OAK HILL
JAMES MONROE'S HOME IN LOUDOUN

by Susan Hellman

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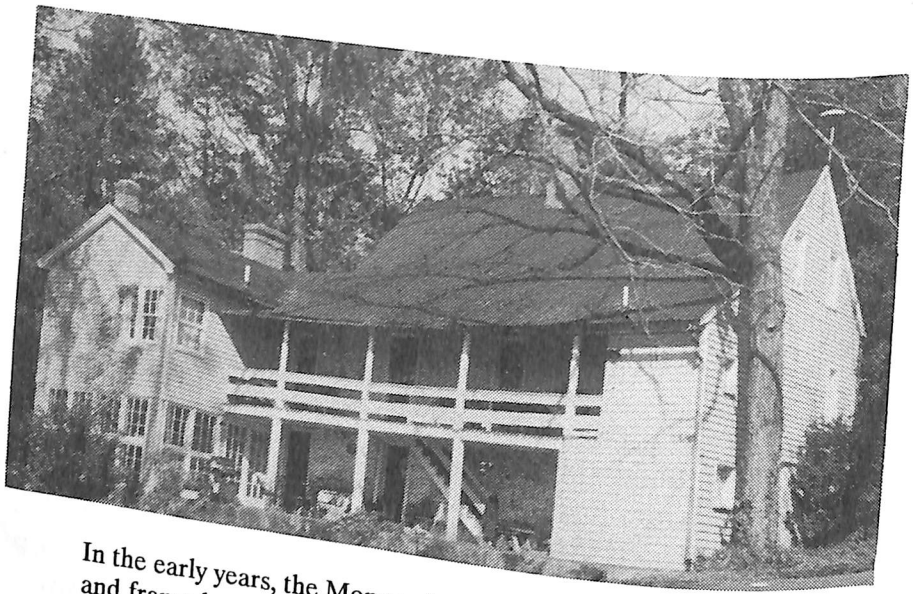
The practice of architectural history allows us to read architectural clues that shed light onto the personalities and tastes of past builders. One hundred and seventy four years and seven owners after its completion in 1823, Oak Hill in Loudoun County still offers many insights into the character of its designer, builder and original occupant, James Monroe.

An examination of Oak Hill reveals much about our fifth President's personality, his sense of propriety, and his social status. Monroe, who served as President from 1817 to 1825, held more positions in our government than any American President before or since. He earned these positions through hard work and dedication to his country. He is best known for his Monroe Doctrine, which was drafted in 1823, during a Congressional recess, in his office at Oak Hill. Monroe was born in 1758 in Westmoreland County, Virginia, the eldest son in a modestly affluent family. The dwelling in which James Monroe was born measured approximately 58 by 18 feet. The modest house of his birth was a far cry from the much grander Oak Hill, which stands today as a tangible symbol of the status Monroe achieved in his determined rise to the Presidency of the United States. [1]

In 1794, Monroe and his uncle, Judge Joseph Jones of Fredericksburg, purchased a two thousand acre property in Loudoun County from Colonel Charles Carter. Monroe's uncle died in 1805 without heirs, so the farm fell entirely into the hands of Monroe. [2]



In the early years, the Monroe family shared a six-room stone and frame house with their farm managers when they visited their Loudoun County farm. Photo by Susan Hellman, 1997.

The overseer's house was enlarged over time and is occupied to this day. Monroe's brother, Andrew, resided in the overseer's house, periodically between 1808 and 1817, while he was managing the farm. Monroe ultimately decided to build a more commodious dwelling on the property and launched the construction of his house in 1822. Monroe's decision to build in Loudoun, instead of Albemarle County, was due to his desire to be near Washington, and to his deteriorating financial situation. During Monroe's long public career, he had incurred enormous expenses that were not reimbursed. The salaries of foreign ministers, cabinet members and the president never covered the costs of entertaining the public. By 1825, James Monroe owed the Bank of the United States $75,000; he was under pressure to liquidate assets. [3]

Monroe had attempted to sell his Oak Hill property to help pay off his debts as early as 1809 but could not get what he considered a fair price. In a letter to Craven Peyton, dated 30 March 1816, Monroe wrote:

> *I have reflected much on your proposal of an exchange of land, but am rather disposed to decline it. My object is a sale, to command money for all my purposes. Nevertheless, I will receive any proposition from you and consider it. My price, for any portion of my Loudoun land, is forty dollars the acre, which I expect to get. At what price, do you offer ... and what part? Let this be particularly described.* [4]

