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for Landscape Preservation

Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park



"The country around us here still looks pretty; altho the lively variegated landscape of spring has given place to the more softer and richer one of summer. The rapid changes on the face of nature serve to remind us forcibly of the flight of time, and of the changes which a few fleeting months may make in the lives, thoughts, and prospects of mankind..."

St. George Tucker Coalter to Judy Tomlin, in courtship, 1829

Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham

Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park

Stafford County, Virginia

Site History

Existing Conditions

Analysis and Evaluation

Treatment

Prepared by
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Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
National Park Service, Boston, Massachusetts, 2019

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Cover photograph: View across the perennial borders along the central axis of the Walled Garden. View looking south, 2014 (Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, hereinafter OCLP).

Title page image: View of Fredericksburg showing the steeple of St. George's Episcopal Church. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

Dedicated to George H.S. King (1914–85),
lifelong Fredericksburg resident and persistent genealogist, whose decades of research was invaluable in developing this report.

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Foreword

Many can talk about a landscape that has touched them at some point in their lives. At Chatham it is the landscape that tells the stories of love and loss. Centuries of human habitation are visible and for many, visceral in its impact to who we are as a nation today. Few come to Chatham and walk away without feeling some degree of connection. Rich lands for several Algonquian-speaking tribes in later years proved prosperous for Colonial settlers. Destruction wrought by war took human life and left marks upon this gathering space for some of the nation's most recognized names such as Lincoln, Lee, Barton, and Whitman. Decades of rebuilding saw Chatham once again become a place of beauty and richness. Visitors to Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park here at Chatham can walk through the centuries and connect to this microcosm of United States' history while watching bald eagles (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*) soar along the Rappahannock River. The Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham is the result of tremendous research that helps us to better understand not only what happened here, but how this site has evolved and changed over centuries.

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park will celebrate its centenary in 2027. Land incorporated into the park has grown to nearly 8,000 acres. As increased commercial and residential development brings additional traffic to the park, planning for the future becomes ever more important for park managers. The guidance provided by this Cultural Landscape Report will benefit us as we make decisions regarding management of Chatham's significant historic and commemorative resources. It is a welcomed addition to the park's planning and management library. We, and those who come after us, are grateful for the exceptional work of the Friends of Chatham for their work in helping the landscape to tell its rich history and the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation for tackling this project, bringing it to fruition, and developing an exceptional report.

Kirsten Talken-Spaulding
Superintendent, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Chatham is a property that speaks to the complexity of the American South—from prosperity to hardship, from enterprise to complacency. Over the 245 years since Chatham was completed, it has seen two of the greatest extremes of the human condition: love and war. The property is perhaps best known for its role as a headquarters and field hospital during the American Civil War, but Chatham is also a place of love and celebration.

While the most famous courtship long-rumored to have been at Chatham—of Mary Anna Randolph Custis by Robert Edward Lee—is speculative, research for this report revealed another love story, between St. George Tucker Coalter, Sr. and Judith "Judy" Harrison Tomlin. Their letters, now in the Special Collections Library at the College of William & Mary, are among the most effusive ever written (see page i).

But, it doesn't take a trip to the archives to find love at Chatham. On any given day, visitors from near and far can be seen at Chatham celebrating special occasions and the beauty of its grounds, which is cared for by dedicated staff from the National Park Service and volunteers from the Friends of Chatham. Many of these same people are to be thanked for their support of this project.

This report is the product of collaboration between park staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park and staff from the National Park Service Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation. At Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park Kirsten Talken-Spaulding, Superintendent; Lucy Lawliss, Superintendent (retired); John Hennessy, Chief Historian and Chief of Interpretation; and Eric Mink, Historian and Cultural Resources Manager, participated in the project kick-off meeting, treatment discussions, provided feedback on drafts, and project oversight. Noel Harrison, Park Cultural Resources; Gregg Kneipp, National Resource Manager; Brian Dendis, Facility Manager; Don Pfanz, Historian (retired), provided research support. Joe Reudi, Gardener (retired) and Leslie Bird, Garden Consultant (now at George Washington's Mt. Vernon), provided assistance with field inventory and map review.

At the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, Christopher Beagan, Historical Landscape Architect, served as the primary author. Bob Page, Director; Eliot Foulds, Senior Project Manager; and Kim Ramos, Budget Analyst, provided overall project guidance. Lindsay Levine, Cornell University Winter Extern, assisted with biographies of Chatham's principal owners. Shanasia Sylman,

SCA Conservation Associate, assisted with analysis of historic planting plans for the Walled Garden. Bill Griswold, Archeologist with the Northeast Region Archeology Program, is also to be thanked for his assistance in conducting a targeted geophysical investigation to verify documentary research findings.

In addition, Judith Tankard, landscape historian and Ellen Shipman's biographer, provided insights into the history of the garden and its treatment. Staff at many institutions were indispensable in completing research for this report, both in person and remotely, including staff and volunteers at the Central Rappahannock Heritage Center, Colonial Williamsburg Rockefeller Library, Cornell University Kroch Library Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Dayton History, Kettering University Library, Library of Virginia, National Archives and Records Administration, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Library, National Park Service Northeast Region Archeology Program, National Park Service Northeast Region History Program, Tri-County Soil and Water Conservation District, Stafford County Circuit Court and Commissioner of Revenue's Office, University of Alabama Map Library, University of Virginia Albert and Shirley Small Library Special Collections, Virginia Department of Transportation, Virginia Historical Society, and William & Mary Earl Gregg Swem Library Special Collections.



Figure 0.1. The Rotunda, with the blue atlas cedar visible beyond. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

INTRODUCTION

Chatham is located on the northeast bank of the Rappahannock River in Stafford County, overlooking the City of Fredericksburg, Virginia. It is set at the intersection of a residential neighborhood, public park, and commercial area, removed from but visually connected to the busy historic district across the river. Chatham is bordered to the southwest by River Road, to the northwest by John Lee Pratt Memorial Park (Stafford County), to the northeast by commercial development, and to the southeast by residential development.

The 88.65-acre unit of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park is all that remains of a once vast estate amassed by the Fitzhugh family beginning in the early eighteenth century.[1] The Georgian style brick manor house was constructed circa 1768–71 by William Fitzhugh (1741–1809) at the core of a large plantation supported by slave labor. During the American Civil War, Chatham served as a Union headquarters and field hospital. The property was host to many noteworthy visitors before, during, and after the war.

In the 150 years since the end of the American Civil War, this property has been subject to many owners who both repaired extensive war-time damage and imposed their own vision upon the buildings and grounds. In the 1920s, Daniel and Helen Devore undertook an extensive redesign of the estate. This included the construction of a 1.2-acre formal walled garden to the northeast of the manor house. General Motors executive John Lee Pratt purchased Chatham in 1931 and continued improvements to the house and grounds. Upon his death in 1975, he donated the house and surrounding acreage to the National Park Service.

Over nearly 250 years since completion of the main house, nineteen individuals, two creditors, and the National Park Service have owned the property. Today, Chatham serves as the administrative headquarters of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. The house and grounds are open to the public. Despite the property's current use as a park, the former residential and agricultural uses of the landscape remain visible. Chatham is well visited by local schools, residents, and neighbors, as well as travellers from around the globe. The Friends of Chatham, established in 2012, has become the property's most active partner, providing advocacy, financial support, and community engagement.

PURPOSE, SCOPE, AND METHODOLOGY

A cultural landscape report is the primary document used by the National Park Service for management of its historically significant landscapes. This report has been developed consistent with the methodology outlined in *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Content, Process, and Techniques*.[2] This report builds upon previous documentation, including the park's enabling legislation, National Register of Historic Places documentation (2011 draft), and *General Management Plan and Environmental Impact Statement* (2013 draft).

Previous cultural landscape research, documentation, and recommendations for Chatham include a *Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study* (1978), *Preliminary Historic Resource Study* (1982), *Historic Structure Preservation Guide: Chatham Garden* (1985), and *Chatham: A Landscape Introduction* (2006). Additional research for this report has been undertaken at a thorough level of investigation, which involves review of all available historic sources, including primary and secondary source material.[3] Primary source material includes archival records from Central Rappahannock Heritage Center, College of William & Mary, Cornell University, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, Kettering University, Library of Congress, Library of Virginia, National Archives and Records Administration, National Park Service Northeast Regional Office, Stafford County Virginia Courthouse, U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center, U.S. Geological Survey, University of Alabama, University of Virginia, and Virginia Historical Society. Secondary source material includes a wealth of information gathered by researchers in previous reports and published works. These sources are included in the references section.

This report is organized into four chapters beginning with a detailed site history that traces the physical evolution of the Chatham landscape, followed by up-to-date documentation of the existing conditions, an analysis and evaluation of the significance and integrity of the Chatham landscape based on existing National Register of Historic Places documentation, and treatment recommendations that provide guidance for the long-term management of the landscape. Additional detailed information is included in appendices, including a core area tree inventory and vegetation inventory for the Walled Garden.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

SITE HISTORY

The first chapter, site history, is organized into seven sections that correspond to distinct periods in the development of Chatham from the area's early history, prior to European settlement, to present. Based on documentary research, each section describes the key developments, physical changes, uses, patterns, features,

and important individuals and events related to the changes that took place in the Chatham landscape. The site history is accompanied by historic photographs, maps, and period plans that illustrate the condition of the landscape during and at the end of each historic period. Periods that trace the general trends in the physical development of Chatham include:

Prior to 1768: Native and Colonial Settlement

The first section addresses the early history of the region, when the Fredericksburg/Falmouth area was home to several Algonquian-speaking tribes that were part of the Powhatan alliance. They developed a series of permanent villages and seasonal camps along the Rappahannock, where they lived, farmed, hunted, and fished. Following establishment of the Jamestown settlement in 1607, Captain John Smith explored the headwaters of the Rappahannock and Fall Line in 1608–09. The Anglo-Powhatan Wars defined relations between Native Americans and Europeans for some seventy years, until the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation, which effectively defined reservations and subjugated Native Americans to the English Empire.

With abolition of the charter of the Virginia Company in 1624, the Crown and its Governor issued grants and patents to land throughout the Northern Neck. Sir William Berkeley granted 2,000 acres to Colonel John Catlett in 1666. A portion of this land would become Chatham after passing though the hands of the Claiborne brothers, Reverend John Waugh, John Chadwell, Colonel William Fitzhugh, Thomas Fitzhugh, and Colonel Henry Fitzhugh to William Fitzhugh III. By that time, Chatham had been seated, with a mill along Claiborne's Run, built about 1710. From the early 1700s, it is likely that the Fitzhugh's farmed their Chatham lands.

1768 to 1806: Fitzhugh Ownership

The second section covers the period of Fitzhugh ownership beginning with construction of the manor house in 1768 by William Fitzhugh on land inherited from his father. Designed with Georgian stylistic conventions, Chatham reflects the spreading plan and symmetry of Andrea Palladio's Roman Country House style, popular in eighteenth century English houses and widely adopted throughout Virginia's Tidewater. Early landscape improvements, including terraced gardens on the river side of the house, planted with tulip poplars, and a crescent-shaped entrance drive on the land side of the house, reflected the influence of both English precedents and other Tidewater plantations. Fitzhugh's plantation prospered under slave labor. In addition, Fitzhugh established a Rappahannock River ferry crossing, better connecting the plantation with the

young settlement of Fredericksburg nearby. From the wharves at Fredericksburg and Falmouth, Chatham was connected to the Chesapeake Bay, its tributaries, and the eighteenth century international trade.

1806 to 1857: Jones and Coalter Ownership

The third section addresses the ownership of Chatham by Major Churchill Jones, William Jones, Judge John Coalter, and Hannah Jones Coalter, all of whom were related by blood or marriage. Major Churchill Jones purchased Chatham, including 1,288 acres, in 1806. He continued operation of the plantation, with sixty-seven slaves at Chatham, and the mill along Claiborne's Run. It appears that Churchill Jones improved Chatham's immediate grounds further, adding or enhancing a garden on the land side of the house to compliment the river side gardens. Like Fitzhugh before him, Jones was interested in enhancing his commercial prospects. He constructed the first Chatham toll bridge across the Rappahannock between 1821 and 1823. At Churchill Jones's death, the plantation passed to his brother after his widow renounced his will. William Jones also owned a second plantation, Ellwood. His short, three-year ownership did not likely produce any improvements to the broader agricultural landscape.

Judge John Coalter purchased Chatham late in 1825 from his father-in-law, but the deed did not transfer until 1829. The first narrative descriptions of Chatham appear in the 1830s, coinciding with the American Romantic period of design, as naturalistic plantings eclipsed the rigid symmetry of Colonial style gardens. Beyond the garden, Coalter continued operation of the plantation and mill. After Judge Coalter's death in 1838, his wife, Hannah Coalter, continued operation of the plantation for nearly twenty years. At her death, she attempted to manumit her slaves, but was unsuccessful.

1857 to 1865: Lacy Ownership and Civil War

The fourth section traces changes to Chatham from J. Horace Lacy's acquisition in 1857 through the end of the American Civil War. J. Horace Lacy's ownership of Chatham saw the most dramatic changes to the plantation since its construction. Prior to the Civil War, Lacy improved both Chatham's garden and fields, as he rode the wave of scientific farming that swept the nation in the 1850s. Census records from 1860 show diversified production at Chatham. Many of Hannah Coalter's slaves remained at Chatham under Lacy's ownership. Lacy also continued operation of the mill along Claiborne's Run.

Lacy joined the Confederate forces in 1861, leaving Chatham open to occupation by Union forces, who arrived in April 1862 under the direction of General Irvin McDowell. The Union forces were initially respectful of Chatham and its grounds, establishing their encampment on the land side of the house, while retreating

Confederates burned Chatham Bridge. In its place, Union forces constructed pontoon bridges, including one below Chatham, to facilitate crossing the river. In May, President Lincoln visited Chatham. During the winter of 1862, General Ambrose E. Burnside brought some 15,000 troops with him to the Falmouth/ Fredericksburg area and established his headquarters at the Philips House, with General Edwin V. Sumner occupying Chatham. Artillery flanked the house and encampments were built on the land side of the house in advance of the Battle of Fredericksburg, December 1862. In the wake of the battle, the house served as a field hospital, attended by many notables. In the wake of Union defeat, winter encampments were established near Chatham, which by this time had been heavily damaged by Union occupation.

During the Second Battle of Fredericksburg, also known as the Second Battle of Marye's Heights, Chatham served as headquarters for General John Gibbon, under the direction of Major General Joseph Hooker. In the wake of the May 3rd battle, Chatham again served as a field hospital. Over the summer, the house continued to serve as a Union station on the picket line. By the war's end, Chatham, along with its grounds, gardens, and fields, were ravaged, with the surrounding landscape generally denuded of vegetation.

1865 to 1920: Lacy, Watson, Mays, Bailey, Howard/Smith, and Sullivan Ownership

The fifth section spans the post-war ownership of Chatham by J. Horace Lacy, Oliver Watson, Sr., Oliver Watson, Jr., Albert O. Mays, Fleming G. and Elizabeth H. Bailey, A. Randolph Howard (and his mother-in-law Harriet G. Smith), and Mark and Marie Sullivan. This period traces the rise of Chatham from its decimated post-war condition to an elegant estate by the close of World War I.

The Lacys returned to Chatham in November 1865 and began work restoring the building and Chatham Bridge. It appears that the Lacys leased their fields to local farmers, who by 1868 had hundreds of acres of corn in cultivation. However, without slave labor, it appears that the Lacys struggled to turn a profit. In 1872, Lacy sold Chatham to Oliver Watson, taking a steep loss on his pre-war nvestment. Between 1874 and about 1890, the Watsons leased Chatham to a farmer from their native Pennsylvania. Upon Oliver Watson's death in 1882, he left Chatham to his daughter, who promptly sold the estate to her brother. The younger Watson was active in the Fredericksburg agricultural and horse racing circles, even hosting a race at Chatham in 1886.

Oliver Watson, Jr. sold Chatham to Albert O. Mays in 1889. Possibly because of Watson's move overseas, livestock, farm implements, and vehicles were included in the sale. The circumstances of the sale were complex, involving several lawsuits that provide documentation, including a detailed court-ordered inventory, and resulted in the property going into receivership, with Chatham's fields leased to

generate revenue. Mays, desperate for funds, attempted to subdivide the property (for the first time) in 1890 before Chatham was taken by the bank and sold at public auction in 1898 to Albert O. Mays (under a new financing arrangement).

Mays subsequently sold thirty acres of Chatham's core area to Fleming G. and Elizabeth H. Bailey in 1900, divesting the manor house from its fields for the first time. Mays retained Chatham's outlying acreage, cultivating it, and liquidating individual parcels over time. The Baileys' short ownership produced few documented improvements. In 1909, they sold Chatham, along with its core thirty acres, to A. Randolph Howard. Within days of purchasing Chatham, Howard transferred the property to his mother-in-law Harriet Smith. During the Howard/Smith ownership, Chatham's grounds appear to have reached their prime before being re-envisioned by subsequent owners.

Harriet Smith released her ownership of Chatham to the bank to satisfy her debt in 1914. In turn, the bank liquidated their stake, selling Chatham to Marie Sullivan, wife of journalist Mark Sullivan. Within two years of the Sullivan's purchase, the United States was involved in World War I, and the Sullivans advertised Chatham for sale without success. After the war, a soaring stock market helped to fuel spending and consumption. The Sullivans sold Chatham to Daniel and Helen Devore in 1920. By this time, the estate's grounds had been transformed from post-Civil War desolation to "one of the most desirable and historically important country places in America," according to its advertisement for sale.

1920 to 1975: Devore and Pratt Ownership

The sixth section documents changes to the Chatham grounds under two owners, General Daniel and Helen Devore and John Lee and Lilian Pratt, both of whom undertook extensive renovations to the estate's grounds. The Devores hired architect Oliver Clarke to remodel portions of the house and noted landscape architect Ellen Shipman to design an extensive new walled garden and kitchen garden for the land side of the house, and a new approach on the river side. Unlike Clarke, who was relatively unknown, Ellen Shipman was one of three major women landscape architects in the first wave of twentieth century landscape architecture. These improvements, which remain at Chatham, were documented in the late 1920s by noted photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston. Helen Devore was the first president of the Rappahannock Valley Garden Club. Chatham's was heavily publicized under the Devore's ownership. The Devores maintained a staff of caretakers for the house, gardens, and farm, with a farm complex to the northeast of the mansion and a poultry complex to the northwest. The Devores returned to Washington, D.C. in 1931, selling Chatham to John Lee and Lilian Pratt.

The Pratts made few improvements to the house, instead focusing their efforts on the grounds. John Lee Pratt's experience in engineering (as the retired Vice President of General Motors) and connections to academic institutions begat a particular interest in scientific farming and the scientific value of gingko trees. The Pratts kept cattle, grew a wide range of grain crops, and maintained extensive orchards at Chatham. Like Helen Devore, Lilian Pratt took a particular interest in the Shipman designed Walled Garden. The Pratts expanded the estate's greenhouse complex and worked with landscape architect Charles Gillette to develop new planting plans prior to World War II. The war took its toll on Chatham, as skilled labor was scarce. Following Lilian Pratt's death in 1947, John Lee Pratt turned to Gillette to simplify the Walled Garden, which had deteriorated during the war. As John Lee Pratt advanced in age, he began planning for the future of Chatham under the auspices of the Pratt Family Foundation, donating the northwestern portion of his estate to the county to build a park and the core of Chatham to the National Park Service.

1975 to Present: National Park Service Ownership

The seventh section traces changes to Chatham under ownership by the National Park Service. Between 1964 and 1993 the National Park Service acquired 85.01 acres of Chatham. The park completed planning efforts and building/site improvements before opening to the public, developing an interpretive plan, completing Historic American Buildings Survey documentation, collecting oral histories from members of the Howard family, completing a visitor access and parking study, and installing two siege rifles on reproduction carriage on the lower terrace to aid in interpretation. Chatham opened to the public on October 15, 1977. After opening, the park service continued to make improvements to facilitate visitor use, including a restroom facility, repairs to greenhouses, and an extensive "adaptive restoration" of the Walled Garden in the 1980s. While the condition of the restored garden waned between the late 1980s and early 2000s, research supported by the Garden Club of Virginia and enhanced maintenance supported by the park friends group returned the garden to fair condition. In the 1990s, the park also completed List of Classified Structures entries for Chatham, with subsequent updates. Across the broader Chatham landscape, the park continues agricultural leases with local farmers.

EXISTING CONDITIONS

The second chapter, existing conditions, documents the condition of the park landscape in 2014 through narrative and graphics. Historical landscape architects from the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation worked with park staff and a garden maintenance consultant in 2014 to document existing conditions in the field. Base map sources include US Geological Survey orthophotographs (2011),

Federal Emergency Management Agency LiDAR data (2001), and other mapping data from the Stafford County Geographic Information Systems Office. In addition, National Park Service List of Classified Structures (LCS), Archeological Sites Management Information System (ASMIS), Facility Management Software System (FMSS), and vegetation inventory data have been incorporated into this documentation.

Situated to the northeast of Fredericksburg in Stafford County, Chatham's grounds include residential areas and a formal garden (Manor House and Walled Garden Area, Caretaker's Cottage Area), trees over lawn (Orchard Area, Entrance Parcel Area), forested areas (North Ravine Area, South Ravine Area, North Embankment Area, Woodlot Area, Riverside Woods Area), and fields, lawns, and meadows (Terraces Area, Center Embankment Area, Riverside Field Area, Northeast Field Area, North Field Area, Northwest Field Area).

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

The third chapter, analysis and evaluation, provides an overview of the historical significance of the Chatham landscape based on National Register of Historic Places documentation, evaluates the integrity of the cultural landscape, and analyzes the characteristics and features that contribute to the significance of the landscape. This analysis and evaluation is based on the criteria developed by the National Register of Historic Places. Chatham was administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1966, with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act. Documentation supporting this nomination is currently underway.

According to the 2015 draft National Register documentation, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park is nationally significant over the period from 1768 to 1965 under Criterion A (Event) in the areas of military history (battlefields and establishment of Fredericksburg National Cemetery), health and medicine (military field hospitals), commemoration (Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania county battlefields), and conservation (creation and development of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park); Criterion B (Person) for association with Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, Ambrose E. Burnside, Joseph Hooker, and George G. Meade; Criterion C (Design) in the areas of architecture and landscape architecture; and Criterion D (Information Potential) in the area of archeology (historic, non-aboriginal).

Of these areas of significance for the entire park, Chatham is significant for its military history (American Civil War), architecture (Georgian), landscape architecture (late Colonial and Colonial Revival), and archeology (historic, non-aboriginal). The documented period of significance for the park, 1768 to 1965, encompasses several significant dates related to Chatham, including the beginning

of construction of Chatham in 1768, the beginning of construction of the Walled Garden in 1921, and the establishment of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park in 1927. The end date of the period of significance, 1965, relates to the Civil War Centennial and associated commemoration efforts within the larger park.

Many landscape characteristics and features from the nearly 200-year period of significance remain at Chatham. These include topography and natural systems, spatial organization and land use, circulation, vegetation, buildings and structures, views and vistas, constructed water features, small-scale features, and archeological features. By comparing the historic condition and the existing condition of each of the landscape characteristics and features present at Chatham, this report provides a consolidated list of characteristics and features that contribute or do not contribute to the historic character of the landscape.

Despite Chatham's reduced acreage, the park landscape retains a high level of integrity to the period of significance, with all seven aspects of integrity evidenced on the grounds. With regard to its three documented historic contexts, the Colonial era, the Civil War era, and the Colonial Revival era, Chatham retains the greatest integrity to the Colonial Revival context, with moderate integrity to the Civil War and Colonial contexts. Materials and workmanship are diminished by minor alterations and the loss of some historic plant materials, paving materials, and small-scale features.

TREATMENT

The final chapter of this report establishes a framework for treatment based on the park's enabling legislation, National Register of Historic Places documentation, General Management Plan and other planning efforts, and the findings of earlier chapters in this report. This framework includes a treatment philosophy that describes the desired character of the landscape, establishes a primary treatment approach, and identifies treatment reference dates as benchmarks for assessing historic character. This chapter also includes general treatment recommendations that provide direction for future management decisions on issues that impact the historic character of the landscape and specific treatment tasks necessary to enhance the historic character of the landscape while accommodating contemporary site management needs.

The Chatham landscape will be rehabilitated in two zones in support of the park's primary interpretive themes. Across the broader estate, the landscape will be rehabilitated to convey its historic relationships with adjacent communities that explain the development and evolution of the estate through the Civil War in the

1860s. The fundamental physiographic features of the site will reveal the strategic advantages of the manor house's siting, as well as its physical integration with the formerly larger historic plantation.

Within the Formal Garden area, the Chatham landscape will be rehabilitated to reflect its character following implementation of Ellen Shipman's design in the 1920s. This garden will reflect Ellen Shipman's signature style, with the walled enclosure surrounding carefully articulated flower borders reinforced by axial circulation and punctuated with statuary and structural plantings of evergreens and small flowering trees.

Rehabilitation was selected as the primary treatment approach for its capacity to accommodate repair and replacement for deteriorated and missing historic features, while simultaneously allowing compatible alterations and new additions to facilitate its continued use as a public property.

Endnotes

1. Acreage refers to the park's authorized boundary. A total of 85.01 acres of Chatham are in Federal fee ownership.

2. Robert R. Page, Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan, *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process and Techniques* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, second printing 2005).

3. As defined in the National Park Service *Cultural Resource Management Guideline* (DO-28, 1998), "thorough" means research in selected published and documentary sources of known or presumed relevance that are readily accessible without extensive travel and that promise expeditious extraction of relevant data; interviewing all knowledgeable persons who are readily available, non-destructive investigation, and resenting findings in no greater detail than required by the task directive.



Figure 1.1. Chatham, with catalpa trees visible to the left. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).

SITE HISTORY

This chapter details the evolution of Chatham's landscape from early occupation of the area prior to 1771, through the National Park Service period of ownership (1975 to present). This site history is organized into seven periods, beginning with the first known documentary evidence of the property. The focus of the site history is the current 85.66-acre extent of Chatham in National Park Service ownership. However, outlying areas that were once included in the plantation's acreage are addressed to the extent that they inform the physical development of the core landscape. Each period concludes with a summary and a period plan that, together, depict the physical appearance of the landscape at that time.

This site history provides the first comprehensive physical history of the Chatham landscape and is based largely on primary source materials from archives and collections across the country, including extensive genealogical research by George King, who was commissioned by John Lee Pratt. Previous cultural landscape research and documentation that informed this chapter also includes *Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study* (1978), *Preliminary Historic Resource Study* (1982), *Historic Structure Preservation Guide: Chatham Garden* (1985), and *Chatham: A Landscape Introduction* (2006).

PRIOR TO 1768

Virginia's Northern Neck is located on the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay between the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers. The origin of the Chesapeake Bay dates to about thirty-five million years ago when a bolide (meteor) hit the area of what is now Cape Charles, Virginia, creating a massive crater. During the last ice age, glacial melt from glaciers to the north (Pennsylvania and above) carved streams and rivers to the coast. As the sea level rose, the Chesapeake Bay was formed at the eastern edge of the Atlantic Coastal Plain.[1] The Fall Line, which lies just one mile up the Rappahannock from the present location of Chatham, separates the Tidewater region from the Piedmont region of the state. The Fall Line is the tidal reach and furthest naturally navigable point on the river. The Fall Line, which runs from New Jersey to the Carolinas, played a role in determining the location of settlements along the Atlantic coast, both pre- and post-European contact.

Prior to European settlement, the area that encompasses Chatham was the ancestral land of several groups that were part of a political alliance of

Algonquian-speaking tribes ruled by the Powhatan. Other tribes belonging to the Siouan and Iroquoian language groups lived in the Chesapeake region as well. About 1000 BCE, during what is known as the Early Woodland period, people first moved into the Rappahannock River valley in significant numbers. This early settlement of the Rappahannock valley appears to have been uneven. Early inhabitants of Virginia were hunter-gatherers who followed migratory patterns of animals.[2] After about 200 CE, beginning in the Middle Woodland II period, archeological investigations show that settlements increased dramatically. This period, through about 1200 CE, corresponds with increased sedentariness and population growth of native people in Virginia.[3] By about 1600, the Rappahannock Tribe's capital was located in the present location of Tappahannock (then "Topahanocke"), although the tribe maintained villages all along the Rappahannock River.[4] The Rappahannock were fishermen and farmers and had developed a patchwork of fields and woodlands surrounding permanent villages as well as seasonal camps on the Northern Neck.[5] The Rappahannock probably first encountered the English in 1603 when Captain Samuel Mace sailed up the Rappahannock River, killing the Rappahannock chief and taking a group of Rappahannock men back to England.[6] English invasion of the Northern Neck began the end of the Native people's tenure as attacks, displacement, disease, and assimilation diminished and destroyed communities.

EUROPEAN CONTACT, CONFLICT, AND CONQUEST

Begun in May 1607, Jamestown was the first permanent English settlement in the Americas. The Virginia Company of London was granted a charter by King James to colonize Virginia for profit in 1606. Upon arriving at what is now Cape Henry, sealed orders from the Virginia Company revealed that Captain John Smith (1580–1631) was to be a leader of the colony. Smith's accounts document interactions between the English settlers and native inhabitants in Virginia at the time, when the two most powerful groups in the region, the Moratticos and the Rappahannocks, were fighting each other.[7]

In December 1607, Smith was captured by the Rappahannocks and taken to Tappahannock to determine if he had murdered their chief and kidnapped some of their people four years before. He was found innocent.[8] Within seven months, in July and August 1608, Smith returned to the Rappanahhock's land on a trip up the Rappahannock River, from the Chesapeake Bay to the Fall Line, with twelve others: six gentlemen, five soldiers, and a Patawomek guide named Mosco. Smith engraved his name on a tree and installed crosses above the falls, which are marked on his map of 1608 with a Maltese cross, as are the falls of the James and Potomac rivers (Figure 1.2). His account of an ambush in the vicinity of the falls is the first recorded event in the Falmouth area, which he notes included a native hunting village named Mahaskahod.[9] According to Smith, the forest was open



Figure 1.2. Detail of map of "Virginia" by John Smith. Plan view, 1606 (Library of Congress).

enough that there was no place for the Siouan-speaking Mannahoacs, who lived at the fall line, to hide. The Mannahoacs were a small group, numbering about 1,000, who lived along the Rappahannock River to the west of modern Fredericksburg and the fall line, and to the east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. They disappeared from the historical record after 1728.[10]

The charter of the Virginia Company of London was abolished in 1624, and administration of the colony was placed directly under the Crown. Therefore, the Governor was authorized to use his powers to issue land patents. English settlement beyond Jamestown was slow, despite profits reaped from tobacco culture. Expansion beyond the James River Valley began in the 1630s along the York River. English settlement on the Northern Neck began in 1640, when John Mottram, a merchant from York County, established a trading post on the Chicacoan River in Northumberland County. Following a conflict in 1644–46 that resulted in the death of about 500 settlers, the Virginians signed a treaty with the Powhatan, confining the Powhatan people to the land north of the York River and promising not to settle on the Middle Peninsula or Northern Neck despite the presence of English settlers and regular dispensation of land patents.

INSCRIBING OLD PATTERNS UPON A NEW WORLD

In 1641, as the Puritan migration to New England (Great Migration) was coming to an end, Sir William Berkeley (1605–77) boarded a ship bound for Virginia. He carried with him the King's commission as Royal Governor of Virginia, a title he would carry for thirty-five years (1642–76). He came from a region between London and his family's eponymous castle to the west "that was to become the cradle of Virginia's culture."[11] He reached Virginia in February 1642 to find

a settlement of approximately 8,000 in disorder. Despite thirty-five years of settlement, "the quality of life in early Virginia was more like a modern military outpost or lumber camp than a permanent society."[12]

Over the thirty-five years of Berkeley's tenure, the colony's population increased to 40,000 inhabitants and developed functional economic and political systems. In the 1640s and 50s, as the First (1642–46), Second (1648–49), and Third (1649–51) English Civil Wars were fought and a Puritan oligarchy tried to impose its beliefs on England, immigration to the colony increased through Berkeley's "recruitment of Royalist elite for Virginia." "When they arrived, he promoted them to high office, granted them large estates and created the ruling oligarchy that ran the colony for many generations."[13] Among the Anglican émigré Royalists, the founders of the Carter and Culpeper families came over in 1649, and Colonel William Fitzhugh in about 1670–71. "The founders of Virginia's first families tried to reconstruct from American materials a cultural system from which they had been excluded at home."[14]

Architecture of tidewater homes reflected mid-size manors in south and west England in the seventeen than early eighteenth centuries. Most new Virginia great houses were symmetrical in plan, with a garden and cluster of dependencies in front. Even the most popular building material, brick, had gained popularity in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

Virginia also perpetuated the system of social stratification from the south and west of England, with the notable addition of race slavery. Sir William Berkeley attempted to establish an Indian slave trade. When these efforts failed, he supported the development of African slavery. While the first Africans arrived in the colony in 1619, by Berkeley's arrival there were fewer slaves in Virginia than in New England. Slavery was first legalized in Virginia in 1651, some thirty years after the first Africans landed in the colony. By the eighteenth century, plantation agriculture powered by chattel slavery was the road to wealth for Virginia's royalist elite. As Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg note in the introduction to their edited volume of essays, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery*, "slavery was the basis of New World prosperity and as critical to its economic, social, political, and moral development."[15]

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT AT THE RAPPAHANNOCK FALL LINE

German explorer John Lederer mapped the area of Fredericksburg again in 1670. According to Lederer's published account, "On the twentieth of August, 1670, Col. Catlet [sic] of Virginia and my self [sic], with nine English horse, and five Indians on foot, departed from the house of one Robert Talifer [about four miles

above Port Royal], and that night reached the falls of Rappahanock-river [sic], in Indian Mantapeuck."[16] This scant account implies that the area of Fredericksburg was a Native American village at the time.

On May 2, 1671, Sir William Berkeley, Colonial Governor, granted a land patent of 2,000 acres to John Buckner and Thomas Royston, which encompassed the present location of Fredericksburg. Neither man appears to have lived on their land. The House of Burgesses passed a law in February 1727, marking the beginning of Fredericksburg as a city. The city was chartered on the settlement of William Levingston and named in honor of the Prince of Wales:

> Whereas great number of people have of late seated themselves and their families upon and near the river Rappahannock, and the branches thereof, above the falls; and great quantities of tobacco and other commodities, are every year brought down to the upper landings upon the said river, to be shipped off and transported to other parts of the country; and it is necessary, that the poorer part of the said inhabitants should be supplied from thence, with goods and merchandise, in return for their commodities; but for want of some convenient place, where traders may co-habit, and bring their goods to, such supplied are not to be had, without great disadvantages; and good houses are greatly wanted, upon some navigable part of the said river, near the falls, for the reception and safekeeping of such commodities, as are brought thither; and for the entertainment and sustenance of those who repair thither from remove places, with carriages drawn by horses or oxen: And forasmuch as the inhabitants of the country of Spotsylvania, have made humble supplication to this general assembly, that a town may be laid out, in some convenient place, near the fall of the said river, for the cohabitation of such as are minded to reside there, for the purposes aforesaid, whereby the peopling that remote part of the country will be encouraged, and trade and navigation may be increased.[17]

In 1732, Colonel William Byrd wrote of Fredericksburg:

> Colonel Willis walk't me about this Town of Fredericksburg…Tho' this be a commodious and beautiful Situation for a Town, with the Advantages of a Navigable River, and wholesome Air, yet the Inhabitants are very few. Besides Colo Willis, who is top man of the place, there are only one Merchant, a Taylor, a Smith, and an Ordinary Keeper, though I must not forget Mrs. Levinstone, who Acts here in the Double Capacity of a Doctress and Coffee Woman. And were this a populous City, she is qualify'd to exercise 2 other callings. Tis said that the Court-house and the Church are going to be built here, and then both Religion and Justice will help enlarge the place.[18]

The land to the north, across the Rappahannock River, between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers, was granted by King Charles II to Lord Culpeper (1635–89) and six other supporters on September 18, 1649 during the English Civil War (1642–51), likely to strengthen his political power and reward his allies. This area was expanded by grants in 1669 and 1688 to include the "head springs" of the rivers. It amounted to a territory of over six million acres:[19]

> All that entire tract, territory, or parcel of land situate, lying, and being in Virginia in America, and bounded by and within the first heads or springs of the rivers of Tappahannock als [alias] Rappahannock and Quiriough als Patowmack rivers, the courses of said rivers from their said first heads or springs, as

> they are commonly called and known by the inhabitants and description of those parts and the bay of Chesapeake, together with the said rivers themselves and all the islands within the outermost banks thereof. . .[20]

Lord Culpeper assumed the governorship of Virginia upon the death of William Berkeley. He served in this capacity from 1677 to 1683, during this time, strengthening his interest in the Northern Neck lands. Lord Culpeper died in 1689 and his daughter, Catherine (by his estranged wife Margaret van Hesse), inherited 5/6th of the "proprietorship," which her father had, by 1681, owned or acquired from other grantees. Catherine Culpeper married Thomas, Fifth Lord Fairfax, whose mother controlled the other 1/6th of the proprietorship. The Fairfaxes used Virginia-based agents, including William Fitzhugh and Robert "King" Carter, to manage the proprietary until Carter died in 1732. Thomas, Sixth Lord Fairfax (grandson of Lord Culpeper), inherited the entire proprietary after his father, Thomas, Fifth Lord Fairfax, and grandmother, Margaret Lady Culpeper (the estranged wife of Thomas, Second Lord Culpeper), died in 1710. The Northern Neck Proprietorship remained in his hands until his death in 1781.

The Virginia government objected to the Culpeper and Fairfax claims to the Northern Neck lands during the Colonial era. While the Colonial government retained political and legal authority over the Northern Neck, they did not wish to lose the authority to grant land and collect the fees from processing the grants.

Table 1.1. Agents for the Northern Neck Proprietary[1]

Years in Office	Name
1670–73	Thomas Kirton
1673–77	William Aretkin
1677–79	Daniel Parke
1679–89	Nicholas Spencer
1690–93	Philip Ludwell
1693–99	George Brent/William Fitzhugh
1699–1700	William Fitzhugh
1702–12	Robert Carter
1713–19	Edmund Jennings and Thomas Lee
1722–32	Robert Carter*
1734–47	William Fairfax
1747–62	George William Fairfax
1762–82	Thomas Bryan Martin

*During his second agency, Robert Carter held a lease for the Northern Neck proprietary, and therefore collected all taxes and fees for himself.

1 Wells, Camille, "Social and Economic Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Housing on the Northern Neck of Virginia" (Ph. D. dissertation, The College of William and Mary, 1994), following 24 from James Blaine Gouger III, "Agricultural Change in the Northern Neck of Virginia 1700 – 1860: An Historical Geography" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1676), 99–100. See also G.HS. King, "The Land Agents in Virginia of the Proprietors of the Northern Neck and Some Notes Relative to their Records & Some Comments," Virginia Historical Society, King Files, Catlett #2.

Of course, the proprietors wished regular profit from the lease and sale of land and from the annual collection of quitrents as well. The proprietors' first attempt to open a land office dates to 1670, the year after their grant was first modified and reconfirmed. In this year, they also appointed the first agent to their interests (Table 1.1). Despite these efforts, they faced difficulty in establishing a profitable land office. Lord Culpeper tried again after he succeeded William Berkeley as governor in 1677, but his efforts were no better recognized. His wife and daughter, however, were more successful. Beginning in 1690, and continuing until 1862 (when West Virginia withdrew from the Union), all land patents between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers were recorded in Northern Neck grant books that were separate from the grant books used throughout the rest of the Colony of Virginia. The Northern Neck proprietor's agents issued their first land grant in 1690.[21] At long last, this allowed the proprietors to profit from their holdings. Agents Brent and Fitzhugh were the first to leverage their roles as agents to profit, notably by securing vast acreage for themselves. Carter and Lee continued the custom.

NORTHERN NECK LAND GRANTS

It is helpful to note that Virginia's county boundaries have changed several times since the colonial era, resulting in changes to the county in which Chatham lies. The Colony of Virginia was divided into eight shires in 1634. Chatham lands were located just north of the Charles River Shire. Lancaster County was formed in 1651 and encompassed the Chatham lands. (Old) Rappahannock County was formed in 1656 from the northern portion of Lancaster County, and Chatham became part of (Old) Rappahannock County (not to be confused with present-day Rappahannock County). The portion of (Old) Rappahannock County that included Chatham became a part of Richmond County in 1692. The portion of Richmond County that includes Chatham became a part of King George County in 1721. Finally, King George County was reorganized in 1777 and Chatham became part of Stafford County, as it remains today.

