Frances Willis KEISKER⁹⁵ was born⁹⁵ 1909. She died⁹⁵ after 1975.

Mary married Frederick K. KEISKER⁹⁵. Frederick died⁹⁵ after 1975.

384. Rev. William Taylor WILLIS^{61,95} (John C. WILLIS, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,95,542} 21 Sep 1885 in Virginia. He died Aug 1971 in Norfolk, Virginia.

William married⁹⁵ Gertrude Scott Hendrix WILLIS^{95,666} on 1917.

They had the following children:

561 M i. William Taylor WILLIS⁹⁵ was born^{95,550} 1920.

386. Philip Henshaw SCOTT Sr.^{8,95} (Claudia Marshall Willis SCOTT, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,552,554} 14 Feb 1873. He died⁵⁵⁴ 1 Feb 1962 and was buried⁵⁵⁴ in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Philip married⁵⁵² **Martha Moore Leitch SCOTT** "Mattie"^{95,550,552,554} on 29 Apr 1903. Mattie was born⁵⁵⁴ 9 Apr 1875. She died⁵⁵⁴ 21 Jun 1953 and was buried⁵⁵⁴ in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 562 M i. Philip Henshaw SCOTT Jr.^{95,550} was born^{552,554} 23 May 1904. He died^{552,554} 23 Jan 1914 and was buried⁵⁵⁴ in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.
- 563 M ii. William Wallace SCOTT^{95,550} was born^{552,554} 4 Jul 1906. He died^{552,554} 20 Sep 1931 and was buried⁵⁵⁴ in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.
- 564 F iii. Martha Moore Scott BELFIELD^{95,550,552} was born^{552,554} 24 Aug 1908. She died⁵⁵⁴ 14 Dec 1979 and was buried⁵⁵⁴ in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Martha married⁵⁵² **William S. BELFIELD**^{95,550} on 1 Feb 1931. William was born⁵⁵⁴ 12 Sep 1906. He died⁵⁵⁴ 2 Dec 1994 and was buried⁵⁵⁴ in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

565 F iv. Meredith Leitch SCOTT^{95,550,552} was born⁵⁵² 9 Mar 1915.

Meredith married Juanita Veronica Shaw SCOTT⁵⁵⁴. Juanita was born⁵⁵⁴

10 Sep 1915. He died⁵⁵⁴ 23 Nov 1967 and was buried⁵⁵⁴ in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

566 M v. Johnny SCOTT^{95,550,552} was born⁵⁵² 3 May 1917.

389.**Ellen Ritchie Scott CHAPMAN**^{8,550} (Claudia Marshall Willis SCOTT, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,552} 14 Mar 1880.

Ellen married^{95,550,552} Rev. James Jeffries CHAPMAN Sr.^{95,550} on 26 Sep 1901.

They had the following children:

- + 567 F i. Claudia Marshall Willis Chapman ROGER was born 5 Dec 1902.
 - 568 M ii. **Dennis Scott CHAPMAN**^{95,550} was born⁵⁵⁷ 23 Aug 1904.
 - 569 M iii. James Jeffries CHAPMAN Jr.^{95,550} was born⁵⁵⁷ 14 Jun 1908.

James married⁵⁵⁷ Elizabeth Allen CHAPMAN⁵⁵⁷ on Sep 1935.

570 F iv. Ellen Ritchie Chapman WOODRIFF^{95,550} was born⁵⁵⁷ 7 Dec 1909.

Ellen married^{95,550,557} John Irving WOODRIFF^{95,550,557} on 5 May 1933.

- 571 F v. Maryjane Stewart CHAPMAN^{95,550} was born⁵⁵⁷ 13 Feb 1912.
- 572 F vi. Josephine J. CHAPMAN^{95,550} was born⁵⁵⁷ 27 Mar 1914.
- 573 M vii. William Wallace Scott CHAPMAN^{95,550} was born⁵⁵⁷ 8 Jul 1917.
- 390. Garret Willis SCOTT^{8,95} (Claudia Marshall Willis SCOTT, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,557} 6 Feb 1882. He died^{95,550,557} 26 Mar 1927 in Gordonsville, Orange County, Virginia.

Garret married⁵⁵⁷ Alice S. Shields Scott SCOTT^{95,550} on 19 Oct 1910 in Roanoke, Virginia. Alice was born⁵⁵⁷ 7 Oct 1892.

They had the following children:

- 574 F i. Claudia Wyclif SCOTT^{95,550,557} was born⁵⁵⁷ 24 Jun 1913.
- 575 M ii. Willis Shields SCOTT^{95,550} was born⁵⁵⁷ 27 Jun 1916.
- 576 M iii. Garrett SCOTT^{95,550} was born⁵⁵⁷ 31 Jul 1919.
- 577 F iv. Harriet Shields SCOTT^{95,538,550,649} was born⁵⁵⁷ 22 Jul 1921 and resided^{538,649} in Orange County, Virginia .
- 391. Caroline Barbour Scott STRATTON⁸ (Claudia Marshall Willis SCOTT, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,554,557} 29 May 1883. She died^{8,95,554,557} 15 Feb 1918 from Pneumonia and was buried⁵⁵⁴ in Maplewood Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Caroline married⁵⁵⁷ Joseph Hayward STRATTON Sr.^{95,550,554} on 22 Nov 1910.