Monroe never received an agreeable offer for the estate, so he abandoned attempts to sell it and attempted instead to transform the better-improved Highland from acres to cash. He had trouble selling Highland, however, and eventually sold only 900 acres at twenty dollars per acre. Finally in 1826, he turned all but 707 acres of the Albemarle estate over to the Bank of the United States to satisfy his remaining debt with them. [5]

Monroe was an absentee owner for many years before he considered making Loudoun County his permanent seat. During Loudoun's early history, many of the largest landholders lived in the tidewater and managed their plantations from afar. Beginning before the Revolution, and increasingly so afterward, more and more of these families decided to live on their Loudoun properties, and they constructed grand dwellings to accommodate their lifestyles. [6]

Documents recording the construction process of Oak Hill indicate that James Monroe played a significant role in the conception of the dwelling. He chose a design that would suitably express his well-deserved place in the new American hierarchy, while also fitting within the local elite architectural tradition. His choice of established forms that traditionally conveyed the wealth and status of the owner indicate his full understanding of the powerful symbolism of architecture. The interior room configuration and embellishment both buttress this idea of status and hierarchy and at the same time indicate a desire to separate room use and circulation space.

Although William Benton, Monroe's farm manager, was on site and in charge of daily construction, Monroe oversaw much of the operation from Washington, D.C.. In fact, much of the carpentry work was done in Washington. [7]

Monroe solicited design advice from his many connections and incorporated their suggestions with his own ideas. He was acquainted with almost every top architectural talent of the early nineteenth century. Oak Hill was the result of a fruitful collaboration between Monroe and his many architecturally talented acquaintances. In January of 1821, Monroe wrote to William Benton:

"I send you ... a plan of a house which Col. Bomford has drawn for us and ... [we] very much approve. It is a square building, with two wings, which latter, being one story only will take much fewer bricks than one entire building." [8]

Colonel George Bomford was not an architect, but a talented engineer who was known for his expertise in ordnance; he had invented the howitzer. James Hoban worked on the President's House during the Monroe administration. He was also employed as a Washington city agent, or measurer, responsible for verifying that the amount of plaster applied, feet of stone laid, and other such construction details were properly billed. He measured Oak Hill on at least two occasions in 1822, but the full extent of his role in the design and construction of the dwelling is unclear. Hoban's personal papers and drawings were lost in a fire in the 1880s. Thomas Jefferson, whose numerous talents included architecture, was Monroe's close friend and mentor, and is said to have provided him with a plan for Oak Hill in 1820. Unfortunately, this plan either does not survive or is misidentified in Jefferson's papers. Oak Hill exhibits many similarities to other Jefferson works, including the portico, the winged-pavilion configuration, and the floor plan itself. However, many of these design elements were popular in Virginia during the period and do not necessarily point to a "Jefferson" design.

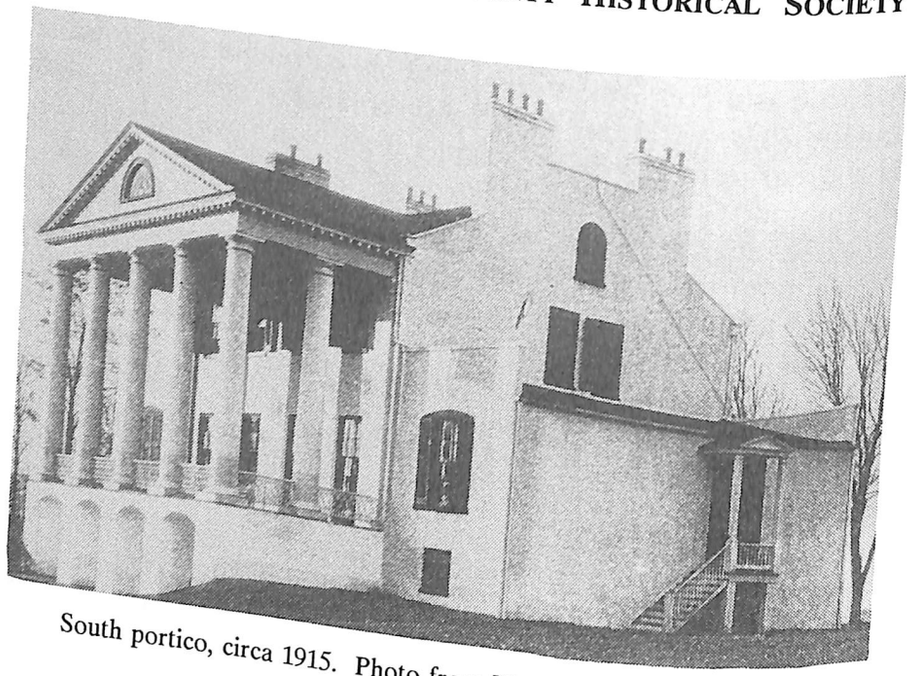
Also during Monroe's presidency, the gifted architects Benjamin Henry Latrobe and Charles Bulfinch served under