Sir William Berkeley granted 2,000 acres to Colonel John Catlett (1624–70) on June 2, 1666.[22] A portion of this 2,000 acre grant would later become Chatham (Figure1.3). Catlett sold his patent to William and Leonard Clayburne [Claiborne] from King William County on September 8, 1668, for who Claiborne Run was later named.[23] William died before his brother, and the entire patent devolved to Leonard. Leonard later left Virginia for Jamaica, and on July 25, 1688 sold the Catlett Patent to the Reverend John Waugh of Stafford County.[24] Waugh's title to Chatham was confirmed by a deed of June 3, 1689, from John Catlett "son and heir to Colo. John Catlett."[25] Waugh sold parts of the original patent and three hundred and fifty acres, containing the land that presently comprises Chatham. By several conveyances, this land came to cooper John Chadwell of Stafford County.[26]

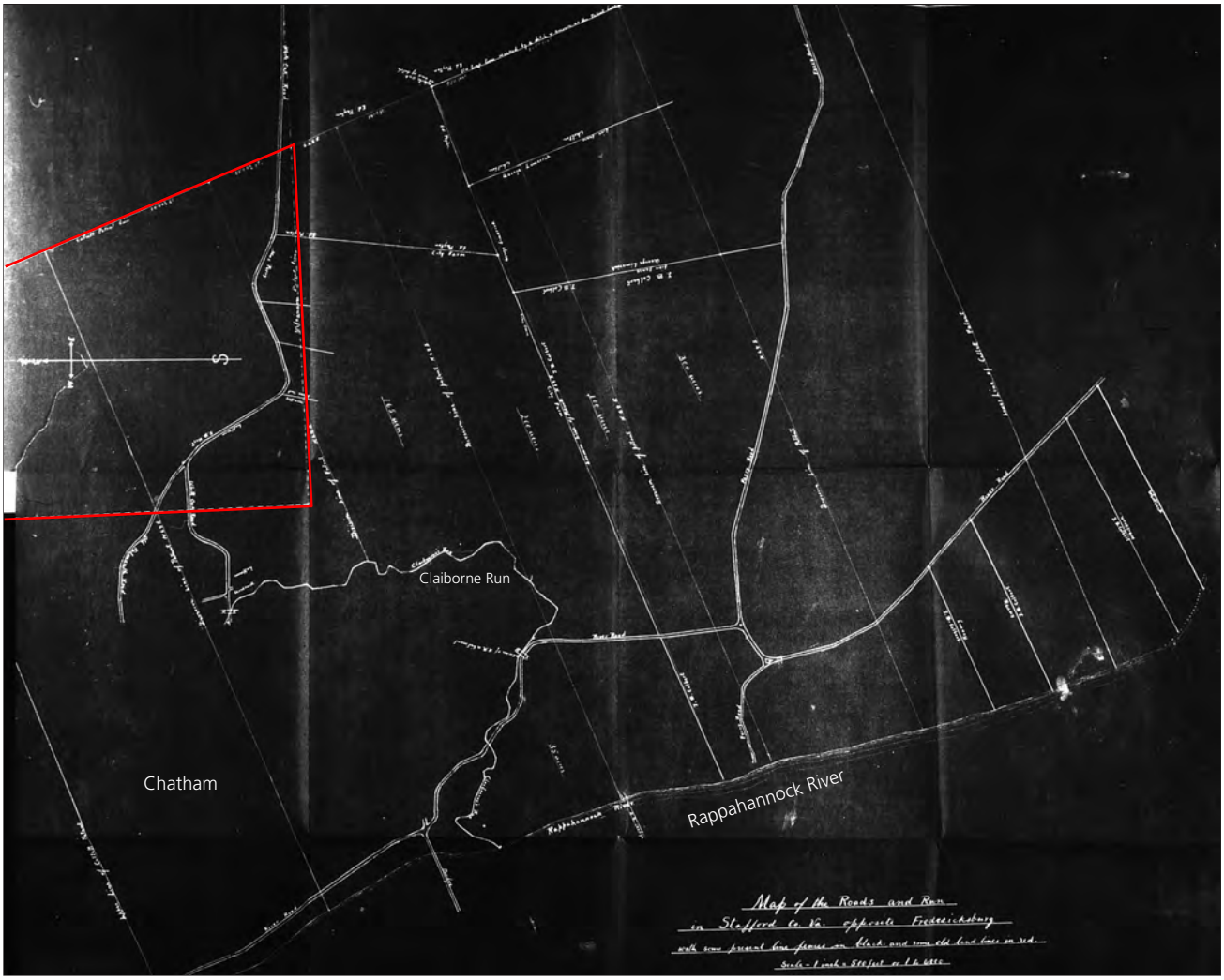


Figure 1.3. Diagram showing the relationship between the Catlett and Wilkinson patents commissioned by Judge Alvin T. Embry in the course of his research on George Washington's Boyhood Home. In the area highlighted red, the Wilkinson Patent (6000 acres) overlapped the Catlett Patent (200 acres). In 1752, this overlap was resolved in favor of the Wilkinson Patent in the suit of *Solomon Saveall, lessee of Henry Fitzhugh, Jr. v. Anthony Strother* in King George County Court. Plan view (Library of Virginia, Alvin T. Embry, *George Washington's Boyhood Home, Stafford County, VA*, 28560, Misc. Reel 140).

In 1678, Thomas Vicaris (c. 1653–c. 1695) patented 1,260 acres of land on the north side of the Rappahannock River, in the present location of Falmouth. Upon Thomas Vicaris's death, nine hundred acres of this patent passed to his daughter, Martha, who married William Todd (c. 1685–1736).

Depositions from residents of the area indicate that it was scarcely settled prior to 1710. Major John Taliferro (c. 1684/85–1744) says that when he came to settle above Snow Creek in 1707, which he takes to be nine miles below the Falls of the Rappahannock, there was then but three settlements on the south side of the river and on the north side of the river the uppermost plantation that he knew of was about three miles below the falls (likely the Newton Plantation). Chatham, which lies about one mile below the falls, was not seated at the time.[27]

By about 1720, William Todd had constructed a tobacco inspection station and several warehouses in the vicinity of Falmouth. The warehouses served storage

and shipping functions, as tobacco cultivation expanded and Falmouth grew as the furthest inland port along the Rappahannock River.[28] Before the first bridge across the Rappahannock was completed around 1798, Falmouth and Fredericksburg were connected only by boat and ferry.[29] Agricultural products, namely tobacco, funneled through the port of Falmouth, arriving from the upper portions of the Northern Neck.

COLONEL WILLIAM FITZHUGH (1651–1701)

Colonel William Fitzhugh was born in England in 1651 to a woolen merchant. He studied law and immigrated to Virginia about 1670–71. In 1674, he married Sarah Tucker (1663–1703). Together they had six children. Fitzhugh established himself as a successful lawyer, public official, and land investor. He served as an officer in the Stafford County militia and as a representative in the House of Burgesses. Fitzhugh also served as an agent for the Proprietors of the Northern Neck Land Grant. In this capacity, he had good knowledge and access to land acquisition.[30]

His original plantation residence was Bedford, on the Potomac River. He later established the Fitzhugh family's principal residence at Eagle's Nest on the Northern Neck along the Potomac River. He also owned Ravensworth Plantation, farther north near present-day Springfield. In the 1690s, Col. William Fitzhugh made extensive purchases of land on the north bank of the Rappahannock River:

- On February 27, 1691/92, Col. William Fitzhugh purchased 400 acres of land from John Waugh. According to the deed, 300 acres of this land was "the same land which was designated for Daniel Meriott, also another tract of 100 acres, part of the same patent, which was designated for Jon Corbin."[31] These men probably held leases for the tracts.

- On September 8, 1692, Col. William Fitzhugh purchased 1,248 acres on Muddy Creek adjoining the land of Mr. William Thornton from John Glendenning of Richmond County and Ann, his wife. This land was part of the Mott Patent, and Ann Glendenning was one of four daughters of George Mott, the original patentee.[32] These lands, at the headwater of the creek, were called the White Oak Tract.

- On September 26, 1692, Col. William Fitzhugh purchased 1,090 acres of Whitehead's Plantation from John Waugh, "lying in the forrest [sic] between the Rappahannock River and Potomac Creek." This land was purchased by John Waugh from Thomas Comer of New Kent County on February 3, 1689/90 and constitutes just over half of the 2,000-acre Mott Patent. The 910-acre balance was "lived upon and seated by George Shepherd."[33]

- On August 14, 1695, Col. William Fitzhugh purchased 1,246 acres "of forest between the Rappahannock River and south side of Potomac Creek" from Richard Shippie of Richmond County and Ellinor [sic], his wife. This land was part of the Mott Patent and Ellionr Shippie was one of four daughters of George Mott, the original patentee.[34]

- On March 10, 1696, Col. William Fitzhugh acquired a 350-acre tract (formerly the property of George Shepherd) by patent to the north of Claiborne Run.[35] This tract is half of the 700 acres that would become Chatham. After Col. Catlett was killed in 1670, this portion of his patent changed ownership several times until it came under the ownership of George Shepherd. George Shepherd died with no legal heirs, and the land reverted back to the Proprietors of the Northern Neck, who granted the 350 acres to Col. William Fitzhugh in 1696.[36]

- On January 12, 1697, Col. William Fitzhugh purchased an adjoining 350 acres from cooper John Chadwell. According to the deed, the sale comprised, "that land which begins at the mouth of Clayburne Run and follows the riverside up to the line of George Shepherd."[37]This is the second 350 acre tract that would become the second half of Chatham, and the tract upon which William Fitzhugh (1741–1809, great-grandson of the above mentioned) later builds the manor house.[38]

By this measure, Col. William Fitzhugh was in possession of 4,684 acres of land on the north bank of the Rappahannock River by 1698. On December 10, 1701, Col. William Fitzhugh's will was probated and he devised Chatham, as "Waugh's," with some 4,000 other acres, to his son, Thomas Fitzhugh (1689–1719).[39]

THOMAS FITZHUGH (1689–1719)

Thomas Fitzhugh was born at Eagle's Nest in 1689. Sometime before 1712, he married Ann Fowke Mason, widow of William Darnall and the daughter of George Mason of Stafford. By 1715, he served as Stafford County Clerk. Among his inheritances from his father were 4,334 acres of land and 7 "negroes."[40] Included in this acreage was the land that today comprises Chatham. Thomas Fitzhugh took a particular interest in this tract. On February 1, 1709, he petitioned the county to construct a water grist mill: Thomas Fitzhugh, "having a considerable track of land joyning [sic] upon Claybournes [sic] Run in this county and being desireous [sic] of building a water grist mill upon said run" wishes ½-acre of land on the other (lower) side of the run belonging to Edward Watts for the purpose of building the mill. This land was viewed by Charles Cale and John Jones by court order on February 28, 1710 and declared a value of five shillings.[41] His plans to construct a mill suggest that he had "seated" the land by the early 1700s. Around this time, there were only a handful of families in the area

where the Towns of Fredericksburg and Falmouth would later be established by legislative acts (1727). Thomas Fitzhugh died in 1719 without a male heir, leaving the Chatham lands to his nephew, Col. Henry Fitzhugh (c. 1706–42).

COLONEL HENRY FITZHUGH (C. 1706–42)

Due to the unique circumstances of his inheritance, it was fourteen years after Thomas Fitzhugh's death (in 1719) before Henry Fitzhugh of Eagle's Nest came to an agreement with his aunt Ann (Mason) Fitzhugh, the widow of his uncle and then the wife of Thomas Smith, about her dower rights to the tracts he was left by his uncle Thomas.[42] By 1733, Henry Fitzhugh was fully vested in the several large tracts of land left to him by his uncle.

In 1730, Henry Fitzhugh married Lucy Carter (1715–63), the daughter of Colonel Robert "King" Carter, a wealthy tidewater planter. Henry served as trustee of the Town of Falmouth (1727), and in the Virginia House of Burgesses (1730s–40s). Henry Fitzhugh lived at Eagles Nest, although some evidence suggests that a Fitzhugh farm was located on the north bank of the Rappahannock.[43]

Henry Fitzhugh took an interest in developing plantations on his back country lands, or his lands that did not lie along major rivers. Col. Henry Fitzhugh let the White Oak tract lands to various tenants for three lives, as was customary at the time.[44] This sometimes included the lives of the tenant, his wife, and child, or the lives of the tenant and his siblings. Six such leases are recorded in King George County Deed Books in 1737, 1738, and 1740 for the White Oak tract (along Muddy Creek).[45]

In 1727, Colonel Henry Fitzhugh was a charter trustee of the Town of Falmouth, just north of Chatham.[46] Other trustees include Robert Carter, Mann Page, Nicholas Smith, William Thornton, John Fitzhugh (of Marmion, d. 1733), and Charles Carter. Robert "King" Carter (1662/63–1732) was an agent for Thomas Fairfax, Sixth Lord Fairfax of Cameron, better known simply as Lord Fairfax, from 1702, the year after Colonel William Fitzhugh's death, to 1711 and again 1722–32. King's Highway (present-day VA-3) extended from Fredericksburg down the Northern Neck, providing land agents like Robert "King" Carter access to the Fairfax proprietary.

By his death, Carter had acquired some 110,000 acres of land on the Northern Neck, excluding extensive holdings beyond the region. Given the vast wealth Carter acquired by managing the Fairfax lands, after 1732, Lord Fairfax appointed his cousin, Colonel William Fairfax, to serve as the proprietary's agent.

The extent of the Northern Neck remained contested, much as it had since Charles the Second granted Lord Culpeper and six supporters rights to the land in 1649. The King appointed commissioners and surveyors to determine

the southern boundary of the Northern Neck in 1735, during the Fairfax Land Trails. Their map shows the location of location of (Col. Henry) "Fitzhugh" (c. 1706–1742) holdings to the north of Claiborne's Run and opposite Fredericksburg (Figure 1.4).

By February 1728, it was noted that "great numbers of people have of late seated themselves and their families upon or near the river Rappahannock, and the branches thereof, above the falls; and great quantities of tobacco and other commodities are every year brought down to the upper landings [Falmouth and Fredericksburg] upon the said river."[47] By 1747, Peter Jefferson (father of the president), completed "A Map of the Northern Neck in Virginia," which indicates "Fitzhugh" in the vicinity of Chatham (Figure 1.5). The map also shows extensive settlement on both banks of the Rappahannock below the falls. Fitzhugh's property was situated between Falmouth and Claiborne's Run, with Strother's lands to the south. Above the falls, only runs, forks, and fords (crossings) are marked.

Col. Henry Fitzhugh, father of the infant, his sole heir, William Fitzhugh (of Chatham), died on December 6, 1742 intestate at the age of thirty-three. At the time of his death, he was a member of the House of Burgesses. His brother-in-law,



Figure 1.4. "Survey of the Northern Neck of Virginia" by John Warner. Plan view, pub. c. 1747 (Library of Congress, G3880 1747 .W33).

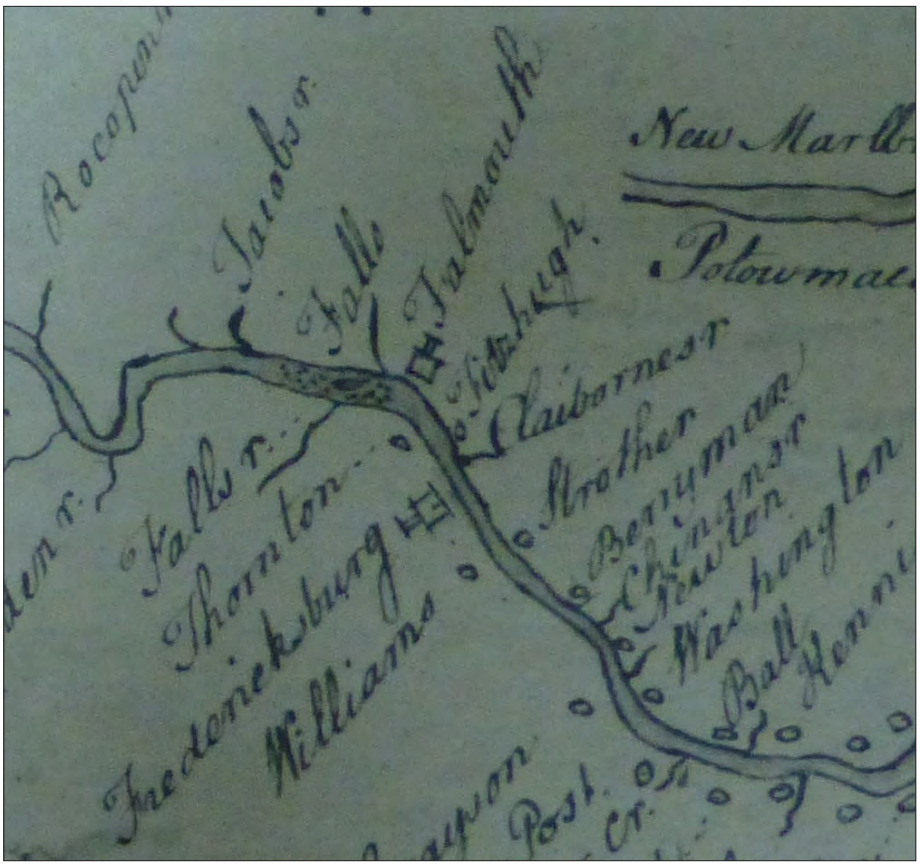


Figure 1.5. Detail of "A Map of the Northern Neck of Virginia" by Peter Jefferson. Plan view, 1747 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).

Col. Charles Carter and his widow, Lucy Fitzhugh (30 years of age at the time), were administrators of the estate. The Westmoreland County Court ordered an inventory of the late Col. Henry Fitzhugh's estate.[48] Stafford County Record Book M records the results of this inventory in detail.[49] The same book includes an appraisement of the estate in King George County (now Stafford County), which included eighteen enslaved people and various livestock totaling £495:9:0.[50] This suggests that Henry Fitzhugh had established a plantation on the Chatham lands by the time of his death in 1742. This is supported by Peter Jefferson's later, 1747 "A Map of the Northern Neck in Virginia" (see Figure 1.5) However, beyond the appraisement and map, little is known about this early Fitzhugh family settlement of what would become the Chatham tract. It is reasonable to assume that the plantation landscape included, at a minimum, housing for the enslaved population. Shortly after Col. Henry Fitzhugh's death, his widow, née Lucy Carter, married Col. Nathaniel Harrison (1713–91) of Brandon, who came to live at Eagle's Nest.[51]

WILLIAM FITZHUGH III (1741–1809)

William Fitzhugh III was born on September 4, 1741 to Henry (c. 1706–42) and Lucy Carter Fitzhugh (1715–63, daughter of Robert "King" Carter) of "Eagle's Nest," located in Stafford County about one mile south of the Potomac River. Constructed in 1686, "Eagle's Nest" was the ancestral home of William Fitzhugh

the Immigrant, William Fitzhugh III's great-great-grandfather. William Fitzhugh III's father died on December 6, 1742, only one year and three months after his birth. His mother married her second husband, Colonel Nathaniel Harrison of Brandon (1713–91), in 1747. He brought two of his children from a previous marriage to live at Eagle's Nest. William Fitzhugh III spent his early years at Eagle's Nest, but by the age of sixteen, he lived with his uncle Colonel Charles Carter (1707–64) at "Cleve" in King George County. By the early 1760s, William Fitzhugh III lived near Boyd's Hole, a small community on the Potomac, "Cleve," and "Eagle's Nest."

William Fitzhugh III married Ann Bolling Randolph (1747–1805), the daughter of Colonel Peter Randolph in 1763. By 1765, the couple lived at "Somerset," which adjoined "Eagle's Nest" in Stafford County, which later became (and remains) King George County. The heir to a vast fortune, Fitzhugh had inherited both plantations from his father. They remained at "Somerset" until "Chatham" was completed in 1771. There, they had six children together. Three of their children, Lucy (1771–77), Betty Randolph (1773–74), and Martha Carter (1786–93), died in childhood. The other three, Ann Randolph (1783–c. 1809), Mary Lee (1781–1830), and William Henry (1792–1830), lived to reach adulthood. Two noteworthy marriages in the Fitzhugh lineage tie the family to the Washington and Lee families. Mary Lee married George Washington Parke Custis (1781–1857), Martha Washington's (1756–85) grandson by her first marriage to Daniel Parke Custis (1711–57). Mary Lee and George Custis's daughter (and William Fitzhugh III's only granddaughter), Mary Ann Randolph Custis (1808–73), married Robert Edward Lee (1807–70) in 1831.

William Fitzhugh III had a distinguished political career, serving in the House of Burgesses between 1772 and 1775. After this body was dissolved by Lord Dunmore, Fitzhugh served King George County in *ad hoc* conventions held in Williamsburg and Richmond. A fervent supporter of the Revolution, he was also a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Safety (1774–75). During the Revolutionary War, he served as a commissioner of two arms and munitions factories in the Fredericksburg area, while also serving as a member of the Virginia House of Delegates (1776–77). He also later served as a state senator (1781–85). He also briefly served as a delegate to the Continental Congress for Virginia in 1779.

After the war, Fitzhugh remained engaged in politics and agriculture. His stature and Chatham's location along the road between Williamsburg/Richmond and Washington predisposed Chatham to visitors. By the 1790s, the volume and rate of visitors drove Fitzhugh to advertise Chatham for sale and move to a house at 607 Oronoco Street in Alexandria. (This house is now known as the Boyhood Home of Robert E. Lee on account of his mother renting the house from the Fitzhugh family beginning in 1811.) Fitzhugh died on December 19, 1809 at Ravensworth

in Fairfax County, which he constructed in 1796 on family lands bearing the same name. William Fitzhugh III was initially buried at Ravensworth, but removed to the Pohick Church graveyard after the mansion burned in 1926.

1768 TO 1806

The thirty-eight year period between 1768 and 1806 spans William Fitzhugh's initial construction of Chatham to the time of its sale to Major Churchill Jones. This had been a period of tremendous change. To set the context of this period, when Fitzhugh was beginning construction opposite Fredericksburg, James Watt of Great Britain was patenting his improved steam engine. At that time Britain's vast Virginia colony stretched 700 miles westward to the Mississippi River. And, as Chatham's foundation was being laid out, Virginia's colonial representative body, the House of Burgesses, publicly condemned the treatment of anti-tax protesters in Boston.

By the time that Fitzhugh sold the property in 1806, the former British colonies had successfully joined together as the United States of America; Kentucky had separated from Virginia to form a separate state, and the United States Army's "Corps of Discovery," commissioned by President Thomas Jefferson, was completing its exploration of an altogether new territory acquired from France west of the Mississippi River.

The following pages examining this lengthy time frame are organized into three unequal parts, providing background to help understand William Fitzhugh's conception and development of Chatham on the eve of the American Revolution; the operation of the Chatham plantation as part of a diverse agricultural economy; and finally Fitzhugh's divestment of real estate and slave property in Stafford County, and realignment of his assets following passage of the Residence Act of 1790, the federal law identifying the permanent seat of the United States government as Washington, D.C.

CONCEIVING CHATHAM: REGIONAL KINSHIP IN LANDSCAPE DESIGN

Piloting a single-axle carriage from Virginia's Piedmont foothills to Philadelphia in May of 1766, twenty-three year old Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) rested for about three days in King George County among friends and family:

> I had the pleasure of passing two or three days on my way hither at the two Will. Fitzhugh's and Col'o. Harrison's where were S. Potter, P[olly] Stith, and Ben Harrison.[52]

Likely possessing an old map prepared by his father, the young man traveled the sixty miles between Albermarle County's Southwest Mountains and



Figure 1.6. Detail of the Frye and Jefferson Map indicating primary roads and river crossings of the region prior to William Fitzhugh's construction of Chatham. Plan view, 1751 (Library of Congress).

Fredericksburg in a single long day, through the piedmont towns of Gordonsville and Orange, and navigating the second-growth wasteland created by tobacco cultivation (Figure 1.6). He would have crossed the Rappahannock River into Stafford County at Falmouth, traversing the Fitzhugh's "Waugh" tract on his way to meet college friends and family. Continuing on his way, Jefferson would have continued eastward down the Northern Neck to cross into Maryland at Port Tobacco, continuing to Annapolis and thence to Philadelphia.

Meeting in Stafford County, the Fitzhughs, Jefferson, the Harrisons, Potter and Stith enjoyed a reunion. Ann Fitzhugh, Polly Stith (1739–1816), and Thomas Jefferson were cousins through the Randolph family, Ann Fitzhugh and Jefferson once knowing the shelter of Peter Randolph's Chatsworth plantation house following Peter Jefferson's early death.

Speculatively, conversations during Jefferson's visit might have embraced the risks of the young man's anticipated inoculation from smallpox, the reported purpose of Jefferson's trip to Philadelphia. Politics may have further provoked conversation. Recently the British Parliament had passed the "Stamp Act" without the approval of colonial legislative bodies. Intended to extract funds from the pockets of North American colonists, the levy was intended to help Britain retire debts incurred during the course of the Seven Years War. Protesting within the

Virginia's colonial Capitol building in Williamsburg, Patrick Henry of Henrico County cried out, "If this be treason, make the most of it," introducing his 1765 "Virginia Resolves" (Figure 1.7).

Art, architecture, and landscape design perhaps also found their way into the "conversation among gentlemen."[53] The scope of Jefferson's role in designs for Harrison's Lower Brandon has yet to be discovered. Nevertheless, the third President of the United States is widely credited with influencing the design of the James River dwelling and the layout of its immediate environs. This celebrity attribution is made by architectural historians based on Jefferson's college friendship and association with Col. Benjamin Harrison (1743–1807). This surmise is further supported by the building's characteristics, which are somewhat atypical to the time and place, yet share an affinity with Jefferson's later architectural work and consultancy.[54]

Given the two to three days that Jefferson reports spending with the Fitzhughs and Harrisons, and given the pleasant spring season, it would be unusual to have his visit confined to the neighborhood of Somerset, Marmion, or Eagle's Nest. More likely, the traveler was treated to the beauty of the local countryside, including a carriage tour of the noteworthy architecture of nearby plantations. A visit to Mannsfield, then under construction, would have been a pleasant morning's carriage ride. Also at this time, Ursula Fitzhugh's younger brother Robert Beverley III (1735–97) and Maria Carter (daughter of Landon Carter of Sabine Hall and Maria Byrd the widow of William Byrd III of Westover), were in the early stages of planning their own family "seat" at the Essex County Blandfield plantation (1769–73), farther down the Rappahannock River.[55]



Figure 1.7. Engraving of colonial Virginia's second capitol building (1753-1779), located on Williamsburg's Duke of Gloucester Street. Note the presence of the two-story portico (Benson John Lossing's "Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution," 1860).

The elder William Fitzhugh (1725–91) and his first wife Ursula (née Beverley) (1729–69), were at that time living upon the Marmion plantation established in the late eighteenth century, the house constructed c. 1750s. The younger cousin William Fitzhugh (1741–1809) and his wife Ann (née Randolph) (1745–1805) were residing approximately one and one-half miles to the northeast at Somerset, located adjacent to the Fitzhugh family's ancestral Eagle's Nest plantation on a broad hilltop above the Potomac. Here, the two Fitzhughs controlled tens of thousands of acres in discontiguous parcels spread widely across Stafford, Spotsylvania, Prince William, and Fairfax Counties. As the assembled masters of vast tracts, new methods in agriculture and husbandry were certain to have been topics of discussion. The financial sustenance and comfort of the Fitzhugh, Carter, Harrison, Randolph and Beverley families, as that of Thomas Jefferson himself, was ultimately wrested from the soil by the labor of enslaved people. This wealth derived from capable husbandry was customarily displayed to great effect through fine architecture.

Jefferson had long been obsessed with the translated multivolume architectural works of Italian Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio (Figure 1.8). Yet he was surely not the only one present familiar with architectural "pattern books." Such books, from which Jefferson had obtained his design education, included translations of Andrea Palladio's *Four Books on Architecture* (1738 translation by Isaac Ware), Colin Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (London, 1715–25), James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture* (1728), Isaac Ware's *Designs of Inigo Jones and others* (1731), or Robert Morris's *Select Architecture* (1757), and where not individually owned, were all readily accessible for examination within the privileged circle of elite families (Figure 1.9).[56]

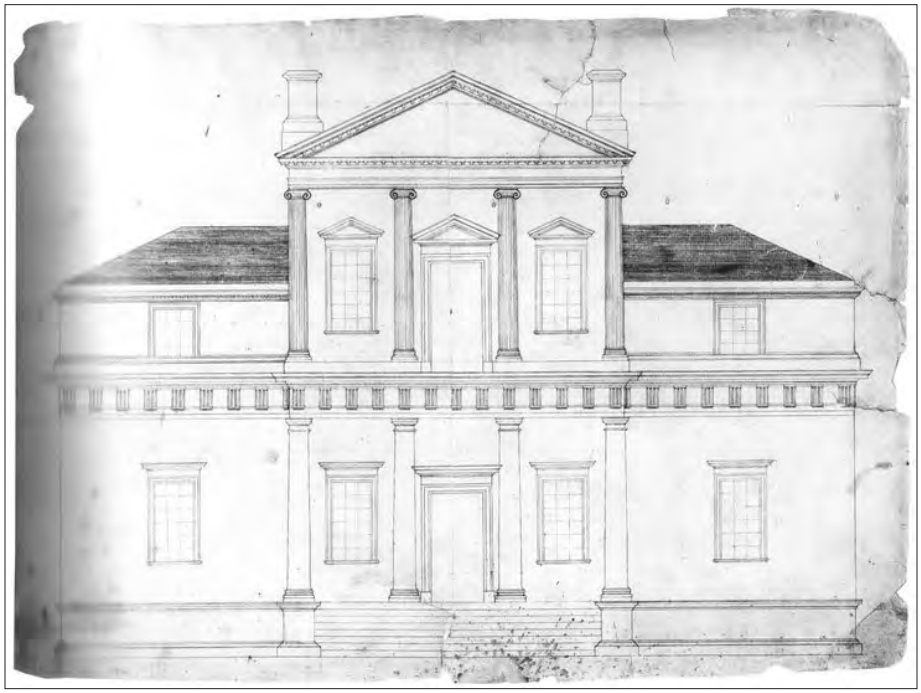


Figure 1.8. Thomas Jefferson's early concept for his home Monticello, contemporary with the time frame of Chatham's construction. Note the similarities in geometry with Lower Brandon. Elevation view, c. 1771 (Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic*, 1922).

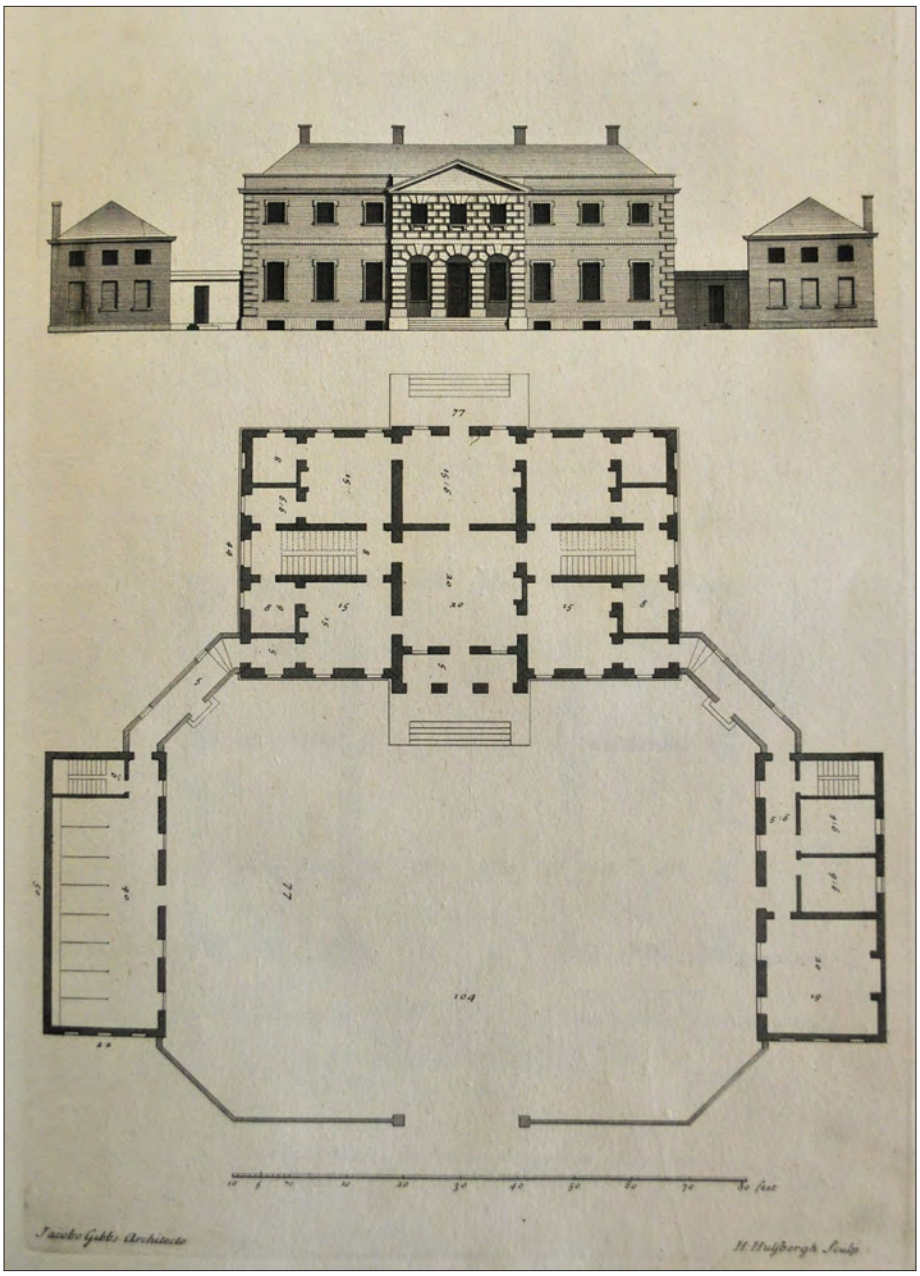


Figure 1.9. Plate LVII from James Gibbs' (1682-1754), *A Book of Architecture containing designs of buildings and ornaments*. Plan/elevation view, 1728 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).

Furthermore, members of the group then assembled in Stafford regularly attended to business in Williamsburg, and were familiar with the Governor's Palace, as developed under Governor Spotswood between 1715 and 1719. This courtly dwelling, occupying the regional apex of architectural design, equipped with elaborate falling garden terraces, accomplished the important work of projecting the power of the English crown for observation, and where there were sufficient resources, emulation (Figure 1.10). Any talk of design among those gathered together in Stafford would have cast diagrams and precedents into the air over well prepared ground.

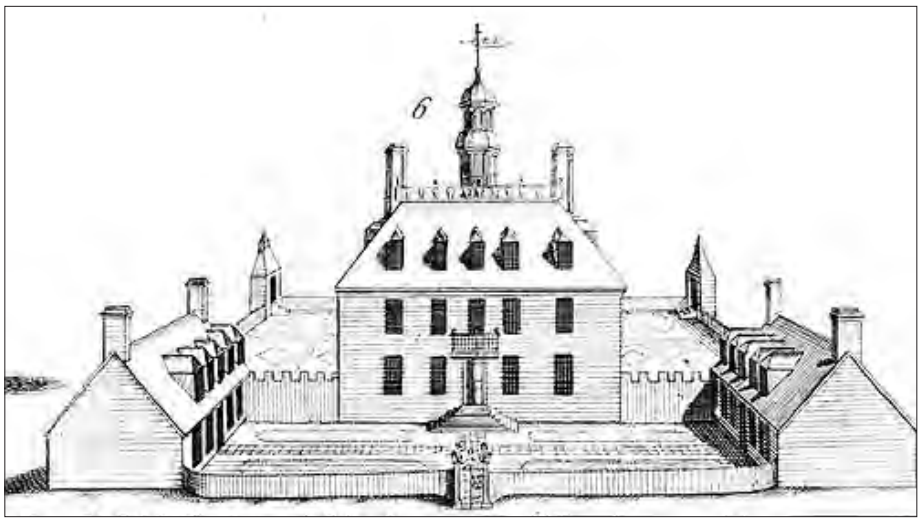


Figure 1.10. Detail of the Governor's Palace from an engraved 18th century copper plate documenting Williamsburg's architecture, discovered in 1929 in Oxford University's Bodleian Library.

Axial symmetry dominated mid-Atlantic garden design, largely on account of the influence of Philip Miller's *The Gardener's Dictionary* (1731), which was widely read in the Colonies. Terraces, or falls, provided a setting for the house and a pleasing view from its upper story, and aggrandized the stature of the dwelling.

In her *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite*, architectural historian Barbara Mooney profiles the demographic of those of this era most likely to take on an ambitious and costly building program:

> The typical member of the native elite who engaged in this game and embarked on building a monument to his family's relatively new-wrought status was almost always a male who represented the third or fourth generation. . .His ancestors would have arrived in the colony in the middle of the seventeenth century not as tenants, but likely as middle-class immigrants, bringing financial or social capital that allowed them to ascend relatively quickly to the top of the colonial hierarchy. Although likely to survive well into his fifties, an architectural patron would have built his mansion in his mid-thirties, only after the death of his father and after having gained control over his inheritance. Marrying a woman from a similarly prominent family by age twenty-five, again after the death of his father, the patron eventually would have fathered about six or seven surviving children, who, in turn, would go on to marry into the same circle of families. . .Architectural patrons were exceptionally well educated compared to their fellow colonial inhabitants. They were both cognizant of their fortunate circumstances and eager to prove their worth by exhibiting a body of knowledge unavailable to others. Wealth in itself was not sufficient. Rather, wealthy Virginians believed that they needed to display their worth through erudition. The wealth that built prodigy houses was identified with a tobacco economy. Tobacco planting [risk], however, was significantly ameliorated by more diversified economic conduct, such as milling, mining, and land speculation – actions more allied with the emerging industrial revolution than with traditionally more genteel land-based revenue. . . Prodigy houses were not responsible for the rise of the Carters or the Harrisons, but they did represent a vision of privileged through birth that some of their contemporaries such as the Germanna Germans and Fithian found unconvincing if not offensive. If privileged colonial Virginians build their mansions solely for the purpose of forging permanent political authority, the outcome of their effort was mixed. Violent repression of enslaved Africans, the powerful impact of money, and the manipulation of the political system proved more persuasive. . .[57]

Fitzhugh and Harrsion fit Mooney's profile almost perfectly; Jefferson, less so. As previously mentioned, Benjamin Harrison had only recently initiated the Lower Brandon construction project. In 1766, at the time of Jefferson's visit, the Page and Tayloe families were completing construction of the Mannsfield plantation house just below Fredericksburg, a design borrowing heavily from designs for John Tayloe's Mt. Airy. Mt. Airy, high above the north bank of the Rappahannock had only been completed six years earlier, about 1760. The Page family was closely related to the Fitzhugh's' through Aunt Judith Carter (1693–1750); with John Tayloe (1621–1779) being the elder William Fitzhugh's godfather.

Most importantly, in 1766 during the time of Jefferson's visit, William and Ann Fitzhugh were about to begin planning for a new home overlooking the Rappahannock River and small port town of Fredericksburg, a town named for the German-born Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707–51), eldest son of King George II. Fitzhugh would soon undertake the boundary survey of the Stafford County lands purchased by his grandfather from the Anglican Parson Waugh, opposite and overlooking the growing settlement.

On February 26, 1768 the Chatham lands were surveyed, with William Fitzhugh of Somerset, Col. Nathaniel Harrison of Eagle's Nest (Fitzhugh's stepfather), and Hon. Joseph Jones of Spring Hill (attorney) attending. Of particular interest was the line to the north of Chatham between Fitzhugh and Rev. John Dixon, who was in possession of the Vicaris Patent at the time. The survey team lodged just below Claiborne's Run and above Ferry Farm at Pine Grove, the adjoining plantation of James Hunter, Esq. (1721–84).[58]

Named for the British monarchs of the House of Hanover the Georgian style of architecture was made popular in British colonies from the early 1700s to the early 1800s through widely available "pattern books." William Byrd's library at Westover contained many of these. Symmetrical composition of form, symmetrical window and chimney placement are chief among the commonly applied attributes of Georgian architecture. Additional characteristics often included the use of stone or brick masonry, central doors and hallways, side gabled or "hipped" rooflines, projecting porticos or shallow pediments sheltering the principle entrance, and long exterior galleries or porches sheltered by a "pent" roof constructed on the long façade between the first and second stories. [59]

Fitzhugh, his stepbrother Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Jefferson, and other young elites had come of age in an environment of near perpetual construction activity. Beginning about 1725, Virginia's most successful planters built private homes surpassing "… in size and elaboration even the courthouses, churches and gentry dwellings of their native countryside."[60] In her essay *Architecture and Landscape in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,* professor Camille Wells explains that the propagation



Figure 1.11. Rochester House, Westmoreland County, Virginia. Constructed c, 1746, this small 20′ x 16′ dwelling represented the typical housing of middle to upper-middle class planters of that time (National Register of Historic Places).

of Georgian architecture among the Tidewater Virginia elite was intended to "announce or confirm…standing among members of genteel societies in other parts of North America."[61]

Wells draws clear hierarchical distinctions between the wood-framed "Ordinary Housing" enclosing one or two rooms, occupied by ninety-percent of the region's free population, and "Genteel Housing" incorporating masonry elements belonging to the colony's top ten percent (Figure 1.11). In his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, published in 1782, Thomas Jefferson himself complained:

> …private buildings are very rarely constructed of stone or brick; much the greatest proportion being scantling and boards, plaistered with lime. It is impossible to devise things more ugly, uncomfortable, and happily more perishable.[62]

Further classifying the building habits of the upper ten percent, Wells describes "Elite Housing," as possessing the highest quality masonry construction and greatest elaboration of details, and belonging to the "top two percent of all colonial Virginia's freeholders."

Such was the company kept; such was the dwelling Fitzhugh would ultimately build. While William was yet an infant, his uncle Landon Carter completed Sabine Hall (1742) on the Rappahannock (Figure 1.12). During his boyhood, uncle Charles Carter completed Cleve (1746) where Fitzhugh had lived for a time as a fatherless youth (Figure 1.13); William Byrd III (1729–77), while married to his Aunt Elizabeth Hill Carter (1731–60) completed Westover (c. 1750) on the James River before financial insolvency led him to suicide (Figure 1.14).



Figure 1.12. Sabine Hall, constructed c. 1742 by William Fitzhugh's uncle and noted colonial diarist Landon Carter (1710-78) (Historic American Buildings Survey).



Figure 1.13. Portrait of Anne Byrd Carter (Mrs. Charles Carter of Cleve) by William Dering. Cleve, c. 1746, was constructed by William Fitzhugh's uncle Charles Carter (1707-64) (The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Gift of Mrs. E. Alban Watson).