- 578 F i. Caroline Barbour STRATTON^{95,550,557}.
- 579 M ii. Joseph Hayward STRATTON Jr.^{95,550,557}.
- 394. Jane (Janie) Bailey Willis MULICK^{95,667} (Nelly Conway Willis WILLIS, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{8,95,537} 3 May 1879. She died⁵⁶⁴

after 1948.

Jane married⁹⁵ Norbert Edward MULICK Sr.⁹⁵ on 1906.

They had the following children:

- 580 M i. Nobert Edward MULICK Jr.^{95,550} was born^{95,550} 1907.
- 581 F ii. Margaret Lee MULICK^{95,550} was born^{95,550} 1909.
- + 582 F iii. Dorothy Madison Mulick LYONS was born 1909.
- 397. David Madison WILLIS Sr.^{95,367} (Ambrose Madison WILLIS, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born⁸ 21 Aug 1886.

David married Clothoe Newcomb WILLIS95.

They had the following children:

- 583 M i. Newcomb WILLIS^{95,550} was born^{95,550} 1914. He died⁹⁵ after 1975.
- 584 M ii. Maj. David Madison WILLIS Jr.^{95,550} died⁹⁵ after 1975.
- 585 F iii. **Barbara WILLIS**^{95,550} died⁹⁵ after 1975.
- 398. **Dr. John Mitchell WILLIS**^{52,367,534} (Andrew Johnson WILLIS, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born⁸ 25 Nov 1886.

John married⁵³⁴ **Anne Gibson WILLIS**^{52,534,550} on 15 Jul 1911 in Trinity Church, Huntington, West Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 586 M i. John Mitchell WILLIS^{52,550} was born⁵² 1916. He died⁵² after 1975.
- 399. Andrew Hunter WILLIS Sr.^{8,52,367} (Andrew Johnson WILLIS, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born⁸ 24 Apr 1888.

Andrew married Elizabeth Sheldon WILLIS^{52,550}.

They had the following children:

- 587 M i. Andrew Hunter WILLIS Jr.^{52,550} was born^{52,550} 1916. He died⁵² after 1975.
- 588 F ii. Mary Elizabeth WILLIS⁵⁵⁰ was born^{52,550} 1919. She died⁵² after 1975.
- 589 M iii. Edward WILLIS⁵⁵⁰ was born^{52,550} 1921. He died⁵² after 1975.
- 400. **Margaret Willis BLIVEN**^{52,367,550} (Andrew Johnson WILLIS, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose).

Margaret married Floyd BLIVEN Sr. 52,550.

- 590 M i. Floyd BLIVEN Jr.⁵⁵⁰ was born^{52,550} 1921. He died⁵² after 1975.
- 591 M ii. Andrew BLIVEN^{52,550} died⁵² after 1975.
- 592 F iii. Margaret BLIVEN^{52,550} died⁵² after 1975.
- 401.**Eleanor Conway Pedigo EDWARDS**⁵² (Eleanor Cornelia Davison PEDIGO, Eleanor Conway Baldwin DAVISON, Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born⁵² 1857.

Eleanor married⁵² John Warren EDWARDS⁵² on 1880. John was born⁵² 1842.

They had the following children:

- + 593 F i. Ann Eleanor Edwards GRANDON was born 1881.
 - 594 F ii. Mabel Pedigo EDWARDS⁵² was born⁵² 1885. She died⁵² 1893.
 - 595 M iii. John Cummins EDWARDS⁵² was born⁵² 1892.
 - 596 M iv. Maury EDWARDS⁵² was born⁵² 1896.
- 427.**Elizabeth Pendleton Slaughter SMITH**¹⁴¹ (Philip Peyton SLAUGHTER, Jane Madison Chapman SLAUGHTER, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose).

Elizabeth married Lucien SMITH¹⁴¹.

They had the following children:

597 F i. Katherine Mercer SMITH¹⁴¹.

428. Jane Chapman Slaughter MOORE^{141,569} (Alfred Edwin SLAUGHTER, Jane Madison Chapman SLAUGHTER, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born⁵⁶⁹ 28 Jun 1872. She died⁵⁶⁹ 10 Apr 1936 and was buried⁵⁶⁹ in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Jane married Charles Forrest MOORE^{141,569}.

They had the following children:

598 F i. **Donna Moore MATTHEWS**¹⁴¹.

Donna married John MATTHEWS¹⁴¹.

429. Robert Carroll SLAUGHTER Sr.^{141,569} (Alfred Edwin SLAUGHTER, Jane Madison Chapman SLAUGHTER, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose) was born⁵⁶⁹ 21 Oct 1873. He died⁵⁶⁹ 10 Jan 1960 and was buried⁵⁶⁹ in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Robert married⁶⁶⁸ Lucy Lawrence Lyne Moore SLAUGHTER^{141,569,668} on 20 Jun 1923 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. Lucy was born⁵⁶⁹ 20 Apr 1894. She died⁵⁶⁹ 29 Jul 1950 and was buried⁵⁶⁹ in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 599 F i. Lucy Lawrence SLAUGHTER¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1923. She died¹⁴¹ after 1975.
- 600 F ii. Jane Madison SLAUGHTER¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1924. She died¹⁴¹ after 1975.
- 601 M iii. Robert Carroll SLAUGHTER Jr.¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1925. He died¹⁴¹ after 1975.
- 430. Sadie Patton Slaughter SNIDOW¹⁴¹ (Alfred Edwin SLAUGHTER, Jane Madison Chapman SLAUGHTER, Rebecca Conway Madison CHAPMAN, William, James, Ambrose).