Monroe as successive Surveyors of Public Buildings, responsible for the construction of the Capitol building. Charles Bulfinch is the earliest identified architect known to have utilized the double parlor arrangement of rooms. [9]

Benjamin Latrobe designed several fine houses in Washington, D.C., including the Decatur House, where the Decaturs hosted a wedding reception in honor of Monroe's daughter Maria's marriage to Samuel Gouverneur in 1820. Decatur House also has twin drawing rooms. Monroe may have chosen to include double parlors in his design for Oak Hill after seeing how well they adapted to various entertainment needs at the Decatur House. When considering his plan for Oak Hill, the President was well aware of his social status and chose the most stylish floor plan of the day. In 1822, Monroe explained the design process for his new home at Oak Hill: "The improvement which I am making in Loudoun, Virginia, was sketched partly by Col. Bomford, and partly by Captain Hoban, and partly by ourselves, or rather suggestions from us all." [10]

Oak Hill is a three-part building consisting of a three-bay two-and-a-half-story central gabled pavilion flanked by lower side wings. As originally constructed in 1822 and 1823, each side wing was one bay wide and one story high. The wings were enlarged in the 1920s to their present two-story height and are now each two-bay in width. [11]

The pavilion advances slightly from the wings, signifying that this is the most important part of the house. The three-part winged-pavilion type of house arrangement has a long history in Virginia, dating from the early colonial period, as a symbol of wealth and status. By the 1820s, this house form was a strong cultural sign of affluence and prestige, popular with the elite as a familiar and distinctive form that immediately conveyed the high social status of its owner. Jefferson used this form for his earliest version of Monticello and for many of his other designs, leading some to apply the somewhat deceptive term "Jeffersonian style" to this configuration. Thomas Jefferson did not invent the style, but he certainly helped to popularize and spread its use. [12]



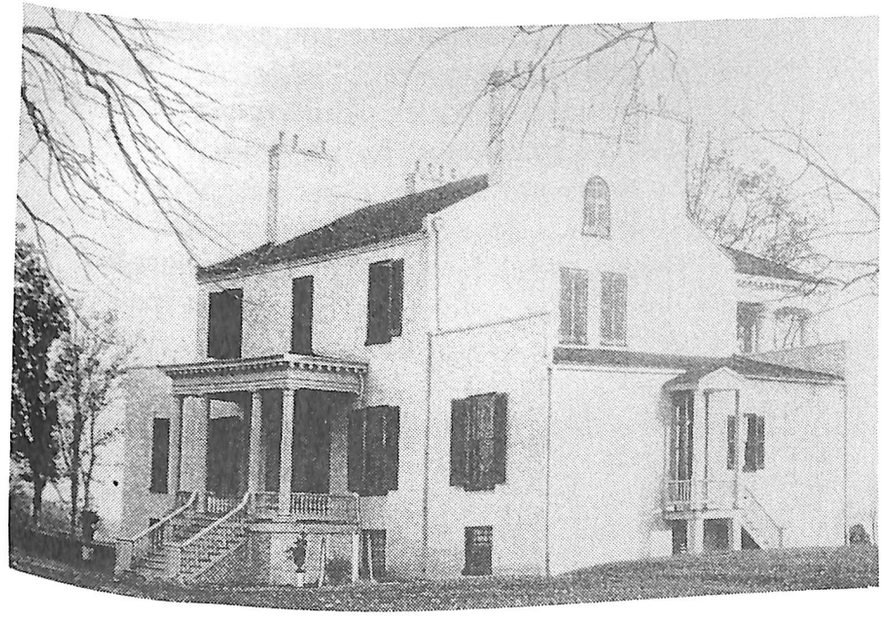
South portico, circa 1915. Photo from The Library of Virginia.

Dominating Oak Hill's south, or rear elevation, is a dramatic, pedimented portico with thirty-foot Doric columns soaring over an arcade. The inclusion of a classical portico in the house design demonstrates Monroe's understanding that certain architectural elements had come to convey powerful symbolic messages. To early Americans, classicism was the representative of morality, virtue and democratic justice. The temple front had taken on associative meanings that were synonymous with liberty; liberty was the new secular religion in America, and the temple front was its perfect embodiment. [13]

Some examples of this fusion of temple form with democracy include the United States Capitol, the White House and the Virginia State Capitol, all were familiar to Monroe. He went to considerable effort and expense to include a classical portico at Oak Hill. James Monroe most certainly intended his portico to be an expression of his patriotism, and a symbol of his personal link with democracy. [14]