Figure 1.14. Westover, constructed c. 1750 by William Byrd III (1729-77). Byrd's marriage to Elizabeth Hill Carter of Shirley linked Westover into the broad kinship of Carter family plantations. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 1.15. Carter's Grove, constructed 1755 by William Fitzhugh's first cousin Carter Burwell (1716-77) (Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

First cousin Carter Burwell completed Carter's Grove (1755) on the James below Williamsburg (Figure 1.15). Fitzhugh's cousin and godfather John Tayloe completed Mount Airy (1765), perched three miles inland overlooking the Rappahannock valley (Figure 1.16). Within his extended family, Fitzhugh's cousin George Mason completed Gunston Hall (1755) in Fairfax County to the north above the Potomac. Fitzhugh's stepfather Nathaniel Harrison II had financed the construction of Lower Brandon (1765) on the James River for Fitzhugh's stepbrother (Figure 1.17). William Fitzhugh would have been welcomed as family

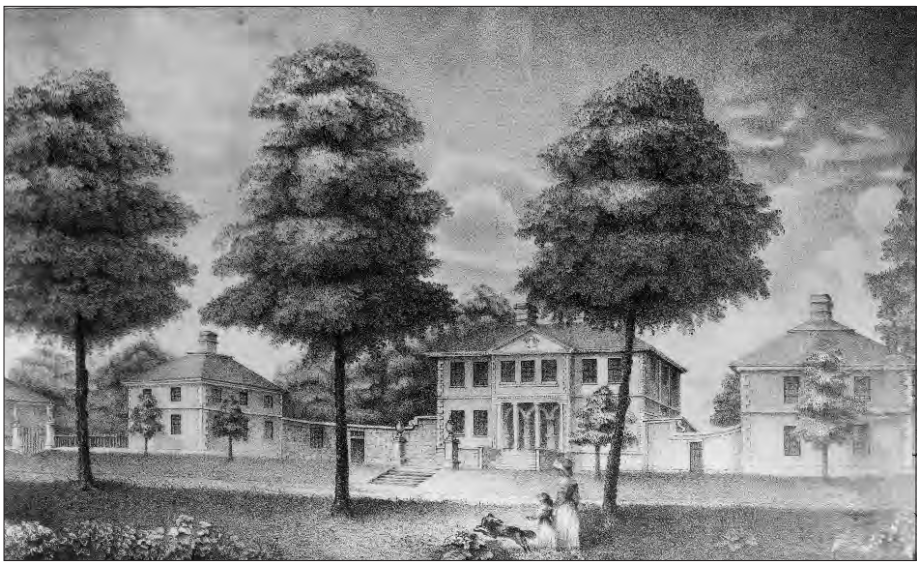


Figure 1.16. Mt. Airy, constructed c. 1765 on high ground overlooking the Rappahannock valley by Fitzhugh family friend John Tayloe II (Library of Congress).



Figure 1.17. Lower Brandon, constructed on the James River c. 1765 by William Fitzhugh's stepbrother Col. Benjamin Harrison (1743-1807). Thomas Jefferson attended William & Mary with Benjamin Harrison and is widely attributed with the home's design. Photographed in 1931 by Frances Benjamin Johnston (Library of Congress).

at any of these places, and regardless of his choice among "master builders" and architects, he would felt himself free to appropriate design features from any of these for his new home, according to his tastes (Figures 1.18 and 1.19).

Although unattributed, Chatham, the late Georgian style manor house shows the influence of English country houses of the eighteenth century, along with architect William Buckland (1734–74), whose work was prominent in Maryland and Virginia during the era. Other contemporary architects whose work reflects this style include Richard Taliaferro (1705–79, Governor's Palace) and John Ariss (1725–99; Elmwood, Menokin, Mt. Airy).



Figure 1.18. Location diagram indicating the relationship between plantation properties comparable with William Fitzhugh's Chatham. Aerial view looking east, 2016 (OCLP/Google Earth).

William Fitzhugh constructed Chatham between 1768 and 1771 on a bluff opposite Fredericksburg overlooking the Rappahannock River.[63] On October 5, 1769, Walker Taliaferro advertised a reward in the *Virginia Gazette* for the return of a runaway slave from William Fitzhugh's planation in King George County (Chatham). The enslaved man, Hanover, escaped on September 17. He is referred to, "by trade a good house carpenter and joiner." Doubtlessly, he was working on the mansion when he escaped from Walker Taliaferro, who may have been overseeing construction.[64] In November 1771, two deeds placed William Fitzhugh at Chatham. These are the first evidence that the Fitzhughs occupied Chatham, implying that the manor house was substantially complete by this year.[65]

Shortly after moving to Chatham, William Fitzhugh had an eye to expanding his already extensive holdings of about 1,200 acres at Chatham. When Mary Washington, mother of the president and resident of the adjacent plantation, Ferry Farm, moved to Fredericksburg in 1772, William Fitzhugh rented Ferry Farm from the Washington family for £22 per year. General George Washington's ledger book indicates rent payments from William Fitzhugh in 1774. This arrangement continued for a very short period until the Washington family sold Ferry Farm to Hugh Mercer.[66] Upon the sale of Ferry Farm, Washington wrote to Mercer on April 11, 1774, "When possession can be given I am not altogether clear in, as I believe Mr. Fitzhugh and Mr. Hunter look upon the tillable and pasture Land as engaged to them till the Fall; but Col. Lewis can give you the best information on that head, as it was with him the agreement was made. . ."[67]

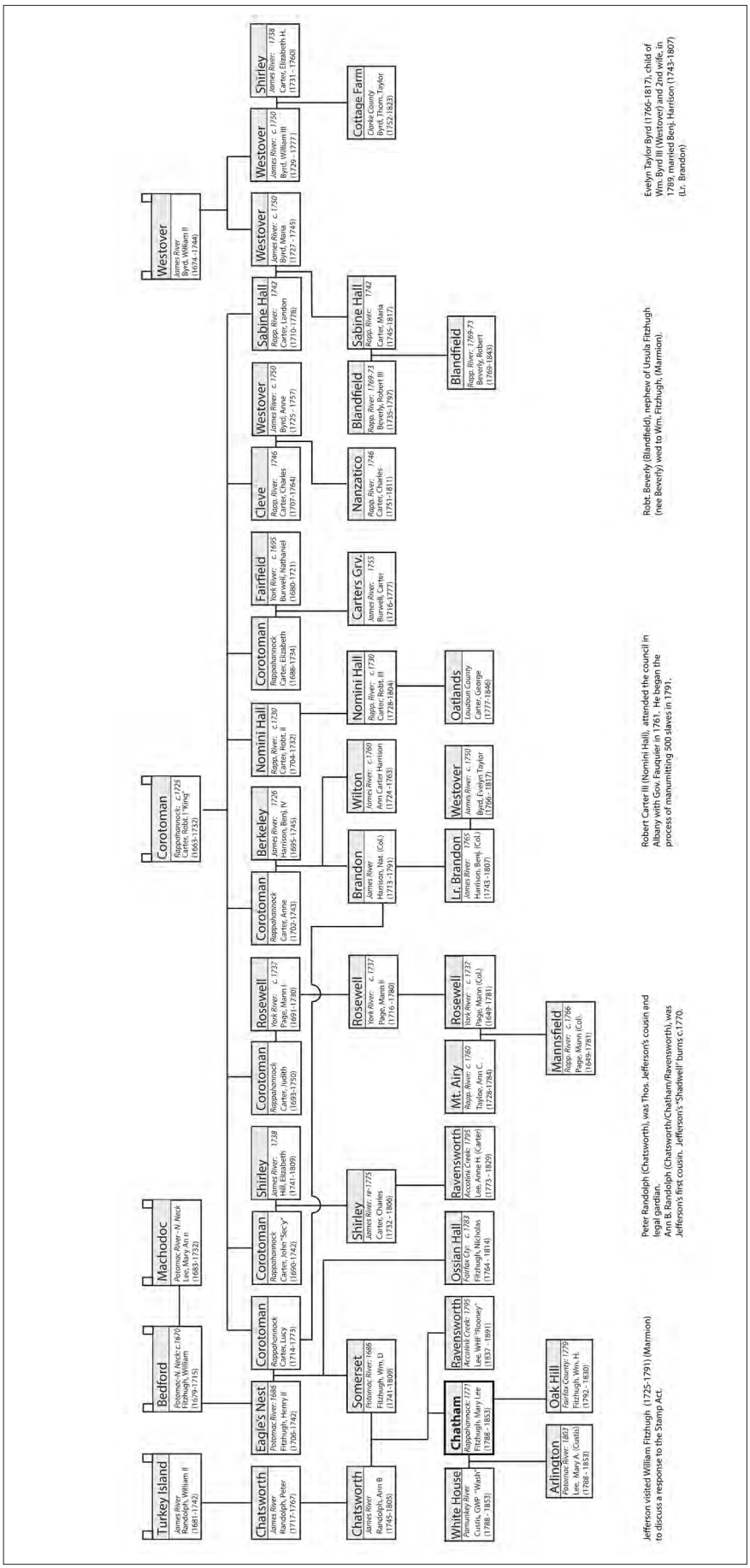


Figure 1.19. Diagram showing familial relationships between William Fitzhugh's Chatham and other properties belonging to the elite Randolph, Fitzhugh, Carter and Byrd families of Tidewater Virginia (OCLP)

ARCHITECTURAL APPELLATION: NAMING AND DESCRIBING CHATHAM'S CHARACTERISTICS AND FEATURES

Places and things, like persons, are often provided with a simplified label, or name, indicative of only the most superficial and fluid identities. William Fitzhugh was every bit as much a "Carter" as he was a "Fitzhugh." And so it was also true that "Georgian" architecture appropriated prior design trends. Colonial architecture that has become enthusiastically identified as "Jeffersonian" is broadly derivative from designs widely reproduced in eighteenth century pattern books. Finally, prior to its identification as "Chatham" this place below the falls of the Rappahannock was known by the name of "Waugh's," and with time the Chatham label would be forgotten, with "Lacy" appearing in its place on local maps.

Initiating construction of his new "seat" in 1769, it has been often been repeated that William Fitzhugh selected the name "Chatham" to honor "Lord Chatham" William Pitt (1708–78), British Whig populist and intellectual hero of the American Revolution. This story may ring true, or perhaps not, as there is no definitive documentation related to the origins of its architectural design, neither is there reliable documentation in Fitzhugh's correspondence related to the reasons for his choice of names. After William Fitzhugh successfully sold acreage in Spotsylvania County, raising the funds necessary to begin construction of his new dwelling in 1768, William Pitt had yet to widely voice his support for the colonists.[68] Thus, it is equally plausible that the Chatham name made reference to his wife's family seat "Chatsworth" on the James River.

Peter Randolph's Chatsworth is said to have been composed as five bay building, featuring a steep gabled roof and symmetrical chimneys and further equipped with an unusual portico or porch on one of its long facades. The opposite long façade is described as having a one story covered porch running the length of the main block of the house, supported by eight slender columns. Above this extending above the central bay, was a short disproportionate portico with four columns and a shallow pediment above. This portico served as a balcony from the second floor.[69] Examining the potential of the Randolph's Chatsworth as a precedent for choosing the Chatham name becomes more interesting when one considers that during the late 1790s William and Ann Fitzhugh would fashion for themselves an altogether new "seat" in Fairfax County, styled as Ravens*worth* (Figure 1.20).

The architecture sponsored by the extended Carter, Fitzhugh, and Harrison families more-or-less contemporary with Chatham may not be strictly classified as Georgian. These mid-eighteenth century homes of the elite incorporated neoclassical or Palladian elements including projecting pediments and porticos. Examples included the design of Mt. Airy and its derivatives, as well perhaps as the former two-level portico on Chatham's long façade facing the garden terraces and the river.



Figure 1.20. William Fitzhugh's Ravensworth in Fairfax County, constructed c. 1795 as he realigned his interests north to the neighborhood of the growing U.S. Capital (Library of Congress, HABS VA-105).



Figure 1.21. Drayton Hall, c. 1765. This image was discovered in 2007 and is attributed to the artist and naturalist Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere (1737-84) (Private collection).

Tidewater Virginia occupied a transitional zone between the Colonial "Low Country" architecture of the Carolinas and Georgia where the shade of such outdoor shelter served a climatic necessity; whereas such elements were unwarranted in Pennsylvania and New Jersey (Figure 1.21). It is entirely possible that the two-story portico as seen in nineteenth century photographs is part of Chatham's original design or otherwise an early Fitzhugh embellishment. Architectural investigations undertaken after the National Park Service acquired the property in the 1970s have not ruled out this possibility, nor did Thomas Tileston Waterman, founder of the Historic American Building Survey, writing of Chatham during 1946 in *The Mansions of Virginia: 1709-1766*. Supportive of this possibility is the knowledge that very recently following the completion of Chatham, Fitzhugh's cousin Charles Carter (1732–1806) oversaw the appendage of twin bi-level porticos to his Shirley plantation house (Figure 1.22).



Figure 1.22. Shirley Plantation, constructed c. 1738 by William Fitzhugh's uncle John Carter (1690-1742) and later remodeled to include matching porticoes by Fitzhugh's first cousin Charles Carter (1732-1806). View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

Designed to advertise power, ambitious Tidewater Virginia planters customarily oriented their dwellings to face the nearest principal river, with a carriage way leading, as a practical necessity, to the building façade, oriented inland. As navigable rivers were the primary arteries in service to regional commerce and travel, geometric gardens and decorative plantings were composed for the broadest possible display to travelers upon these principal arteries.

Returning to the topic of labels, Georgian v. Palladian or Carter v. Fitzhugh, many have long since puzzled over labeling the "front" of such a house, where there are few clues provided indicating a "back" or secondary façade oriented toward a practical service area. Landon Carter of Sabine Hall advised his son-in-law Robert Beverly during the 1770 construction of Blandfield, "I wish both front[s] are not spoiled for I find there is to be a building at each end which goes no higher than the first story…"[70] As Chatham was under construction concurrently, it is worth considering that Carter may have offered his nephew William Fitzhugh similar advice. The land side of the house had only one, central entrance before the 1920s, suggesting that the land side was not seen as the back or utilitarian access to the house.

Facing inland, carriageways approaching Chatham (or any of its kindred dwellings) typically culminated in a broad forecourt, an outdoor space usually delineated by the outstretched arms formed by matching outbuildings projecting at right angles from the central dwelling. These flanking outbuildings incorporated design elements harmonizing with the central dwelling. Forming a broad "U" shape, the central dwelling and its dependencies enclosed a space to accommodate the wide turning radius of a horse-drawn carriage, eliminating the awkward and sometimes dangerous operation of backing up.

Roads serving the Chatham landscape during William Fitzhugh's ownership included two parallel routes, one at the top and another at the bottom of the river

escarpment. The date of construction of the road at the foot of the escarpment, the Falmouth River Road, is unclear. This road likely evolved through use after Falmouth was established in 1727, when the road connected Falmouth to the north with the Fitzhugh's grist mill and the Fredericksburg ferry to the south. The road was likely formalized with construction of the first Chatham Bridge in the 1820s.

Atop the riverfront escarpment, a second road led from Falmouth to White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road) along the approximate alignment currently occupied by Chatham Lane. It is believed that the portion of this road between the Chatham carriage loop and White Oak Road functioned as a service-oriented plantation street, featuring barns, quarters, many outbuildings, and shops on both side of the road. At that early time, the only connections between these two parallel routes are believed to have been an unimproved section of White Oak Road (roughly along the current alignment of Chatham Heights Road) and the Chatham Carriage Drive. Roads or carriageways on the North Embankment are not well documented, yet may have existed during Fitzhugh's ownership to connect upland areas with the Fitzhugh ferry landing.

As both facades of such mansions were designed for public admiration, the landscape or grounds adjacent to both of these "fronts" were carefully laid out. Pleasure gardens and practical kitchen gardens were well integrated into the overall design of a Chesapeake planter's "seat" as early as the mid-eighteenth century. William Fitzhugh's maternal grandfather Robert "King" Carter (1663–1732) instructed his English gardener at Corotoman (1725) to bring the yards around the mansion into closer accord with the architectural rhythms of the mansion."[71] These instructions were fully in harmony with English practices and precedents.

William Hugh Grove observed in 1732 that the "great house" of Virginia at that time inclined towards handsome brick structures, surrounded by outbuildings, gardens, and fields. Grove further noted the tendency for the principal dwelling to be one and a half or two stories, perfectly symmetrical, and featuring a central passage or "summer hall" running through front to back.[72] Charting new directions in design was not a priority, and according to Fischer's analysis in *Albion's Seed*, "the Great House was set far back from the road, with a cluster of small outbuildings for kitchens, stables, servants, and elaborate gardens in front. This description of manor houses in the south and west of England fits the great houses of Virginia exactly."[73]

Robert "King" Carter's surviving eight children were raised in the privileged circumstances where the design of buildings was purposefully interwoven with landscape design. The Carter siblings acquired tastes in building first hand via education and travels in England. It is reasonable that they would fabricate similar environments for themselves in adulthood, and indeed, the succession of grand

dwellings constructed with Carter wealth would see no equal for one-hundred and fifty years. Nothing of its kind would be seen until a similar architectural rivalry ensued amongst the Vanderbilt clan during the "Gilded Age" of the late nineteenth century.

"King" Carter's eldest son, and William Fitzhugh's uncle, John Carter III certainly pursued this integrated design of building and grounds at Shirley (1738) undertaking new construction after his marriage into the Hill family. Fitzhugh's first cousin Charles Carter (1732-1806) would inherit Shirley and implement significant design changes. "King" Carter's son Robert "Councilor" Carter did likewise in his composition and fitting out of Nomini Hall (1730) (Figure 1.23). The younger Carter sons, Charles (1707–64) and Landon (1710–78), would arrange Cleve (1746) and Sabine Hall (1742) similarly (Figures 1.24 and 1.25).

Marrying into the colony's Page family in 1718, "King" Carter's eldest daughter Judith became the mistress of Rosewell (1735) perched above the creeks and inlets of the York River. With her son Mann Page II (1716–80), she saw the ambitious building project completed following the death of her husband Mann Page (1691–1730) (Figure 1.26). Daughter Elizabeth Carter's marriage to Nathaniel Burwell (1680–1721) begat their son Carter Burwell (1716–56) who later devoted his slice of the grandfather's fortune to construction of Carter's Grove (1755) (Figure 1.27). Henry Fitzhugh (1706–42) wed Lucy Carter (1714–73) "King" Carter's youngest daughter in 1730, the couple soon thereafter dwelling upon the pastoral hilltop Somerset overlooking the Potomac River valley. The adjacent Eagle's Nest plantation had been the Fitzhugh family "seat" since the turn of that particular century.

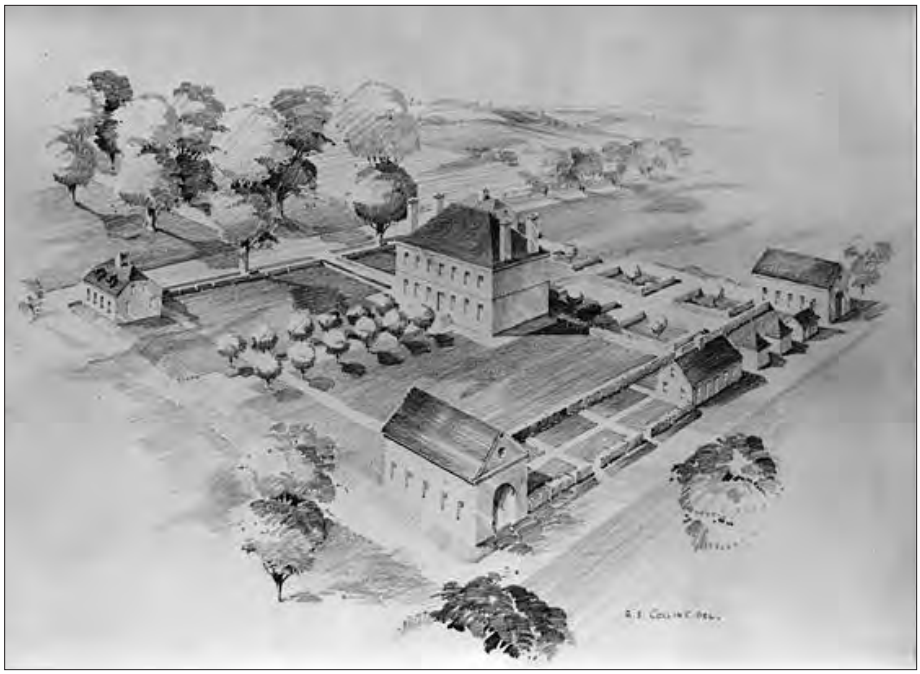


Figure 1.23 Nomini Hall, constructed c. 1730 by William Fitzhugh's uncle Robert Carter II (1704-32). Robert Carter II died the same year as the family patriarch Robert "King" Carter (1663-1732). The 76' x 44' mansion stood at the terminus of a 300-yard avenue of tulip poplars. Nomini Hall burned in 1850, prior to the Civil War (Library of Congress).

Lucy Carter's son William Fitzhugh (1741-1809) would in time wed Anne Bolling Randolph (1747–1805), daughter of Peter Randolph (1717–67) and Lucy Cocke Bolling (1719–67) of the Chatsworth plantation on the James River. The Randolph family's Chatsworth may have introduced or reinforced design elements carried over from the prodigious portfolio of Carter family estates.

The diagrammatic layout of integrated buildings and grounds perpetuated by Virginia's planters was typically bound within well-tended domestic area or "curtilage" that, comparing similar elite "seats" of the region, ranged from between ten and twenty acres. The boundaries of such an area were variable,

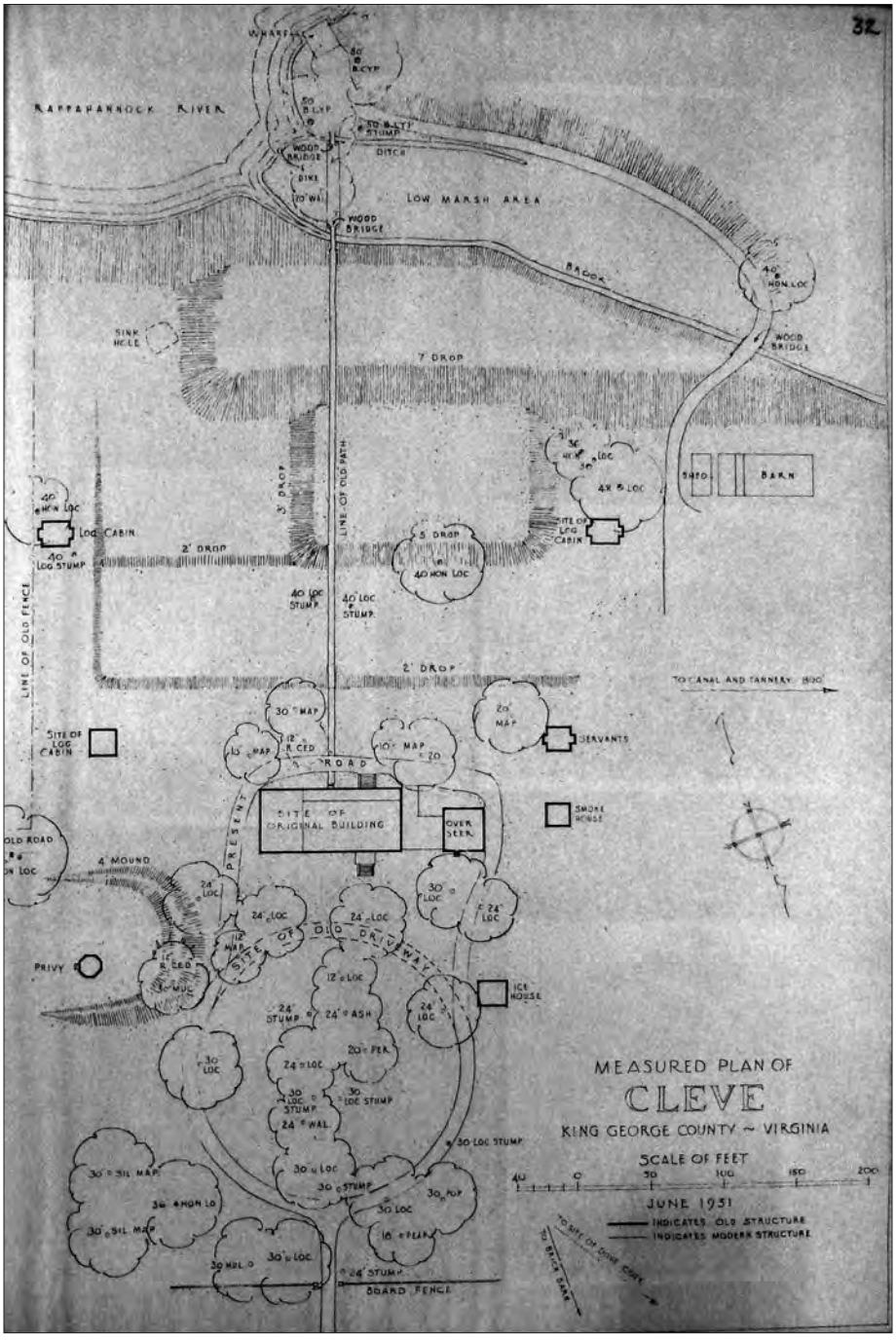


Figure 1.24. Cleve, constructed by William Fitzhugh's uncle Charles Carter c. 1746 (Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

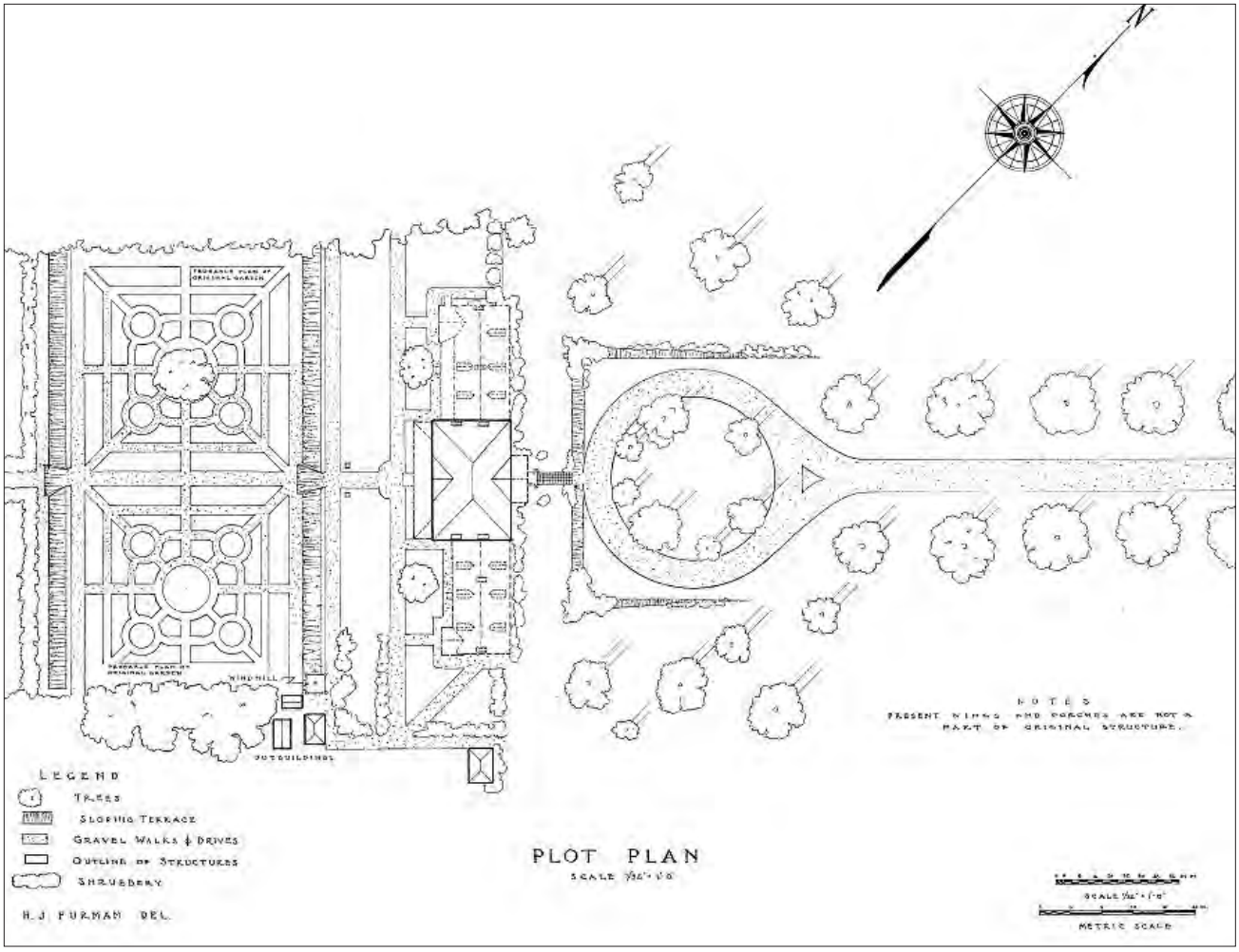


Figure 1.25. Sabine Hall, constructed by William Fitzhugh's Uncle Landon Carter c. 1742 (Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).



Figure 1.26. Rosewell, on the York River, completed c. 1737 by William Fitzhugh's first cousin Mann Page II (1716-80) (Thomas Allen Glenn, *Some Colonial Mansions and Those Who Lived in Them*, 1897).

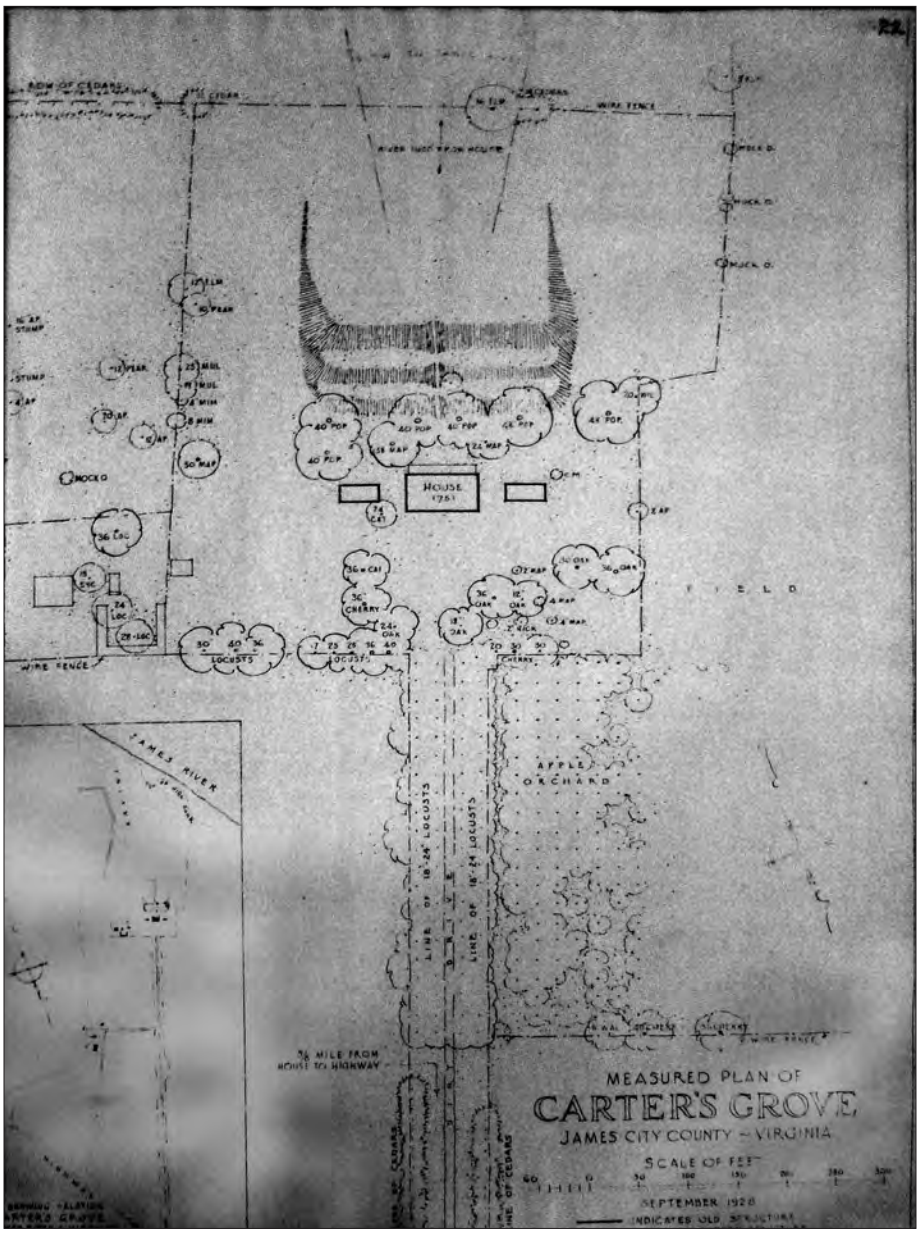


Figure 1.27. Carter's Grove, constructed c. 1755 by William Fitzhugh's first cousin Carter Burwell (Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

defined by the practical limits of useful topography, fencing, hedgerows or carriageways. The domestic grounds surrounding a "seat" were roughly laid out in geometric segments roughly divisible by antiquated units of measurement known as "poles" (16.5 feet), "chains" (66 feet), and "furlongs" (660 feet). The width of one pole, multiplied by the length of one furlong, yields an area of one "acre" of land. The historic size of Chatham's curtilage appears to have been approximately twelve acres. This sum approximates the extents of an "oxgang," or "bovate," an ancient unit of measurement of approximately fifteen acres.[74]

Along both sides of the Potomac, Rappahannock, York, and James rivers, compounds of diverse buildings and structures were oriented for advantageous display to passersby. Riverbank landings served as the byway or physical address, guiding successful arrival of visitors, correspondence, and freight. Drawing near

to an elite planter's seat by land, the roadside landscape became increasingly furnished with geometric arrangements of roadside trees, orchards, well-crafted fencing, cross fencing, and other conspicuous husbandry evocative of power; the power of Virginia's elite to tame the natural world. These circumstances effectively advertised wealth and power as their patrons intended, these places standing in vivid contrast with much of the surrounding impoverished and neglected landscape.

The inverse of a grand dwelling's visibility from a riverboat is the visibility of the river itself from the dwelling. Thus, Fitzhugh, his uncles and his cousins, universally enjoyed pleasant views to the waterfront, even though in some instances, the riverbank lay a mile or more distant. Woodlands and ornamental plantings growing between the house and the river were managed in subordination to this visual interplay, these viewsheds accomplished dual purposes in funneling breezes that moved up and down the river valleys to help ventilate and cool the home and its surroundings. With the resources to build on the best sites, the Great Houses of Virginia's coastal plain were often sited atop an "eminence," an area of rising ground that made distant views possible. Additionally, being located on a river escarpment, rising terrain would have laid between the regions characteristic incised ravines. Held aloft between the arms of two wooded ravines, these sites would be well drained of excess water, the ravine topography furthermore diverting to the building site cooling breezes moving up and down the river valley.

Describing the inland approach to Westover in 1783, Thomas Shippen described circumstances that in time would find their way to Fitzhugh's Chatham (Figure 1.28).

> . . . You pass thro' two gates, and from the second, which leads you into the improved grounds, may be seen a village of quarters as they are called for the negroes. The road you get into upon opening this gate is spacious and very level bounded on either side by a handsome ditch & fence which divide the road from fine meadows whose extent is greater than the eye can reach; and on one side you see the river through trees of different sorts. These meadows well-watered with canals, which communicate with each other across the road give occasion every 50 yards for a bridge; and between every two bridges are, two gates one on each side the road. You cannot easily conceive how fine an effect this has, but I must not omit mentioning the trees which tho thinly planted on both sides the road are a considerable accession. This road so beautiful that I can never go slow enough thro it, does not run in a straight line to the house it goes on the right of it for a little more than a quarter and a Y* quarter of a mile, you then turn to the left thro a very magnificent gate into the farm yard, where are the most commodious stables for the stock that I ever saw, You pass thro the extreme edge of it on the left, leaving it on the left. The road now becomes circular, & the remaining 1/4 quarter of a mile conducts you to the house itself.[75]

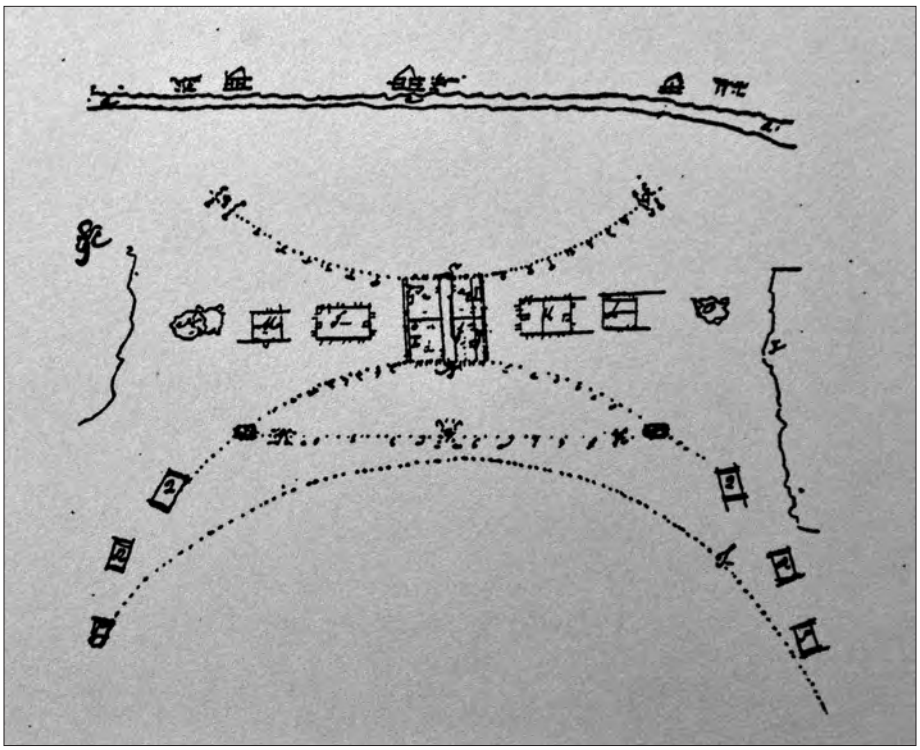


Figure 1.28. Diagram of the Byrd family Westover plantation complex, 1783, drawn by William Lee Shippen. Note the layout of the semicircular road on the land side of the manor house. Plan view (Library of Congress).

In the case of Chatham a similar description of successful husbandry and management would have included an impressive display of fine horses. From what can be understood of the man through his correspondence, it is certain that enormous entertainment and sport were derived from his horses.[76]

The main house and outbuildings were arranged to circumscribe a variety of forms of a both practical and ornamental forecourt, these spaces located to the inland side of the typical plantation complex. The carriage way entering upon such a forecourt tended toward formality, oftentimes fitted with regimented plantings used for architectural effect.

At a time when Chatham was only recently completed, Fitzhugh's cousin Robert Carter of Nomini Hall engaged a tutor to educate his children. Philip Vickers Fithian of New Jersey had graduated from Princeton in 1772 and accepted an offer by Carter to tutor his many children. Where the records of William Fitzhugh and his Carter uncles fail to describe details of their homes and grounds, Fithian's letters and diary provide a rare and picturesque accounting of the wider infrastructure and grounds at Nomini Hall. Features described by Fithian include garden plats, graveled walks, terraces, and garden slopes or "falls." Fithian describes the planting of peas and other edibles in otherwise ornamental garden spaces.

Fithian's written accounts are also important for his description of the architectural use of the tulip poplar *(Liriodendron tulipifera)*, arranged in a double

row flanking a long lane approaching Carter's mansion. Botanist Donald Culross Peattie memorably described Nomini Hall and its avenue of tulip poplars, in place by 1774, in his *Natural History of Trees*:

> …the trees of the famous "Poplar walk" at "Nomini Hall" in Westmoreland County, Virginia, are known to be over 200 years old, and in these centuries their limbs have attained a magnificent weight and sweep, while their trunks measure as much as 20 feet in girth, at breast-height. The great mansion is gone; the sandy road which leads to this place is a remote by-path…[77]

Noteworthy as being the tallest hardwood tree of North America, Peattie describes the geographic range of *Liriodendron tulipifera* extending from northern Florida and Louisiana to central Massachusetts and westward to southern Ontario and eastern Arkansas. The naturalist recounts the tree's "bewildering handful of folk names" and explains that foresters prefer "tuliptree" owing to its springtime appearance, a season "when its flowers, erect on every bough, hold the sunshine in their cups, setting the whole giant tree alight."[78]

Because it is well understood that the region's elite dwellings shared many common characteristics, it should come as no surprise to learn that early twentieth century documentation of many Carter family properties indicates the widespread survival of massive tulip poplar specimens, including those belonging to William Fitzhugh's many uncles, aunts, and cousins along Potomac, Rappahannock and James Rivers. (Mount Airy's terraces were planted with tulip poplars about the time the house was constructed by Fitzhugh's godparents, the Tayloes, in the 1750s. Carter's Grove featured a poplar allée about 1755.[79]) It was also a tree highly favored by Thomas Jefferson, who once called it the "Juno of our groves…" and characteristically employing classical references, further explained:

> under the constant, beaming, almost vertical sun of Virginia, shade is our Elysium…Let your ground be covered with trees of the loftiest stature. Trim up their bodies as high as constitution & form of the tree will bear, but so as that their tops shall still unite & yield dense shade. A wood, so open below, will have nearly the appearance of open grounds.[80]

As these trees were indeed of the "loftiest stature" available, tremendously large tulip poplar specimens survive at the perimeter of General Washington's bowling green at Mt. Vernon (Figure 1.29). Thus, it can be well understood why that long after Fitzhugh had left the property, visitors would comment on the "stately" poplars of his former home, some thirty years after Fitzhugh sold the plantation. These trees may have been upright Lombardy poplars (*Populus nigra*), but it is far more likely that they were the native tulip poplars (*Liriodendron tulipifera*). Based on the growth rate of tulip poplars, by 1835 they would have been about 20" diameter at breast height if planted by Fitzhugh in the 1770s.



Figure 1.29. Oil painting Edward Savage c. 1787-1792 of George Washington's Mt. Vernon illustrating common tree pruning practices promoting distant views. Trees with rounded canopies at the precipice of the hill, as well as those flanking the building complex, have been pruned of lower branches to make scenic views possible (Courtesy of Mount Vernon Ladies' Association).