Sadie married¹⁴¹ William Bane SNIDOW Sr.¹⁴¹ on 1905. William was born¹⁴¹ 1877.

- 602 M i. William Bane SNIDOW Jr.¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1906. He died¹⁴¹ after 1975.
- 603 F ii. Eugenia Tilghman SNIDOW¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1907. She died¹⁴¹ after 1975.
- 604 M iii. John Temple SNIDOW¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1909. He died¹⁴¹ after 1975.

605 M iv. **Carroll SNIDOW**¹⁴¹ was born¹⁴¹ 1916. He died¹⁴¹ after 1975.

469.Maria Jane Richardson POLLOCK is printed as #373.

606 F i. Janie Willis POLLOCK is printed as #552.

607 F ii. Margaret Lee POLLOCK is printed as #553.

471. Ambrose Madison RICHARDSON is printed as #375.

608 M i. Irving RICHARDSON is printed as #554.

609 M ii. Ambrose Madison RICHARDSON is printed as #555.

610 F iii. Louise RICHARDSON is printed as #556.

472. Alice Balmaine Richardson SHILLITO is printed as #376.

611 F i. Jane Champe SHILLITO is printed as #557.

473. James Shepherd WILLIS is printed as #377.

612 M i. George WILLIS is printed as #558.

475.Lucie Madison Willis TAYLOR is printed as #379.

+ 613 M i. John Byrd TAYLOR is printed as #559.

478.John Byrd WILLIS is printed as #382.

614 F i. Mary Frances Willis KEISKER is printed as #560. 480.Rev. William Taylor WILLIS is printed as #384.

615 M i. William Taylor WILLIS is printed as #561.482.Philip Henshaw SCOT^{*}T Sr. is printed as #386.

616 M i. Philip Henshaw SCOTT Jr. is printed as #562.

617 M ii. William Wallace SCOTT is printed as #563.

618 F iii. Martha Moore Scott BELFIELD is printed as #564.

619 F iv. Meredith Leitch SCOTT is printed as #565.

620 M v. Johnny SCOTT is printed as #566.

485.Ellen Ritchie Scott CHAPMAN is printed as #389.

+ 621 F i. Claudia Marshall Willis Chapman ROGER is printed as #567.

622 M ii. Dennis Scott CHAPMAN is printed as #568.

623 M iii. James Jeffries CHAPMAN Jr. is printed as #569.

624 F iv. Ellen Ritchie Chapman WOODRIFF is printed as #570.

625 F v. Maryjane Stewart CHAPMAN is printed as #571.

626 F vi. Josephine J. CHAPMAN is printed as #572.

627 M vii. William Wallace Scott CHAPMAN is printed as #573.

486.Garret Willis SCOTT is printed as #390.

628 F i. Claudia Wyclif SCOTT is printed as #574.

- 629 M ii. Willis Shields SCOTT is printed as #575.
- 630 M iii. Garrett SCOTT is printed as #576.
- 631 F iv. Harriet Shields SCOTT is printed as #577.

487.Caroline Barbour Scott STRATTON is printed as #391.

632 F i. Caroline Barbour STRATTON is printed as #578.

633 M ii. Joseph Hayward STRATTON Jr. is printed as #579.

490.Jane (Janie) Bailey Willis MULICK is printed as #394.

634 M i. Nobert Edward MULICK Jr. is printed as #580.

635 F ii. Margaret Lee MULICK is printed as #581.

+ 636 F iii. Dorothy Madison Mulick LYONS is printed as #582.

493.David Madison WILLIS Sr. is printed as #397.

637 M i. Newcomb WILLIS is printed as #583.

638 M ii. Maj. David Madison WILLIS Jr. is printed as #584.

639 F iii. Barbara WILLIS is printed as #585.

494.Dr. John Mitchell WILLIS is printed as #398.

640 M i. John Mitchell WILLIS is printed as #586.

495.Andrew Hunter WILLIS Sr. is printed as #399.

641 M i. Andrew Hunter WILLIS Jr. is printed as #587.

642 F ii. Mary Elizabeth WILLIS is printed as #588.

643 M iii. Edward WILLIS is printed as #589.

496.Margaret Willis BLIVEN is printed as #400.

- 644 M i. Floyd BLIVEN Jr. is printed as #590.
- 645 M ii. Andrew BLIVEN is printed as #591.
- 646 F iii. Margaret BLIVEN is printed as #592.

506. Annie Madison MCGRAW "Nancy"^{141,611} (Ambrose Gilmer, James Ambrose, Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose).

Nancy married **Douglas MCGRAW**⁶¹¹.

They had the following children:

647 M i. Douglas MCGRAW⁶¹¹.

648 ii. Living MCGRAW⁶¹¹.