The original south portico has apparently undergone little if any alteration since its construction. Yardley Taylor's

1853 'Map of Loudoun County' includes an artist's rendition of Oak Hill's south elevation which depicts a set of steps on each side of the portico. Evidence suggests that these steps were original to Monroe's period and were removed by a later owner. Steps at this location would have greatly facilitated passage from one level to another, allowing for smoother domestic operation and more flexible entertainment options. [15]



This photograph, from the 1880s, depicts the appearance of the north front and west side elevations of Oak Hill, prior to various 20th-century modifications. In the place of today's elegantly curving entrance stairs, the photo shows a portico on front, which may not have been original. Both wings had simple pedimented side porches with steps for access. One of the wing porches was saved and placed at the north entrance to the old overseer's dwelling. Photo courtesy of the James Monroe Museum & Library, Fredericksburg.

The house is built of brick in a Flemish bond pattern on all exterior facings. The use of this more expensive bond on all four sides of the house indicates both Monroe's concern with appearances and his desire that visitors see and appreciate all

elevations of the house, not just the principal entrance facade. Generally during Monroe's day, houses displayed a more expensive bond on only the front facade and a lesser bond on the sides and rear. [16]

Upon entering Oak Hill from the principal northern entrance, the visitor arrives in a typical, unheated Federal period entry. Two doors directly across from the front door lead into each of the double parlors. Two other doors in the entry open into the axial cross passage which extends the full length of the house from east to west. Historically, Virginians utilized a central passage to separate public and private spaces; later builders of winged-pavilion structures often incorporated a cross passage to serve in the same capacity. [17]

Writing to William Benton, Monroe expressed his desire to add cross passages to the house, communicating a concern for the separation of living space from circulation space:

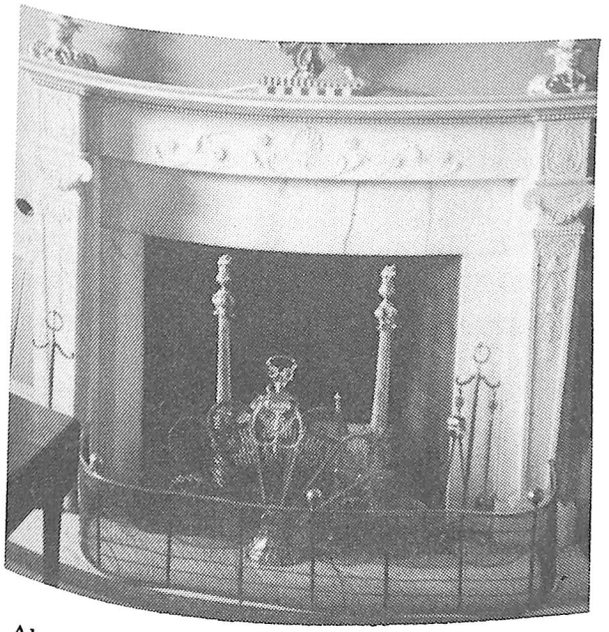
"... some changes in the plan of the house. Cross passages are thought necessary to prevent going through the rooms, into the wings; ... forty four feet square will do this, and enlarge the rooms. 14' pitch, for the lower rooms, will also improve the house. We have not decided on these changes, but I mention them, that you may think of them." [18]

Such explicit references are very rare and indicate the Monroe family's heightened interest in maintaining a high degree of privacy in their new dwelling. As was common in the Federal period, the stairs are tucked away in a private area of the house, allowing the family or servants to pass from one level to another unnoticed by guests. This provides greater distinction between circulation and reception, which was important to Monroe. Oak Hill's stairs have obviously been altered in some way, as the wall dividing the stairway from the adjacent room now bisects a window. This configuration may have been contrived to accommodate modern plumbing.

The interior embellishments of Oak Hill articulate the hierarchy of room functions and Monroe's concern with appropriate formal ornamentation. The wooden trim on the walls differs from story to story; as one might suspect, the trim

on the first floor, or main level, is the more elaborate. The first floor ceilings are thirteen feet, ten inches high, indicating the public significance of rooms on the main floor. The main story is obviously intended for public entertaining, while the second level is a private family space.

The twin drawing rooms are Oak Hill's interior focal point. As a distinguished national leader, James Monroe could expect many visitors at his home. The newly fashionable double parlor arrangement allowed for flexibility in social situations, since the dividing doors could be left open or closed, according to the nature of the occasion. [19] Two windows in each parlor face the south portico. These are "jib" windows, with double sashes set above small wooden "Dutch" doors. When the lower sashes are pushed up and the doors are open, the windows become doorways onto the south portico.