REBELLION AND THE END OF FEUDAL LAND TENURE

As William Fitzhugh was beginning construction of Chatham in 1768, Virginia's House of Burgesses was sanctioned by the colony's governor for its public declarations opposing the extradition of Boston's anti-tax rioters to London. With the Burgesses later reconstituted, William Fitzhugh was present and in service at the colonial capital when the colonial body was dismissed in 1774 for once again publicly supporting the rebellious Massachusetts colonists. On July 21, 1774, a correspondent of the *Virginia Gazette* recommended that the Fredericksburg and Portsmouth Jockey Clubs suspend meetings during the "troubles," and contribute the purses to the people of Boston, likely referring to the recently imposed Boston Port Act, which closed the port of Boston until the people compensated the British for "the destruction of the tea" in December 1773.[81] The Virginia House of Burgesses passed the Virginia Non-Importation Agreement the summer after the Boston Tea Party.[82] This agreement benefitted larger merchants who had warehouses with stockpiled goods, but hurt smaller merchants, who depended on facilitating the sale of goods without storage. As a producer, the act likely benefitted Fitzhugh. By this time, Chatham had been substantially completed, yet like many new homes, was subjected to continued embellishment over the course of Fitzhugh's ownership, even during the rebellion.

In late 1775, as the British fleet attacked Norfolk, Virginia's royal governor began offering freedom to indentured servants and enslaved people willing to bear arms against the uprising.[83] In December of 1777, a local correspondent informed the *Virginia Gazette* that "many slaves are running off to the enemy. He reports ships lay at Boyd's Hole and among the gentlemen who had lost slaves to the enemy in that vicinity were Mr. Fitzhugh of Chatham, three fellers, one wench and four children…"[84] As Lord Dunmore attempted to dismantle servitude for his own purposes, in 1776, Thomas Jefferson drafted language into Virginia's state constitution abolishing the practice where elite land owning families, many of them Loyalists, protected their large tracts through the feudal mechanisms of "entail" and "primogeniture." These old practices had the effect of putting tracts of land, and also enslaved people, into a kind of family trust, restricting family stewards of the present generation from selling property to others outside of the family.

During the colonial rebellion, Fredericksburg occupied an important crossroads. Chatham, perched above and directly opposite the town, left an impression on many passersby. Indeed, the region's wealthy elite, many bearing some kinship to Fitzhugh, would have preferred to lodge for the night at Chatham than to mingle with social inferiors at the local taverns and "ordinaries," one example of this being the visit of Fitzhugh's cousin Robert "Councilor" Carter of Nomini Hall. During the summer of 1777 as the war with Britain remained confined to the northern colonies, Fitzhugh's cousin Robert "Councilor" Carter (1728–1804) of Nomini Hall wrote to expressing gratitude several weeks after one such a visit: "I passed four nights at Chatham last April and was a partaker of the elegancies provided within the doors and much delighted with your houses, grounds and situation."[85] It is a remarkable to consider that John Carter, like Jefferson before him, had apparently stopped in at Fredericksburg on travels attendant to a smallpox inoculation.[86] Devoutly religious, Robert "the Emancipator" Carter would meticulously administer and oversee the legal process of manumitting freedom to nearly 500 enslaved people prior to his death in 1804.

While the actual fighting and bloodshed of the war had been largely confined to the north prior to 1779, soon thereafter the British shifted their attention southward. As the British changed their tactics, William Fitzhugh became involved with the expansion of the Rappahannock Forge, an ironworks owned by James Hunter along the Rappahannock River one mile above Falmouth.[87] (William Fitzhugh had stayed at Hunter's home while the Chatham lands were surveyed in 1768.) Hunter's Ironworks were the largest in the Colonies and, during the war, produced weapons for the Continental Army and Navy. Ironworks and small scale "manufactories" were critical for Colonial victory in the Revolutionary War, and Hunter's establishment above Falmouth was among the largest in the colonies, crafting implements of both war and peace.

James Hunter and Fielding Lewis gave virtually all for the quest for independence; Fitzhugh's contributions seem timid by comparison. Fitzhugh lost some enslaved people and served in the Continental Congress for eight weeks. Beyond that, little tangible evidence survives to suggest he was a wholly committed Patriot.

The Virginia General Assembly responded to the war's accelerating drift southward. In May of 1779 the assembly declared:

> . . .the reservation of royal mines, of quit-rents, and all other reservations and conditions in the grants of land under the former government, are declared null and void; and that all lands thereby granted shall be held in absolute and unconditional property, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.[88]

This declaration, combined with prior abolition of the practice of entail, effectively ended feudal land tenure in Virginia, nullifying the Northern Neck Proprietary devised in 1649 by then exiled King Charles II (1630–85). More practically, nullification of the proprietary effectively ended annual payments of rent to proprietor Lord Fairfax, curtailing any funds that might in turn be passed along to the crown. In April of 1780, Virginia's capital was moved from Williamsburg to Richmond so that the assembly might not be threatened by British gunboats. The fledgling city was burned in 1781 nevertheless. The death of Thomas Fairfax, 6th Lord Fairfax of Cameron, in December 1781, only weeks after the fall of Yorktown, further settled the matter of quitrents and tenured ownership.

Washington and Rochambeau and their troops passed near Hunter's Rappahannock Forge, making their way through Falmouth and camped near Chatham during 1781 *en route* to defeating the British at Yorktown (Figure 1.30).[89] During this journey, Baron Ludwig Von Closen, an aide-de-camp to General Rochambeau, recorded his personal impression of Chatham:

> Falmouth is small, but Fredericksburg is nearly a mile long. The streets are irregular, but there are some very pretty houses; that of Mr. Fitzhugh appears to be the finest, because it is situated on a height from which there is a distant view, with the city located at the bottom.[90]

After the fall of Yorktown and cessation of hostilities, Stafford County tax lists of 1782 show Fitzhugh possessing 3,777 acres in Stafford County.[91] The following year, county tax lists enumerate William Fitzhugh's local ownership of 103 taxable enslaved people.[92]

THE ACCUMULATED WEALTH OF A DIVERSIFIED ECONOMY

Vast holdings of real estate were not alone sufficient to support William Fitzhugh's elegant lifestyle. Agriculture was a risky undertaking then as now, subject to less than ideal weather, pests, diseases, and fluctuations in the market price for crops. Fitzhugh regularly complained in his letters of an inability to extract payment



Figure 1.30. Detail of 1782 "Camp at Falmouth," 12-16 July 1782. Note the omission or absence of "River Road" on the northern riverbank (Library of Virginia, 755.232_T2).

from impoverished farmers leasing his agricultural lands. He, and others like him, attempted to hedge these risks by participating in diverse enterprises generating more predicable sources of funds.

Hence, Fitzhugh grew fruit orchards to supply the raw materials for his manufacture of cider and brandy. His enslaved laborers seasonally tended nets stretched across the Rappahannock, hauling in herring, shad, eels, and other anadromous fish that were smoked and packed for local consumption and trade. He developed a quarry on his lands, where builders could pay for access to stone, he superintended operation of a ferry service across the Rappahannock, and he leased out his large grist mill, this returning a cash payment and the privilege of

processing the grain of his own fields without cost. Fitzhugh's diverse operations included a dairy barn of over thirty cows, cooling over one hundred gallons output daily inside a large spring house for later local consumption or sale. As milk cows need to bear young annually in order to keep producing, veal calves were also sold to generate additional income. Additionally, Fitzhugh was involved in land speculation, including a proposed new townsite below Chatham. He was also a horse trader of note, breeding and offering particularly fine horses for sale. When these sources of funds proved insufficient, Fitzhugh and other slave owners would sell their human property at auction to the highest bidder.

FITZHUGH FERRY

On May 16, 1787, John and Mary Ann Lewis sold ten acres and twenty-five square poles adjoining the upper part of Fredericksburg to Henry Fitzhugh of Bellaire, William Fitzhugh's second cousin.[93] On December 19, 1787, the Virginia General Assembly passed an act, establishing several new ferries, including, "From the land of Henry Fitzhugh at the upper end of the Town of Fredericksburg across the Rappahannock River to the land of William Fitzhugh on the opposite shore–for a man three pence and for a horse, the same." The ferry connected the riverside fields at Chatham with a landing at the foot of what is now Canal Street in Fredericksburg.[94] William Fitzhugh operated the ferry in partnership with his second cousin until October 1, 1800 when they sold the ferry to Robert Wellford of Fredericksburg.[95]

The 1787 ferry may have reflected Fitzhugh's desire for an alterative to the long-established Ferry Farm ferry, which may have become increasingly monopolistic based on its convenience. Despite Fitzhugh family's historical involvement with Falmouth, Chatham's connection with Fredericksburg was ever-increasing in importance throughout the mid to late 1700s. Fredericksburg's adjacent and downriver wharves and mercantile firms provided transportation and commerce outlets for Chatham's agricultural output.

The Fitzhugh Ferry was not the first or the most famous across the Rappahannock. The first ferry predated the town of Fredericksburg (est. 1727) and was put in about 1660. After Fredericksburg was established, ferries were likely constantly working several at a time. Ferries operated from Falmouth from 1720 until the early nineteenth century, at which time the last ferry was put out of business by the privately owned Falmouth Bridge, built in 1798. James Hunter and later Robert Lewis owned the Ferry at Pine Grove, just below the present Chatham Bridge. Three owners of Chatham operated ferries: Fitzhugh's ferry crossed at the upper end of town; Churchill Jones operated a ferry that landed between Wolfe Street and the present Chatham Bridge; and John Coalter owned what was once Hunter's Ferry.

FITZHUGH'S EQUESTRIAN PURSUITS

On April 21, 1778, two horses belonging to William Fitzhugh's stepfather, Col. Nathaniel Harrison, were stolen from the stable at Chatham.[96] While the original stable at Chatham was likely contemporary with the manor house, this is the first documented reference to the stable building. The existence of a stable at Chatham sufficient for thirty horses, along with a coach house for four carriages, is later confirmed by a 1797 advertisement of sale.[97] The locations of these buildings is not confirmed, but they very likely stood along the plantation street, and may even be the two stone buildings shown at the intersection of the carriage loop and the planation street documented on an 1862 "Map of the Vicinity of Fredericksburg" (see Figure 1.41).

Fredericksburg tavern-keeper General George Weedon's ledger shows that William Fitzhugh was a member of the Jockey Club of Fredericksburg.[98] Throughout the 1770s, newspapers documented his activity at the Annapolis Maryland races and the many the victories of his horses. References to William Fitzhugh's horses were scant during the American Revolution. Yet soon thereafter William Fitzhugh was involved in equestrian pursuits. In 1785, William Fitzhugh wrote to George Washington that his horse, *Tarquin*, recovered laurels lost in Alexandria.[99] In her will dated December 12, 1784, Rose Newton (c. 1700–85) of Charles County, Maryland bequeathed her enslaved jockey and groom Gerald to William Fitzhugh.[100] The name-specific attention that Fitzhugh gave his jockeys contrasts powerfully with the anonymity that he and contemporary slaveholders and mangers gave most of the other slaves.

Nothing made Fitzhugh more famous than his horses. One of Fitzhugh's only assignments during his short tenure in the Continental Congress was to find a team of horses suitable for General Washington. Much of Thomas Jefferson's correspondence with him relates to Jefferson's desire that Fitzhugh find and buy him a good horse.

In March 1790, Fitzhugh sold *Tarquin* to Thomas Jefferson.[101] By that same month, the reputation of William Fitzhugh's horses was secured sufficiently for him to advertise for breeding services of his stud horse at "the moderate price of Four Dollars the season, and half a crown to the groom; which may be discharged in corn, wheat, or tobacco, at their current value."[102] The following year, William Fitzhugh placed another notice in the *Virginia Herald* and *Fredericksburg Advertiser* for the services of his stud, accepting payment in the form of corn or wheat, a practice he continued at Chatham into 1797.[103]

Many secondary sources describe Fitzhugh's private racecourse on the uplands beyond Chatham.[104] Consistent with the practices of the time, such a track would

have been a straight, quarter-mile track designed for flat racing. However, no primary source materials have been located that document the specific location of such a course, leaving the question open to future archeological investigation.

A LANDSCAPE OF ENSLAVEMENT AND PRODUCTION

King George County was reorganized during the Revolutionary War in 1777, with Fitzhugh's Chatham falling within the newly drawn boundaries of Stafford County. Tax records from 1782 list William Fitzhugh of Chatham in possession of four Stafford tracts (1,150; 600; 400; and 1,627 acres) totaling 3,777 acres.[105] The following year, county tax records document William Fitzhugh owning 103 taxable enslaved people, not including children or other individuals who were exempt from taxation. Fitzhugh was also taxed on twenty-nine horses, twenty-eight cattle, and one stud horse.[106]

Undoubtedly, some of the enslaved people lived at plantation "quarters" beyond Chatham; however, the bulk likely lived on the large 1,200 acre Chatham property, in crude slave dwellings clustered in the practical vicinity of their work. From the third quarter of the eighteenth century, log was the dominant materials for the homes of large portions of Virginia's enslaved population.[107]

A marked difference existed between planters' perception of their surrounding and that of enslaved workers. Prominent scholar Dell Upton noted the different perceived geographies of enslaved people and their enslavers. This may take the form of the experiential, in ways of knowing shared circulation routes or territorial systems as fine-scaled as the swept yard outside of slave quarters, like those Robert "King" Carter wrote of outside the quarters at Corotoman in 1725.[108] What is known today about the Chatham landscape's past is drawn largely from white accounts. These may be different from the reality of the plantation's geography for enslaved residents. The "black landscape" (coined by others) was an alternative system of circulation and places, real and perceived, created as a refuge from the systems of planters' and other whites. The true landscape of Chatham's enslaved population may further be revealed through archeology or lost to posterity.

Within Chatham's landscape lived a self-contained community with a distinct identity and culture. As John Michael Valch articulates in *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery:*

> An antebellum plantation was fundamentally a place of work. This is, however, not the usual image associated with plantation estates. Grand mansions and elegant grounds have, at least since the early twentieth century, come to be regarded as emblematic of the plantation as a place. Generally overlooked is the fact that a planter's house was only the centerpiece of a holding that necessarily included fields, pastures and woodlots. Moreover, these holdings would not have existed at all were it not for the sizeable profits amassed through the

> unrelieved labor of enslaved workers. Because it is often the case that only the mansion houses remain [as at Chatham], the impression conveyed by plantation sites today is exclusively one of wealth and easy comfort. Because the slave quarters and various work spaces are frequently missing [as at Chatham], how such splendor and comfort were sustained remains something of a mystery.[109]

The location of slave quarters at Chatham during William Fitzhugh's ownership is not known. However prior to its sale, Chatham is understood to have featured "an overseer's house, blacksmith shop, and quarters sufficient to accommodate in the best manner more than fifty labourers."[110] The "quarters" referring to slave quarters or barracks, these laborers were most likely housed inside five to ten separate structures, clustered in groups of twos and threes at various locations. Such a grouping would have logically been located in close proximity to the overseer's dwelling and otherwise, at nodes of activity such as the mill, stables, barns, and blacksmith shop, an area that scholars of the era have deemed the "plantation street." Little documentation of the lives of enslaved people in Fredericksburg—and even less of enslaved people at Chatham—survives from the Fitzhugh era. A sketch by architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe showing "An Overseer Doing His Duty" near Fredericksburg about 1798 provides an anglicized portrait of the work of overseers and slaves (Figure 1.31). Although famous for his later role in the design of the United States Capitol, Latrobe spent several years in Virginia filling two sketchbooks after arriving from his native Britain in 1796.

A mid-nineteenth century map of Chatham titled "Map of the Vicinity of Fredericksburg" shows a cluster of small buildings along the plantation street (Figure 1.32). Chatham's enslaved domestic servants likely lived in the loft spaces above their workplace in the freestanding kitchen and laundry, while frame buildings shown on the same map in the vicinity of the mill along Claiborne's Run were likely home to a sizable contingent of Chatham's enslaved field hands.



Figure 1.31. Watercolor sketch of "An Overseer Doing His Duty Near Fredericksburg, Virginia" by Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820), c. 1798 (Maryland Historical Society, 1960.108.1.3.21).

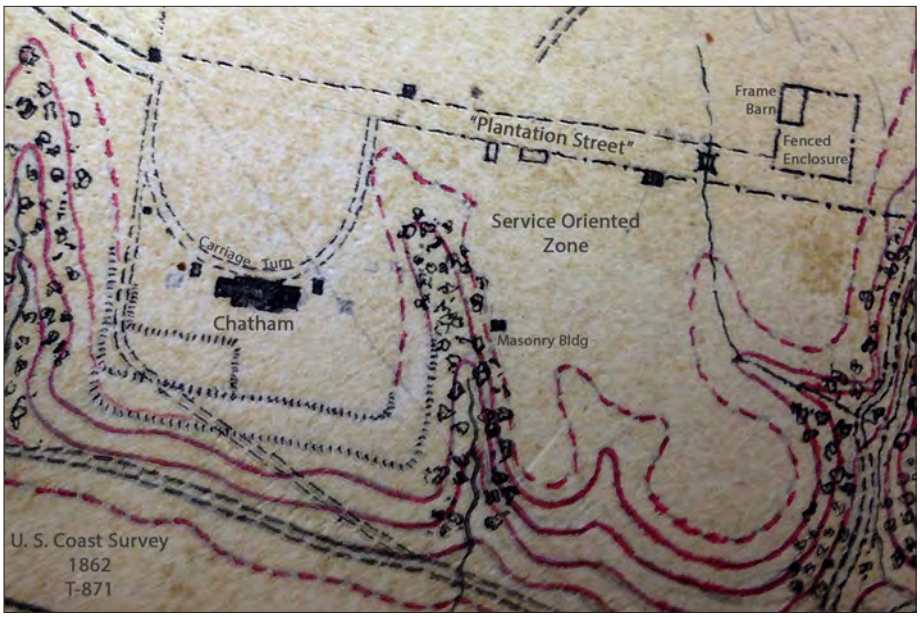


Figure 1.32. Annotated detail from 1862 Coast Survey Map. While this drawing was prepared over fifty years after Fitzhugh's sale of the property, the spatial relationships fundamental to the organization of the plantation would have endured this span of time. These include the basic diagram of vehicular circulation and the juxtaposition of "served" ornamental landscape spaces v. "service" work areas and dwelling areas for non-domestic enslaved workers (National Archives II, Coast Survey T-Chart T-871).

As Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park Chief historian John Hennessey noted, Chatham was a company town:

> Fitzhugh's Chatham illustrated vividly what historian C. Vann Woodward saw as the interdependence of slaves and masters: 'They have shaped each other's destiny, determined each other's isolation, shared and molded a common culture,' he wrote. The foundation of life at Chatham-the productivity of the lands-and the aura of society that surrounded the place were largely dependent upon the labor of slaves. They manicured Fitzhugh's lawn and nurtured his garden; they caught the sturgeon that produced the caviar at his dinner parties; they groomed his horses and rode them to victory in his name; they tended to his hundreds of acres under cultivation; they cared for his children, set his table, and emptied his chamber pot.
>
> William Fitzhugh owned a vast number of slaves at his various plantations-at his death, his inventory listed 232, worth more than $40,000. While the numbers at Chatham at times ranged upward of one-hundred (in 1784, he had 104), more commonly Fitzhugh used about sixty slaves to maintain the operation at Chatham. So far as is known, he employed a single overseer for all of them, which undoubtedly placed a significant management burden on Fitzhugh himself.
>
> Fitzhugh's enslaved labor force included the spectrum of trades needed to maintain a small village and a lavish lifestyle: gardeners, cooks, a blacksmith, jockey, draymen, groomsman, miller, tanner, nailer, house slaves, carpenters, and, most numerously, field hands appear in his various inventories, advertisements, and correspondence. The carpenters were especially prized. Not only did Fitzhugh find them of immense value in the continuing development of Chatham (by 1790, the plantation contained as many as twenty-seven buildings, including a new overseer's house and coach house), in slack times he hired them out for various jobs across Virginia, generating precious cash.
>
> Popular tradition holds that Fitzhugh was a 'benevolent' slaveowner. If benevolence was a relative term, then perhaps he was. In at least one advertisement for the sale of slaves he offered a reduced price to buyers who would keep families together. In a 1797 letter to his nephew Benjamin Grymes, Fitzhugh recorded giving a pass for travel to Eagle's Nest to a slave named Jonny, 'who wishes to

> spend Christmas with his wife.' Fitzhugh instructed, 'I have given him leave to stay a week. By his return I hope to hear you are well.' But any charity toward slaves on the part of Fitzhugh was no concession to equality. Slaves were, according to his wife Ann (who probably reflected William's view), entirely untrustworthy. She counseled her children, 'Do not...give credit to every idle tale you hear and never suffer a servant to prate to you; so if they do, pay not the least attention to what they say, their uninformed minds make them fond of mischief.'

On July 21, 1797 William Fitzhugh wrote to his nephew Benjamin Grymes at Eagle's Nest that "the Negros and butchers" had stolen all of his muttons and lambs just months before the Fitzhughs moved to Alexandria.[111] Chatham and Eagle's Nest were interdependent, with Fitzhugh managing an integrated operation. The interconnectedness of Chatham and Eagles Nest, made clear by Fitzhugh's letters to Grymes, suggest that the route from of Chatham to the northeast would have been well-developed and well-traveled.

The diversity of trades available to Fitzhugh, and to Chatham, was expanded by his ownership at Eagle's Nest. The numerous trades and skills reflected in the various documents imply the presence of a wide variety of facilities and features on the landscape that supported their work, including a kitchen for cooks; stables for jockey and groomsman; a mill for the miller, barns for gardeners, field hands, and a blacksmith; possible tannery for the tanner; and a possible brewery for draymen.

The most reliable documentary evidence of field crops at Chatham date to 1790, when Fitzhugh wrote to Jefferson that the loss of his tobacco and corn during the prior year threw him into arrears so much, "that even a tolerable crop of wheat will not relieve me."[112] In 1791, Fitzhugh was also in communication with his uncle, Landon Carter, about the most advanced methods for threshing wheat, which he had been growing at Chatham from at least 1787.[113] Throughout the 1790s, Fitzhugh continued to grow tobacco, wheat, and corn at Chatham.

The 1790 U.S. Census for Stafford County documented five "white soles" [sic, Caucasians] at Chatham, one dwelling, and twenty-seven other buildings.[114] With about thirteen buildings accounted for in the vicinity of the manor house, about fourteen buildings lay in Chatham's outlying acreage, likely barns and slave quarters exclusively in support of the plantation. By 1801, Stafford County tax lists record that Fitzhugh's overseer, Burkett Bowen, was responsible for forty-four taxable enslaved people at Chatham.

While Fitzhugh farmed some of Chatham's acreage with enslaved people under the supervision of an overseer, he also let portions of the plantation to tenant farmers, very likely in 100-acre tracts. Two hundred acres could support an average family on the Northern Neck living a comfortable lifestyle in the late eighteenth century, yet by 1782, about forty-two percent (1,141 out of the total 2,699) of heads of household on the Northern Neck were landless.[115]

The Northern Neck was dominated by country seats of large landowners who controlled vast plantations. Large plantations were typically subdivided into "quarters" or "tenements," depending upon whether production was the responsibility of the overseer or tenant. Plantations managed by overseers were often remote, with a white overseer managing a group of enslaved people that ranged greatly in size. Overseers were employees of the landowner, who was responsible for providing tools, buildings, and other necessities for the plantation. Tenants paid annual rent to landowners, but were otherwise like landowning planters themselves, left to manage their leased acreage independent of interference (or assistance) from the landowner.[116]

On July 6, 1791 William Fitzhugh wrote from Chatham to a merchant referencing a large quantity of tobacco that he had from tenant farmers. Although agriculture was diverse at Chatham, tobacco remained important even after major investments in wheat. During and after the Revolution, there were several large tobacco warehouses at Fredericksburg. Other tobacco warehouses, more distant, stood along the banks of the Rappahannock at Falmouth. At both points, tobacco was brought to be inspected before it was shipped down river or exported.[117]

Fitzhugh relied on profits from his fields, both leased and farmed, to finance his ever expanding holdings. He continued in his letter to the merchant, "I have just purchased 500 acres of land near me at this place, which I could not have done without and I must pay for it soon, or lose it."[118] Fitzhugh refers to the 588 acres he purchased to the northeast of Chatham's original 700 acres from his uncle Landon Carter and his wife Elizabeth of Sabine Hall (deed recorded October 19, 1793), which brought Chatham's contiguous acreage to 1,288.[119]

During William Fitzhugh's ownership, Chatham is understood to have featured two large orchards, believed to lie beyond the North and South Ravines. In 1797, William Fitzhugh was making apple brandy, as much as 200 gallons a season.[120] In March 1798, he sent George Washington two black heart cherry trees in addition to pound pears and a French pear imported by M. George Digges of Maryland.[121] The following year, Fitzhugh sent his friend Washington seeds from Hugh's Crab Apple, noting that the "fruit of the seedling crab is considerable [sic] larger, more juicy and supposed to make a good cyder [sic] and in greater quantity than the grafted fruit."[122] Washington had previously sowed orchard grass seed given to him by William Fitzhugh.[123]

The 1799 growing season was a busy one at Chatham, with William Fitzhugh writing to his nephew Benjamin Grymes:

> We are hourly expecting Mr. Carter [Charles] of Shirley and his Family or notwithstanding the busy season of cutting Tobacco, beating cyder [sic] and sowing wheat, I shou'd certainly ride down to see you. . .I have no commands to Alexandria unless you shou'd see Parson Davis. I wrote to him to inform him that I cou'd dispose of his wheat machine but have rec'd no answer.[124]

While Virginia census records prior to 1850 fail to summarize local agricultural production, William Fitzhugh's correspondence with family and friends documents the presence of a diverse herd of livestock at Chatham from the 1770s through the 1790s, including swine, deer, sheep/lambs, and cows, largely for home consumption. As with his horses, Fitzhugh also traded in livestock with friends and family, including his uncle Landon Carter, nephew Benjamin Grymes, and George Washington.[125]

Throughout the 1790s, William Fitzhugh's nephew Benjamin Grymes sent meats and other foodstuffs to his uncle from Eagle's Nest, which Fitzhugh continued to own, having provided his troubled nephew a life estate. Fitzhugh was grateful for Grymes' contribution to the larder, as it was sorely needed to sustain Chatham's numerous guests. In July 1797, Fitzhugh wrote to Grymes:

> I am much obliged to you for the contents of your Tumbrel, but fear you too often disfurnish yourself to serve me - everything you sent was very acceptable for we expect a good deal of company every day...[126]

Over the summer of 1799, the year in which he purchased a town home in Alexandria, William Fitzhugh reported slaughtering twenty-one veal calves in addition to "muttons, lambs, and shoats [young pigs], exclusive of a large quantity from Market, three sturgeon and Fowls out of number" to feed his guests.[127] By 1800, Fitzhugh's letters to his nephew grew more desperate as he struggled to sustain Chatham, his new seat at Ravensworth, and his town house in Alexandria:

> I am much obliged to you for the Fish, for provision is scarce with us and money much more so. The failure of Mr. Hartshorne has hurt me a good deal for although my crop of wheat was small not more than four or five hundred bushells [sic] yet to lose the whole of it, is a great deal to me. I have four hundred barrells [sic] of corn to purchase for the use of Ravensworth, besides what my people and horses will consume here and have nothing to sell but a small crop of Tobacco, for which I can only get three dollars.[128]

The pressures of operating a productive plantation and hosting so many guests at Chatham are often attributed to Fitzhugh's decision to sell the plantation. By 1799, Fitzhugh regularly dined and lodged between twenty and forty guests a night at Chatham.[129]

By 1801, Stafford County tax lists record that Fitzhugh's overseer, Burkett Bowen, was responsible for forty-four taxable enslaved people at Chatham. The number of livestock Fitzhugh kept at Chatham had also decreased to ten, evidence of the shift in attention toward Alexandria and the Fairfax County Ravensworth plantation.[130]

By 1802, William Fitzhugh's focus moved farther from Chatham as he began selling enslaved people to satisfy his debts. Fitzhugh used his slaves as a source of

capital when other sources ran dry. He had no compunction about selling slaves to raise money. This speaks powerfully to the place slaves and slavery held at Chatham and Eagle's Nest. On January 8, 1802 he wrote to his nephew:

> I hope you have done something with Mr. Hubban for I really want money and if I continue to sell my negroes whenever my creditors call on me and nobody will pay me, I must be [illegible]. I have already sold seventy three negroes and must sell many more unless those who are in my debt will act differently from what they seem inclin'd [sic] to do.[131]

Frustrated, in June 1802 he wrote to Grymes, "My wheat is all level with the ground, but it is the will of Heaven and I will submit."[132] Within four years, Chatham was sold.

1805 SLAVE REBELLION

By early 1805, William Fitzhugh had moved to his new home in Alexandra. Chatham was temporarily placed under the management of Col. Rob Randolph, who "believing that the Overseer employed by Mr. Fitzhugh for nearly 20 years was too indulgent," replaced Chatham's overseer with a man named Mr. Starke.[133]

On January 2, 1805 several of Chatham's enslaved residents rebelled after being ordered to work by the new overseer during the Christmas holiday. They overpowered and whipped Mr. Starke, who subsequently left the plantation for Falmouth, seeking assistance. This decision reinforces the primary road connection between Chatham and Falmouth.

At Falmouth, Mr. Starke found John Bett and Benjamin Bussell, who returned with him to Chatham to confront the enslaved men. The confrontation resulted in a second brawl during which one enslaved man named Abram attempted to strike Benjamin Bussell with an ax. One enslaved man named Phill was shot and another enslaved man drowned in the icy river while fleeing. As a result of the uprising, Abram was hanged and two (including Robin, a carpenter) were deported.[134] The event was much publicized in the press of the day and remains a noteworthy early slave rebellion. It is also one of the few slave rebellions ever recorded in the Fredericksburg area.

FITZHUGH'S DEPARTURE AND DIVESTMENT

Ratification of the United States Constitution in 1788 foretold the creation of a new ten-square mile district to serve as the seat of the federal government.[135] While various sites for the new capital were considered, two years later the Residence Act of 1790 was passed while Congress met in New York City. This law, formally entitled, "An Act for establishing the temporary and permanent seat of the Government of the United States, fixed the location of the federal district on the Potomac River, between Maryland's Georgetown and Virginia's Alexandria,

on lands ceded by both states. By 1792, the district, named "Columbia" had its boundaries established and marked on the ground with Aquia sandstone monuments installed by Andrew Ellicott and a party of assistants which included the free African American Benjamin Banneker. The promising new city was located about ten miles east of William Fitzhugh's extensive lands in Fairfax County.

The following year, in 1793, the foundation for the U.S. Capitol building was begun with the laying of the building cornerstone by George Washington and his colleagues belonging to the Masonic fraternal organization. Seven year later, the new edifice hosted its first legislative session on November 17, 1800.

Three years elapsed between the legislative establishment of the District of Columbia and 1796, when William Fitzhugh openly discussed Chatham's sale in correspondence. During this time, he must surely have weighed the prospects of his diverse Stafford County holdings and enterprises against the opportunity to take part in the founding of a new city, and the financial gain that might accrue from marketing farm products to the growing metropolis. It appears that this choice was effectively made 1796, when he joined other Fitzhugh kinsmen in Fairfax, constructing the building that came to be known as the Ravensworth plantation. Thus, it may be reasonably argued that it was the opportunity presented by the new capital city that led to Fitzhugh's departure from Stafford rather than oft repeated accounts of his impoverishment and annoyance due to houseguests travelling between Alexandria and Richmond.

There is scant graphic evidence documenting the physical character of Fitzhugh's Chatham until the time came for its sale. The sole graphic depiction of the property during this early time is found in the Mutual Assurance Society records dated 1796 and 1805. These two policies provide a portrait of the core of the estate, in addition to sketch maps of the manor house and mill areas.

The 1796 policy indemnifies William Fitzhugh's mill house along the north bank of Claiborne's Run against fire. The stone mill house with a timbered roof, valued at $6,000, stood fifty-two feet long and thirty-seven feet wide, and was then occupied by George Wheeler.[136] A second 1796 policy insured Chatham, the covered property including five buildings—a dwelling house, its' two wings and colonnades, a free-standing laundry, and a free-standing kitchen—together valued at $20,400. The five structures were built of brick with wood roofs. In this 1796 policy, the two wings, or pavilions, are shown connected to the main block of the house by "brick covered ways." The term "covered way" likely indicated a short covered hallway, that was otherwise open to the air. A sketch of the five buildings at the bottom of the "Form of the Declaration for Assurance" is the first visual documentation of Chatham (Figure 1.33).[137]

On December 28, 1805 William Fitzhugh re-insured Chatham and the nearby mill against fire with the Mutual Assurance Society. Chatham's five buildings were once again valued at $20,400. A sketch at the bottom of the insurance certificate shows the brick dwelling house connected to two brick wings, with cellar doors on opposite sides of the wings. A small porch is also shown on the southeastern end of the dwelling. To the southeast, the freestanding brick kitchen is adjoined by a brick smokehouse, located twenty-seven feet to the southeast. To the northwest, the freestanding laundry is adjoined by a brick smokehouse, located twenty-seven feet to the northwest (Figure 1.34).[138] That same day, Fitzhugh also insured the stone mill house along Claiborne's Run, establishing a $5,000 value for that property.[139]

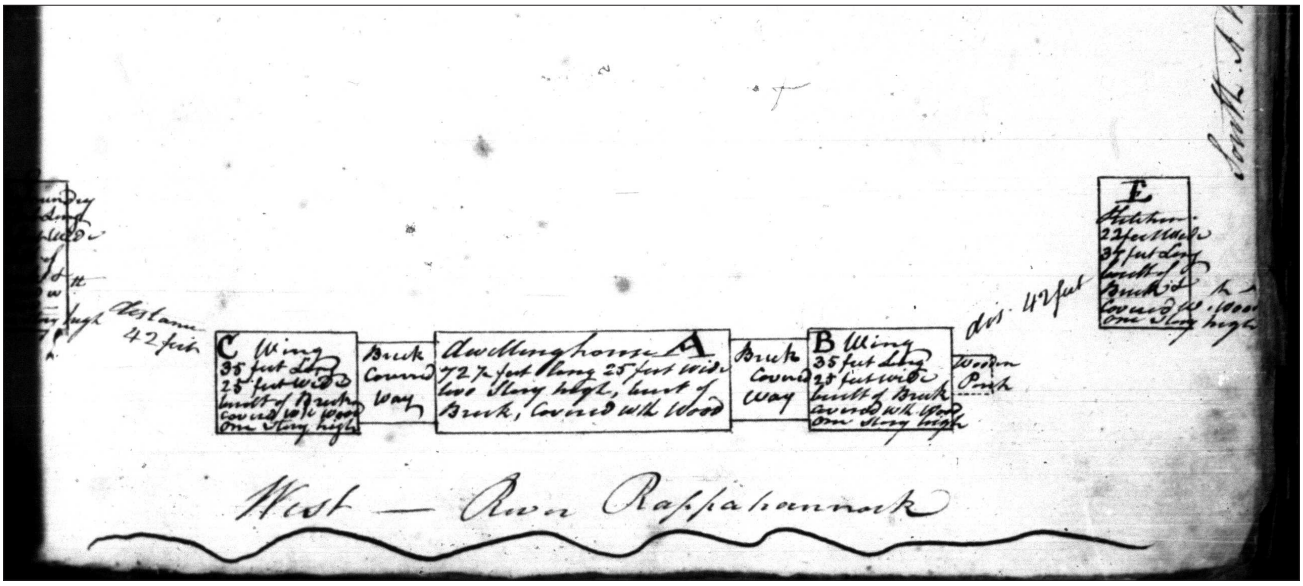


Figure 1.33. Detail of "Form of Declaration for Assurance" through the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia. Plan view, 1769 (Library of Virginia, Records of the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, policy no. 48).

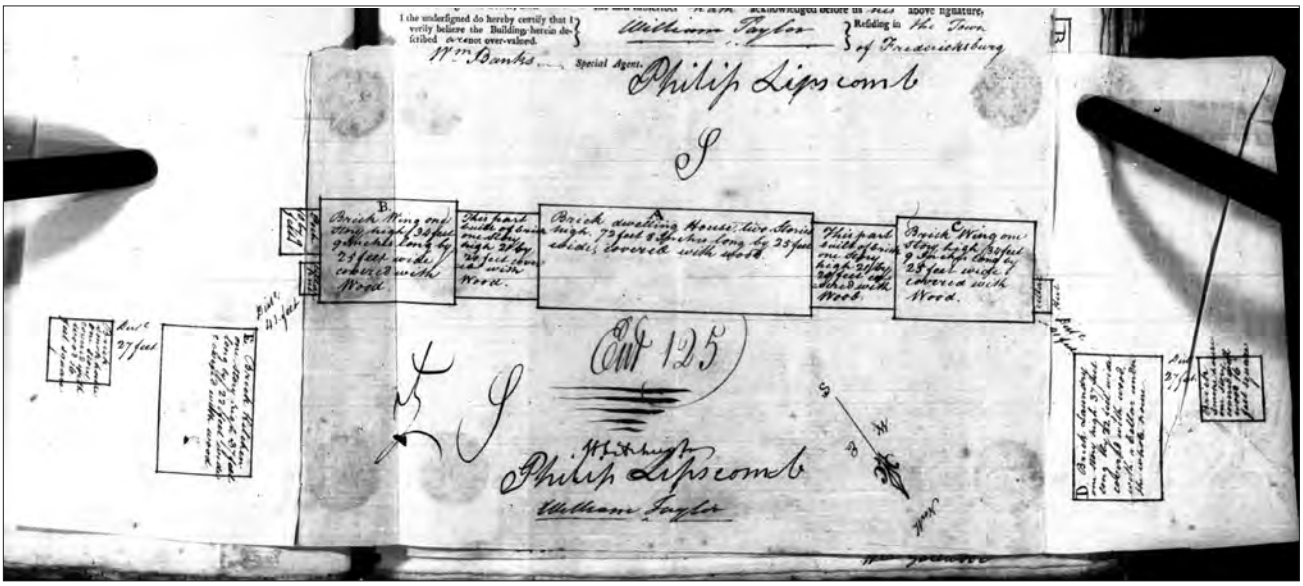


Figure 1.34. Detail of "Revaluation of the buildings insured per declaration No. 48" through the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia. Plan view, 1805 (Library of Virginia, Records of the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, policy no. 974).

MARKETING CHATHAM FOR SALE

In 1796 William Fitzhugh purchased a home at 607 Oronoco Street in Alexandria, about ten miles from his other plantation, Ravensworth.[140] In the fall of 1797, the Fitzhughs moved to Alexandria, returning to Chatham in the spring and summer of 1798. As they sought buyers, the Fitzhugh's treated Chatham as a second home—a retreat from Alexandria and Ravensworth—at one point taking refuge there when a yellow fever epidemic gripped the new capital.[141] Yet it appeared that Fitzhugh was more actively seeking relief from his mounting debt. On November 30, 1796, shortly after purchasing his townhouse, Fitzhugh wrote to his first cousin Charles Carter of Shirley:

> The sale of Chatham, which I shudder at the Idea of, will pay for this new House [in Alexandria with views of the Potomac and the Federal City] and more than discharge every debt I owe in the world.[142]

That winter, on February 14, 1797, William Fitzhugh placed his first notices in the *Virginia Herald* and *Fredericksburg & Falmouth Advertiser,* advertising Chatham to prospective buyers. The advertisement provides the earliest comprehensive description of the plantation:

> FOR SALE OR PRIVATE CONTRACT A VERY VALUABLE ESTATE KNOWN BY THE NAME OF CHATHAM
>
> Most delightfully situated on the north bank of the Rappahannock River, opposite the Town of Fredericksburg, in the State of Virginia, consisting of eleven or fifteen hundred acres as may best suit the purchaser. There is an this estate a large and well-built [sic]
>
> BRICK HOUSE, containing nine commodious rooms, exclusive of a spacious hall or entry 22 feet square, two pairs of stairs, suitable and convenient passages, and excellent dry cellars. It is placed on a fine healthy eminence, commanding beautiful views in every direction over the Towns of Fredericksburg and Falmouth and extensive cultivated country. The grounds adjoining the house are neatly laid out in pleasure and Kitchen Gardens, interspersed with a variety of scarce trees a choice collection of flowers and flowering shrubs, and enriched by various sorts of the following fruits, viz: Apples, Pears, Walnuts, Chestnuts, Cherries, Peaches, Plumbs [sic], Nectarines, Apricots, Grapes, Figs, Rasberries [sic], Gooseberries, Strawberries, and Currants; the whole admirably varied by great turfed slopes which have been formed by the great labor and expense. Bordering upon these improvements, are several
>
> LOTS, in a high state of cultivation, and well set with red clover and orchard grass, and from which three heavy crops of Hay are taken every year. Adjacent thereto are two large and flourishing
>
> ORCHARDS; one of well chosen [sic] Peach Trees, the other of Apple and Pear trees, selected from the best nurseries in the State. Properly detached from the
>
> MANSION–HOUSE are extensive roomy offices of every denomination, viz: a Kitchen and Larder, House-Keeper's Room and Laundry, with a cellar underneath for a variety of purposes, a Store-House and Smoke-House all of brick, a Dairy and Spring House of Stone. Stables for thirty horses, and Coach-Houses for four carriages. Also a large and well planned Farm-Yard, with Barnes [sic] and Granary, a Cow-House with separate stalls for thirty-six grown cattle,

apartments for fattening veals, muttons and lambs; extensive Sheds for Sheep, and other arrangements for stock of every description, with a large and convenient receptable [sic] for provender [animal fodder], from which they can be furnished without being exposed to the inclemency of the weather. An

OVERSEER'S HOUSE, BLACKSMITH'S SHOP, AND QUARTERS sufficient to accommodate in the best manner more than fifty labourers. The

ARABLE LANDS are so advantageiously [sic] divided as to afford an opportunity of making a large quantity of Indian Corn annually, without bringing the field into similar culture oftener than once in four years; consequently the lands may be improved by keeping up the inclosures [sic] during the intermediate years, or may be beneficially followed for Wheat and other grains, at the option of the proprietor. On the premises there is also a

MERCHANT MILL, with one part of best French bur-stones, and one pair of Cologne; furnished with modern machinery, and now leased for the unexpired term of four years, at 150 l. per annum, and all grain for the use of the farm, hopper free, which is nearly 100 l. more.