518. James Gordon MADISON Sr.^{4,141} (Edward Cooper, James Ambrose, Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{4,141} 1900 and resided¹⁴¹ in Tuscaloosa, Alabama . He died⁴ 1981 and was buried⁴ in Montgomery, Alabama.

James married^{4,141} Mabel Curtis Campbell MADISON^{4,141} on 1924. Mabel was born^{4,141} 1903. She died⁴ 1974 and was buried⁴ in Montgomery, Alabama.

	They had the following children:					
+	649	М	i.	Col. James Gordon MADISON Jr. was born 1926 and died after 1975.		
	650	Μ	 11.	Edward Campbell MADISON ⁴ was born ⁴ 1927.		
				Edward married ⁴ Elizabeth Wilkins MADISON ⁴ on 1949.		
	651	Μ	 111.	Richard Fleetwood MADISON ^{4,141} was born ^{4,141} 1930. He died ¹⁴¹ after 1975.		
				Richard married ⁴ Betty Sue Blackmon MADISON ⁴ on 1951.		
	652	Μ	iv.	Daniel Oliver MADISON ⁴ was born ⁴ 1933.		
				Daniel married ⁴ Jane Erline Maxwell MADISON ⁴ on 1955.		
	653	F	v.	Martha Elizabeth MADISON ⁴ was born ⁴ 1934.		
523	523. Elise Calvin Bragg VALENTINE ^{141,299,669} (Elizabeth (Lizzie) Madison Lee BRAGG, Frances Willis LEE, Elizabeth Madison WILLIS, William, James, Ambrose) was born ¹⁴¹ 1876.					
	Elise married ¹⁴¹ Granville Gray VALENTINE Sr. ^{141,670} on 1904.					
	They had the following children:					
	654	F	i.	Elizabeth Lee Valentine GOODWIN ¹⁴¹ was born ¹⁴¹ 1907. She died ¹⁴¹ after 1975.		
				Elizabeth married Wilfred Lacy GOODWIN Jr. ¹⁴¹ , son of Wilfred Lacy GOODWIN Sr Wilfred died ¹⁴¹ after 1975.		
	655	F	 11.	Maria Gray VALENTINE ⁵⁴ was born ⁵⁴ 1914. She died ⁵⁴ after 1975.		
	656	Μ	 111.	Granville Gray VALENTINE Jr. ⁵⁴ was born ⁵⁴ 1920. He died ⁵⁴ after 1975.		
524. Frances Madison Bragg SMALL "Fanny" ^{54,299,671} (Elizabeth (Lizzie) Madison Lee BRAGG, Frances Willis LEE, Elizabeth Madison WILLIS, William, James, Ambrose) was born ⁵⁴ 1878.						
Fanny married ^{54,532} George SMALL ^{54,672} on 12 Feb 1901 in St. Thomas' Episcopal Church Orange County, Virginia.						
They had the following children:						
+	657	F	1.	Elizabeth Lee Small BAKER was born 1902 and died after 1975.		

- i. Elizabeth Lee Small BAKER was born 1902 and died after 1975. 657 F
 - 658 F ii. Katherine Moore Small TALBOT⁵⁴ was born⁵⁴ 1904. She died⁵⁴ after 1975.

Katherine married⁵⁴ Laurence TALBOT⁵⁴ on 1929. Laurence died⁵⁴ after 1975.

- iii. Anna Maria SMALL⁵⁴ was born⁵⁴ 1907. She died⁵⁴ after 1975. 659 F
- 660 F iv. Frances Madison SMALL⁵⁴ was born⁵⁴ 1919. She died⁵⁴ after 1975.

Eighth Generation

559. John Byrd TAYLOR⁵⁵⁰ (Lucie Madison Willis TAYLOR, John C. WILLIS, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born⁵⁵⁰ 1903.

John married⁵⁵⁰ Mildred Bronaugh TAYLOR⁵⁵⁰ on 1930.

They had the following children:

661 M i. Moncure Robinson TAYLOR⁵⁵⁰ was born⁵⁵⁰ 1932.

567.Claudia Marshall Willis Chapman ROGER^{95,550} (Ellen Ritchie Scott CHAPMAN, Claudia Marshall Willis SCOTT, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born⁵⁵² 5 Dec 1902.

Claudia married⁵⁵² Hugh Wood ROGER^{95,550} on 16 Dec 1927. Hugh was born⁵⁵² in Edinburgh, Scotland.

They had the following children:

- 662 M i. Edwin Dennis Wood ROGER^{95,550,552} was born⁵⁵² 2 Oct 1930.
- 663 M ii. **Robin Daryl Wood ROGER**^{4,95,552} was born⁵⁵² 3 Dec 1932.
- 582.Dorothy Madison Mulick LYONS^{95,550} (Jane (Janie) Bailey Willis MULICK, Nelly Conway Willis WILLIS, John WILLIS, Nelly Conway Madison WILLIS, Ambrose, James, Ambrose) was born^{95,550} 1909.

Dorothy married^{95,550} Nicholas K. LYONS^{95,550} on 1930.