Above: marble mantel, west parlor;
Right: detail, mantel in east parlor.
Photos by Susan Hellman, 1997.

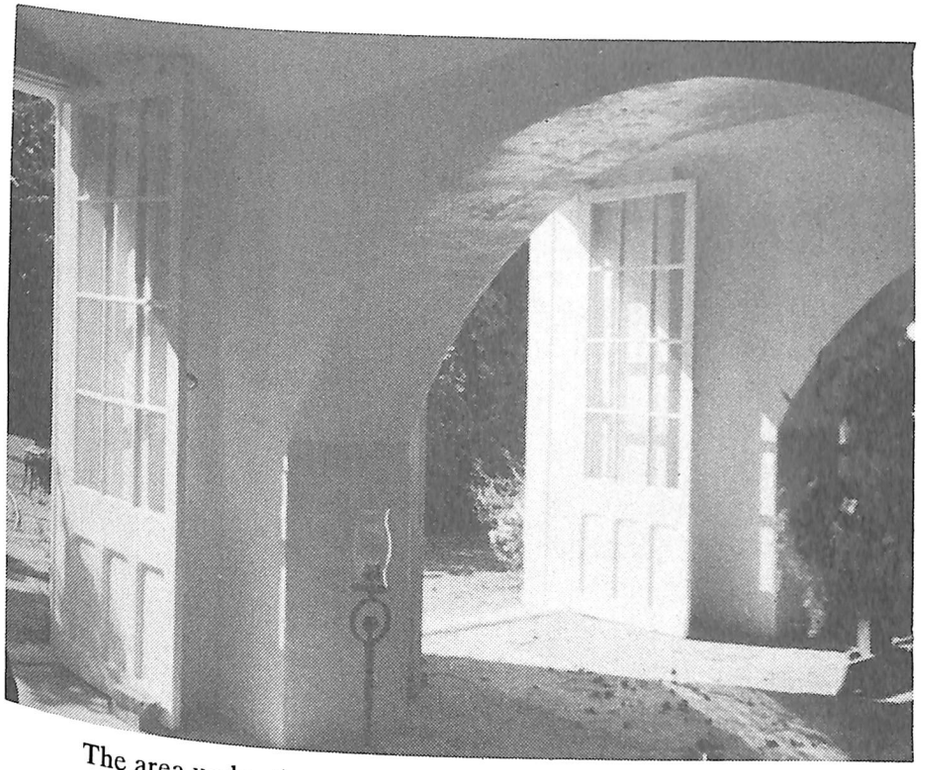
The centerpiece of each parlor is a Grecian marble mantel. The two are slightly different; both are far more

ornate than the wooden mantels throughout the rest of the house. The marble mantels were a gift from Monroe's good friend, the Marquis de Lafayette - they had served together during the Revolution. In August of 1825 Lafayette and then-President John Quincy Adams spent several nights with Monroe at Oak Hill during the French hero's American tour. After Lafayette returned to Paris, he sent Monroe the marble mantels as an expression of his gratitude for Monroe's friendship and assistance over the years. [20]

On the second story, the central section dates to the original construction, while the upper story of the wings was added in the 1920s. The central block consists of five rooms, two to the south directly above the double parlors, and three to the north, all accessible by way of a passage. The attic above is partitioned, which suggests that the space was originally more than a pure storage area and most likely accommodated unheated servants' rooms and perhaps overflow guests as well.

The cellar of the central core has basically the same arrangement as the second floor, with two rooms at the rear of the house and three smaller rooms at the front. A passage transverses the entire basement from east to west. The large room on the southwest of the house has a stone floor, as does the space enclosing the stairway. James Hoban, architect of the President's House in Washington, is said to have salvaged these stones from the President's House after it was burned by the British in 1814. [21]

The two large rooms directly under the double parlor each have a window and door leading into the space beneath the portico. Their walls are laid up in precise brickwork and the fireplace in the room to the west has smoothly rounded corners. Fireplaces built in cellars during this time period were generally used for cooking, with the rooms serving as winter kitchens. Yet these Oak Hill fireplaces appear too shallow and too refined for cooking. This attention to detail, combined with the sheltered entrances to this level and the earlier exterior stairs up to the portico suggest that the southwestern cellar room may have served as a secondary dining room. [22]



The area under the south portico, on the basement level, may have once served as an orangery for the cultivation of citrus fruits. This was a normal feature in Virginia plantation dwellings of the period. Photo by Susan Hellman, 1997.