THE MILL AND MILLER'S HOUSE are built of free-stone, within a very small distance of navigation, near to which are two or more valuable

FISHERIES, and a well-accustomed FERRY over the Rappahannock to the Town of Fredericksburg. The land contains inexhaustible Quaries [sic] of Free-Stone near to the river, is plentifully supplied with remarkable fine water, and possess a due proportion of Meadow which by having the command of water may be considerably increased.

The roads are good and the neighbourhood [sic] genteel and sociable. In fact, exclusive of an improveable [sic] and well-conditioned Farm, the value and emolument [payment] is inseparably connected with a

MILL, FERRY, FISHERIES, ANS QUARIES, elegibly [sic] situated the profits arising from and

ICE-HOUSE inferior to none in the state, and a GARDEN of four acres so abundantly stocked with vegitibles [sic] of all sorts as to be fully convinced that when examined, it will be found to be a complete, pleasant and healthy residence, possessing beauties and conveniences sufficient to attract the attention of any person desirous of becoming a purchaser.

The motive which induces the subscriber to offer for sale an estate so singularly beautiful and advantageious [sic], is a desire to become an inhabitant of Alexandria, where he can with more ease attend to his interest in the neighbourhood [sic] of that city.

The purchaser may be accommodated with a few SLAVES, in families, either for plantation of domestic use.

A part of the purchase money will be required and the balance made easy the debt being property secured.

Signed William Fitzhugh, CHATHAM, Virginia, December 19th, 1796.[143]

Among the noteworthy references to the Chatham landscape is the description of the grounds near the house that were "laid out in pleasure and kitchen gardens, interspersed with a variety of scarce trees a choice collection of flowers and flowering shrubs, and enriched by various sorts of the following fruits."[144] This

description suggests that the grounds near the manor house were planted for the both family's enjoyment and to supply the kitchen with fruits during the summer months.

The fields beyond are mentioned as being in "a high state of cultivation," with clover and orchard grass for livestock fodder. Fields beyond the plantation core were used to cultivate grain crops, including wheat and corn, which were replacing tobacco as the Tidewater's cash crop. Two orchards, believed to have been located beyond the North and South ravines, provided apples and pears for consumption, cider, and the distillation of brandy. In addition to the brick Kitchen and Laundry, a brick smokehouse, brick storehouse, stone dairy, and stone springhouse stood near the manor house. An ice house, described as "inferior to none in the state," is believed to have been at the intersection of the crescent-shaped Carriage Drive and the drive that led up the embankment from Falmouth River Road.

The merchant mill and miller's house along Claiborne Run are given considerable attention in the advertisement. The merchant mill and miller's house were both prominent and substantial, being built of stone. The Chatham mill was arguably the most important economic node of the entire plantation. It was a "merchant" mill, with even greater output than most mills. The mill's transportation outlet would surely have been Fredericksburg's wharves by way of the Farm Ferry or Fitzhugh ferries, which were barely a half mile to the south or west of the mill.

Fitzhugh's efforts to sell Chatham in 1797 failed to attract a buyer. Fitzhugh's relocation of his family to Alexandria led to events that would make a return to Stafford County most impractical. On July 7, Fitzhugh's sixteen year old daughter Mary wed the twenty-three year old George Washington Park Custis (1781–1857), the grandson of Martha Washington.[145]

Only weeks later, on August 3, 1804, Fitzhugh again placed an advertisement in the *Virginia Herald*:

> I WILL EITHER SELL OR RENT MY TWO FARMS, In the neighborhood of Fredericksburg, known by the names of Chatham and Clark's. The first containing about eleven hundred acres, on which there is a good Merchant Mill, and an excellent Fishery. The other supposed to be about four hundred acres, one hundred of which is not in corn and in good order for sowing wheat. They are both in a high state of cultivation. In either event, I will dispose of a part of the Negroes, Stock and Household Furniture.
>
> Signed William Fitzhugh, Alexandria, July 28, 1804.[146]

Following the death of his wife Ann, on August 10, 1805 Fitzhugh re-advertised Chatham for sale in the *Virginia Herald*. By this time, his motivations for selling Chatham had become clear, yet despite the circumstances of his family, and the realignment of his commercial attention toward Alexandria and Ravensworth,

Fitzhugh's Chatham property in Stafford County continued to be described as an active plantation, drawing upon the labor of a portion of Fitzhugh's 230 enslaved people:

> VALUABLE LAND AND NEGROS FOR SALE
>
> CHATHAM, that elegant and highly improved seat… contains about eleven hundred acres, four hundred of which are in woods and valuable timber, the rest in cultivation and pleasure grounds. The land in tillage is level, a considerable part of it has been highly manured [sic], and the whole of it well adopted [sic, adapted] to the culture of grass, small grain, and Indian corn… The house and offices are brick,… with a garden in front containing four acres, laid off with taste and well planted with the choicest fruit trees in full bearing, and ornamented with forest trees and shrubs of almost every description. There is on the estate adjoining the river, a grist mill built of free stone…is well situated for merchant business, and has rented for five hundred dollars per annum exclusive of all the grain of the farm hopper free, which is equal to three hundred dollars more. There are all necessary out houses, for either convenience or luxury, such as ice-house, spring house, barn, stable, offices &c &c. …There are also some valuable fisheries, and quarries of free stone on this estate. Also a tract of land generally called
>
> CLARK'S, about two miles below Chatham, on the north bank of the Rappahannock River,… containing upwards of four hundred acres, about one hundred and twenty acres of this tract is Rappahannock River bottom in cultivation, and is well adapted to Indian corn, small grain &c: the residue is in wood, surrounding a height, which furnished a beautiful site for building.
>
> Likewise about two hundred and thirty NEGROES, of different ages, sizes and description. A sale of them by families will be preferred; to effect this they will be offered at a reduced price. As part of these Negroes are present attached to Chatham estate, the purchaser of that property may be accommodated with any number of them, as well as stock of every description….
>
> Signed William Fitzhugh, October 10, 1805.

Reference in the 1797 advertisement to "quarters" for more than "fifty labourers" deemphasizes the presence of enslaved people at Chatham. Similarly, reference in the 1805 advertisement to "two hundred and thirty negroes, of different aces, sizes and description" is vague. These accounts stand in contrast to the reality of slave life and vivid accounts of the slave revolt at Chatham just months before.

The Fitzhugh's holdings on the Northern Neck were extensive, including Ravensworth (9,913 acres), Eagle's Nest and Somerset (2,028 acres), Boyd's Hole and Mill (250 acres, property at Stafford Courthouse (1,200+ acres), and property at Westmoreland Courthouse (2,000+ acres). Several of these tracts and parcels were ultimately sold including Fall Hill to the northwest of Fredericksburg, in order to raise funds concurrently with the sale of Chatham (Figures 1.35 and 1.36).

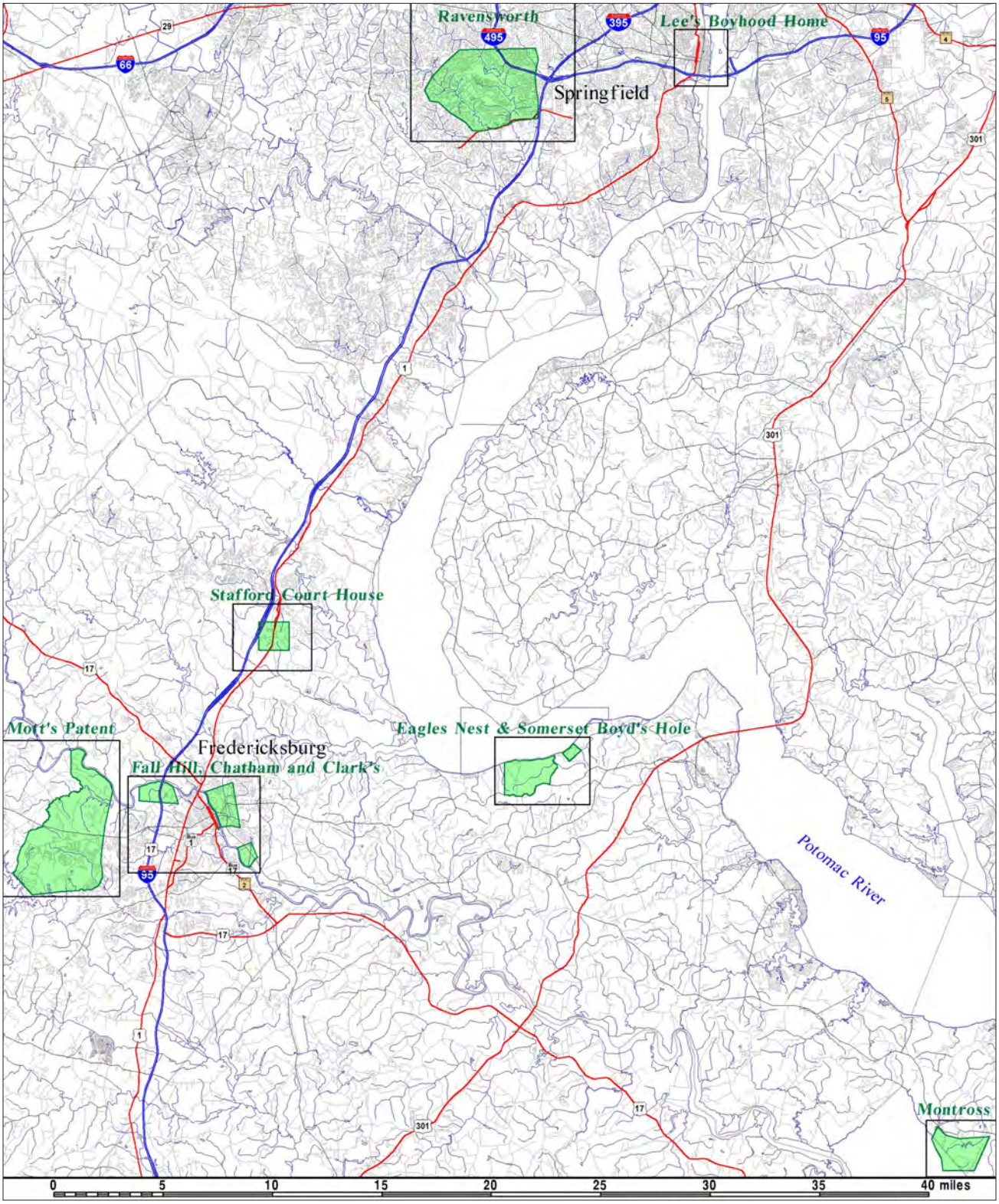


Figure 1.35. The Properties of William Fitzhugh of Chatham. Plan view (Josef W. Rokus, courtesy of Ambroziak Third Dimension Technologies, Inc., 25 February 2006).

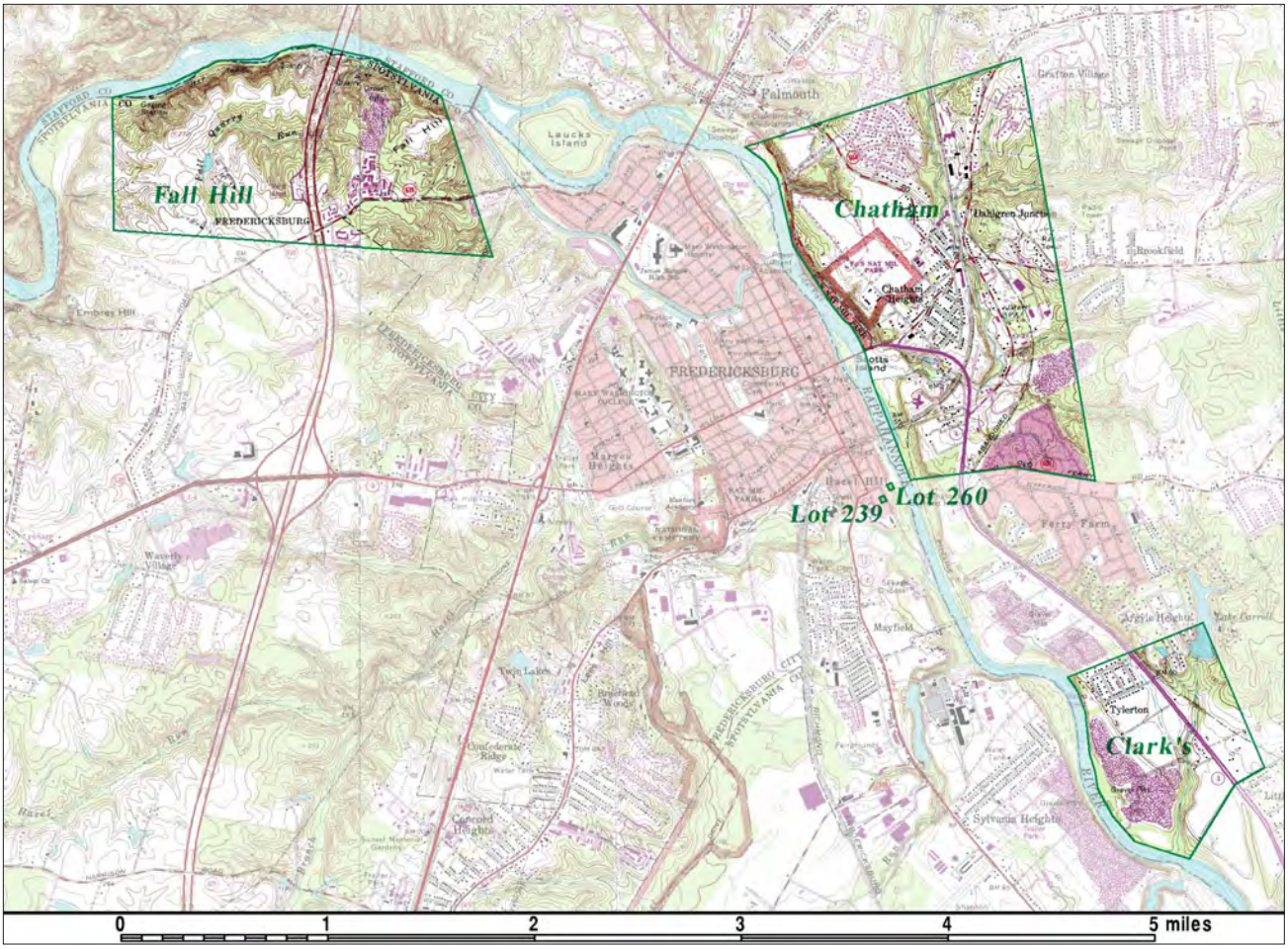


Figure 1.36. Fall Hill, Chatham, Clark's and Two Lots. Plan view (Josef W. Rokus, courtesy of Ambroziak Third Dimension Technologies, Inc., 25 February 2006).

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY, 1806

The following paragraphs draw from primary and secondary source material introduced in the previous section to surmise landscape conditions at the time of Chatham's 1806 sale to Churchill Jones. Accompanied by a corresponding period plan (Drawing 1), the following narrative and graphic description employs what is hoped to be regarded as a reasonable measure of conjecture and speculation. The authors are forced to do so as William Fitzhugh failed them in neglecting to commission oil paintings, detailed surveys, or to otherwise employ articulate diarists such as Phillip Vickers Fithian.

By the time of its sale in 1806, the twelve acres adjoining the Chatham dwelling, those being the highly cultivated grounds embraced between two steep ravines, retained the rigidly geometric symmetries of a typical Georgian manor in Tidewater Virginia. Perhaps the most character-defining aspect of the property at the end of William Fitzhugh's ownership was its visual connection to Fredericksburg. Sited on an approximate eighty-foot escarpment overlooking the Rappahannock River and flanked by deep natural ravines, Chatham overlooked Fredericksburg to the southwest and the wide plateau with fields to the northeast.

Chatham's commanding presence also took further advantage of a southerly exposure and natural ventilation. The visual relationship between the manor house and Fredericksburg to the southwest has been widely interpreted as a display of wealth, a statement of power.

These privileged grounds were accessed by those arriving from Falmouth via a semi-circular, or crescent-shaped, carriageway providing access to the inland façade of house, the arc of the carriageway circumscribing the limits of a broad outdoor space bound between flanking outbuildings and dependencies. Fitzhugh's carriageways would have been well made and the graveled surfaces well maintained. The area interior to the carriageway arc, while not fully understood, would have characteristically been planted with specimen trees, some of these spaced at consistent intervals along the drive. Plantings of larger shade trees would have been supplemented with smaller flowering trees and shrubs having the practical function of blocking undesirable views of the complex's many service buildings from the vantage point of the central dwelling. An additional carriageway spur departed from the semicircular drive at its northern arm, descending the steep riverfront escarpment, first traversing the edge of the northern ravine prior to bending to the east below the geometrically formed garden slopes and terraces, and intersecting with an early incarnation of the Falmouth River Road.

Surviving topography suggests that the carriageway spur may have shared some geometric symmetry with a matching switchback bending across the south-facing terraced garden area and connecting with additional pathways along the South Ravine. Conditions suggest that these additional routes were not of a scale to accommodate carriage traffic, but were of useful yet limited service to pedestrians and those on horseback. Given that the public road was subject to flooding, and appreciating that its connection to higher ground via the White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road) was as yet unimproved, it is believed that the service-oriented plantation street (now Chatham Lane) was the primary connection between Chatham and Falmouth.

An elaborate garden occupied approximately four acres immediately south of the central Chatham dwelling, composed for both beauty and utility into a "falling garden" of flat planes and severely regimented slopes. The uppermost garden plane, adjacent to the house, would have been planted with shade trees, including some nut bearing specimens of chestnut and walnut. These larger trees were pruned of their lower branches so as to make possible distant views of Fredericksburg and the countryside beyond.

Lower statured fruit trees, including apples, pears, cherries, peaches, plums, nectarines, apricots mentioned in Fitzhugh's 1797 advertisement may be understood to have occupied space on the garden's mid to lower terraces. Grape vines, figs, and smaller fruits including raspberries, gooseberries, strawberries, and

currants, all perennial plants having charming ornamental qualities beyond their role providing foodstuffs, likely found their place on the garden slopes or "falls." Otherwise, these perennial small fruits were planted in close companionship with purely ornamental flowers, altogether bound within geometrical garden beds located generally upslope and closer to the dwelling. Annual garden vegetables such as peas, beans, carrots, potatoes, and cruciferous vegetables, all requiring extensive tillage leaving the soil fallow and bare out of season, would have been relegated to the lower reaches of the garden area. Beyond the lowest garden terrace, and across the public road, lay deep moist alluvial bottom land, perfect for the cultivation of corn; this juxtaposition seamlessly integrating Fitzhugh's garden with his wider agricultural enterprise.

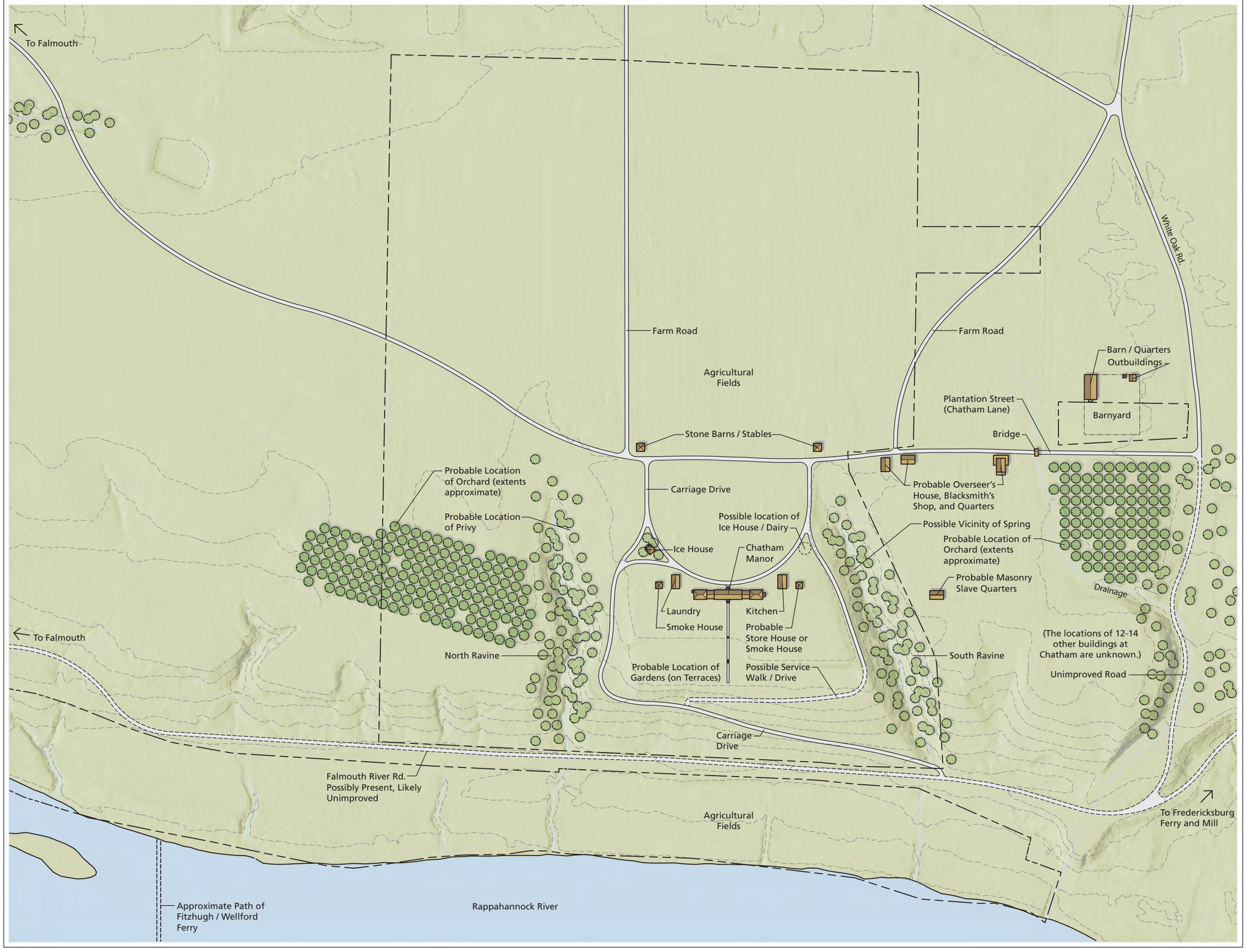
A similar integration of purpose is evident in the placement of Chatham's two reported orchards, themselves also accomplishing the transition between garden and farm. The two orchards are said to have been "properly detached" yet convenient to the manor house. These are believed to have been located beyond the limits of the North and South ravines. Chatham's flanking ravines, incised into the riverfront escarpment, featured ruggedly steep topography difficult to cultivate. Vegetation growing within the ravines would have consisted of forest trees and native shrubs, aesthetically serving the purpose of a "Grove," a common element designed into similar plantation landscapes.

Throughout Virginia's Northern Neck, springs of free flowing water are commonly found within ravines, and given the proximity to the freestanding kitchen building, a large springhouse most likely stood within the cool shaded depths of the southern ravine. Such a location would have doubly served as a convenient source of water for the many barns, stables, workshops and dwellings arranged along the length of the plantation street.

Chatham's many buildings and structures are much better documented, with twenty-eight buildings on site by 1790. Later advertisements for sale suggest that many of these buildings were located in the immediate vicinity of the manor house, including the Laundry, Kitchen, Smokehouse, Storehouse, Ice House, and possibly the Diary or Spring House. Agricultural buildings were likely clustered along the plantation street near its intersection with White Oak Road, along with small crude dwellings housing a portion of Chatham's enslaved population.

Across the larger plantation, fields that were planted with tobacco early in Fitzhugh's ownership, appear to have been planted entirely with grain crops or hay, or used for grazing by 1806. According to Fitzhugh's advertisement, fields were cultivated according to the "Four-Field" or "Norfolk" system of crop rotation popularized in Great Britain during the mid-eighteenth century. Well equipped with fencing, or stacked enclosures, made of rails split lengthwise from logs, Fitzhugh used this system of crop rotation to allow the soil to recover following the cultivation of corn. Following corn with plantings of animal feed,

orchard grass, clover or small grains such as wheat and oats, provided flexibility for livestock to periodically graze and deposit manure, helped to sustain soil fertility.



Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

1806 Period Plan

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Virginia Herald article, 18 October 1805
2. U.S. Coast Survey. "Map of Vicinity of Fredericksburg," 1862. NARA RDAR
3. Contours & DEM data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
4. Hydrology: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan, 2015
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Park fee boundary (current)
- Topographic contours (10' interval, based on current)
- Road / drive
- Trees
- Orchard
- Lawn / pasture / field
- Building / structure
- Fence

NOTE

All features shown in approximate scale and location.

0' 125' 250' 500'

Drawing 1

1806 TO 1857

Major Churchill Jones purchased Chatham, including 1,288 acres in three tracts (350, 350, and 588 acres) from William Fitzhugh on May 9, 1806 for $20,000. He paid for the plantation one third in ready money and two thirds of the expense was mortgaged (released March 1811). William Fitzhugh retained Clark's (below Ferry Farm), which was listed on the tax books as 300 acres, but actually contained over 400 acres (481 acres when later sold by Coalter). Major Churchill Jones also owned Woodville in Orange County, which was a short distance from Ellwood, where his brother William Jones Esq. resided. Long an acquaintance of William Fitzhugh, Churchill Jones's first wife was a niece of Colonel Nathaniel Harrison, Fitzhugh's stepfather.[147]

MAJOR CHURCHILL JONES (1748–1822)

Major Churchill Jones, born on September 27, 1748, was the son of Churchill Jones (1720–61)[148] and Millicent Blackburn Jones (1726–51). Two years later, his brother, William Jones, who would come to own Chatham after him, was born. Both parents died while the brothers were young, and they were raised by their uncle, Colonel Armistead Churchill, in Middlesex County. Churchill Jones married his cousin Judith Churchill in 1769. This union made the first two owners of Chatham distant relatives by marriage.

In the 1770s, brothers Churchill and William Jones moved to the Wilderness area, some fifteen miles west of Fredericksburg, and built a house on 642 acres of land leased from Alexander Spotswood, grandson of Governor Spotswood. The house burned during the Revolutionary War, but was rebuilt within three years. It is known as Ellwood. After the war, Churchill Jones settled on his own plantation, Woodville, a mile from Ellwood. (Woodville was legally located in Spotsylvania County, but since it was near the Spotsylvania-Orange County line, the property is often associated with Orange County.)[149]

Churchill Jones joined the Continental Army in 1777 and served until the end of the war. He worked primarily under Colonel William Washington in South Carolina, rising to the rank of brevet-major.[150] He was a founding member of the Society of the Cincinnati. In 1787, Jones married Mary Thornton (1749–1802), the widow of a wealthy Revolutionary War officer. However, she died in 1802. Mary Thornton was also a first cousin, once removed, of George Washington. Jones married his third wife, Martha Selden Douglas (1760–1838), another wealthy widow, in June of 1805. The newly married couple spent their first summer at Woodville. The next year, Major Jones purchased Chatham from William Fitzhugh.[151]

Churchill Jones and Martha Jones did not have children together or from previous marriages. Martha's two nieces came to live with them at Chatham and were raised as daughters. Martha Ann Elizabeth Macmurdo (1792–1867) was the only child of Martha Jones' sister, Elizabeth Selden Macmurdo (1770–92).[152] After the elder Elizabeth died and her husband remarried, Martha Jones brought her niece to Chatham. Later, Churchill and Martha Jones welcomed another of Martha's nieces, Elizabeth Selden, the daughter of her brother, John W. Selden. Both nieces went by the name Elizabeth. Martha Jones facilitated a match between Elizabeth Selden and John S. Knox of Fredericksburg. In October 1816 they were married at Chatham.[153]

The War of 1812 gave the residents of Chatham a scare. Washington D.C. was attacked by the British in August of 1814. The day after the White House is burned, Mrs. Martha Jones wrote to Mrs. Patrick Gibson, "Poor Chatham must stand it's [sic] ground. I expect it will be burnt certainly if Fredericksburg goes. . . "[154] Fearing an attack on Fredericksburg just across the river, Major Churchill Jones and Martha Jones fled with five wagons.[155] The war concluded with the Treaty of Ghent (1814), with no damage to the Fredericksburg area. American fears of Native Americans were greatly diminished, and the United States' ability to expand northwestward was enhanced, although no land was gained from British North America during the war. The United States' victories against the British helped to unite the young nation and ushered in the Era of Good Feelings and dramatic boost in the manufacturing capabilities of the nation. Seemingly, the war brought prosperity to Chatham as well in the later years of Major Jones's life.

Major Jones died on September 15, 1822 at his Woodville estate just days before his seventy-fourth birthday. A bilious fever, likely induced by exposure from supervising the construction of the Chatham Bridge, made him ill. Major Churchill Jones was buried in an unmarked grave at Ellwood, his brother's estate. Major Jones freed a number of enslaved people in his will and left Chatham to his wife, Martha. After her death, the property was to go to his brother, William Jones, or his heirs.[156]

CHATHAM'S ENSLAVED POPULATION

On January 2, 1807 William Fitzhugh sold between fifty and sixty enslaved people "lately attached to Chatham Estate, consisting of Labourers [sic] and Tradesmen, of different kinds, such as Carpenters, Blacksmiths, &c &c, also a good Miller, Cook, Gardener, trainer of Horses, and some valuable House servants. They are, for the number, as likely and as valuable a set of Negroes as any in Virginia; also some Work Horses and Farming Utensils."[157] The outcome of this sale is not known. However, by 1810, with Chatham securely in Major Churchill Jones's ownership, the Third Census of the United States recorded sixty-seven enslaved people on the property.[158]

Between 1810 and 1811, Major Jones disposed of 200 acres of the Chatham tract, reducing the estate to 1,088 acres, according to the tax book of 1811. No explanation is known for this sale.[159] The vast majority of the plantation was cultivated, with enslaved people working in the fields and in the manor house.

The personal tax list of 1815 showed that Major Churchill Jones possessed fifty enslaved people, fifteen horses, and thirty-two cattle at Chatham. In addition to many fine furnishings, the list also included one mill (rented for $100), one ice house, and three houses exceeding $500 in value. The entire estate was valued at $6,200.00. By comparison, in the same year, Belmont (Susanna Knox) was valued at $2,000; Bell Aire (J. B. Fitzhugh) was valued at $1,500; and Boscobel (Thomas Fitzhugh) was valued at $2,000.[160]

By 1820, the Fourth Census of the United States recorded eighty-six enslaved people at Chatham.[161] On January 6, 1821, C. Jones wrote to Dr. Carmichael from Chatham: "Dear Sir I have a Negro Woman Sick (at Clarks) I will thank you to go down & see her–we will send over about noon for your Directions &c. & c. Your Obd.t Ser.t."[162] Undoubtedly, this sick woman was one of thirty-three enslaved women documented at Chatham in 1820.

In two undated letters, believed to have been written between 1825 and 1829, M. Jones, likely Martha, wrote to Doctors Carmichael and Son about sick slaves in the cabins at Chatham, which were located beyond the overseer's house. While the precise location of these buildings is not known, they may have been near the mill along Claiborne's Run, where a later 1862 map shows three frame structures, presumably slave cabins, adjacent to a masonry structure, presumably the overseers house (see Figure 1.41).

> Sir, Will you have the goodness to ride over & visit a Woman of Judge Coalters that lies very ill at the Cabins–her Husband say– She is speechless–& you will oblige.[163]

> Sir, I am informed a Woman belonging to this estate lies very ill–I will thank you to ride as far as the Cabins beyond the overseers house & see her–after so doing please call by the House, & let me know what I shall have to do for her, under your directions, & you will oblige.[164]

PURCHASE OF CLARK'S

Clark's was located about two miles below Chatham on the Rappahannock River. The Fitzhugh's mill along Claiborne's Run was centrally located between the two plantations. While separated from Chatham by other properties, its history was long been tied to the larger plantation.

In 1814, Major Jones and Daniel Grinnan of Fredericksburg both expressed interest in purchasing the 400-acre "Clark's," which William Fitzhugh of Chatham and William H. Fitzhugh of Ravensworth had been trying to sell since 1797.

William H. Fitzhugh deeded the property to Grinnan, and tax records from 1815 show Daniel Grinnan in possession of 400 acres transferred from William H. Fitzhugh.[165] However, Churchill Jones brought suit against Fitzhugh, claiming that he had rented Clark's for years and had a previous bargain. Following the suit, Clark's was deeded to Jones and transferred to him in the land books in 1820.[166] At least a quarter of the 400 acres was well suited to cultivation as Rappahannock River bottom land.

CHATHAM'S GROUNDS

While gardens near the manor house remained well-evidenced through Churchill Jones's ownership, their configuration remains unknown. Sally M. Lacy, daughter of Chatham's wartime owner J. Horace Lacy, wrote to *The Daily Star* in 1909: "It was at this time [during Churchill Jones's ownership] that the Chatham gardens, famous in their day, were terraced and laid out, and also that the first bridge on the present site was built across the Rappahannock."[167] While Chatham's terraces are believed to be contemporary with the manor house, as referenced in 1797 advertisement of sale, they may have been improved under Churchill Jones's ownership.

In addition, a second garden may have stood on the land side of the manor house. On April 28, 1815 Martha Jones wrote from Chatham to her niece, Elizabeth Gibson, in Richmond: "…We found your Uncle surrounded by a number of his male friends, expecting our arrival and looking from the Garden, with his usual impatience tho quite delighted to see us."[168] Prior to construction of Chatham Bridge (between 1821 and 1823) it was far more likely that the Joneses approached the manor house from its land side.

On May 29, 1818 Mrs. Churchill Jones writes from Chatham to her niece, Mrs. Patrick Gibson in Richmond of a hail storm that wrought damage to Chatham's buildings, garden, and fields:

> …I will tell you and with sorrow to behold it, on the 21st instant we were visited by the just judgments of an offended Creator–with the most tremendous hail storm ever seen here before…Out of 500 panes of glass only 47 left and some of them cracked. The hail stones were as large as hens eggs. The hail flew across the rooms till the beds and everything was quite wet but that was not the most melancholy sight–our poor garden was torn all to pieces–all the peas cut down–every vegetable destroyed–the lovely flowers shared the same fate and the Poplars stripped of their foliage and all the shrubbery had the appearance as if the caterpillar had eaten off all the leaves. You can have but a faint idea of our situation–the little fruit that the frost left us the hail has beaten off–no fruit–no vegetables–no flowers–on Beauty–all are gone…Your Uncle says the wheat and oats have suffered fully as much as the Garden; he does not expect to make a bushel of wheat and very few oats. It is my husband's opinion from calculation that our loss will be from the hail at least $2000…[169]

Among the noteworthy references in Martha Jones's description of the storm are a vegetable and flower garden, poplars, and wheat and oats in the fields beyond. It remains unclear whether Chatham had two gardens—an ornamental garden and a vegetable garden—or just one at the time. The poplars described by Martha Jones may have been the same trees referenced by Charles A. Murray on his 1835 visit to Chatham and shown on the later 1856 map of "Rappahannock River Virginia from Fredericksburg to Near Moss Neck" (see Figure 1.37).

CONSTRUCTION OF CHATHAM BRIDGE

Churchill Jones and his brother, William, were interested in enhancing the commercial prospects of the Fredericksburg area. In October 1817 Churchill and William Jones, along with local associates, pledged to buy twenty shares of stock in a turnpike company planning to construct a road from Orange County eastward to Fredericksburg, which would connect farming regions to the west with the market town and river.[170]

Around the same time, Churchill Jones decided to build a toll bridge across the Rappahannock River. Between July 1821 and January 1823, Chatham Bridge was erected across the Rappahannock. The firm of William A. Knox and John S. Knox recorded charges for "merchandize [sic] and other necessaries furnished and cash advanced on account of the Bridge…" Construction included a bridge house (with chimney) near the intersection of White Oak Road and Falmouth River Road.[171] John S. Knox was the husband of Ann E. Sneden, Martha Jones's niece. They were married at Chatham on October 3, 1816.[172]

During construction of the bridge, Churchill Jones advertised in the *Virginia Herald* for a contractor to build "a proper ROAD from my BRIDGE, to cross at the corner of the orchard fence, to the Main Road [Chatham Lane] the distance supposed to be from four to five hundred yards."[173] This construction involved improving the stretch of White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road) from its intersection with Falmouth River Road to the plantation street (now Chatham Lane).

As a result of the new bridge, Chatham's physical connection to Fredericksburg was enhanced. For about fifty years prior, Chatham benefitted from a steady succession of ferries to Fredericksburg, the first ferry at Falmouth being constructed in 1720 and Chatham about 1768–1806. However, exactly how the addition of Chatham Bridge impacted use of the Chatham landscape is not known. The dominant land access to the manor house may have shifted from the land side to the water side, as guests arrived by way of River Road and the riverside driveway, or guests may have continued to use Chatham Lane and enter the house from its land side. Further investigation is needed to determine how use of Chatham's circulation routes changed after Chatham Bridge was completed.

TRANSITION OF OWNERSHIP

Major Churchill Jones died in mid-September 1822. Later, his niece recounted that he succumbed to a "fever brought on by too much exposure in superintending the building of a bridge over the Rappahannock, the first erected at this point."[174] An inventory of the estate of Major Churchill Jones at Chatham included seventy enslaved people, a carriage (coach) & harness, carryall, cart, horse wagon, four carriage horses, and a listing of tools, farm equipment, ploughs, cultivators, harrows, wheat fans, shovels and axes in great detail. The marketable value of enslaved people made up the bulk of his estate. At Chatham, this included seventy enslaved people appraised at $16,423. All told, however, Churchill Jones owned over 125 enslaved people.[175]

In his will, Churchill Jones left property to various friends and family. His will stipulated, after "my debts are paid, I leave the remainder of my estate both real and personal to my beloved wife Martha Jones during her natural life, except the negroes I may hereafter set free, or other property I may dispose of in this instrument or by codicil." Jones manumitted a number of enslaved people, including a woman by the name of Lynny who he purchased from William Fitzhugh: "I wish her to be free at the death of my beloved wife, and that my executors give her fifty dollars to enable her to move out of the State." He also manumitted "Sam commonly called yallow [sic] Sam; Kiz who is the wife to Sam and all Kiz's children; Jenny and her son George; Dick, a carriage driver and Ruben."[176]

On December 10, 1822 a sale of the perishable property of Major Churchill Jones was conducted at Chatham to satisfy Jones's debts. The notice for the sale referenced horses, mules, oxen, a large herd of cattle, sheep, hogs, a crop of corn, oats, and fodder.[177] This inventory depicted Chatham as a large and productive plantation, as it had been under William Fitzhugh's ownership.

Churchill Jones's original September 12, 1818 will was lost to the destruction of Stafford County records during the Civil War, but just days after Churchill Jones's perishable property was sold, Martha Jones renounced the will of her husband. She entered into contract with her brother-in-law, William Jones of Ellwood, to pay her an $800 annual annuity for her dower interest in the Chatham estate, then 1,088 acres. The Chatham lands and Clark's appeared on the tax books in the name of Mrs. Churchill Jones from 1824 to 1829. Mrs. Jones subsequently purchased a residence in Richmond and moved there to be near her niece, Mrs. Patrick Gibson. She died in 1838.[178]

WILLIAM JONES (1750–1845)

William Jones was born in 1750 and grew up in Middlesex County with his brother and uncle, Armistead Churchill. While Jones's brother is known for his

achievements in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, William was a Tory. Seemingly, his sympathies toward the Britain did not create a conflict with his brother.[179] By 1777, William and Churchill built a home fifteen miles west of Fredericksburg in an area called the Wilderness. This home burned during the Revolutionary War and was rebuilt within three years and significantly improved in 1799. Ellwood, as it is known, was designed to be a functional home. Though not as grand as Chatham, Ellwood received many distinguished visitors, including the Marquis de Lafayette in 1825.[180]

After Churchill Jones married Judith Churchill, William married her sister, Betty Churchill, in November of 1774. William and Betty Jones had one child, Hannah Jones (1780-1857), before Betty died in 1823. Five years later, William married a young niece of his first wife, Lucy Gordon. In 1829 they had a daughter who was named Betty Churchill Jones (1829–1907) after William's first wife.[181]

After Major Churchill Jones died in 1822, William Jones took ownership of Chatham from Martha Jones. His use of the plantation during his short, three-year ownership is little documented. William Jones sold Chatham in 1825 to his son-in-law. William Jones lived to be ninety-six years old. His wife, Lucy, inherited Ellwood after his death in 1845. Betty Jones inherited Ellwood after her mother remarried in 1857, as this was a provision of William's will.

JUDGE JOHN COALTER (1769–1838)

John Coalter was born on August 20, 1769 to Michael Coalter and Elizabeth Moore of Augusts (now Rockbridge) County, Virginia. John Coalter grew up working on the family farm, Walker's Creek, along with his brothers while his father fought in the Revolutionary War. When John was eighteen, he moved to Matoax to work as a tutor for the children of Judge St. George Tucker (1752–1827) and Frances Randolph Tucker. John enjoyed his time with the Tuckers and boasted in a letter to his father of meeting "Judges, Members of Congress, Colonels and their ladies" in Matoax.[182] These interactions with socialites were novel to John since he had not been born into wealth. The Tucker family moved to Williamsburg following the death of Frances Randolph Tucker in 1788. Tucker bought land in Williamsburg, now known as the Tucker House, and brought John Coalter with his family.[183] John continued to tutor the Tucker children, working without pay in exchange for legal training by the judge. In addition, he studied law at the College of William and Mary.

In 1791, John Coalter married Maria Rind, the orphan of a Williamsburg printer. Maria had been serving as a governess for the Tucker children. Maria Rind Coalter died in childbirth in 1792, as did John Coalter's second wife, Margaret Davenport, in 1795. By this time, John Coalter lived at Elmwood near Staunton and was a renowned lawyer.