They had the following children:

664 F i. **Florence Lee LYONS**⁵⁵⁰ was born^{95,550} 1931.

593.Ann Eleanor Edwards GRANDON⁵² (Eleanor Conway Pedigo EDWARDS, Eleanor Cornelia Davison PEDIGO, Eleanor Conway Baldwin DAVISON, Nelly Conway Hite BALDWIN, Nelly Conway Madison HITE, James, Ambrose) was born⁵² 1881.

Ann married⁵² Herbert Martin GRANDON Sr.⁵² on 1898.

They had the following children:

665 M i. Herbert Martin GRANDON Jr. 52 was born 52 1899. He died 52 after 1975.

666 F ii. Eleanor Katherine GRANDON⁵² was born⁵² 1901. She died⁵² after 1975.

613.John Byrd TAYLOR is printed as #559.

667 M i. Moncure Robinson TAYLOR is printed as #661.

621.Claudia Marshall Willis Chapman ROGER is printed as #567.

668 M i. Edwin Dennis Wood ROGER is printed as #662.

669 M ii. Robin Daryl Wood ROGER is printed as #663.

636.Dorothy Madison Mulick LYONS is printed as #582.

670 F i. Florence Lee LYONS is printed as #664.

649.**Col. James Gordon MADISON Jr.**^{4,141} (James Gordon, Edward Cooper, James Ambrose, Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born^{4,141} 1926. He died¹⁴¹ after 1975.

James married⁴ Mary Katherine Howell MADISON⁴ on 1946. Mary was born⁴ 1926.

- + 671 F i. Katherine Madison PENTON was born 1948.
- + 672 F ii. Elizabeth Madison O'DELL was born 1952.

- 673 F iii. Judith MADISON⁴ was born⁴ 1955.
- + 674 M iv. James Gordon MADISON III was born 1956.
- 657. Elizabeth Lee Small BAKER⁵⁴ (Frances Madison Bragg SMALL, Elizabeth (Lizzie) Madison Lee BRAGG, Frances Willis LEE, Elizabeth Madison WILLIS, William, James, Ambrose) was born⁵⁴ 1902. She died⁵⁴ after 1975.

Elizabeth married Rev. Richard Henry BAKER⁵⁴. Richard died⁵⁴ after 1975.

They had the following children:

675 F i. Frances Lee BAKER⁵⁴ was born⁵⁴ 1928. She died⁵⁴ after 1975.

Ninth Generation

671.Katherine Madison PENTON⁴ (James Gordon, James Gordon, Edward Cooper, James Ambrose, Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born⁴ 1948.

Katherine married⁴ Thomas Miles PENTON⁴ on 1969.

They had the following children:

- 676 M i. Thomas Madison PENTON⁴ was born⁴ 1974.
- 677 F ii. Katherine Miles PENTON⁴ was born⁴ 1977.
- 672. Elizabeth Madison O'DELL⁴ (James Gordon, James Gordon, Edward Cooper, James Ambrose, Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born⁴ 1952.

Elizabeth married⁴ Michael Edward O'DELL⁴ on 1974.

They had the following children:

- 678 F i. Jennifer Ashley O'DELL⁴ was born⁴ 1977.
- 679 F ii. Laura Elizabeth O'DELL⁴ was born⁴ 1980.
- 674. James Gordon MADISON III⁴ (James Gordon, James Gordon, Edward Cooper, James Ambrose, Ambrose, William, James, Ambrose) was born⁴ 1956.

James married⁴ Mary Ann Walding MADISON⁴ on 1980.

They had the following children:

680 M i. James Gordon MADISON IV⁴ was born⁴ 1982.

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Laurence (5248 - m.1929)		
TALCOTT		
Evelyn Madison Macon Atwood (340 - b.1	.882)	30,
46		
Harry Pickard (340S - b.1882)		.46
Henry M. (543 - b.1903)		.46
TALIAFERRO		
Anne Spotswood Burwell (- m.1771)		4
Baldwin (- a.1799)		
Catherine (Kitty) Bell Madison (35 - b.1791) .		4
Charles Champe Jr. ()		
Col. Thomas Dorsey (144S - m.1854)		.27
Dr. Alexander Spotswood (6S - b.1798)		4
Edmonia (306)		.27
Eliza Lewis Madison (144 - b.1834)	14,	26
Fanny Barnes Harrison ()		
Fanny Lewis (304)		
Gawin Corbin (370)		
James Garnett ()		
Jane (305)		
Marie Barclay ()		
Mary Willis Turberville (201 - m.1815)		
Wilhelmina Wishart ()		
William Francis (201S - b.1790)		
William Thomas Warren ()		
TAPPAN		
Margaret Wood (103 - d.1836)		.10
Unknown (31S)		
TAYLOR		
Col. James Jr. (- b.1674)		1
John Byrd (559 - b.1903)	48,	55
John Charles Randolph ()		
Leila Dabney (308)		
Lucie Madison Willis (379 - b.1871)	34,	48
Marshall (145S)		
Martha Jefferson ()		.48
Martha Thompson (- b.1679)		1
Mildred Bronaugh (5598 - m.1930)		
Moncure Robinson (3798 - b.1851)		
Moncure Robinson (661 - b.1932)		
THROCKMORTON		
Lucy ()		5
Robert ()		5
TURBERVILLE		
Gawin Corbin (81S - m.1792)		.19
TWYMAN		
Eliza Ann Hill (- b.1823)		.19
Isaac Smith (- b.1816)		