The only plan for Oak Hill that is known to have survived to today was drawn up in 1821 by Ignatius Meade, a carpenter who was working on the reconstruction of the U.S. Capitol. [23] Meade submitted this plan and a bid for carpentry work to James Hoban. Meade's plan depicts the cellar story and the second story, but not the principal level. The dimensions of the house, as built, so closely follow the dimensions of the Meade plan that this was almost certainly the master plan at some point during the construction. However, the house does deviate from the plan in some respects, especially in the configuration of the second story.

The Monroes moved into their new house on 15 April 1823, spending as much time away from Washington as the president's schedule would allow. When Monroe left office on 4 March 1825, the family permanently resided at Oak Hill.

The death of his wife Elizabeth, at Oak Hill on 23 September 1830, devastated James Monroe; he constructed a vault on the property for her remains and expected, even hoped, to be joining her shortly. Monroe's youngest daughter, Maria Gouverneur, insisted that he come live with her in New York. Monroe reluctantly complied; he died in New York City on 4 July 1831. He was not buried at Oak Hill with his wife. Instead, he was interred in the Gouverneur tomb in New York. Monroe's remains were later removed to Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond. Monroe's death marked the end of an era; he was our nation's last hero of the American Revolution to serve as president. The day of his death, July 4th, was also the day on which both Thomas Jefferson and John Adams had died.

The inventory for James Monroe's Oak Hill was taken on 22 January 1836, nearly five years after Monroe's death.[24] Instead of labeling each room according to its function, (ie., living room, kitchen, study, etc.) the "appraisement" of Monroe's Oak Hill merely numbers the rooms. Rooms one through seven are downstairs, and rooms eight through eleven are above stairs. There is no indication of an inventory of the cellar. Miscellaneous items including farm implements, animals and slaves are listed after room eleven. This inventory testifies to the fact that Oak Hill was richly furnished and did not lack for any amenities. A large number of beds and decorative items such as paintings and mantel ornaments are listed.

Rooms one through three, on the north side of the principal level serve as bedchambers, containing bedsteads, washstands, wardrobes, and other items common to chambers. The four upstairs rooms on the inventory are also obviously bedchambers, but one had no fireplace andirons. The only space on the upper level without a fireplace is the north central room over the entry which is currently a storage room. Apparently, this was an unheated bedchamber with a small table and looking glass, and a bed and bedstead.

The existence of the double parlors helps to identify the rooms. Rooms five and six contained items such as a Piano forte, sofas, a French secretary, paintings, mantel ornaments,

and small tables. The two represent the paired entertaining rooms. Room four contained a "Library of Books" and other items that would have belonged in Monroe's office; this is the southwest room, today's dining room. The estate appraisers encountered a large table, five paintings, two small tables, and other items in room seven; this is today's library, at the southeast corner of the house. The inclusion of a large table in this room suggests the formal dining room. The lack of any entry for the cellar rooms leaves no clues as to its utilization by the Monroe family. The only indication on this inventory regarding any type of dining tableware is an unvalued notation for "1 Cr[ate] Crockery ware" listed along with the miscellaneous items after room eleven. The Monroes owned some of the most elegant china, utensils and table centerpieces in Washington, yet none of these items appear in the inventory. It would seem that Monroe had gone to the trouble of closing up his household before leaving for New York.[25]

Monroe's daughter Maria and her husband Samuel Gouverneur resided at Oak Hill at least until Maria's death in 1850. Maria was buried alongside her mother in the vault at Oak Hill, the location of which is now uncertain. Both bodies were removed to Hollywood Cemetery in 1903. Samuel eventually married Mary Digges Lee and moved to Maryland, taking the Oak Hill furnishings with him.[26]

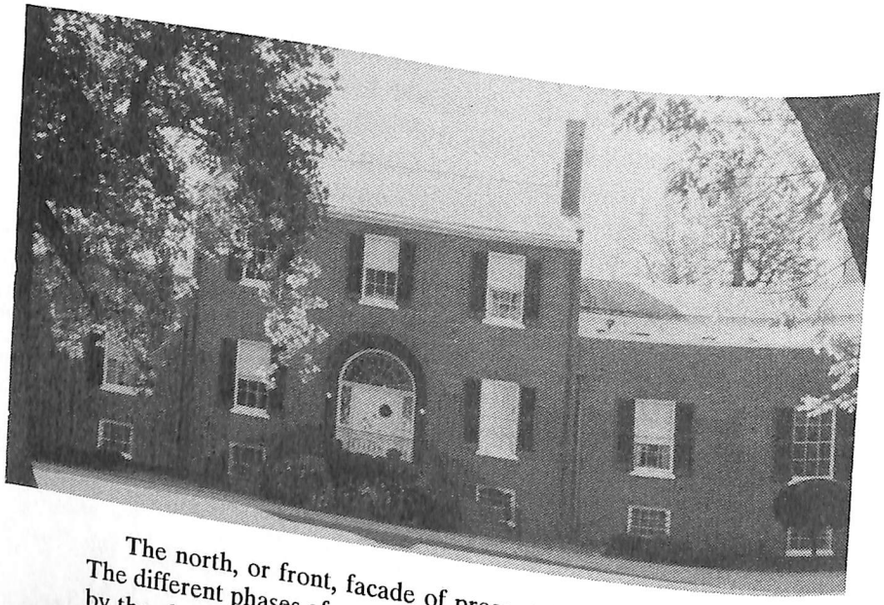
In 1852, John Walter Fairfax, who later served as a Colonel in the Confederate army, purchased the Oak Hill tract from Monroe's grandson Samuel L. Gouverneur, Jr., who was forced to part with the house for financial reasons. Gouverneur expressed his sorrow in a poem:

Oh, home of my boyhood, why must I depart?
Tears I am shedding and wild throbs of the heart.
Home of my manhood, Oh! Would I had died,
And lain me to rest by my dead mother's side
Ere my tongue could have uttered farewell and forever,
Oak Hill I depart to return to thee never![27]

During the Civil War, Union General George Meade commandeered Oak Hill as his headquarters; in so doing he

probably saved it from destruction. One day while relaxing on the portico, as the story goes, Meade saw a horseman gallop across a nearby field. He asked Mrs. Fairfax the man's identity, and once the rider had disappeared, she replied, "That was Colonel John Mosby." Certainly it rankled Meade that he had lost an opportunity to catch the infamous Grey Ghost. [28]

Economic consequences of the Civil War led Colonel Fairfax to sell the property to Dr. and Mrs. George Quinby in 1870, who later sold the property back to John Fairfax's son, Henry Fairfax. Frank Littleton purchased Oak Hill in 1920 and enlarged the wings, in both their length and height, in 1923. During the next two decades, Littleton added extensive formal gardens to the south of the house, providing a most fitting setting for the classical portico on that facade. In 1948, the DeLashmutt family bought the property and, with the assistance of architect Frank Almirall, carefully modified Oak Hill for a few modern conveniences. [29]



The north, or front, facade of present-day Oak Hill. The different phases of construction can be clearly identified by the changes in color of brick in the four distinct parts of the brickwork. Photo courtesy of Susan Hellman, 1997.

Oak Hill's owners have carefully maintained the house and fought off the ravages of time. Each generation personalized the house and adapted it to their needs while respecting the dwelling's historic significance. Monroe spent a lifetime in the service of his country before retiring to the peaceful country life at his Loudoun County mansion home. Oak Hill continues to speak volumes about our fifth president; today, Oak Hill, represents James Monroe's secure position in the upper echelon of the pantheon of great American leaders.

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ENDNOTES

1. Camille Wells, "Social and Economic Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Housing on the Northern Neck of Virginia," Ph.D. Dissertation, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg (1994), pp. 252-254.
2. Judge Joseph Jones' Will was proven in the Loudoun County Court on 18 January 1806; James Monroe obtained probate in Loudoun on 9 May 1808, with Charles Fenton Mercer acting as a Security on his probate bond. The Judge's son, Joseph Jones Jr., was to inherit the entire estate. Joseph Jr. had lived on the Loudoun property, but predeceased his father, and the Will provided, in that event, that the Jones estate "be divided between the children of my late Sisters Esther Tyler and Elizabeth Monroe ... allowing my Nephew Colo. James Monroe the first choice." Judge Jones' Will also specified that: "James Monroe by agreement between us is to have a moiety [half] of the Land [Jones] purchased from Colo. Charles Carter in Loudoun, and my other Executors, on a ... division of the Tract are to convey to him a right to the moiety which may be allotted to him, the Deed for the whole being made [only] to me from Colo. Carter." Loudoun County Wills, Book G, pp. 437-438.
3. Harry Ammon, *James Monroe: The Quest for National Identity*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York (1971), pp. 553-569.
4. On 23 December 1809, James Monroe advertised:
"*For sale ... the LAND on which the late Judge Jones resided in Loudoun County, with about 25 slaves, and the stock of Horses, Cattle and Hogs on the estate ... nearly 2,000 acres, [the tract] possesses many advantages which entitle it to the attention of those who wish to reside in that highly improved part of our country ... Two merchant mills are in the neighborhood ... It is 10 miles from Leesburg ... The new [Little River] Turn-pike from Alexandria crosses a corner of the land, and terminates at the nearest merchant mill. The whole tract is remarkably well watered ... 50 or 60*

acres are already well set with timothy, and at least 300 acres are capable of being made excellent meadow ... The negroes are supposed to be very valuable, some ... being good house servants ... terms ... will be made known on application to Israel Lacey Esq. of Goshen, Col. Armistead T. Mason near Leesburg, Maj. Charles Fenton Mercer of Leesburg, or to the subscriber near Milton in Albemarle County. James Monroe." Ad entitled "Loudoun Land for Sale," *The Washingtonian*, Leesburg (20 February 1810); James Monroe to Craven Peyton, 30 March 1816, James Monroe Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