In 1801, John Coalter married the daughter of his earliest employer, Ann Frances Bland Tucker (1779–1813).[184] The two had known each other for years, given that he had tutored Ann during her childhood. They lived at Elmwood for some time with John's previous mother-in-law, Mrs. Davenport. Elmwood was located in West Virginia, close to the Virginia border.[185] John and Ann Tucker Coalter had three children together, Francis Lelia, Elizabeth Tucker, and St. George Tucker Coalter (1809–39). The only son of John Coalter was fondly nicknamed "Saint" and was one of the first students of Jefferson's new university, the University of Virginia.[186] Coalter's third wife died in September of 1813 after battling health issues for years.

Coalter amassed a great fortune with his successful career in law. After working as a lawyer, he was appointed to the General District Court for Staunton in 1809. Two years later, he was commissioned by the Governor of Virginia, James Monroe, to fill a vacancy on the bench of the Court of Appeals caused by the resignation of Judge St. George Tucker. Judge Coalter sat until 1831.

In 1822, John remarried to another widower, Hannah (Jones) Williamson (1780–1857), the eldest daughter of William Jones. John acquired Chatham from his father-in-law, William Jones, in 1825, although it appears that he did not take possession of Chatham until 1829. The Coalter family enjoyed the sophisticated social scene of the Fredericksburg area and entertained the Virginia gentry whenever they were home at Chatham. Judge Coalter was afflicted with paralysis in 1838 and died later that same year in the course of the illness.

COALTER'S ACQUISITION OF CHATHAM

On December 1, 1825 Judge John Coalter wrote to his former father-in-law, Judge Saint George Tucker: "I have purchased Chatham & shall remove some of my negroes there immediately and all of them in the Spring, except such as may be necessary for my Town establishment &c."[187] Although Judge Coalter purchased Chatham in 1825, William Jones was slow in transferring the deed, which was completed on January 15, 1829. Over the intervening three years, Chatham's grounds may have suffered, promoting Colter to undertake improvements to the grounds.

LOSS AND REPLACEMENT OF CHATHAM BRIDGE

Over the summer of 1826, the Chatham Bridge was carried away by a flood. The *Virginia Herald* reported:

> The bridge built by the late Major Jones, and which has been since it was erected, one of our most delightful promenades, first gave away and all that portion of it reaching from Brown's Island to the Stafford shore, moved off which the impetuous torrent. On reaching the lower Bridge, a few hundred yards distant,

> the heavy mass of timber carried with it several of the central arches of this Bridge also; and, in less than an hour afterward, the whole, reaching from the abutments on either side rose to the bosom of the flood, and floated down the restless current. . .The lower Bridge was owned by a Company; the upper, was the property of the late Major Churchill Jones. We have heard that Judge Coalter, the present proprietor of Chatham estate has expressed his intention of speedily replacing the bridge.[188]

Elizabeth T. Coalter (1805–56), daughter of John Coalter and wife of John Randolph Bryan of Eagle Point, wrote to her grandparents from Chatham of the damage, saying that although the newspapers say that Judge Coalter will rebuild the bridge, her father has not made up his mind.[189]

By 1827, tax records list John Coalter in possession of five acres of an island in the Rappahannock River, purchased from A. Kale of Fredericksburg, presumably to rebuild Chatham Bridge.[190] In February of 1827, John Clark of Fredericksburg wrote to Dr. Carmichael from Chatham:

> Sir, Ned unfortunately got his fingers frost bitten. The last freeze and I never have noticed them particular untill [sic] this morning. They appear to be in a dangerous situation—I wish therefore you would examine them and if they can be cur.d without cutting I shall be glad. as Judge Coalter is absent. and his work upon the bridge is a considerable loss—Any labor or any directions of yours shall be promptly attended to.[191]

This short letter about the frostbitten fingers of one of the laborers or enslaved people working the Chatham Bridge reveals that the bridge was underway by that year. *The Political Arena* of December 19, 1828 featured a notice from Coalter that read: "He expects his Road up the River to Falmouth will be in a situation to be used by Christmas, and will, as soon thereafter as possible, be put in complete repair, as well as all other roads leading to his bridge."[192] In addition to rebuilding the bridge, this advertisement suggests that Coalter also repaired what is now known as River Road seeking to divert traffic from the Falmouth Bridge to his own, offering rates as low as the Falmouth Bridge and "more advantageous (considering the difference of the two kinds of passage)" than the ferries.

On March 15, 1829 St. George Tucker Coalter wrote to his father in Richmond: "The plowing come on very well the ditching very badly. I think those men must be very lazy scoundrels for I have caught them twice after breakfast stretched at full length in the little stone house."[193] Reference to the little stone house (or bridge house) suggests that improvements may have been underway along White Oak Road for the ongoing work on Chatham Bridge. The *Virginia Herald* reported that it was finished in December 1832.[194]

CONSTRUCTION AND EXPANSION OF THE RICHMOND, FREDERICKSBURG AND POTOMAC RAILROAD

The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad from Richmond to Hazel Run opened in 1836. The next segment, to Fredericksburg, opened on January 23, 1837. The third segment, to Aquia Creek, opened on September 30, 1842. Service to Washington, D.C. was provided by steamboat. An extension to Quantico opened on May 1, 1872, at which time the branch beyond Brooke to Aquia Creek was abandoned.

CHATHAM'S GROUNDS

In 1828, Clark's, an outlying property containing 481 acres, was surveyed by A.P. Williams and subsequently sold to Judge Coalter as well.[195] In 1829, Coalter also purchased Ferry Farm, the boyhood home of George Washington.[196] By 1830, tax records showed John Coalter in ownership of 2,093 acres in six parcels.[197] The 5-acre parcel is the island in the Rappahannock River; the 150 acre parcel is the mill tract at Chatham; the 588-acre parcel (from Jones) is Chatham; the 350 acre parcel was along Stage Road near Ferry Farm; the 400 acre parcel is Clark's; and the 600-acre parcel (from Patton) is Ferry Farm.

While John Coalter was away in Richmond, sitting on the Court of Appeals, his son, St. George Tucker Coalter, wrote with updates on Chatham beginning in 1829. In February of that year, St. George wrote, "I suppose mama has written you word that the ice house is full except the back corners for about two feet. This Mr. Fitzhugh advised me to fill & ram with snow & to cover the ice all over with it – Mr. Mason goes to-day to work upon the road with Mr. Gray."[198] (St. George mentioned dining with Mr. Fitzhugh of Boscobel earlier in the letter.) The ice house is believed to be the same that stood at the intersection of the crescent-shaped Carriage Drive and the drive that led up the embankment from Falmouth River Road during Fitzhugh's ownership.

The stately graciousness of Chatham was noted by Charles Augustus Murray, the grandson of Lord Dunmore, the Royal Governor of Virginia at the start of the Revolutionary War, on his visit to Fredericksburg in March 1835:

> A wooden bridge is thrown across the river, on the opposite bank of which stands 'Chatham' the house of Judge Coalter. It is beautifully situated on an eminence, commanding a view of the town, and of the bold sweeping course of the Rappahannoc [sic], whose wanderings the eye may trace up to Falmouth, a pretty village, where they are made to lend their aid to some extensive flour-mills, established by Mr. Gordon, a Scotish [sic] proprietor, and one of the richest (as I am informed) in Virginia.
>
> The first glance at Mr. Coalter's house impressed me with the idea that it was an anti-revolutionary date; the old brown-coloured [sic] bricks, *the straight green walks in the terraced garden, and the formal grenadier row of stately poplars* [emphasis added], all betokened the Old Dominion. The family not being at home,

> I asked and obtained permission to view the river and valley from the garden which I enjoyed with much pleasure for some time. As I was on the point of retiring, the Judge returned, and politely interrupted my apologies for intrusion by an invitation to go in and take a glass of Madeira…[199]

Murray's description definitively locates the gardens at Chatham and makes reference to its earthen terraces, then lined with "poplars". By the time of Murray's visit, Judge Coalter was advanced in age at sixty-six years. Murray went on to extol the virtues of his host, as a man who "raised himself by his ability" to his current position in life and at Chatham. His granddaughter, Mrs. Delia Bryan Page (1833–1902) was born at Chatham. In her memoir, *Recollections of Home*, she recalled:

> It took those times and the quantity of good servants we had to keep such a place up. The floor like polished glass, the gravel walks, the beautiful flower beds and shrubbery. The tall poplars at the foot of the deep fall, standing in a long row like soldiers on guard, gave it an air of grandeur and protection. The spinning house, as we called it, was my delight. There I saw them weave cloth, good cloth, bright-colored homespuns, plaids and stripes, colored or black double cloth for me, single cloth for women, flax spun and woven, cotton and yarn for socks, all interesting and looking so busy. I used to love to carry them things – potatoes from Miss Maria's (the housekeeper's) cellar, cabbage from the garden, meat from the smoke-house. I would ask for it, and they could not deny me.[200]

Mrs. Page's description mirrors many descriptions of Chatham in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, touching upon Chatham's opulence, ornamental and vegetable gardens, and the dependencies that support the flourishing plantation supported by enslaved laborers. Much later, Robert E. Lee wrote to his daughter Annie, "I am very glad you visited 'Chatham.' I was there many years ago when it was the residence of Judge Coalter and some of the avenues of poplar, so dear to you grandmama still exited. I presume they have all gone now…"[201] By Lee's account, the stately poplars were mature by John Coalter's time.

Throughout his ownership, John Coalter continued to insure Chatham and the mill against fire with the Mutual Assurance Society. On November 15, 1836, the buildings, including main dwelling, kitchen, laundry, and mill, were valued at $10,000.[202] This replacement cost evaluation reflects a substantial decrease from the 1821 evaluation, which valued the same at $17,000.[203] For this reason, it is believed that John Coalter undertook relatively few improvements to the buildings.

CHATHAM'S ACREAGE

After five years of no change in the tax lists between 1831 and 1835, in 1836 Judge John Coalter was listed in possession of six tracts totaling 2,393.75 acres (5; 1,088; 400; 700; 5.25; 195.5 acres). The last two parcels, comprising 200.75 acres were

listed along Stage Road from A.B. Hooe.[204] The following year, John and Hannah Coalter conveyed 400 acres of "Saint George's Park" to their son, St. George Tucker Coalter. The land comprised of 400 acres taken from the original 588 acres of Chatham purchased by William Fitzhugh from Landon Carter and lay along the road to Falmouth and does not include any river frontage. By virtue of this deed, the land adjoining Chatham was reduced to 688 acres.[205] In July 1837, St. George Tucker Coalter purchased an additional 278 acres from James Cooke, Adam Cooke, Martha Cooke, and Mary H. Cooke for $3,000 between Claiborne's Run and the main road leading from Falmouth to Stafford Court House. There was a small house upon this land in which St. George Tucker Coalter later died on August 19, 1839 of consumption (tuberculosis). Combined, the properties were known as St. George's Park.[206]

On February 2, 1838, Judge John Coalter died at Chatham after a stroke, leaving a life estate in Chatham to his wife and step daughter.[207] At the time of his death, Judge Coalter was in possession of 688 acres of Chatham, Clark's (upwards of 400 acres), Mercer's (600 acres to which he had added 100 acres purchased from R. S. Rose), and 200 acres along the Stage Road. The 688-acre Chatham figure includes the Mill Tract on Claiborne's Run, which was on the tax books prior to Judge Coalter's death as 150 acres. Coalter left this 150-acre tract to his children, which left 538 acres to his wife. However, for unknown reason, Hannah Coalter was vested with 558 acres, perhaps including 20 acres picked up by survey or other means.[208]

HANNAH JONES COALTER (1780–1857)

Hannah Jones was born to William and Betty Jones in 1780. She was raised at both Ellwood and Chatham. In 1804, she married David Williamson. They produced one child, Janet Williamson, who was physically and mentally handicapped.[209] After David Williamson died in 1818, Hannah remarried in 1822 to Judge John Coalter.[210] Hannah Jones Coalter and her daughter resided with John Coalter's three children from his third marriage, Francis Lelia, Elizabeth Tucker, and St. George Tucker Coalter.

Judge John Coalter died in 1838, leaving Chatham to Hannah. Hannah reigned as the mistress of Chatham until the age of seventy-seven. The will after her death in 1857 left the estate to Janet Williamson for the duration of her life. Upon her death, the estate would revert to Hannah Coalter's half sister, Betty Churchill (Jones) Lacy.[211] However, Janet Willimason died shortly after her mother, in 1858.

CHATHAM'S ACREAGE

By December 1838, Hannah Coalter had divested herself of about 1,100 acres of former Ferry Farm lands, including 200 acres of Rappahannock flats, 100 acres

of cleared land in on the hills, and 700 acres in wood. One acre at the ferry was reserved from the sale. According to the advertisement for sale, published in the *Fredericksburg Political Arena* on March 9, "The wood land is by far the best body of wood in the immediate vicinity of town; and the best part of the purchase money can be drawn from this source. . .There are in the land several bodies of Freestone; manure can, with convenience, be drawn from town, and Green Sand Marl [used as fertilizer], of fine quality is found a few miles down the river, which may be boated up with great advantage." There were no buildings on the tract.[212]

In 1839, tax records listed Hannah H. Coalter with 588 acres on the Rappahannock River, St. George T. Coalter with a 150-acre mill lot, John R. Bryan with 5.25 acres on Stage Road, Joseph Mann & John Teasdale with 1,080 acres on the Rappahannock River from John Coalter's executors, and James Peyton with 200 acres from John Coalter's executors (formerly taxed as 195.5 acres).[213] That same year, St. George Tucker Coalter (b. 1809 to Judge John Coalter and Ann Frances Bland Tucker) died at Saint George's Park. His wife, Judith Harrison Tomlin (1807–59), renounced his will and left Saint George's Park with her five small children for her family in King William and Hanover Counties.[214]

On October 4, 1847, Coalter's Bridge, Brown's Island, and a small plot of land on the Stafford side of the bridge were sold to John R. Bryan for $9,501.00. Bryan was Hannah Coalter's son-in-law. As part of the transaction, Mrs. Colater and other occupants of Chatham were granted free passage across the toll bridge under provisions of her husband's will.[215] In June 1857, a new blacksmith's shop was constructed near the Chatham Bridge by Thomas Nicholson, presumably to replace Worthington's old shop in the same area.[216]

INFLUENCE OF LANDSCAPE DESIGN TRENDS THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The early Victorian period (1837–50s) was concurrent with the formative years of the American Romantic period of design, and Chatham shares at least two important Victorian design tenets: visual dominance of the principal structure and significance of the ground plane, as evidenced by terracing on the river side of the house. By the 1830s, Colonial style gardens were increasingly less popular and a new naturalistic approach to the landscape was being introduced to the United States by landscape gardener, horticulturist, and writer Andrew Jackson Downing (1815–52).

Downing built upon the English landscape tradition of Alexander Pope (1688–1744), Lancelot "Capability" Brown (1716–83), Humphrey Repton (1742–1818), and in particular John Claudius Loudon (1782–1842), adapting their ideas to the United States. Downing was most influential upon taste in landscape gardening and architecture in the 1840s and 50s. His published works included *A Treatise*

on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, first published in 1841, *The Fruits and Fruit Trees of America*, first published in 1845, as well as a journal, *The Horticulturist and Journal of Rural Art and Rural Taste*, first issued in 1846.

While plans of the Coalter's garden at Chatham have not been located, an 1856 map showing river depths along the "Rappahannock River, Virginia, From Fredericksburg to Near Moss Neck" developed under the direction of A.D. Bache of the U. S. Coast Survey provides hints as to the character of the grounds. The footprint of Chatham, Laundry, and Kitchen were all visible, along with the distinctive terracing on the river side of the manor house. A regular planting of trees appeared along the precipice of each of the terraces, believed to be the poplars referenced by both Charles A. Murray (1835) and Delia Bryan Page (1909). The dependencies were surrounded by more naturalistic plantings of trees grown in clusters. While River Road is shown, the Carriage Drive does not appear on the map, as annotation ends beyond the land side façade of Chatham (Figure 1.37).[217]

Hannah Coalter continued operation of the plantation for nearly twenty years after the death of her husband in 1838. Census records from 1850 show that Chatham had nine horses, two asses or mules, eight "milch" cows, eight working oxen, nine other cattle, twenty-seven sheep, and thirty-two swine. The farm produced 700 bushels of wheat, 2,000 bushels of Indian corn, and 80 bushels of oats. The census tabulation did not show evidence of garden crops, hay, flax, orchards, wine production, or wood. Hannah Coalter had only nine enslaved people at Chatham, including two adult men, two adult women, and five small children. Presumably these enslaved people worked in the house, as opposed to the fields.[218] The 1850 Slave Census listed forty-nine slaves in Hannah Coalter's possession.[219] Presumably, forty of the forty-nine enslaved people lived and worked at other plantations at the time.



Figure 1.37. Detail of map of "Rappahannock River Virginia" surveyed under the direction of A.D. Bache. Plan view, 1856 (NOAA Library, AR09-00-1856).

In 1852, Frederick Law Olmsted passed through Fredericksburg on the train. He noted, "At Fredericksburg we passed through the streets of a rather busy, poorly-built town; but altogether, the country seen from the railroad bore less signs of an active and prospering people than any I ever travelled through before, for an equal distance."[220] Granted, Olmsted's impression is drawn from his own "glimpses by rail-road" from Aquia Creek to Richmond, yet his account reinforces the somewhat depressed production of Chatham's acreage late in Hannah Coalter's ownership.

MANUMISSION AND SALE OF CHATHAM

Hannah Jones Coalter died at Chatham on August 28, 1857. Coalter bequeathed the bulk of her estate, including Chatham, to her daughter, Janet S. Williamson. Upon Janet's death, the estate was to revert to Hannah Coalter's half sister, Betty Churchill (Jones) Lacy, who had also inherited Ellwood in 1857.

In her will, Hannah Coalter conditionally manumitted ninety-two enslaved people effective January 1, 1858 and provided for their transport to Liberia or any other places they selected as their homes. Hannah Coalter's will was contested by J. Horace Lacy, Betty Lacy, and Janet Williamson, who presumably did not want to part with one of Chatham's most valuable assets. The will was upheld by a lower court on September 29, 1857, but overruled by the Virginia Supreme Court on May 24, 1858 on grounds that the manumission conflicted with the laws of the state and therefore was void. The case was much reported in local newspapers. *The Weekly Advertiser* of June 12, 1858 summed up the decision as confirmation of an earlier decision, *Bayly v. Poindexter*, in which it was decided, "the slave has in Virginia no civil rights of legal capacity whatsoever; and, consequently, no power to make an election between freedom and slavery." The court ruled against Coalter's will because she gave the enslaved people the choice to remain in bondage and select among her relatives who would become their new owner. It was this level of choice, and not the concept of manumission itself, that the court used to throw out the will. The enslaved people continued in bondage under J. Horace Lacy, Betty Churchill (Jones) Lacy's husband and then owner of Chatham.[221]

The executors of Hannah Coalter's will, William Fitzhugh Jr. and Rueben L. Gordon, decided to put Chatham to auction, likely after realizing that Janet Williamson would be incapable of operating the plantation on account of her health. *The Fredericksburg News* carried an extensive advertisement for the sale of Chatham after Hannah Coalter's death:

> …CHATHAM contains about SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWELVE ACRES, lies on the Rappahannock River, immediately opposite the town of Fredericksburg – extends up to the village of Falmouth, and communicated with Fredericksburg by a toll-bridge which the owner of the estate has perpetual right to

> use, TOLL-FREE, for all family and farming purposes. The soil is productive and improvable. The meadow and table lands of superior quality.
>
> The site of the House is strikingly beautiful, with a Garden finely cultivated, and ornamented with very extensive terraces. The dwelling is of brick, in good repair, and has ten spacious rooms. There are also all necessary out houses farm buildings and a valuable GRIST MILL, within a quarter mile of the town, on this estate.
>
> There are also two good FISHERIES, from one of which an abundant supply of Herring and Shad for the farm are annually taken, and the other is readily rented out.
>
> The advantages of every kind, which the owner of this handsome residence and valuable farm will enjoy, are obvious, and will be readily appreciated by any one visiting the estate…
>
> At the same time and place, and on the usual terms, the Executors of the late occupant of the estate, will sell the HORSES, MULES, CATTLE, SHEEP, HOGS, CROP OF CORN, A LARGE SUPPLY OF FODDER AND WHEAT STRAW And all the Farming Implements &c…
>
> Signed John R. Bryan and H. B. Tomlin, October 8, 1857.[222]

Janet S. Williamson granted her uncle, J. Horace Lacy, all of her property in return for which Lacy was to invest the property in the purchase of Chatham and grant Williamson an annuity equal to six percent of the property's value every six months.[223] As it would come to pass, Janet died in 1858. Her aunt and uncle would go on to own Chatham through the Civil War, until 1872.

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY, 1857

By 1857, Chatham's grounds had evolved to reflect a hybrid of the rigid Georgian geometry that characterized the design of the property at the end of William Fitzhugh's ownership and the newfound American appreciation for the picturesque advocated for by designers like Andrew Jackson Downing (Drawing 2). The terraces on the river side of the manor house were in place and planted a combination pleasure/kitchen garden. A second kitchen garden may have existed on the land side of the house, defined by the crescent-shaped Carriage Drive. Beyond, fields to the north and east remained in cultivation, largely in grain crops. Agricultural buildings and slave quarters probably stood along the plantation street (now Chatham Lane) between Chatham and White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road).

In addition to the circulation routes present in 1806, including Falmouth River Road, White Oak Road, Carriage Drive, plantation street, and farm roads, additions to the wider Chatham landscape included farm roads that traversed the North Embankment to connect Scott's Ferry with houses and fields on the plateau above. White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road) was also improved during construction of Chatham Bridge (1821–23) by Churchill Jones. The bridge,

destroyed by flood in 1826, was replaced by 1832 by Judge John Coalter, who made further improvements to the road. Construction of the bridge changed Chatham's relationship with its setting, improving access to Fredericksburg. Extension of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad to Fredericksburg in 1837 and subsequent extension to the Aquia Creek steamboat landing in 1842 further enhanced Chatham's connections to locations beyond.

The most distinctive vegetation features at Chatham are the poplar lined terraces that are referenced throughout the 1830s. A map from 1856 suggests that Chatham's dependencies were surrounded by trees planted in naturalistic groupings. The North and South Ravines were likely forested with naturalized vegetation as well. Later descriptions of the grounds suggest that the crescent-shaped Carriage Drive and plantation street were lined with regular plantings by 1857, although the exact placement of these trees is not known. Two orchards persisted into the 1850s, likely beyond the North and South Ravines.

It is believed that Chatham's buildings and structures remained fairly consistent with their 1806 configuration. The manor house, Kitchen, and Laundry, along with the mill along Claiborne's Run were insured several times with the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia (1815, 1821, 1836, 1843, and 1850). Over this time, however, the insured value of the manor house, Kitchen, and Laundry declined from $20,600 to $8,000, suggesting that the Joneses and Coalters made few improvements to the buildings or grounds following Fitzhugh's departure.

The view between Chatham and Fredericksburg and across the fields to the northeast remained the most distinctive characteristics of Chatham's immediate setting through the Jones and Coalter ownerships. While agricultural buildings and slave quarters along the plantation street were relatively close to Chatham, they were likely screened by vegetation in the south ravine and plantings along the crescent-shaped carriage drive.



Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

1857 Period Plan

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

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4. "Map of Vicinity of Fredericksburg," 1862, National Archives, NOAA, T-0871
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10. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
11. Hydrology: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan, 2015
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Park fee boundary (current)
- Topographic contours (10' interval, based on current)
- Road / drive
- Trees
- Orchard
- Lawn / pasture / field
- Building / structure
- Fence

NOTE

All features shown in approximate scale and location.

0' 125' 250' 500'

Drawing 2

1857 TO 1865

After competing with Douglas Gordon for Chatham, James Horace Lacy purchased the estate at auction on November 7, 1857 for $36,950 from the estate of Hannah Coalter. Despite paying $7,000 over the market value for Chatham, by his own estimation, J. Horace Lacy wrote to Elizabeth Gibson, "I feel confident that I can meet the payments, and make the property in a few years [sic] worth even more than I have given for it."[224] His purchase included the 149-acre mill tract (reduced for unknown reasons by 1 acre) and 558 acres of Chatham belonging to Mrs. Coalter, who was Mrs. Lacy's half-sister. At the time, Lacy also owned Ellwood, Lafitta, and Boscobel.[225]

MAJOR JAMES HORACE LACY (1823–1906) AND BETTY CHURCHILL JONES LACY (1829–1907)

James Horace Lacy was the son of Presbyterian minister William Sterling Lacy and Sally Graham Lacy on June 10, 1823 in St. Charles, Missouri. Lacy and his nine siblings resided at various farms in the upper south, including Summerville, Tennessee.[226] He attended Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) in Lexington, Virginia for one year before working as a tutor to the children of John Randolph Bryan (1806–87) and Elizabeth Tucker Coalter Bryan (1805–56), daughter of Judge John Coalter.

Over the summer of 1847, Elizabeth Tucker Coalter Bryan invited Betty Churchill Jones for a prolonged visit. The two women were related through William Jones by marriage. James Horace Lacy was fond of Betty and courted her fervently. Betty Jones returned his affections, and they were married the next year at Ellwood.[227]

Betty Churchill Jones, daughter of William Jones and Lucy Gordon, was raised at Ellwood, but was sent to Chatham to be educated. Betty Jones inherited Ellwood following the death of her father, William Jones. (A condition of his will was that Ellwood would go to his wife as long as she did not remarry. However, Lucy Gordon, only in her thirties at the time of her husband's death, decided to remarry. As a result, Ellwood passed to Betty Jones in 1857.)[228] For the first nine years of their marriage, Betty and James Horace Lacy lived at Ellwood. James Horace Lacy purchased Chatham from the estate of his sister in-law in 1857. Between the purchase of Chatham and the outbreak of the American Civil War, they spent winters at Chatham and summers at Ellwood.[229]

After Virginia's citizens ratified secession on May 23, 1861, Lacy joined the Confederate forces. He served as an aide-de-camp to Brigadier General Daniel Ruggles and under General T.H. Holmes, who commanded the Department of Fredericksburg. On June 10, 1862, he was captured while visiting his wife and family at Greenwood, a Jones family place in the Wilderness. He served about

three months at Fort Delaware before being exchanged on September 21, 1862. He continued with the Confederacy, serving under General Gustavus W. Smith. Later, in 1864, he served as chief inspector of field transportation on the staff of General E. Kirby Smith, stationed in Louisiana.[230]

During the war, Betty Lacy moved to Fredericksburg, followed by Lexington and Bedford with her five children before joining her husband in Dublin, Virginia over the summer of 1863. She remained in Dublin until the war ended. Several months later, the Lacy family moved back to Chatham with their eight children, Agnes, William J., Elizabeth B., Graham G., Lucy L., Sally M., J. Horace, and Beverly Randolph Drury. [231] The Lacys played an important role in the Ladies' Memorial Association, organized in 1866 to re-inter the bodies of Confederate soldiers and erect monuments in their honor. Betty Lacy was elected Vice President at the first meeting of the Association. The following year, Major Lacy was instrumental in the acquisition of land for a Confederate cemetery and fundraising. Lacy ran for the state legislature in 1873, going on to serve one term. He died on January 27, 1906, a year before Betty.[232]

LACY'S IMPROVEMENT OF CHATHAM'S GROUNDS

In November 1858, J. Horace Lacy was elected president of the Rappahannock Agricultural Society.[233] The economic panic of 1839 had also provoked interest in diversification of crops among Virginia's farmers. By the 1850s, Virginia had entered a period of scientific farming. Farmers also recognized the benefits of diversifying crops for soil health. In 1852, prominent Tidewater agronomist Edmund Ruffin published his influential work, *An Essay on Calcareous Manures*, which explained that applications of marl could improve crop yields in soils that had been exhausted by tobacco monoculture.

Early in 1859, Lacy repaired the mill at Chatham and advertised for its use in the *Fredericksburg News*, adding that the Chatham Bridge was toll free to those using the mill.[234] Around the time, it appears that Lacy grew wheat extensively at Chatham.[235] The 1860 Census recorded 550 improved acres and 250 unimproved acres under Lacy's ownership, with six horses, nine asses and mules, sixteen "milch" cows, six oxen, sixteen other cattle, twenty-three sheep, but no pigs at Chatham. Agricultural products produced the previous year included 2,950 bushels of wheat, 1,500 bushels of Indian corn, 600 bushels of oats, 70 pounds of wool, 10 bushels of Irish potatoes, and 200 pounds of butter.[236]

Lacy was quick to make improvements to Chatham's grounds as well. Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia records show that the manor house, Kitchen, and Laundry, valued at $8,000 in 1857, were valued at $11,250 by late 1859, suggesting

that Lacy undertook improvements to the estate.[237] Over the summer of 1858, Fanny B. Coalter wrote from Chatham to her fiancé, Henry Peronneau Brown at Richmond:

> I do wish so much you could see it [Chatham]. I think it the sweetest spot on Earth. Mr. Lacy has improved the grounds very much, even in this short time–I hope some of these day [sic] I have the pleasure of bring [sic] with you here & then we can admire & enjoy it together, every foot of ground in yard. Garden and house is closely connected with some childish pleasure or pain–few know what I suffered while I lived here, then it seemed hard, so very hard to bear but now I look back upon those trials with almost pleasure, for I feel what a good school it was, to enable me to fight the great battle of life.[238]

Despite improvements to the grounds and the property's appreciating value, by 1859, Lacy sold 132.5 acres of Chatham to A.K. Philips, bringing the property's acreage to 425.5 plus the 149-acre mill tract.[239] In 1861, J. Horace Lacy and Betty C. Lacy also secured a deed of trust for $10,000 from William A. Little. Lacy likely needed these funds to settle his debt with Robert W. Carter from the time he purchased Chatham in 1857. If he did not repay the loan, he would have forfeited the property to Carter.[240]

The Fredericksburg *Weekly Advertiser* reported on the sale of Chatham to Mr. Lacy in 1857, noting: "We understand that most of the negroes of the estate have chosen Mr. Lacy as their master, prefering [sic] slavery and a residence on the old plantation, to their freedom in a strange country, the will of Mrs. Coalter giving them their freedom if they chose. 'Freedom-Shriekers [sic]' will please make a note of this."[241] Of course, this was not entirely accurate. Slaves had few real options when confronted with freedom. Often, the maintenance of families compelled some to remain in slavery. The article's message is typical propaganda intended to soothe the consciences of slaveholders. The ninety-two enslaved people conditionally manumitted by Hannah Coalter's will were not freed. In the wake of the 1857 *Dred Scott v. Sandford* decision, they had no legal standing. The Eighth Census of the United States (1860) showed that Lacy kept thirty-nine enslaved people at Chatham, including twenty-five men and fourteen women.[242]

The U.S. Coast Survey, under the direction of A.D. Bache, produced two maps that showed the concentration of slaves in the South based on the results of the 1860 Census. One of the slave maps was published on June 13 1861, just two months after the start of the Civil War. The maps were used as Union propaganda, with their sale benefitting "the sick and wounded of the U.S. Army." (Figure 1.38). The concentration of enslaved people in Stafford County was moderate compared to other Virginia counties, with the highest concentration of enslaved people in Amelia and Nottoway (now Nottoway Court House) counties to the west of Petersburg.[243]

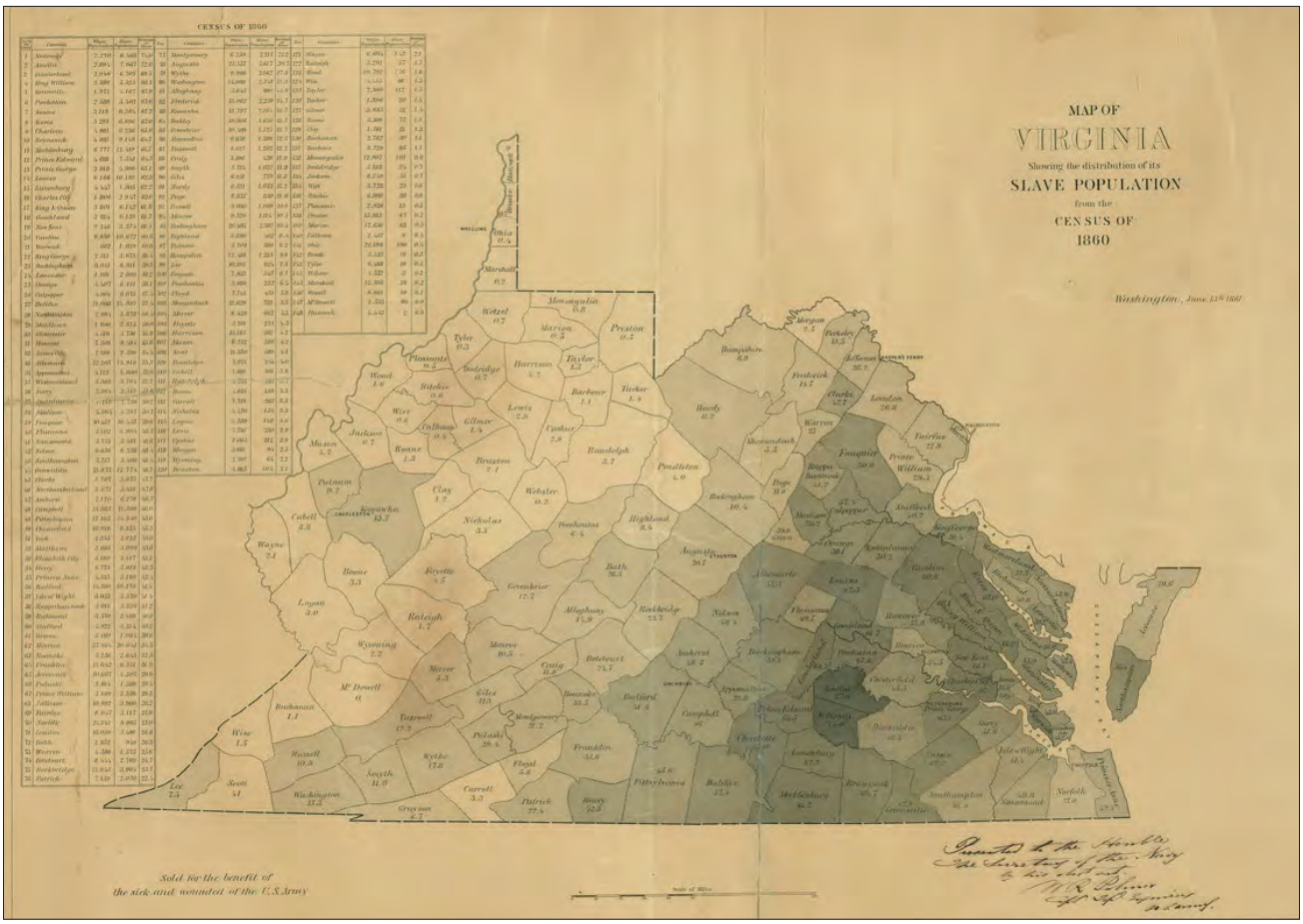


Figure 1.38. "Map of Virginia Showing the Distribution of its Slave Population" by Edwin Hergesheimer. Plan view, 1860 (Library of Virginia, G3881.S5 1861 .G7).

CIVIL WAR BEGINS

On April 15, 1861, the first battle of the Civil War began at Fort Sumter in Charleston, South Carolina. Virginia residents ratified the articles of secession on May 23, becoming the eighth state to do so. That spring, Betty Lacy and the five Lacy children fled Chatham and moved across the river into the home of Mrs. Henderson White. The following spring, the Lacys moved to Greenwood plantation in the Wilderness. Furniture from Chatham was sent to Ellwood, yet one soldier recalled that "within [the manor], however, wealth and art had left abundant evidence of their profuse employment to make the dwelling a fit abode for the most refined and esthetic inhabitants. The grounds descended to the river in terraces, and the house and its surroundings could not well be surpassed for beauty, elegance and comfort."[244] The Lacy's enslaved staff was sent to a rented farm in Powhatan County immediately to the west of Richmond.[245]

In April 1862, General Irvin McDowell brought approximately 30,000 men to Fredericksburg and established his headquarters at Chatham. Retreating Confederate forces burned the three Rappahannock River bridges, including the Chatham Bridge. A November 1862 lithograph shows an aerial view of Fredericksburg from the eastern bank of the Rappahannock River to the south

of Chatham. While Chatham is not visible, the print shows the size and extent of Fredericksburg during the war, along with the burnt remains of the Chatham Bridge (Figure 1.39). According to an account by a soldier with the 80th New York Infantry:

> Guards are stationed everywhere around his [Lacy's] house and lands, with the strictest directions to preserve his fences, trees, and even lawns, intact. I undertook to visit his garden the other day, terraces from the piazza, by graceful gradations, to the river's brink, and was encountered by a grim sentry who politely informed me that no person was allowed there, without a permit and it was only by an appeal of one of McDowell's staff, that I obtained unrestrained privilege to roam among the grounds.[246]

Despite the guard, Charles Henry Veil, a Pennsylvanian with the Union Army, recalled in his memoir:

> While we were waiting for the arrival of the transports near Fredericksburg, we were encamped on the bank of the river below town. Our headquarters occupied a fine plantation mansion overlooking the river. It was a typical Southern mansion overlooking the river– large, fine, roomy house, slave quarters, stable, fine garden, and among other surroundings a large number of hives of honey bees. A lot of the headquarters got together one day and decided that we ought to have a little feast before we started down the river. So one or two of us were detailed to capture a pig and I was detailed to capture one of the bee hives. An old wench had been engaged to cook the pig and make the corn bread and coffee. Safeguards were posted in the garden, in which the beehives were stationed. I engaged a comrade to get into conversation with the guard and, while he was so engaged, I managed to slip into the garden and pick up a beehive.[247]

An 1862 map prepared under the direction of Capt. R.S. Williamson and First Lieutenant Nicholas Bowen with the U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers



Figure 1.39. "View of Fredericksburg, Va." by E. Sachse & Co. View looking southwest, November 1862 (Library of Congress, G3884.F7A3 1862 .S3).

(drawn by C.A. Mallory) shows "Part of the North Bank of the Rappahannock River," including the Lacy house (Figure 1.40). While not detailed, the map showed the Lacy house and flanking dependencies, along with the barn along the plantation street (now Chatham Lane) and an unidentified building on the bluff overlooking Chatham Bridge, then destroyed. The map shows that Falmouth River Road and White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road) leading to what is now Butler Road were the primary connections between Chatham and Falmouth. Two additional routes traversed the embankment on the Chatham property, including the Carriage Drive and a second road beyond the North Ravine.[248]

U.S. COAST SURVEY AND U.S. TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS IN PARTNERSHIP

The U.S. Coast Survey was created by an act of Congress and signed into law by President Jefferson in 1807, charged with the task of accurately charting the



Figure 1.40. Detail of map of "Part of the North Bank of the Rappahannock River." Plan view, 1862 (Library of Congress, G3884.F7 1862 .M3).

national coastline and primary rivers to render safe passage for mariners. A civilian program administered by the U.S. Department of the Treasury, by 1843 this early federal science program was under the direction of "Professor" Alexander Dallas Bache (1806-1867) a distinguished graduate of West Point who subsequently served as an instructor at the military academy, as well as the University of Pennsylvania before becoming President of Girard College.

Similarly, at the conclusion of the War of 1812, the War Department established the U.S. Topographical Engineers in 1818 during the Monroe administration. Composed entirely of officers, the Topographical Engineers were charged with conducting military surveys, fortifications and the design of peacetime civil engineering projects. Shortly after the onset of the American Civil War, the U.S. Topographical Engineers came under the leadership of "Major" Hartman Bache (1798-1872). "Professor" Bache of the Coast Survey and "Major" Bache of the Topographical Engineers were first cousins, natives of Philadelphia and great-grandsons of Benjamin Franklin.

Col. John Navarre Macomb, Jr. (1811-1889) of the U.S. Topographical Engineers, was himself the grandson of Major General Alexander Macomb (1782-1841) who had been Commanding General of the United States Army. Predictably, John Navarre Macomb, Jr. graduated from West Point in 1832, and was soon thereafter in the Midwest, involved in the Army's Black Hawk Expedition against the Sauk and Fox Indians. As Civil War loomed in 1859, Macomb was to be found yet farther westward, in Santa Fe under orders from Capt. A. A. Humphreys (1810-1883), Chief of Explorations and Surveys. Macomb's assignment was to document the canyons of Utah's San Juan River in the territory ceded from Mexico in 1848 as the price of defeat. Macomb's technical assistants on the San Juan River were men with surnames including Dorsey, Fisher, Vail, Newberry and most notably, Dimmock.[249]

During the spring of 1862, as McClellan faced Johnston on Tidewater Virginia's Middle Peninsula, Colonel Macomb requested the assistance of Professor Bache and the U.S. Coast Survey through the offices of Major General Irvin McDowell (1818-1885). Appreciating the Rappahannock River as a natural outer line of defense protecting Alexandria and Washington, D.C. to the north, Macomb hoped to acquire accurate maps of this critical and narrow neck of land separating the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers. In response, Professor Bache dispatched two trusted assistants from Washington to Falmouth. On May 9th civilian assistants T. W. Robbins and C. M. Bache of the Coast Survey presented themselves to Colonel Macomb at the Lacy house, opposite Fredericksburg.[250] The two men began work on May 12th, first taking time to locate and reestablish survey control points installed in 1853 during a prior survey of the river.

About two weeks after the arrival of Robbins and Bache, Colonel Macomb described his encampment in a letter to his daughter Minerva.