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Cecelia (345 - b.1871)	
Conway Macon (343 - b.1865)	
Elizabeth Conrad Bedinger (- b.1793)	
Georgianna Hite Ransom (129 - b.1822)	12
John Thornton Augustine (- b.1783)	
Lucy Conway Macon (162 - b.1834)	15, 30
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Wallace Barron (344 - b.1869)	
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Thomas L. (235S - m.1875)	
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Andrew Hunter Sr. (399 - b.1888)	
Anne Alexander Smith (- m.1711)	2
Anne Beale (18 - b.1753)	
Anne Carter Champe (- m.1762)	
Anne Gibson (398S - m.1911)	
Annie Scott (383 - b.1879)	
Barbara (585 - d.1975)	50
Bessie Milton (380 - b.1873)	
Byrd Charles (550 - b.1847)	
Carver (23S - b.1774)	9
Catherine (549 - b.1845)	
Child (147 - b.1820)	14
Claudia (378 - b.1869)	
Clothoe Newcomb (397S)	
Col. Byrd Charles (Lewis) (200S - b.1781)	
Col. George (361 - b.1809)	
Col. Henry (- b.1691)	
Col. John (117 - b.1809)	
Col. John (1398 - b.1809)	25
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David Madison Sr. (397 - b.1886)	
Delia (548 - b.1843)	
Dr. John (- b.1774)	
Dr. John (37S - b.1774)	
Dr. John Mitchell (398 - b.1886)	
Edward (589 - b.1921)	50

Elizabeth Edwards (- b.1740)	
Elizabeth Madison (51 - b.1802)	
Elizabeth Perrin (- b.1751)	
Elizabeth Sheldon (399S)	
Evelyn McDonald (377S - b.1865)	48
Florence Edwina Ambler (2008 - a.1905)	32
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John Byrd (382 - b.1877)	
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John Mitchell (586 - b.1916)	
John W. (360 - b.1807)	
Lewis (357 - b.1801)	
Lewis (51S - b.1796)	
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Lewis Byrd (395 - b.1884)	
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Lucy Lee Richardson (374 - b.1878)	
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Lucy Taliaferro Madison (117S - b.1820)	
Lucy Taliaferro Madison (139 - b.1820)1	
Maj. David Madison Jr. (584 - d.1975)	
Maj. John Whitaker (18S - d.1802)	
Margaret Mitchell (2208 - m.1885)	
Martha Payne Waring Fauntleroy (361S - m.1833	
Mary Champe ()	
Mary Elizabeth (588 - b.1919)	
Mary Elizabeth Lupton (215S - b.1846)	
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Nelly Conway Willis (- b.1848)	
Nelly Conway Willis (217 - b.1848)2	
Newcomb (583 - b.1914)	
Rev. Andrew Johnson (220 - b.1858)	
Rev. William Taylor (384 - b.1885)	
Richard Henry (- b.1801)2	
Sallie Innes Smith (3618 - b.1821)	
Sally (551 - b.1850)	
Verna Gabbert (382S - m.1908)	
William Byrd (- b.1836)	

William Byrd (217S - b.1836)	
WINSTON	
Frances T. Rose (174 - b.1829)	16
William (65S)	16
WOOD	
Capt. Joseph Jr. (- b.1754)	
Elizabeth (104 - d.1829)	11
Joseph (106 - d.1836)	11
Margaret Bell (- m.1781)	10
Nelly Madison (31 - b.1784)	4, 10
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WOODRIFF	
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	Frances T. Rose (174 - b.1829) William (65S) Capt. Joseph Jr. (- b.1754) Elizabeth (104 - d.1829) Joseph (106 - d.1836) Margaret Bell (- m.1781) Nelly Madison (31 - b.1784) William Bell (31S - b.1781) WOODRIFF Ellen Ritchie Chapman (570 - b.1909)

APPENDIX 2

DESCENDANTS OF MARTHA TAYLOR CHEW

First Generation

1. Martha Taylor CHEW^{1,2} was born³ 1702. She died^{4,5,6} 1782/1797 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Orange County, Virginia.

Martha married⁷ **Thomas CHEW**², son of Larkin CHEW and Hannah Roy CHEW, before Nov 1723. Thomas was born⁶ about 1698 in King and Queen County, Virginia. He died^{5,6} 1781 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 2 M i. Joseph CHEW^{5,6} was born after 1723. He died^{5,6} after 1797 in Canada?. Joseph married Grace Deshon CHEW⁶.
- 3 M ii. Larkin CHEW^{5,6} was born 1723/1730?. He died^{5,6} 1780/1796.
- 4 F iii. **Frances Chew DOWNS**^{5,6} was born 1723/1730? and resided⁶ in North Carolina . She died⁵ after 1780.

Frances married Henry DOWNS⁶.

- 5 F iv. Hannah CHEW^{5,6} was born 1723/1730?. She died^{5,6} after 1797 in Orange County, Virginia.
- 6 M v. **Thomas CHEW**⁶ was born 1723/1740?. He died⁵ before 1780 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Orange County, Virginia.
- 7 M vi. Coleby CHEW^{6,8} died^{6,8} 1758 in Fort Duquesne, Pennsylvania.
- 8 F vii. **Elizabeth CHEW** "Betty, Betsy"^{5,6} was born 1730/1740?. She died^{5,6} after 1797 in Orange County, Virginia.
- + 9 F viii. Alice Chew TAYLOR died 1796.
 - 10 F ix. Mildred Chew COLEMAN "Milly, Molly"5,6,9 died5,6 1780/1797.