5. Ammon, supra, p. 553 and 556.
6. Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South*, Oxford University Press, New York (1996) p. 21; John T. Phillips, II, *Historian's Guide to Loudoun County, Virginia, Vol. I*, Goose Creek Productions, Leesburg (1996), pp. 259-261, 376 and 391.
7. Ignatius Meade, Bill of Prices, and Lewis, Cline & Smith agreement, both at James Monroe Museum & Memorial Library, Fredericksburg Virginia.
8. James Monroe to William Benton, 13 January 1821, Monroe Papers, Library of Congress, Microfilm Series 1, Reel 7.
9. See generally, Wenger and Graham.
10. Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: Virginia*, The Beehive Press, Savannah (1987), pp. 109-110.
11. Frank Littleton, the owner responsible for the enlargement of the wings, claimed that physical evidence uncovered during the construction of the wing extensions indicated that Monroe originally intended the wings to be larger, but that Monroe apparently ran out of funds to complete the work. No written or physical evidence exists today to support his claim.
12. Marlene Elizabeth Heck, "Building Status: Pavilioned Dwellings in Virginia," *Shaping Communities: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VI*, The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville (1997), pp. 50-56.
13. Pamela Scott, *Temple of Liberty: Building the Capitol for a New Nation*, Oxford University Press, New York (1995), p. 45.
14. Abraham Fulton, 1822 Account and Chronology of Construction, and James Hoban, 1822 Stone Measurements and Building Accounts, both originals at James Monroe Museum & Memorial Library, Fredericksburg; James Monroe to William Benton, 12 August 1822: *"[t]he portico is a new & distinct part ... any fair expense could be no object, to prevent my having it Done in the best manner."* Monroe MS, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.
15. Where the rear steps would have accessed the portico, the railing panels are made of wood and fashioned to resemble the cast iron railings that surround the balance of the portico. Mrs. Fairfax reportedly told the DeLashmutts that her father had the steps removed so that workmen could no longer bother him while he was relaxing on the portico.

16. Exeter, built nearby in the early 1800s, provides an example of the use of lesser materials and treatments on secondary facades. See, Penelope M. Osburn, "Exeter Plantation; Its History and Architecture," illustrated in *The Bulletin of the Historical Society of Loudoun County, 1975-1976*," Goose Creek Productions, Leesburg & Middleburg (1997), p. 228.
17. Heck, supra, p. 55.
18. James Monroe to William Benton, 22 January 1821; James Monroe Papers, Swem Library, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg.
19. Mark R. Wenger and William Graham, "Battersea and the Double Parlor in Early America," paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Vernacular Architectural Forum in 1990. The author is greatly indebted to Mark R. Wenger of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation for sharing his unpublished paper during the preparation of this article.
20. Ammon, supra, p. 542.
21. The author has been unable to locate any documentary evidence to support the accuracy of the story presented here.
22. Camille Wells, "New Light on Sunnyside: Architectural and Documentary Testaments of an Early Virginia House," *Bulletin of the Northumberland County Historical Society*, Vol. 32 (1995), p. 15. According to Ms. Wells, recent fieldwork shows that locating a dining room in the cellar was not uncommon in rural Virginia during the antebellum period.
23. Plan of Ignatius Meade, James Monroe Museum and Memorial Library.
24. Inventory of the Estate of James Monroe, 23 January 1836, Loudoun County Wills, Book Y (1837-1838), pp. 326-329.
25. Oak Hill inventory states: "Kitchen furniture (Locked up in the Garret)." Ibid., p. 328; Barbara G. Carson, *Ambitious Appetites: Dining, Behavior, and Patterns of Consumption in Federal Washington*, The American Institute of Architects Press, Washington (1990), pp. 50, 51 and 69.
26. According to Jim Wootton, Curator at Ash Lawn-Highland, the Lee descendants of the second Mrs. Gouverneur donated many of these furnishings to Ash Lawn-Highland.
27. Virginia Department of Historic Resources file #53-90, Richmond; a full copy of this file is available at the Thomas Balch Library, Leesburg.
28. This is another good story for which the author has found no corroborating evidence.
29. "Oak Hill, Loudoun County, Virginia," National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, U.S. Department of Interior (August 17, 1959).

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