> . . . I have been wishing to write one to you for a good while to tell you something about this beautiful old place where I have been encamped for the last three weeks. . .There is a beautiful garden on that [river] side of the house. It is made in terraces–which are like steps–very large & very high steps they would be!...The sweet scented shrubs which I sent to you in that little package two weeks ago grew upon the upper terrace, in large bushes. There are also beautiful trees upon the terraces and rose bushes ever so many! and other blooming plants, all of which make the air very sweet there and it is a cool and pleasant place to walk in early in the morning. The garden is as large as the square where you & the boys & little Christina go, in the care of your good and kind Annie, to walk and take the fresh air. . .I wish you & little Ella Stanton and V McCrea could be here to walk around and pick some of the flowers; and that Monty & Gus and Louis Meigs could be there to race through the garden walks. . .[251]

In his letter, Colonel Macomb capably describes the landscape setting, going further to describe pleasant social gathering centered upon Lacy's riverfront porch, and referencing musicians playing in the terraced garden by candlelight. He further describes the visit of President Lincoln, Secretary Stanton and other dignitaries, concluding with an evening supper catered within Lacy's dining room. Macomb's letter to Minerva suggests the close knit, familial qualities of the Union Army's leadership. His letter indicates that Minerva and Secretary Stanton's daughter Ella were childhood acquaintances; he alludes to the kinship between his two sons Monty (Montgomery Meigs Macomb) and Gus (Augustus Canfield Macomb) and cousin Loulie (Lousia R.) Meigs, as both Macomb and Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs, had been classmates at West Point, and were currently brothers-in-law by way of their marriages to the daughters of Commodore John Rodgers (1772-1838).

Continuing in the theme of family ties, Professor Bache of the Coast Survey had sent his nephew Charles Meigs Bache (1829-1890), this man bearing the same familial relation to Hartman Bache of the Army Topographical Engineers, to Fredericksburg. Of the two Coast Survey staff sent to assist Macomb, Bache apparently completed his assignment first. Sending notice to Professor Bache on July 6, 1892, writing from the Lacy house

> Dear Sir: Yours of May 30th came to hand last night it is enclosed with a letter of introduction to Gen'l King & has been in Col. Macomb's hands since June 2nd. After leaving you on the afternoon of the 4th I saw Col Macomb & stated my desire to be relieved from any duty when I shall have completed my present work; He appeared to have no objection, but was willing that I should be relieved upon application. I was misinformed when told that the Govt. boat did not leave on Sunday. I do not regret however that I returned when I did as we may move now at any moment & I should not wonder if that would be in the direction of Alexandria. The pontoon bridge has been taken up & loaded on the wagons. I have been at work one half of today (Sunday) filling up a little hole that I have neglected for some time back & now in case of a move, my sheet will be complete as far as it goes, but will not embrace all that I've worked on...[252]

Later that month, topographer T. W. Robbins successfully brought his assignment to its conclusion and made this known in a letter posted from Washington, D.C. to Professor Bache, then in New York City.

> "Dear Sir: Having inked the Plane Table sheet which contains the survey made by me in the vicinity of Fredericksburg under Col. J. N. Macomb and mapped the compass survey of roads beyond the limits of the plane table sheet, all to the satisfaction of the Asst. in Chg. of office - I beg leave to apply for permission to be absent on leave for a short time....."

The combined work of the Coast Survey topographers in early 1862 is perhaps one of the most illuminating graphic documents describing the Chatham landscape during the Civil War (Figure 1.41). These two drawings are drawn with the high level craft and rigor more typically associated with of the superior work of the U. S. Coast Survey. It is also worth considering that these two drawings, prepared well before blood was spilled in Fredericksburg, may have been augmented by aerial reconnaissance. Colonel Macomb, who had requested the



Figure 1.41. Detail of "Map of Vicinity of Fredericksburg" surveyed by parties of the U.S. Coast Survey. Plan view, 1862 (NARA, RG 23: Records of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1806-1981, T-871).

assistance from Professor Bache, also happened to be responsible for assembling a trove of landscape data from previously existing published maps, knowledgeable persons, and according to his annual report for 1862 had also been placed in charge of "aeronauts" of the Army's Balloon Corps:

> In addition to my duties of chief topographical engineer, I was charged with the supervision of and disbursement for the balloon department of the 'Army of the Potomac,' in which I found Mr. Lowe and Mr. LaMountain, aeronauts, and some of their assistants, employed when I assumed the charge.

Colonel Macomb discharged John LaMountain, "Aeronaut, in Service of U.S. Army, Camp opp. Fredericksburg" on July 7th, the very day after C.W. Bache indicated the impending completion of his map work.[253] While speculation as to the role of aerial reconnaissance in the development of C. W. Bache's excellent drawing may be difficult to definitively establish, the work of both Bache and Robbins undeniably serve as accurate representations of landscape conditions prior to the Battle of Fredericksburg.

The portion of the Coast Survey drawing showing the Chatham landscape documents the organization of the dependencies to the manor house and fields beyond, along with the entrance road and distinctive terracing west of the house, and a crescent-shaped drive to the east of the house. Dependencies indicated on the drawing included the Laundry, the Kitchen, a building in the vicinity of the Smokehouse and in a corresponding location to the southeast of the Kitchen (likely a storehouse), barns at the terminuses of both ends of the crescent-shaped Carriage Drive, a building parallel with Chatham beyond South Ravine (likely masonry slave quarters), and several buildings along the plantation street (now Chatham Lane) between Chatham and White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road).[254] Those structures depicted with solid linework are believed to indicate masonry construction, while those outlined are believed to be wood-frame buildings.

To the south, beyond Claiborne's run and the Chatham mill, the 1862 Coast Survey drawing indicates a cluster of three frame buildings and one masonry building are believed to be quarters for Chatham's enslaved people and possibly an overseer. The buildings stand close to the railroad tracks and footings for a dock that was likely used prior to the war for export of Chatham's goods by river.

An undated photograph of Chatham, believed to date to c. 1874, taken from the east of the manor house looking west, showed the crescent-shaped drive that defined the yard to the northwest of the house. The drive was earthen and the lawn rough. Several trees could be seen along the drive. They may once have lined its entire length (Figure 1.42). The space defined by the crescent-shaped drive was covered with tents of staff officers and orderlies, described by one soldier with the New York Volunteers as "a barren, uninviting waste."[255]



Figure 1.42. Stereograph of Chatham showing the crescent-shaped carriage drive to the northeast of the manor house. View looking west, c. 1874 (Jerry and Lou Brent Collection, Fredericksburg, VA).

In May, as Bache and Robbins pursued their map work, Mrs. Lacy returned to Chatham to observe that no harm had come to the house since it was occupied by Union troops (Figure 1.43). A local newspaper reported on May 10: "Mrs. Lacey [sic], wife of Maj. Lacey [sic], who is on Gen. Gustavus Smith's Staff, this morning visited her fine mansion and plantation, now occupied by the Commanding General of this Department. She said she wished she had two husbands to give to the Rebel cause, and two plantations. She was, however, much gratified to find her property uninjured in the least, save by the unaccountable disappearance of 15 to 20 blacks."[256] By July, thirty-two enslaved people remained at Chatham, placing Chatham's enslaved population at the outset of the war between forty-seven and fifty-two.[257]

The February 5, 1863 edition of the *Providence Evening Press* included correspondence from a camp near Falmouth.[258] It includes reference to a white couple overseeing Chatham. This may explain why so many enslaved people remained at Chatham for as long as they did in the summer of 1862. The writer identifies them as Mr. and Mrs. Heffling, but he almost certainly means Heflin, a common name in the Stafford areas. The entry for the Lacys in the 1860 Stafford Census immediately follow a listing for James and Susan Heflin, almost certainly the couple referenced in the correspondence. James Heflin was a farmer, 40 years old and possessed of $100 of personal property. They had two minors living with them: 17 year old Lucy Jones and Sally Heflin, age 8. The Heflins appear on the 1870 census, living in Falmouth. Susan F. Heflin died in 1922.



Figure 1.43. Sketch of Chatham's outbuildings from the diary of John Milton Bancroft, 4th Michigan Infantry. Probable view looking southeast, May 1862 (Auburn University Libraries Special Collections and Archives, John M. Bancroft Civil War Diary/Scrapbook, RG 095).

PONTOON BRIDGES

With all three Rappahannock River bridges destroyed, the Union Army needed another means of crossing the river. The army deployed temporary floating bridges that could be constructed quickly upon pontoons. The boats were connected by side rails (bulks), with flooring (chesses) laid across the sideboards to complete the bridges. Pontoons, bulks, and chesses were brought to the area by train and unloaded at the railroad depot to the east of Chatham. Materials were then carted across Chatham's fields to the North Embankment, where a farm road traversed the steep slope.

On May 5, 1862, according to Union veteran Theodore B. Gates, the first pontoon bridge was completed below Chatham. General D. P. Woodbury directed construction of the pontoon bridge, while Colonel C.H. Tompkins' artillery group was stationed at Chatham to protect the engineers.[259]

By June 4, a flood devastated the Rappahannock river crossings. A report in the *Official Records* noted: "The trestle bridge lately put up in front of the Lacy house was entirely swept away, and in its progress down the river it carried with it the trestle-work of the two center spans of the railroad bridge, and also started the canal-boat bridge. The pontoon bridge had been taken up by your orders the day before."[260]

A view of Stafford Heights taken in early July 1862 from the current location of Pratt Park is believed to be the earliest photograph of Fredericksburg (Figure 1.44). The image shows an artillery park adjacent to the wooded North Ravine



Figure 1.44. View across the field to the northwest of Chatham. The North Ravine is visible within the wooded area on the left side of the image. Chatham Bridge abutments are visible at center. The Pontoon Bridge is visible at right. View looking south, early July 1862 (State Historical Society of Wisconsin).

and a road that led to Chatham. The Pontoon Bridge at the base of Hawke Street (constructed May 5) is also visible in the image, along with the remains of Chatham Bridge abutments further downstream and the faint outline of the reconstructed railroad bridge across the Rappahannock (constructed in mid-May, operational by May 19). Further downriver, a canal boat bridge (constructed early May) connected Ferry Farm with the town docks.[261]

Following the flood of June 4, Washington Roebling designed a 1,028-foot long suspension bridge across the Rappahannock River across the thirteen piers of the old Chatham Bridge. Roebling, who would go on to design the Brooklyn Bridge, was the son of a famed bridge builder and an engineer officer on the staff of Union commander Irvin McDowell. Roebling's wire suspension bridge was completed across the Rappahannock between July 1 and July 18, with ten soldiers and thirty "contrabands." Roebling's bridge was short-lived. It was destroyed on September 1, 1862, when it was burned.[262]

UNION DAMAGE OF CHATHAM'S GROUNDS

Following an overnight trip from Washington, President Lincoln and his cabinet, including Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, French minister M. Mercier, and Commodore John A. Dahlgren, visited General McDowell at Chatham on May 23.[263] The condition of the broader plantation had further deteriorated late in General McDowell's occupation. By the time of president's visit several complaints against Union troops had been documented:

> When we arrived opposite Fredericksburg these fields were green with a promising crop of wheat in drills, then growing most luxuriantly. Contrary to orders, a regiments of cavalry, rather than take the trouble to cut wood, which was near in great abundance, burned several panels of the fence, and thus allowed the animals to enter the fields and tread down the wheat. I caused the regiment to rebuild the fence and the fields to be guarded till the wheat matured. Then it was harvested, thrashed out, taken to a mill near by [sic], grounds into flour, and fed to the troops. This matter was simply a question of economy for the Government. . .There is such a thing as economy of war.[264]

In his own defense during a Court of Inquiry, Major-General McDowell reported:

> As to my conduct toward the inhabitants with reference to their property. I wish to offer my general orders and instructions concerning contributions and the taking of supplies. . .and as to the particular cases of a Mr. Hoffman, whose fences were ordered to be guarded, and that of the fences around the wheat fields of Chatham, or the Lacy house, which had been destroyed and were ordered to be replaced.[265]

On May 29, Lieutenant Allen W. Dole, 1st New Jersey Cavalry, also wrote to General Irvin McDowell's staff in regard to complaints that soldiers from his regiments had confiscated corn and mules from the Lacy House without providing a receipt.[266] The devastation caused by Union troops was confirmed a few days later, when the Fredericksburg *Christian Banner* published an account by editor James W. Hunnicutt:

> On last Saturday morning we visited some of our friends in the vicinity of Falmouth. On our way, we passed through the plantation of Mr. Lacy and were surprised to witness the entire desolation of all fencing and enclosures of every kind. His 'beautiful farm' is one common 'muster' ground. We thought what a pity that a man so comfortably situated as Mr. Lacy was should have suffered his ambition to drive him to help break up government under which he had lived all his life, and which would have protected him and his possession forever, had he been satisfied. But in his strong efforts to exchange the best government in the world for succession–he has lost thousands, which he can never regain. Let this be a warning to him and to all other political adventurers and aspirants in all coming time.[267]

By July 15, 1862, a telegram from Rufus King, Brigadier General to Colonel Schriver, Chief of Staff, referenced the departure of McDowell's command from the Fredericksburg area (Figure 1.45).[268] In August, D.R. Leaned wrote two letters that reference Chatham's grounds, including one to Mrs. Ambrose E. Burnside:

> This place [Chatham] is very beautiful. The house, a large two story brick mansion, with two immense wings and commodious negro quarters, is situated on



Figure 1.45. Hugh Kilpatrick, L.A.D. Pilchar, Rufus King, Bob Chawler, and John Hathaway on Chatham's southwestern porch, featuring a decorative cast-iron railing. View looking northeast, 15 July 1862 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files, 72b from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin).

> a high hill just across the river from Fredericsburg [sic] and the plan is finely laid out. A large lawn in front, with shade trees, a circular drive, in the rear three wide terraces, about 60 feet wide, nicely laid out for flowers & shrubury [sic] led down to the river, the whole overlooking a large tract of county beyond Fredericsburg [sic]. The place belongs to a Mr. H.H. Lacy [sic], who volunteered as aide on the Rebel Gen'l. Smith Staff last April and is now an occupant of Fort Delaware while his fine plantation is occupied by the accursed Yankees, and his 150 slaves are free. Our tents are pitched on the edge of the lawn directly in front [inland facing side] of the house, the General on the right, & run the whole width of the lawn (eight in number). We occupy the tents for sleeping & office, but as soon as Genl. King leaves, tomorrow perhaps, we shall take the house for Office room, and still sleep in our tents.[269]

In a letter the day before, Larned also referenced a "large barn," and "capacious negro quarters," and "shade trees" along the Carriage Drive.[270] In early September, the barn was destroyed by Union troops. According to the Richmond *Daily Dispatch*, "extensive depots of provisions, commissary stores, barracks, tents, &c., were burned, together with the large barn of Major J.H. Lacy, on the Chatham estate. They [Union troops] accomplished their work thoroughly, as though they had no intention of returning to his part of the Confederacy during the war…No private property, except that of Major Lacy, was destroyed in the evacuation."[271]

WINTER 1862

In November, President Lincoln replaced General McClellan with Ambrose E. Burnside as the commanding General of the Army of the Potomac (Figure 1.46). General Burnside returned to the Falmouth/Fredericksburg area on November 17, 1862, accompanied by soldiers. He established his headquarters at the Philips



Figure 1.46. General Ambrose Burnside outside of his tent in Warrenton, Virginia, photographed by Alexander Gardner, November 1862 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files, 73a from NARA, Brady Collection, B-72).

House, about a mile northeast of Chatham. The house, called Mulberry Hill, was owned by Alexander K. Phillips. General Edwin V. Sumner, of Burnside's army, occupied Chatham.[272]

Captain Charles M. Coit, with the 8th Connecticut Infantry, wrote home of the occupation: "It [Chatham] has been occupied by many distinguished officers of both armies at different times during the war. Genl Burnsides' Head Qts, last summer over on the grass plot between the house & the road [the interior of the carriage drive]. Our shelter tents occupy exactly the same ground at present. Our old Camp, last summer, was just across the road."[273] Another soldier with the New Hampshire Volunteers reported picking "a rosebud from a well-loaded bush in the garden."[274] And yet another soldier with the New York State Volunteers recalled that "the grounds in the rear [of Chatham] were decorated with beautiful locust trees and winding drives. A beautiful place, but so rudely entered soon laid it to waste. The barns, sheds, etc. were soon torn down and placed on the ground to keep us from the cold, wet ground where we could catch a few hours of sleep and rest."[275] Another soldier with the Connecticut Volunteers, interpreted the "font" of the house quite differently, noting in a letter to his brother, "the ground on both sides is laid out splendidly, the ground we occupie [sic] is covered with shade trees which side of the house you would call the front is more than I can tell."[276] An 1862 watercolor sketch of the Lacy house by J.C. Keyser shows the northeast elevation of the building and the adjoining grounds (Figure 1.47).

Another soldier's sketch of Chatham reveals the southwest façade of the building. While this sketch supposes a December 1862 date, it was in fact drawn after the war by Robert Knox Sneden, who may have relied on other evidence of the plantation's condition. A line of deciduous trees and a broken board fence and

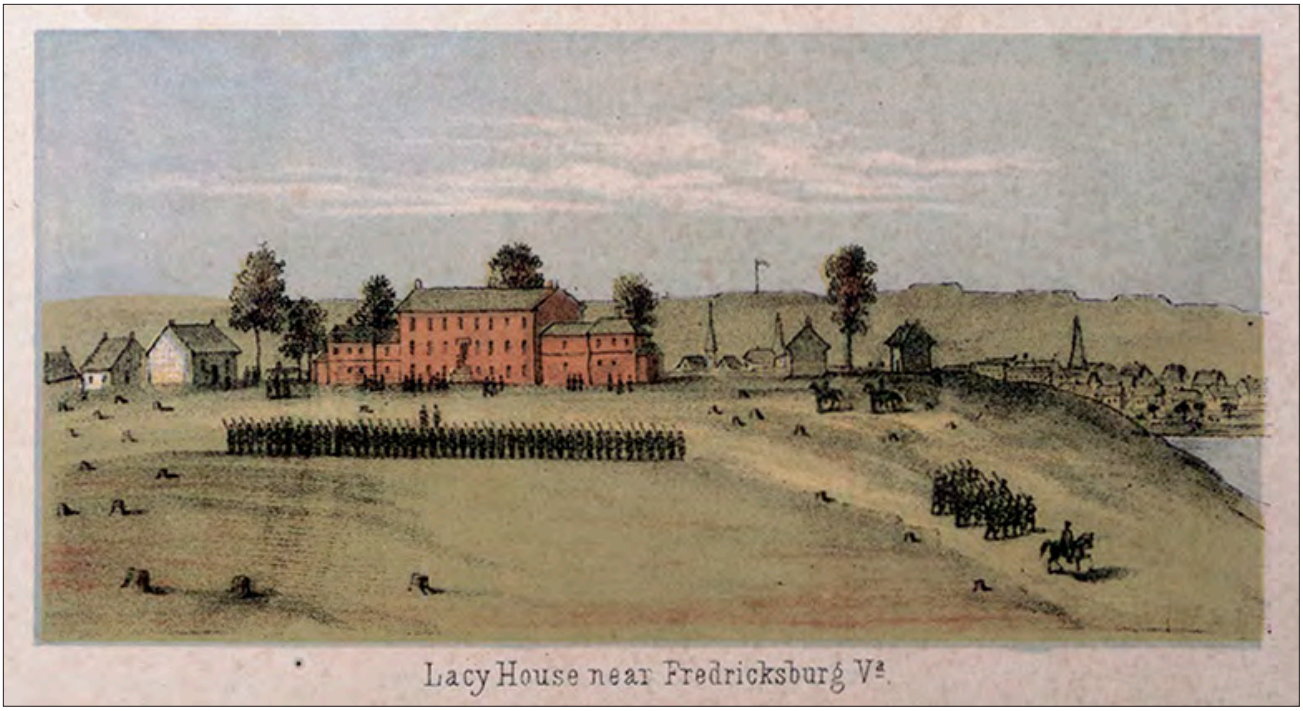


Figure 1.47. Detail of "Campaign Sketches of the 24 Reg. N.J. Vols." from sketches taken on the spot by J.G. Keyser; Carl Kolb, lithographer. The view shows the Lacy house flanked by dependencies and the distinctive semi-circular drive to the northeast of the house. View looking southwest, pub. by J.C. Hensler in 1862 (Boston Athenaeum).



Figure 1.48. Watercolor sketch of Chatham by Robert Knox Sneden of the 40th New York Infantry Regiment and the III Corps, Army of the Potomac. View looking northeast, date unknown (post-dated to 1862) (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).

rubble stone wall bordering an earthen drive parallel the southwest façade. Fields were visible beyond to house to the east. The two-story porch stood along the main block of the house. The southern hyphen appeared to be open, with a path leading to it that was consistent with the "brick covered way" documented by 1769 insurance records.[277] To the north of the manor house, an oversized, one-story wood frame building with central chimney was shown, perhaps on the footprint of the smokehouse (Figure 1.48).

MAPS OF ARTILLERY POSITIONS

Sentinel and picket posts lined the bluff above the Rappahannock River, and by the winter of 1862 artillery was positioned on the heights flanking Chatham. On December 8, 1862, Seth F. Plumb of the 8th Regiment Connecticut Volunteer Infantry wrote to his brother, Charley, "our troops are now all back out of sight of the enemy excepting the picket and our regiment. There are other batteries planted on this [the east] side of the river but they are back on the brow of the hills a fourth of a mile or more from the river. For the last few nights our men have been throwing up breast works to protect our men at the 8 gun battery…"[278]



Figure 1.49. Detail of "Map of the Battle Field of Fredericksburg, Dec. 13th, 1863" drawn by B.L. Blackford. Plan view (Library of Congress from Library of Virginia, Civil War Map Project No. LVA00049).

Three maps from the winter of 1862 show artillery positions along Stafford Heights. The most general, drawn by B.L. Blackford after the war (entered 1866), shows the locations of gun emplacements in the vicinity of the Lacy House: to the southeast on the bluff beyond the South Ravine and on the rise above the Northwest Field (Figure 1.49).

The second map of the "Passages of the Rappahannock and Battle of Fredericksburg," copied from the original belonging to General Burnside, topographic bureau April 8, 1863 by D. Callahan shows the location of the Lacy house (Hd. Qrs. M. Gen. Sumner) in relation to flanking fortifications: Battery G, 4th US Light Artillery (Lieut. Marcus P. Miller) and Battery K, 5th US Light Artillery (Lieut. David H. Kinzie) to the south, and Battery I, 1st US Light Artillery (Lieut. Edmund Kirby), Battery A, 5th US Light Artillery (Lieut. James Gillis), Battery G, 1st New York Light Artillery (Capt. John D. Frank), Battery B, 1st Rhode Island Light Artillery (Capt. John G. Hazard), Battery K, 1st US Light Artillery (Capt. William M. Graham), 4th Battery, New York Light Artillery (Capt. James E. Smith), Battery D, 5th US Light Artillery (Lieut. Charles E. Hazlett), Battery D, Pennsylvania Light Artillery (Capt. George W. Durrell) to the north toward Falmouth. The location of the pontoon bridge, protected by Whipple, is shown as well (Figure 1.50).

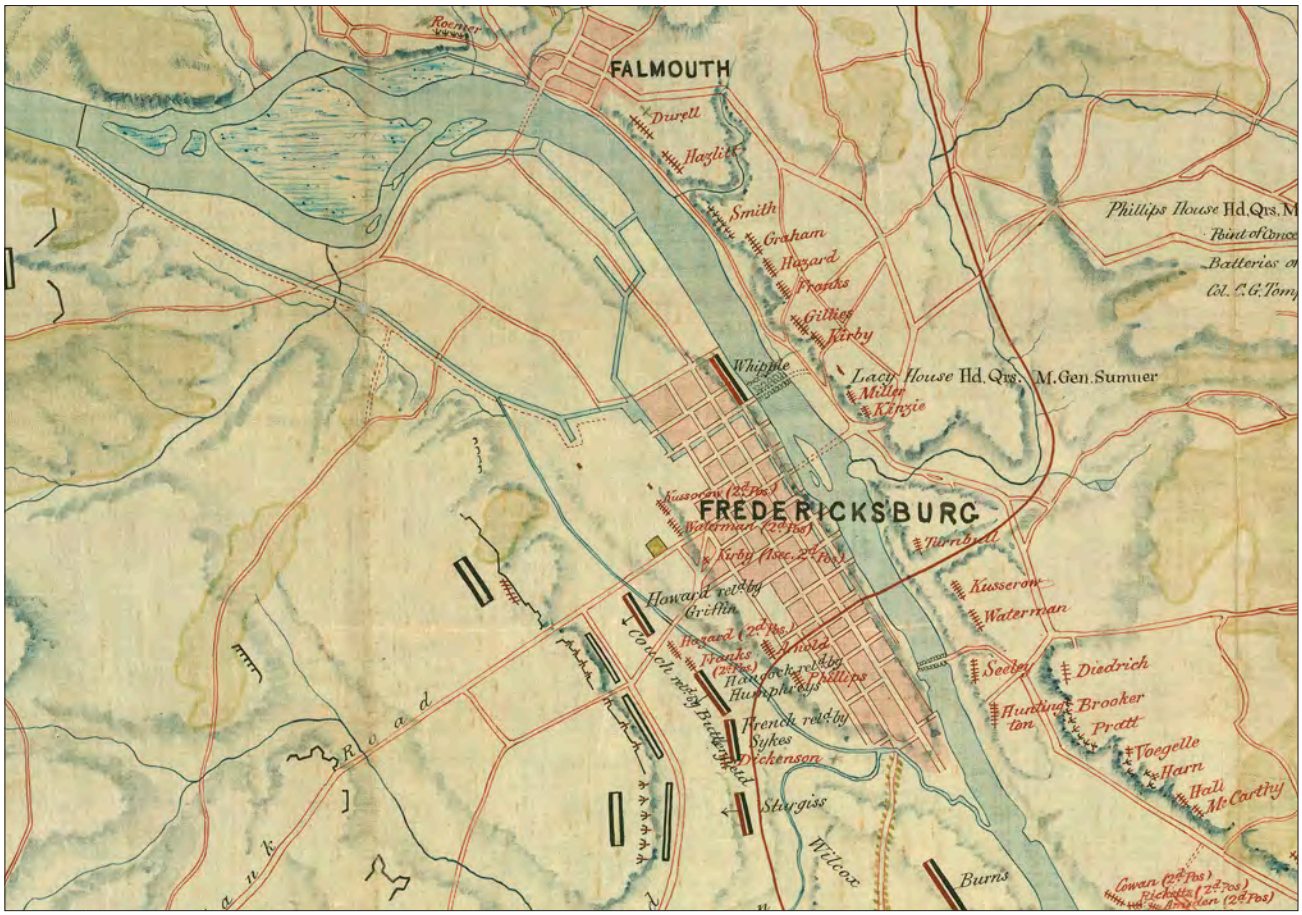


Figure 1.50. Detail of "Passages of the Rappahannock and Battle of Fredericksburg, December 10th to 16th, 1862." Plan view, 1863 (Library of Congress from Library of Virginia, Civil War Map Project No. LVA00023).

The third, a wartime map, showed artillery positions on the bluff to the south of Chatham. The battery was identified as Battery G, 4th United States Light Artillery under the command of Lieutenant Marcus P. Miller and armed with 12 lb. Napoleon guns (US Model 1857). The map also showed circulation in the vicinity of Chatham, including what are now River Road, Chatham Lane (leading to Falmouth), the Chatham entrance drive, a road that lead from River Road up the escarpment to the north of Chatham, and two parallel roads that ran northeast through the fields beyond Chatham, one of which remains as the Farm Road Trace (Figure 1.51). Artillery protected Union troops during construction of the pontoon bridge crossings in the winter of 1862.

BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG

Pending the arrival of General Burnside and his forces in Stafford County on November 17, 1862, Colonel Macomb, then headquartered in the Winder Building one block the White House, began receiving increasingly urgent requests for duplicate copies of maps of Fredericksburg and the region stretching beyond toward Richmond. Captain R. S. Williamson began requesting maps from Colonel Macomb of the region between Fredericksburg and Richmond from Macomb on November 14, while Burnside was still at Catlett Station near Warrenton; on November 21 Captain Williamson wrote to acknowledge the receipt of Macomb's parcel of maps on the evening of November 15th. In this letter, Williamson specifically makes reference to:

> "The roll addressed to me contained two splendid tracings of what I dare say are accurate maps. I sent them at once to the General, who retains them, but today I sent for the one containing Fredericksburg, and am having the lower half copied with the view to having it photographed here for immediate use." [279]

On November 22, Brigadier General Daniel Woodbury, accompanying Burnside, wrote to Macomb from Aquia Creek with a similar request for maps; likewise in



Figure 1.51. "Browns Island, Fredericksburg, location of several battalions along the shore." Plan view, likely winter 1862 (New York State Library, Gouverneur Kemble Warren Papers, 1848-1882, SC10668).

a post from General Daniel Butterfield the following day. Captain Williamson wrote again on November 23 from his location in "Camp Below Falmouth, Va." informing Macomb that the "pontoon trains arrived today and probably the passage of the river will be attempted tomorrow, though it is said that Longstreet and Hill with three corps are in town opposite." Finally, on December 10, 1862, Captain Williamson wrote to Macomb acknowledging the receipt of, "…two rolls of maps of that portion of Virginia from the Rappahannock River south."

At three o'clock the following morning, December 11, 1862 construction began on pontoon bridges crossing the Rappahannock at three places, including a crossing site below Chatham. Working in darkness, the work of the Army engineers was continually interrupted by sharpshooters across the river.[280] Union artillery on Stafford Heights responded, resulting in devastation of the city, yet failed to discourage the Confederate snipers:

> About ½ past 10 o'clock however, a number of volunteers were marched to the river to attempt the completion of the bridge, while the batteries re-commenced a furious fire on the houses of that square of the town opposite the bridge, from the cellars of which, the rebel sharpshooters had picked off the bridge builders. The volunteers went on the bridge, unarmed, carrying boards and planks to the unfinished end of it, working as fast as they could, but the moment they commenced work, the crack, crack, of the rebel sharp-shooters was heard and our men were pickled off as fast as they for to the end of the bridge nearest them, so that in less than 10 minutes they had to quit work again.[281]

Between December 11 and 12, Burnside and his troops managed to cross the river and fight their way block-by-block toward a larger battle with Lee and his troops occupying high ground to the west. A watercolor painting by William McIlvaine Jr. (New York 5th Regiment of Volunteers, 1813–67) was likely painted *en plein air* during the crossing (Figure 1.52). It shows soldiers descending the ravine north of Chatham to the pontoon bridges. Chatham is visible at left. The ravine and area surrounding Chatham are depicted as lightly wooded, while the adjoining Northwest Field area is largely open, free of trees and shrubs. A cluster of trees is visible in the vicinity of the ice house.

On December 13, 1862 the great clash occurred on the flanks of Marye's Heights. Between Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and Burnside's Army of the Potomac, and spanning the river between Stafford and Spotsylvania counties, over 150,000 soldiers had become engaged in a desperate battle. General E.V. Sumner then occupied Chatham as his headquarters. From Chatham, overlooking the city, Sumner communicated with General Burnside at the Philips house via telegraph. Having reached a stalemate by the following morning, Burnside requested and received a truce from General Lee. The following day, Burnside's forces re-crossed the river with the wounded to safety, and defeat.



Figure 1.52. Watercolor by William McIlvaine Jr. of the New York 5th Regiment of Volunteers showing Union troops descending the embankment to cross the Rappahannock, with Chatham at left. View looking southeast, 1862 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files, 299).

Chatham served as a field hospital during and after the battle, and the Kitchen was put in service to support the hospital. The most evocative description of the hospital at Chatham, as it relates to the landscape, comes from excerpts from surgeon J. Franklin Dyer's account of previous days recorded on December 18, 1862:

> . . . The upper bridge was but a few rods above the Lacy house, and the shelling about us was very brisk, several men being killed while on their way down to the bridge. I ordered a red blanket to be hung out as a hospital flag, which I think they respected to some extent, though a shell was thrown on Monday into the entry next the operating room, knocking the bricks about quite lively.
>
> The house is a fine large brick mansion on the river bank, within sight of the fighting. The river is narrow, and we can easily speak across. We expected a lively shelling in the morning, but the enemy did not discover our movements until our army was nearly all across. The bridges were swung round about sunrise; pickets were taken across in pontoon boats. Stragglers hurried through the streets down to the bank, and wading out were taken in the boats, but a good many were gobbled up by the rebel pickets, who followed closely. . .
>
> I am somewhat tired; have not had a night's rest for a week. They promise to take the wounded off tomorrow; hardly think they will. I have the house full, men lie on the floors as close as they can be stowed, a little straw here and there; the best we can do for them. Back of the house I have six hospital tents, ten in each tent, with no fire, and the weather is cold. We cover the ground with pine boughs and give them as many blankets as possible. The Sanitary Commission have a depot near, and I have drawn upon them nearly every day for clothing. We try to send our wounded away looking as clean and tidy as possible. . .[282]

The official hospital register recorded that 371 patients were treated at Chatham between December 13 and 15.[283] Clara Barton, who would go on to found the American chapter of the Red Cross, was among the nurses caring for the wounded at Chatham. Her diary is one of only two sources to reference ordnance striking the building.[284] Poet Walt Whitman came to Chatham looking for his wounded brother and stayed for what remained of December, assisting with the wounded as he was able. Whitman wrote of the scene at Falmouth:

> Begin my visits among the camp hospitals in the army of the Potomac. Spend a good part of the day in a large brick mansion on the banks of the Rappahannock, used as a hospital since the battle—seems to have receiv'd only the worst cases. Out doors [sic], at the foot of a tree, within ten yards of the front of the house, I notice a heap of amputated feet, legs, arms, hands, &c., a full load for a one-horse cart. Several dead bodies lie near, each cover'd with its brown woolen blanket. In the door-yard, towards the river, are fresh graves, mostly of officers, their names on pieces of barrel-staves or broken boards, stuck in the dirt. (Most of these bodies were subsequently taken up and transported north to their friends.) The large mansion is quite crowded upstairs and down, everything impromptu, no system, all bad enough, but I have no doubt the best that can be done; all the wounds pretty bad, some frightful, the men in their old clothes, unclean and bloody. Some of the wounded are rebel soldiers and officers, prisoners. One, a Mississippian, a captain, hit badly in leg, I talk'd with some time; he ask'd me for papers, which I gave him. (I saw him three months afterward in Washington, with his leg amputated, doing well.) I went through the rooms, downstairs and up. Some of the men were dying. I had nothing to give at that visit, but wrote a few letters to folks home, mothers, &c. Also talk'd to three or four, who seem'd most susceptible to it, and needing it.[285]

After defeat in Fredericksburg, the Army of the Potomac established winter encampments. Stafford Heights near Chatham was occupied by over 100,000 men. The 13th New Hampshire was posted about one mile from Chatham, safely set back from the river. According to S. Millet Thompson, of the 13th New Hampshire, a double line of pickets were posted along the river bank, further noting that, "the Lacy House, was once a splendid place, but is now terribly torn and battered."[286] Captain Charles M. Coit, with the 8th Connecticut Infantry, wrote home:

> Since the evacuation of Fredericksburg we have been quartered in our old camp at the Lacy House but as the house itself is used as a Hospital we the Officers are crowded in two small rooms of an outhouse [out-building, or dependency], so we have a poor accom[m]odation for writing as ever, tho' aside from the crowd we are pretty comfortable. We have been expecting each day the removal of the wounded in which case we shall probably return to our old rooms in the "Mansion" if it is possible to purify them sufficiently. What a sight those walls have witnessed since we vacated them. We remain posted here to support battery & pickets. The pickets of both armies are in their old positions on the banks of the river & everything apparently is as before our crossing but how many good & true men have been within those four days killed & maimed, nearly if not quite 10,000 on our side & very heavy loss on the rebel side also.[287]

SOLDIERS' AND PUBLISHED DESCRIPTIONS OF CHATHAM'S GARDENS

For the remainder of the war, soldiers encountering the Chatham landscape would record their impressions of this place in letters home to their loved ones. A great many soldiers descriptions have been located in libraries and private collections, yet it is generally accepted that one hundred and fifty years after the end of the Civil War, there are a great many first person accounts, pencil sketches and other documents or objects relating to Chatham's role in the Civil War that have yet to be discovered and published.

On December 14, during a lull in the fighting, a member of the Brandywine Guards wrote home to his wife, in West Chester:

> . . .I went to the front of the house, and seated myself on a long flight of yellow stone steps that led from the top to the bottom of the hill. Here, at a distance of about 500 yards from their sharp-shooters, I spent the remainder of the day, having a perfect, uninterrupted, unobscured view of the whole city. Our batteries on the right and left of the Lacey [sic] house were further [sic] back than I was, and from behind the trees on each side of me, some of our soldiers occasionally fired long range at the person they saw in the streets.[288]

After the war, a northerner visiting Fredericksburg recalled taking "many walks about Fredericksburg, the most noteworthy of which was a morning-visit to the Lacy House. . .Crossing the Rappahannock on the pontoon bridge, I climbed the stone steps leading from terrace to terrace, and reached the long-neglected grounds and the old-fashioned Virginia mansion. It was entirely deserted. The doors were wide open. . ."[289]

At the battle's end, the Madison, Wisconsin *Daily Patriot* reported that the "garden, beautifully laid out with serpentine walk, arbors, and terraced to the Rappahannock, likes to the south [of Chatham]. Many beautiful shrubs, rare exotic plants and flowers are still here, although the fences are partially destroyed and pigs promenade thro' the graveled avenues with extra kinks in their tails!"[290] A conflicting description in the *New York Tribune* reported on the deteriorated state of Chatham:

> The fences were long since converted into fuel to feed the watchfires of Union sentinels–the rare and costly exotic trees and shrubs have long since contributed their scanty fiber to feed the same fires to warm the same soldiers. . .The old clock has stopped; the child's rocking-horse is rotting away in a disused balcony; the costly exotics in the garden are destroyed, or perhaps the hardiest are now used for horse-posts. All that was elegant is wretched; all that was noble is shabby; all that once told of civilized elegancy now speaks of ruthless barbarism.[291]

The Philadelphia *Sunday Dispatch* published a description of the Lacy House, including its garden, in January 1863:

> In the centre of this [façade] is a fine portico, with pillars, which overlooked a beautiful garden, filled with shade and fruit trees, arbors, trellis work, shrubbery, flower beds, and graveled walks, occupying a space as large was your [Philadelphia's] Washington Square. The garden was formed of three terraces, which sloped down to the river bank. . .General McDowell last spring occupied the Lacy House as his head-quarters for a short time, and after he left it General

> King occupied it. During this period everything was kept in the most perfect order. Not a tree nor a shrub was disturbed, and the soldiers were not even allowed to walk through the garden. But now how different!...The arbors, trellis work and shrubbery have disappeared, and scarcely one of the many beautiful trees in the garden are left. Here and there the stump of a tree tells where the stately and spreading branches of the beech and sycamore one afforded shade and beauty to the scene. The garden walks are a mud hole, trampled by men and horses. A squad of soldiers is in the house, and outside a short distance some are cooking the rations at a fire. The fine old stone barn is gone, and the neat-looking servants' houses are dirty and filthy, with a deposit of mud an inch thick upon the floors.[292]

Later January 1863 correspondence from the 12th Rhode Island Infantry for the *Providence Evening Press* provided a comparable account of Chatham's condition:

> When Fredericksburg was first taken, Burnside made his headquarters at this house; afterwards it was used for a hospital, and since then it has done much good service to the Union cause by sheltering the weary picket sentinel, after he had trod his beat faithfully in the face of mud and storm. In one of the wings of this splendid mansion resides Mr. and Mrs. Heffling [perhaps Heflin], who had charge of the plantation and slaves when Mr. Lacy, unmolested, enjoyed his beautiful home, his slaves, and his strong secession ideas, until 'Burni' made him skedaddle 'double quick.' Hearing that Mrs. Heffling sometimes entertained the hungry soldier we soon found our way to her dining room; it was tea time exactly, 'we could be accommodated,' so we sat down to the table; it was the first time since leaving home that we had enjoyed the luxury of a white table cloth, well spread. There was tender roast beef, splendid hot biscuit and butter, 'bang up' hoe cake and syrup, or fruit sauce, and tea that made one's stomach at least sing, 'Home, sweet home.'[293]

Joseph B. Sener, a local resident who served as a correspondent for the Richmond *Examiner*, wrote of the Lacy House after the December 1862 battle, in March 1863

> Commencing at Fredericksburg, the first estate of this character is Chatham, the former residence of Judge Coalter. It stands on the opposite height, within the enemy's lines, and as seen from this side of the river, the grounds appear shorn of the shade trees and shrubbery, the cluster of smaller buildings surrounding the mansion house have been demolished, and consumed as fuel, and the circumjacent fields, so lately green with growing sod, or groaning beneath the bountiful harvest , are now soured by military occupation, as if scorched by a storm of fire.[294]

The landscape beyond the manor house core was destitute as well. A note by B. Lewis Blackford on his "Map of Stafford County, Va." (1863) read:

> It is impossible to designate definitively the exact character of the roads in this county, especially in the lower parts, some [illegible] roads seem to be altogether disused, and almost effaced, and many farm & private roads have become thoroughfares, this is especially the case along the River—The county is intensely stripped of enclosures, and cut up with innumerable camp paths. The roads are generally well [illegible], but [illegible] much washed, and many small crossings were destroyed by the July rains.[295]

The map depicts the Lacy house, with four outbuildings, one at each corner of the house. The Carriage Drive appears extant, as do the North Embankment Road



Figure 1.53. "Map of Stafford County, Va." by Benjamin Lewis Blackford and Albert Henry Campbell. Plan view, 1863 (Library of Congress).

Trace that connects to Scott's Ferry and that Farm Road Trace that connects to the road to Falmouth (Figure 1.53). It appears that the two stone barns at the ends of the crescent-shaped drive remained, along with the Kitchen, Laundry, and slave quarters (believed to be beyond the South Ravine).