Milly, Molly married^{5,6} **James COLEMAN Jr.**^{6,10,11}, son of James COLEMAN Sr. and Elinor (Elender) Madison COLEMAN, after 1780. James was born¹² before 1737. He died^{13,14,15,16} 2 Mar 1796 in Orange County, Virginia.

11 M x. **Samuel CHEW**^{1,5,6} died⁶ 1779 in At Sea.

Samuel married⁶ Lucy Miller CHEW⁶ in New Haven, Connecticut.

12 M xi. James CHEW^{1,5} was born⁶ about 1745 in Orange County, Virginia. He died⁶

1783 in Frederick County, Virginia?.

James married Mary Caldwell CHEW6.

Second Generation

9. Alice Chew TAYLOR^{5,6,9} (Martha Taylor) died⁶ 1796 in Kentucky.

Alice married^{5,17} **Zachary TAYLOR**^{6,18}, son of Zachary TAYLOR and Elizabeth Lee Jones TAYLOR, before 1780. Zachary resided⁶ in Kentucky . He died^{6,18} after 1796.

They had the following children:

13 F i. Sally TAYLOR⁵ was born⁵ before 1780.

Appendix 2 - Sources

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⁶ Emma Mae Chew and Cynthia Holder, Chew-Holder Genealogy Numbering System for Computers and Other, Mr. & Mrs. Enos A. Chew, 10330 East Victory Lane, Inverness, FL 32650, copyright Sept. 19, 1983, Montpelier Archives, Chew Family Genealogy File.

⁷ Ann L. Miller, The Short Life and Strange Death of Ambrose Madison (Orange, VA: Orange County Historical Society, Inc., 2001), p.39, n.22.

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APPENDIX 3

DESCENDANTS OF ELINOR MADISON COLEMAN

First Generation

1. Elinor (Elender) Madison COLEMAN^{1,2,3,4,5} was born about 1700. She died^{1,2,6} about Jun 1761 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Orange County, Virginia.

Elinor married^{2,7,8} **James COLEMAN Sr.**^{2,5}, son of Daniel COLEMAN, on 1725/1732. James was born 1695. He died^{3,9} Nov 1764 in Orange County, Virginia and was buried in Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 2 M i. **Ambrose COLEMAN**^{10,11} was born¹² before 1735. He died¹³ after 1769. Ambrose married **Elizabeth COLEMAN**¹⁴.
- + 3 F ii. Mary Coleman HOLLAND was born about 1736.
- + 4 M iii. James COLEMAN Jr. was born before 1737 and died 2 Mar 1796.
- + 5 F iv. **Betty Coleman SCOTT** was born before 1743.

Second Generation

3. **Mary Coleman HOLLAND**^{2,11} (Elinor (Elender) Madison) was born^{2,11} about 1736 in Orange County, Virginia.

Mary married² Dr. George HOLLAND² on 21 Mar 1757 in Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- + 6 M i. **Thomas Scott HOLLAND** was born about 1774 and died after 1806.
- 4. **James COLEMAN Jr.**^{11,15,16} (Elinor (Elender) Madison) was born¹⁷ before 1737. He died^{18,19,20,21} 2 Mar 1796 in Orange County, Virginia.

James married^{9,22} (1) **Betty Lucas COLEMAN**^{9,20}, daughter of John LUCAS, on 1761/1765. Betty died²⁰ after 1796.

They had the following children:

- 7 M i. Wilson COLEMAN^{20,23} died²⁰ after 1796.
- 8 F ii. Elizabeth COLEMAN^{20,23} died²⁰ after 1796.

- 9 F iii. Sally COLEMAN^{20,23} died²⁰ after 1796.
- 10 F iv. Nancy COLEMAN^{20,23} died²⁰ after 1796.
- 11 F v. **Polly COLEMAN**^{20,23} died²⁰ after 1796.
- 12 F vi. Caty COLEMAN^{20,23} died²⁰ after 1796.
- 13 M vii. James (Garner) COLEMAN^{20,23} died²⁰ after 1796.
- + 14 M viii. Thomas COLEMAN.

James also married^{16,24} (2) **Mildred Chew COLEMAN** "Milly, Molly"^{16,24,25}, daughter of Thomas CHEW and Martha Taylor CHEW, after 1780. Milly, Molly died^{16,24} 1780/1797.

5. Betty Coleman SCOTT^{11,26} (Elinor (Elender) Madison) was born¹¹ before 1743.

Betty married **Thomas SCOTT**^{9,27}, son of Capt. John SCOTT and Jane Todd SCOTT. Thomas was born²⁷ about 1722. He died^{21,27} 23 Mar 1796 in Madison County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

+ 15 M i. George SCOTT was born 30 Nov 1755 and died 13 May 1826.

Third Generation

 Thomas Scott HOLLAND² (Mary Coleman HOLLAND, Elinor (Elender) Madison) was born² about 1774. He died² after 1806.

Thomas married² Sarah HOLLAND² on 30 Dec 1795 in Goochland County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- + 16 F i. Jane Holland HIX was born 1799.
- 14. Thomas COLEMAN^{15,28} (James, Elinor (Elender) Madison).

He had the following children:

- + 17 M i. Thomas Frazer COLEMAN.
- George SCOTT²⁹ (Betty Coleman SCOTT, Elinor (Elender) Madison) was born²⁹ 30 Nov 1755. He died²⁹ 13 May 1826 and was buried²⁹ in Hilton, Madison County, Virginia.

George married²⁹ Elizabeth Walker SCOTT "Betsy"²⁹, daughter of James WALKER and Sarah Ware WALKER, on 18 Mar 1789. Betsy was born²⁹ 22 Oct 1768. She died²⁹ 26 Jun 1847 and was buried²⁹ in Hilton, Madison County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- + 18 F i. Lucy C. Walker Scott BOOTEN was born 20 Dec 1789 and died 20 Sep 1846.
 - 19 M ii. Thomas SCOTT²⁹ was buried³⁰ in Beaumont, Orange County, Virginia.

Thomas married²⁹ Virginia O. Henshaw SCOTT²⁹, daughter of Edmund O. HENSHAW, on 6 Nov 1816.

Fourth Generation

16. Jane Holland HIX² (Thomas Scott HOLLAND, Mary Coleman HOLLAND, Elinor (Elender) Madison) was born² 1799 in Goochland County, Virginia.

Jane married² Abner HIX² on 17 Mar 1817 in Goochland County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

20 F i. **Sarah Jane Hix LACY**² was born² 28 Jan 1828 in Goochland County, Virginia. She died² 18 Mar 1902 in Spotsylvania County, Virginia.

Sarah married² John Archibald Fleming LACY² on 30 Sep 1847 in Goochland County, Virginia.

17. Thomas Frazer COLEMAN¹⁵ (Thomas, James, Elinor (Elender) Madison).

He had the following children:

+ 21 F i. Mary Elizabeth Coleman FARISH.

 Lucy C. Walker Scott BOOTEN^{29,31,32} (George SCOTT, Betty Coleman SCOTT, Elinor (Elender) Madison) was born²⁹ 20 Dec 1789. She died²⁹ 20 Sep 1846.

Lucy married^{29,32} **Richard C. BOOTEN**³¹ on 28 Dec 1809. Richard was born^{29,33} 3 Feb 1785 in Virginia and resided^{31,33} 1850 in Madison County, Virginia . He died²⁹ 13 May 1842 and was buried³² in Hilton, Madison County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

- 22 M i. James W. BOOTEN³³ was born³³ about 1815 in Virginia.
- 23 F ii. Sarah C. BOOTEN³³ was born³³ about 1825 in Virginia.
- 24 M iii. **William BOOTEN**³³ was born³³ about 1828 in Virginia.

William married Sallie W. BOOTEN³⁴.

- + 25 M iv. Richard Sinclair BOOTEN was born 2 Jul 1830 and died 2 Feb 1883.
 - 26 F v. Mary N. BOOTEN³³ was born³³ about 1833 in Virginia.

Fifth Generation

 Mary Elizabeth Coleman FARISH¹⁵ (Thomas Frazer, Thomas, James, Elinor (Elender) Madison).

Mary married William Penn FARISH¹⁵.

They had the following children:

- + 27 F i. Sarah Penn Farish FRAZER.
- Richard Sinclair BOOTEN³⁵ (Lucy C. Walker Scott BOOTEN, George SCOTT, Betty Coleman SCOTT, Elinor (Elender) Madison) was born^{33,35,36,37} 2 Jul 1830 in Madison County, Virginia. He died^{35,36,37} 2 Feb 1883 and was buried³⁷ in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Richard married^{35,38} Mildred Pendleton Williams BOOTEN "Milly"³⁵, daughter of Lewis

Burwell WILLIAMS and Mary Williams Catlett WILLIAMS, on 6 Dec 1860 in St. Thomas' Epsicopal Church, Orange County, Virginia. Milly was born^{35,37} 17 Feb 1839. She died^{35,36,37} 12 Apr 1912 and was buried³⁷ in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

They had the following children:

28	F	i.	Lucy Scott BOOTEN ³⁵ was born ^{35,36} 29	Jul 1862. She died ³⁶ 1947.
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- 29 F ii. Mary Catlett BOOTEN³⁷ was born³⁷ 2 Nov 1869. She died³⁷ 2 Jul 1889 and was buried³⁷ in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.
- 30 M iii. **William Sinclair BOOTEN**³⁷ was born³⁷ 21 Oct 1876. He died³⁷ 25 Jul 1897 and was buried³⁷ in Graham Cemetery, Orange County, Virginia.

Sixth Generation

27. Sarah Penn Farish FRAZER¹⁵ (Mary Elizabeth Coleman FARISH, Thomas Frazer, Thomas, James, Elinor (Elender) Madison).

Sarah married Dr. John Decker FRAZER¹⁵.

They had the following children:

31 M i. Goodwin McCoy FRAZER¹⁵.

Appendix 3 - Sources

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