On January 7, 1863, while on picket duty, George Hitchcock, with the 21st Massachusetts Infantry, recorded sleeping on "the filthy cold brick floor of one of the slave quarters belonging to the Lacy Mansion."[296] Hitchcock's dairy also illuminates use of the cave (ledge) in the North Ravine at Chatham as a rendezvous point for the picket guard.[297] After the war, Martin L. Werkheiser of the 129th Pennsylvania returned to Fredericksburg in 1908 and recalled how the ravine was used by the soldiers to go to the pontoons and that black residents took shelter in the cave during the battle.[298] In 2003, Marion Rose, who visited Chatham in childhood, during the Devore's ownership, recalled Indian petroglyphs on the cave walls ("deer and stuff"), as well as collecting arrowheads and Minié balls in the area.[299]

WARTIME PHOTOGRAPHS OF CHATHAM

While standing picket duty on the terraces at the Lacy house, George Hitchcock also wrote, "In one direction the stately Lacy mansion with its noble shade trees, shrubbery and pretty arbors. In the opposite direction the afflicted city with all its spires and towers standing out in dark relief against the sky."[300] A stereograph by Timothy O'Sullivan, published March 1863, shows the low lying area near the river below Chatham, including the remains of the pontoon bridge. The land appears to have been agricultural land, with a berm along the river edge (Figure 1.54).



Figure 1.54. Stereograph of the riverside fields below Chatham by Timothy H. O'Sullivan. View looking southwest, 1863 (Library of Congress, Civil War Glass Negatives Collection, LC-B815- 688).



Figure 1.55. Chatham (circled in red) from the Phillips House. View looking southwest, after February 1863 (FRSP archives, Chatham historical photos).

To the northeast of Chatham, the landscape was equally denuded. After February 1863, the silhouette of Chatham is visible in the distance in a glass lantern slide view toward Fredericksburg from the Phillips House (burned February 1863). While little detail can be gleaned from the photograph, it shows the open character of the landscape to the northeast of Chatham. It is about a mile between Chatham and the Phillips House (Figure 1.55).

By contrast, a stereograph of Chatham, also by Timothy O'Sullivan, published March 1863, show the west façade of the manor house in the wake of the Battle of Fredericksburg. The adjoining yard includes a mixed planting of small evergreen trees, deciduous shade trees, and deciduous shrubs. A walk appears to extend perpendicular to the façade. The area to the south (southwest of the house) appears to be well-trodden earth, while the area to the east of the house appears open, in keeping with previously cultivated land. A mature apple tree stands in the foreground. What may be the smokehouse is visible to the north of the house, and what is possibly a telegraph metal D-tuning coil appears in the foreground (Figure 1.56). A comparable view of Chatham showing the west façade of the manor house shows soldiers on the porch and a carriage parked near the main block of the building. All vegetation visible in O'Sullivan's photograph from the same year can be seen (Figure 1.57).

A third stereography by O'Sullivan shows the west façade of the manor house, including the adjoining garden. The entrance drive appears to approach the house from the northeast, consistent with the primacy of the connection between the Lacy House and Philips House during the war. The two catalpa trees, which



Figure 1.56. Portion of a stereograph view of Chatham by Timothy H. O'Sullivan. View looking north, pub. March 1863 (Library of Congress, Civil War Glass Negatives Collection, LC-B815-698).

remain along the west façade, are visible in the photograph, along with what appears to be a young spruce, American holly, redbud, and sycamores. What appear to be two elms and two maples stand in the distance (Figure 1.58).

SKETCHES OF CHATHAM

On February 4, 1863 George Hitchcock with the 21st Massachusetts Infantry recorded in his dairy that a "bakehouse" was being constructed in the rear of his regiment.[301] An undated etching from the war showed an "Army cookhouse



Figure 1.57. Chatham from the upper terrace. View looking north, c. 1863 (FRSP archives, Chatham historical photos).



Figure 1.58. Stereograph of Chatham by Timothy H. O'Sullivan. View looking east, 1863 (Library of Congress, Civil War Glass Negatives Collection, LC-B815-697).

constructed in an old chimney of an outhouse of the Lacy Mansion, on the Rappahannock, Falmouth, VA." The etching showed the remains of a building set back from the embankment by a considerable distance, with no other orienting features in the landscape, aside from what may be two church steeples. Cannons were shown positioned nearer the embankment, beyond the ruin. The bakehouse was very likely constructed in the remains of the barn complex along the plantation street, destroyed by Union troops in September 1862.

In March 1863, a Union soldier with the 24th New Jersey named John Keyser sketched several views of Chatham. His drawing of the building's northeast façade showed the manor house flanked by the Laundry and Kitchen, with the Smokehouse to the north and an unidentified outbuilding to the southeast, likely a Storehouse. A second unidentified building with a central chimney stood to the northeast of the Storehouse. The roofline and central chimney of a building believed to have been slave quarters were also visible beyond the South Ravine. Tree stumps were visible on the ground to the northeast of the house, in the area defined by the crescent-shaped Carriage Drive, suggesting that trees had been recently cut from the area, which was previously described by soldiers as shaded by locusts and other deciduous trees (Figure 1.59).

A second view of the manor house, drawn from beyond the North Ravine, showed tree stumps on the embankments to the north and west of the house as well, with trees remaining only on the southwest side of the manor house. The Laundry was readily apparent, but no other ancillary buildings were shown (Figure 1.60). The accuracy of Keyser's sketch is confirmed by the configuration of trees in the stereograph by Timothy O'Sullivan showing Chatham's southwest façade (see Figure 1.58).

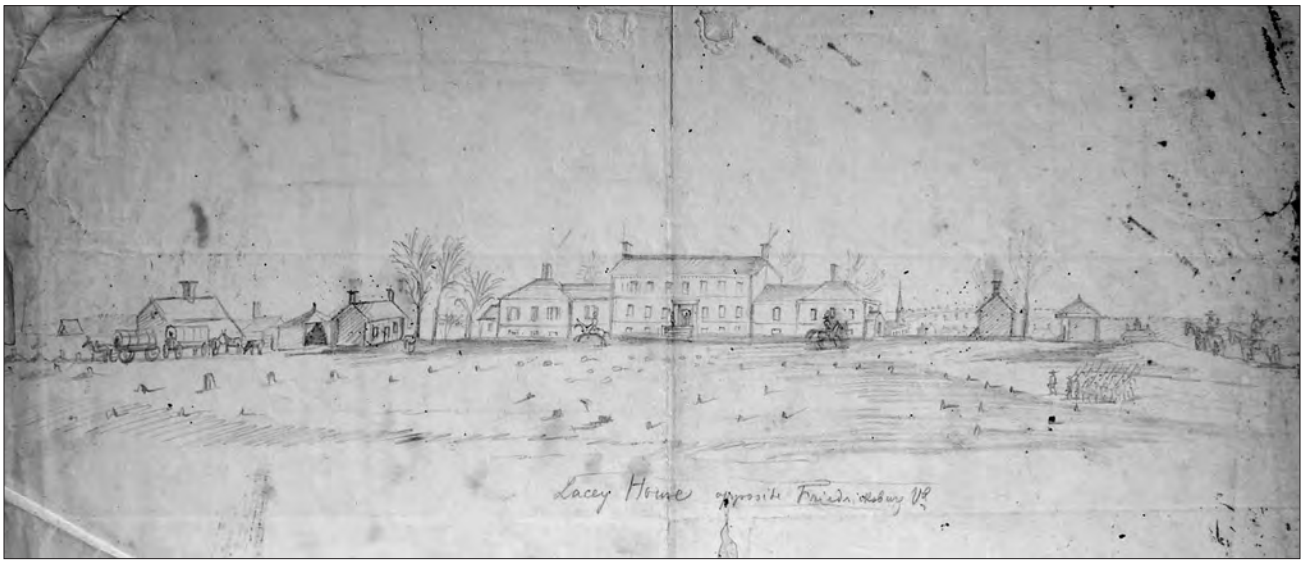


Figure 1.59. Sketch of Chatham by John Keyser of the 24th New Jersey. View looking southwest, March 1863 (FRSP archives, Chatham historical photos).



Figure 1.60. Sketch of Chatham by John Keyser of the 24th New Jersey. View looking east, March 1863 (FRSP archives, Chatham historical photos).



Figure 1.61. Sketch of Chatham by John Keyser of the 24th New Jersey. View looking north, March 1863 (FRSP archives, Chatham historical photos).

A third view of the manor house, drawn from beyond the South Ravine, shows an encampment in the vicinity of the Chatham Bridge landing, along with tree stumps in the area around the North Ravine. In addition to the manor house and Kitchen, a small building (approximately the size of the smokehouse) was visible to the east of the Kitchen. Further east, a barn with Dutch gable roof stood near Chatham Lane, adjoined by a smaller support building. To the east, possibly along Chatham Lane, a fenced barnyard with two support structures was also visible. The roofline and chimney of an additional building were visible beyond, possibly along White Oak Road (Figure 1.61).

SECOND BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG

On April 29, 1863, soldiers were returning to the Falmouth/Fredericksburg area by locomotive, many disembarking at the depot to the northeast of Chatham. The Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* wrote:

> When the troops left the train and pitched tents in the rear of the Lacy House at 10 o'clock the band began to play 'Home Sweet Home.' As the last note died away in the distance one vast shout of approval from 200,000 veterans on both side of the Rappahannock ascended heavenward, and on the wings of each army, eighteen miles distant. The following night at 9 o'clock 22,000 veterans on each side, who had cheered in union the previous evening, lay cold in death or mangled around Chancellorsville.[302]

It was now General John Gibbon's turn, under direction of Major General Joseph Hooker, to make his headquarters at Chatham. In May of 1863, telegraph lines were again connected from the Philips House to Chatham and to Fredericksburg beyond. A pontoon bridge was once again constructed across the river in the same



Figure 1.62. Portion of a stereograph by James Gardner showing a Rappahannock River pontoon bridge crossing. View looking north from Fredericksburg wharves, 1864 (Library of Congress, Civil War Glass Negatives Collection, LC-B811-715).

location as the previous December and soldiers took up residence in the rifle pits below Stafford Heights.[303] A stereograph from May 1964 by James Gardner showed an active pontoon bridge across the Rappahannock River, likely south of town. The photograph also illustrated how the slopes edges of natural ravines in the embankment were used for river access (Figure 1.62).

The Second Battle of Fredericksburg, also known as the Second Battle of Marye's Heights, was fought on May 3 as part of the Chancellorsville Campaign. Four corps of the Army of the Potomac were successful in taking Fredericksburg. Chatham again served as a field hospital, as B.A. Watson, Assistant Surgeon, 4th Regiment of New Jersey Volunteers, took up quarters in the house "to wait the arrival of such unfortunate soldiers who might need the assistance of a Surgeon." He wrote that "The house is a fine structure. I should say it was one of the finest structures to be found any where [sic] in this neighborhood, but has been much defaced since the war broke out. The ground in front of the house has been laid out with much care and indicates excellent taste. The site commands a beautiful view of the city, and its fortified heights."[304]

Private Roland E. Bowen with the 15th Massachusetts Infantry wrote of Chatham, "All the out buildings common to a Southern plantation are here to be seen.

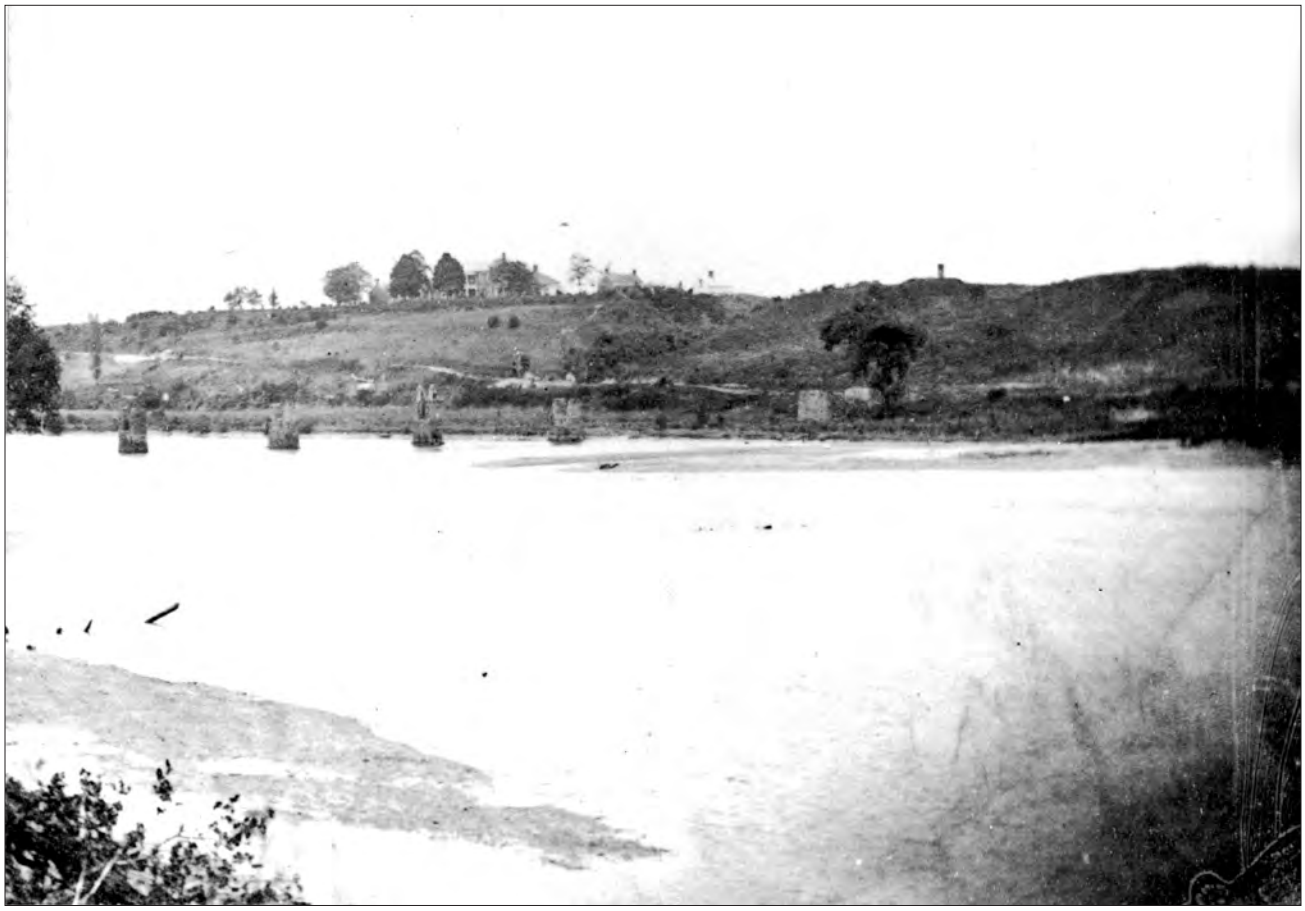


Figure 1.63. View of the Chatham bridge abutments and Chatham from the Fredericksburg shore. View looking north, 10 May 1864 (FRSP archives from Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland, Ohio).

Many of the windows are broken out and the house out side [sic] generally looks very much dilapidated. . .many of the shade trees around the yard have been cut down."[305] A later photograph of Chatham, taken from Fredericksburg in 1864, showed the Chatham Bridge destroyed and a denuded embankment and ravines leading up to Chatham. The Carriage Drive was readily visible crossing the Center Embankment in a northwesterly direction before turning northeast. A faint trace of a walking path in the vicinity of the South Ravine Path was also apparent. Around the manor house, mature trees could be seen, along with the Laundry and Kitchen flanking the manor house, another building in the vicinity of the Kitchen, and a the chimney of a fourth building across the South Ravine, likely a brick slave quarters (Figure 1.63).

Over the summer of 1863, Chatham continued to serve as a headquarters for Union troops stationed along the picket line. A map from this time documents the locations of lookouts, sentinels, and pickets spaced more or less every 500 feet along the river (Figure 1.64). Artillery pieces remained on the precipice overlooking the bridge. Samuel Harris recalled:

> I was ordered to take my company (A) and take command of the picket line, from the Lacy house to the street running through Falmouth. The full length of the line was not over one mile but it was the worst line I ever had command

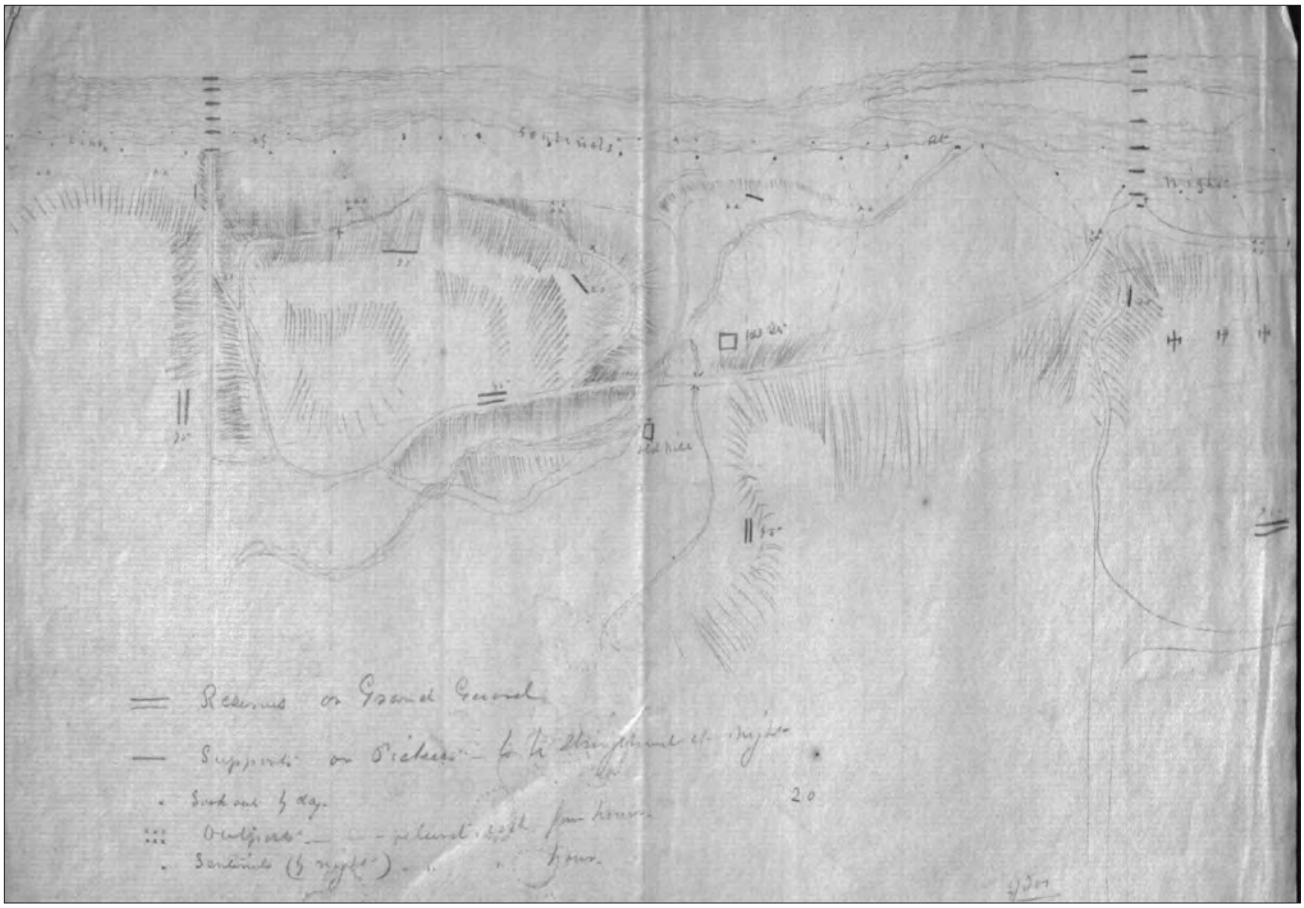


Figure 1.64. Sketch map of Union sentinel – post and picket – camps in Stafford County along the Rappahannock (top). Chatham lies in the location of the three cannons on the right side of the image. Plan view, n.d. (The Connecticut Historical Society, Ms 101129).

> of. My headquarters were in the Lacy house. Not a man could show his head but a reb bullet would zip too close to him for comfort. They would fire on the pickets every chance they could get. They were angry at the terrible defeat they got at Gettysburg.
>
> I ran all the horses inside the Lacy house and barricaded the doors and windows in the lower part of the house the best I could, and arranged my men in the second story, the better to defend themselves, as I expected the rebs would come over and try to capture us at any time, and especially in the night.[306]

Despite limited fighting after the summer of 1863, the Chatham area was devastated. The *Mobile Register* published an account late in 1864:

> I went over into Stafford County, opposite Fredericksburg, and there is a wide wild scene of devastation—neither fences nor trees for leagues on leagues houses deserted and burnt, and so many roads to the enormous camps of Hooker, which extend nineteen square miles, that the oldest inhabitants are in danger of losing themselves in their native country. The Lacy House is a baronial pile in the extent of its buildings, and its terraced grounds and gardens are in keeping—Ruin reigns there also.[307]

On April 9, 1865, Lee's surrender to Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, and the war ended soon thereafter.

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY, 1865

By 1865, the Chatham landscape had seen the ravages of the Civil War (Drawing 3). The topography of the site saw minor changes during the war associated with construction of batteries constructed on Stafford Heights both to the south of the South Ravine (three batteries) and to the north of the North Ravine (two batteries). Farm roads that facilitated the movement of troops and goods between the railroad depot, house, and river crossing were also likely eroded as a result of heavy use. Spatially, the landscape had changed dramatically since 1857 with the loss of nearly all vegetation on the northeast side of the house, including orchards, and within the ravines. By 1865, agricultural production had rebounded at Chatham, although under a transformed labor force. According to the 1860 census, nearly half a million people in Virginia were enslaved. By 1865, they were free.

Roads across Chatham's acreage remained largely unchanged in configuration by 1865, although they were much damaged by heavy used during the war. As B. Lewis Blackford noted in 1863, many of the roads were in disuse and farm roads had taken their place. Camp paths likely remained visible in 1865.

Chatham's vegetation was transformed by the war, as all vegetation in the ravines and on the northeast side of the house was lost to firewood. Despite descriptions of complete obliteration, some ornamental trees appear to have remained on the southwest side of the house and surrounding the Kitchen and Laundry. Chatham's two orchards were lost during the war as well. After the mid-

nineteenth century, cider consumption declined in the United States as a result of European immigrants who brought with them a beer culture. Simultaneously, the early stirrings of the temperance movement resulted in the destruction of many orchards.

The Chatham barn complex that stood near the intersection of the plantation street (now Chatham Lane) and White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road) was lost to the war, while its chimney is believed to have been used as an Army bakehouse. Similarly, the two stone barns that marked the ends of the crescent-shaped Carriage Drive were also destroyed. An unidentified building to the east of the Storehouse may also have been demolished by 1865, while a wash house was added to the north of the Ice House. Other buildings, including Chatham, Kitchen Laundry, Smokehouse, Storehouse, Ice House, and former slave quarters beyond the South Ravine remained intact, some with substantial repairs after the war. Chatham bridge was missing (replacement completed in 1866).

The loss of vegetation during the war transformed views to, from, and within Chatham. With the exception of limited ornamental trees and shrubs on the upper terrace and Center Embankment, by 1865, Chatham was readily visible from all directions, including Fredericksburg and the high ground to the east of the former plantation. The loss of vegetation in the ravines opened views from Chatham to the remaining quarters and agricultural buildings to the southeast. On the terraces, board and barbed wire fences defined farmyards, likely designed to exclude, rather than contain, livestock that roamed the former plantation freely, as the extensive fencing present before the war was lost to fuel camp fires.



Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

1865 Period Plan

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

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7. "Chatham Bridge - 1870s," FRSP Archives, Chatham Historical Photos
8. Photographs of Chatham, c. 1870-1900, Virginia Historical Society, Museum Collection, 1999.160.1471, 72, and 73
9. "View of Downtown Fredericksburg, VA," 1875, Central Rappahannock Heritage Center 2004-042-P0-011-001
10. Albert Kerns, Photographs of Chatham, c. 1890-1900, Dayton History, K.5.9.1530, K.5.6.271
11. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
12. Hydrology: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan, 2015
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Park fee boundary (current)
- Topographic contours (10' interval, based on current)
- Road / drive
- Trees
- Lawn / pasture / field
- Building / structure
- Fence

NOTE

All features shown in approximate scale and location.

0' 125' 250' 500'

Drawing 3

1865 TO 1920

After the war, the Lacys returned to a devastated home and farm. According to Betty Lacy, after the war, "all the paneling had been stripped from the walls [of Chatham], every door and window was gone, literally only the bare brick walls were left standing. The trees had been cut down, the yard and garden were a wilderness of weeds and briers and there were nineteen Federal graves on the lawn."[308] During the initial restoration of Chatham, through November, the Lacys stayed at Greenwood. In addition to repairs to the house, the Lacys began restoration of the farm. In November, the *Alexandria Gazette* reported that "The hills of the 'Chatham estate,' belonging to Maj. Lacy, opposite Fredericksburg, are covered with sheep, and we hope that they may soon be numbered by the thousand."[309]

At least outwardly, J. Horace Lacy did not dwell long on the failure of the Confederacy. Only weeks after Lee's surrender, he signed and filed an "Amnesty Oath" with the Office of the Provost Marshall in Richmond. Taking such an oath was the prerequisite for Lacy's petition for a presidential pardon for his role in the rebellion. Required to do so on account of his high pre-war net worth, Lacy filed the petition on May 29th and it was recommended for approval by Francis Harrison Pierpont, Governor of Virginia on August 25th marking a local and personal beginning toward the wider "Reconstruction," of the United States of America.

> To His Excellency Andrew Johnson, President of the United States
>
> Your petitioner respectfully represents that he is a resident of the county of Stafford, and State of Virginia, Aged 42 and by occupation a farmer. - that he held the rank of Major and Inspector of Field Transportation in the service of the Confederate States – that on the 13th of May 1865 he voluntarily took the Oath of Amnesty prescribed by the President in his Proclamation of December 8th 1863. With intent to observe the same in good faith, a copy of which is herewith filed marked (A). That, on the 5th day of August 1865 took the Amnesty Oath prescribed by your Excellency's Proclamation of the 29th of May 1865. Under any of the clauses, except possibly under the 13th Clause – that his property, greatly devastated and damaged by the contending armies, may be estimated at $20,000 or over, and that by reason of this doubtful condition, he is unable to dispose of the remains of his property, so as to give him the means of support for a large and dependent family. Therefore, as amnesty and pardon by the terms of your Excellency's proclamation of May 29th 1865, will be liberally granted to such as seed for the same, and make out proper cases therefore; your petitioner files his petition, asking for himself, amnesty and pardon, and restoration of all his rights of person and property except as to slaves.
>
> Respectfully submitted
>
> J. Horace Lacy[310]

A travel article entitled "Fredericksburg" appeared in the July 20, 1867 edition of The Southern Opinion, an obscure and short-lived newspaper published in Richmond after the war. The article was penned by "Pilgrim." The author references Lacy in the fields and refers to the river side of the house as the rear:

> Lacey's [sic] Farm
>
> Is situated to the left of Stafford Heights, crossing Chatham's bridge, and contains about five hundred acres of excellent arable ground, rolling back in table land from the river. The Lacey [sic] mansion is a venerable and ancient pile of brick buildings, in the style of architecture peculiar to the substantial period of a century ago, with numerous out-buildings, all of brick. The premises do not overlook, but sit behind the heights, embowered in shade and foliage, which was their protection during the bombardment. Mr. Lacey, the proprietor, I found in the hay field with his son and half a dozen freedmen, engaged in securing a fine crop of timothy. The hum of a patent reaper came from another point where the hay was falling before the advance of another party of harvesters.
>
> Mr. Lacey's [sic] experience in prosecuting his farming operations under the "new dispensation," as affecting the negroes, was a repetition of what I heard elsewhere. There is no difficulty in obtaining "negro help" on the farm, unless it is registration time; but the presence of the employer in the field is at all times necessary to keep the negroes at their work, and see that their labour is not only done at all, but half done at best.
>
> Mr. Lacey's [sic] house was honoured during the advance of Burnside, and afterwards by many distinguished Federal visitors. At one time his hospitable roof sheltered Generals Burnside, McDowell, Hooker, and later, when President Lincoln was not entirely satisfied with the progress of events, he ran down here and looked out of the rear window at the heights beyond.
>
> The farm, one of the finest and most highly cultivated before the advance of Burnside into Stafford, was utterly devastated by the Federal army. Their tents covered it by the tens of thousands, and forest and fencing disappeared. The mansion and other buildings were preserved, because they were worth preservation for headquarters – better than any that could be improvised. Mr. Lacey [sic] was then absent in the army of General Lee, and when he returned and took possession again, his home and naked grounds were all that remained for him; and it will require so many years of labour yet to restore the farm to the high state of cultivation it enjoyed in the halcyon days of peace, before the flood of war swept over Stafford.[311]

By 1868, the *Virginia Herald* referenced Messrs. Haydon and Ellis harvesting at Chatham, with over one hundred acres of corn, "so thoroughly worked we hear as not to show a spear of grass or weed." The newspaper heralded them for setting "an admirable example of thrift, economy in the use of labor, and general enterprise," with "no less than three Wheat Reapers, six Cradlers, and a force of seventy-five hands employed at one time last week." In the wake of the war, the *Herald* was attentive to note the transformed labor force: "All this has been accomplished without any 'driving,' but in a systematic, go-ahead way, that gives pleasure to the employee, in seeing the solid interested of their employers advanced."[312]

In 1867, Bvt. Brig. Gen. N. Michler, Major of Engineers, prepared a map of "Fredericksburg" to accompany the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. The maps shows the Lacy house along with six outbuildings, including the Kitchen and Laundry, all within a rectangular yard defined by what appears to be a fence. A regular planting of trees bordered what is now Chatham Lane and the Farm Road Trace that leads to the east and on to Falmouth. The area defined by the Carriage Drive, plantation street (now Chatham Lane), and White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road) appeared to be fenced as well. This area may have been used for pasture. Batteries remained within the yard to the south of the house, at the crest of the slope overlooking the Rappahannock River. Fields to the east and north of the manor house appeared to be in cultivation. One additional outbuilding stood along the southwest side of the plantation street (Figures 1.65 and 1.66).

Rebuilding of the Chatham Bridge began in July 1866, with the bridge being rebuilt "in two tracts" by C.S. Scott. Completion was projected for November.[313] The *Fredericksburg Ledger* reported, "Those men of work and energy, Beale and Morrison are rapidly pushing this bridge to completion and it will be finished by the first of October."[314] Indeed, by October 2, the bridge was complete and in use.[315]



Figure 1.65. Detail of a map of "Fredericksburg," as it appeared in December 1862, prepared by Nathaniel Michler. Plan view, 1867 (Library of Congress, G3884.F7S5 1867 .M5).

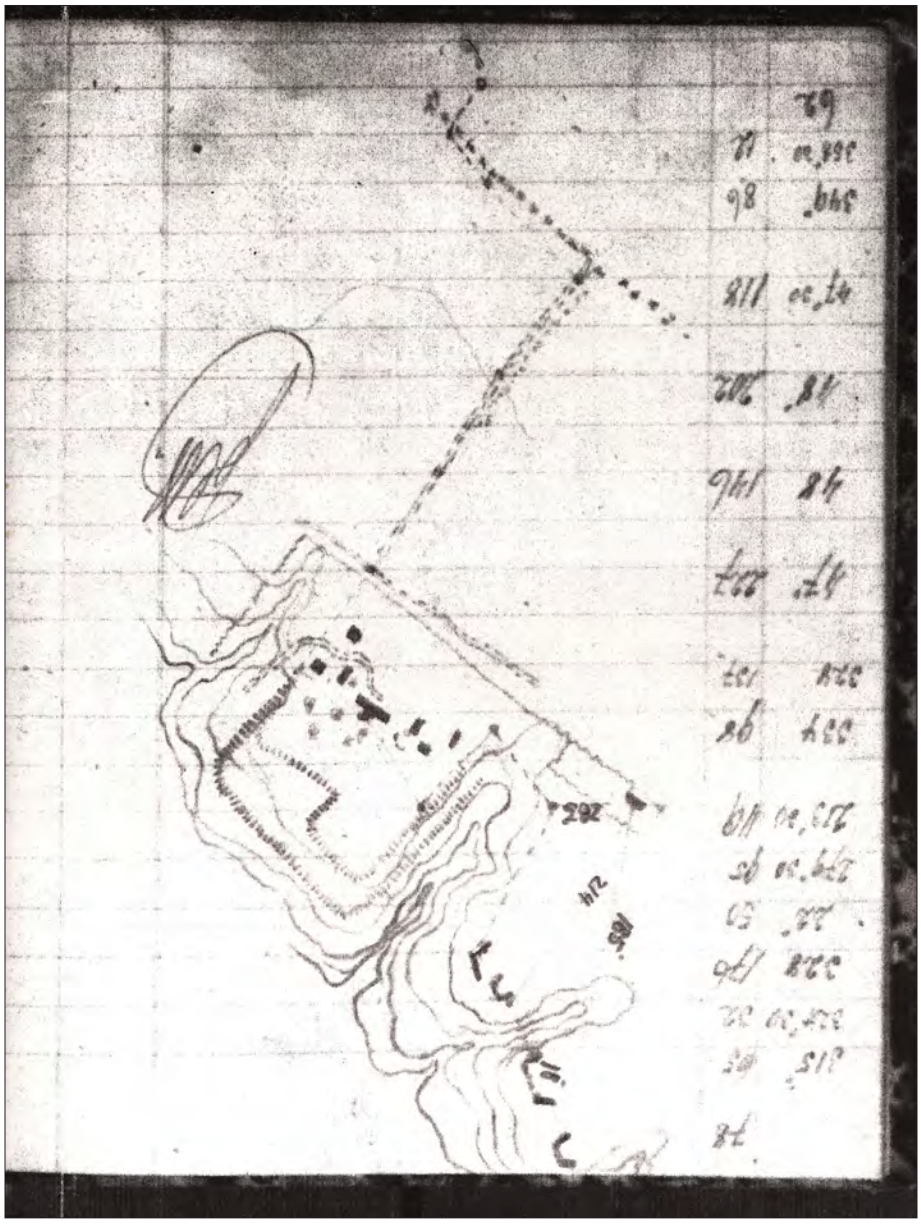


Figure 1.66. Sketch map of Chatham by J. Strasser that contributed to the 1867 map of Fredericksburg by Michler. Plan view, November 1, 1867 (NARA, RG 77, Entry 161, Cupboard 4, Shelf 3, Number 8, Book 11).

POST-WAR REPAIRS AND ADVERTISEMENT OF SALE

Just four years after returning, the Lacys listed Chatham for sale in 1869 for $42,000. The property included 600 acres of land, "three-fourths cleared, balance in young growth of wood," with soil in a "high state of cultivation." The grist mill on the estate was still in operation.[316] The Lacys had repaired the house, painting it mustard yellow with crimson trim.

Post and wire fencing on the upper terrace suggested use of the landscape for grazing animals. Many specimen trees (cherry, Norway spruce, cedar, white birch, and oak, among others) remained on the terrace, along with overgrown shrubs at the building foundation. (Note the removal of the Norway spruce on the south side of the two-story porch in Figure 1.67). In one of several views from the post-war years, a horse and carriage were visible along the original Crescent-shaped



Figure 1.67. Chatham, showing fencing in the vicinity of the terraces and removal of the spruce tree adjacent to the two-story porch. View looking northeast, after 1870 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).

entrance drive (Figure 1.68). Similarly, the lower terraces were used for pasture in the post war years as well (Figures 1.69 and 1.70), while the river bank was without vegetation (Figure 1.71).

The U.S. Census for 1870 showed that the population of Chatham included twelve Caucasian, including J.H. and Betty Lacy, along with their eight children. J.H. Lacy's occupation was listed as farmer, with Betty C. Lacy as housekeeping. Five domestic servants, marked "black," were also listed as residing at Chatham, including Hannah Grey, age 80; H. Armistead, 19, domestic servant; Ann Eliza Armistead, 26, cook; M. Armistead, 14, nurse; and J. Armisted, 60, gardener.[317] That same year, the Agricultural Census documented six horses, eight "milch" cows, and twenty swine at Chatham. Agricultural products produced include 1,200 bushels of wheat, 2,100 bushels of corn, 900 bushels of oats, 50 pounds of butter, and 14 tons of hay. Lacy was also involved with forest products, which amounted to $1,800, more than the value of his livestock and other agricultural produce combined.[318]



Figure 1.68. Chatham showing a horse and carriage along the crescent-shaped drive to the northeast of the manor house. View looking east, c. 1870 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).

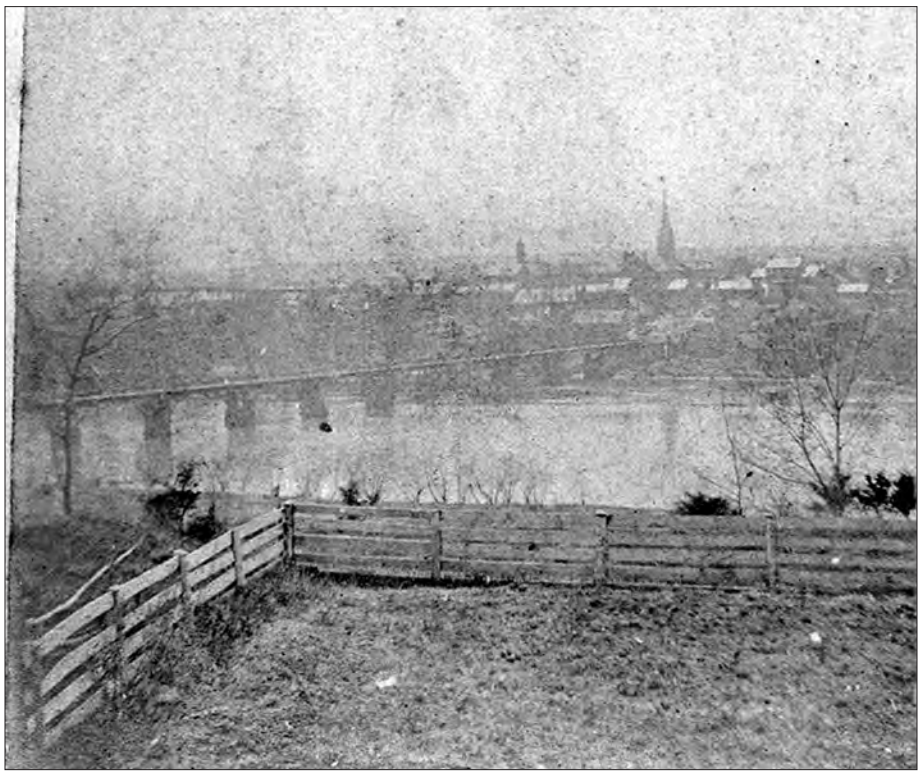


Figure 1.69. View toward Chatham bridge showing the fenced lower terrace. View looking south, c. 1874 (Jerry and Lou Brent Collection, Fredericksburg, VA).



Figure 1.70. View toward Chatham bridge showing the fenced lower terrace. Note the increase in vegetation along the central embankment. View looking south, c. 1875 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files, 113, courtesy of William Frassamite).



Figure 1.71. View from the Chatham Carriage Drive looking toward Fredericksburg. Sapling deciduous trees seen in this view have the characteristic form of Tulip Poplar, which are understood to have long occupied the terraced grounds. View looking south, c. 1875 (FRSP archives, Chatham historical photos).

ACQUISITION BY OLIVER WATSON

Chatham and 435.5 acres was sold to Oliver Watson in 1872 for $23,900, well below the $36,950 that Lacy paid for the estate in 1857.[319] The *Virginia Herald* announced the same on January 1:

> SALE OF A FINE ESTATE, That fine estate lying in Stafford County, opposite Fredericksburg known as 'Chatham,' the head centre [sic] of large hearted hospitality and magnificence entertainment for the last century, as been sold at private sale by Marye, Fitzhugh and English, Land Agents, to Mr. Oliver Watson of Williamsport, Penna. For $25,000. It contains a little over 500 acres and was purchased on the death of Mrs. Judge Coalter, just before the war by Major J.H. Lacy, at a cost of some $35,000. or more. We trust that Mr. Watson has determined to make his home in our midst, as we already have members of his family settled around us. Such acquisitions are desirable in every point of view, and are warmly welcomed.[320]

The sale included household and kitchen furniture at Chatham, as well as six horses and five cows, along with agricultural implements. Apparently the sale helped to retire two outstanding loans that had used the property as security (1861 and 1867). Lacy had obtained the first loan in order to raise money to pay for Chatham; he had made the second to set up a trust fund for his minor children at the order of the court. As the sale was apparently complicated by deeds of trust securing the loans, Oliver Watson did not receive an unrestricted title to Chatham until 1877. The details of the complicated legal proceedings resulting in the transfer of Chatham from Lacy-to-trust, trust-to-Watson are well documented in the case Waston v. Hoy & als, heard before the Supreme Court of Appeals in 1877.[321]

OLIVER WATSON SR. (1811–82) OWNERSHIP

Oliver Watson Sr. was originally from Lycoming County, Pennsylvania. Watson began his career as a teacher and later moved to law in 1837. He became a successful banker and served as president of the West Bank Branch in Williamsport, Pennsylvania and president of the Market Street Bridge Company.[322] Watson married Marietta Scott in 1843. Together they had eight children, six of whom survived to adulthood. Watson owned extensive acreage in the Williamsport, Pennsylvania area, but saw the opportunities presented by the southern economy in the post-war years, purchasing land in Virginia while it was inexpensive. Beginning in 1869 he began acquiring land in Stafford County, including Little Falls Farm (1 December 1869),[323] a tract of woodland (10 August 1874),[324] a mill tract adjoining Little Falls Farm (18 December 1875),[325] and Chatham (1872, finalized 11 December 1877).[326]

In June 1874, C.M. Brazton and W. Gordon prepared a survey of Chatham documenting the acreage at 424.5. A second lot, known as the woodlot, contained 44 acres.[327] The whereabouts of this survey are not known. However, it is notable

that the survey revealed that Chatham contained thirty-three more acres than at the time of Watson's purchase just two years before. In 1877, Lacy satisfied his financial obligations to the title to Chatham and the deed transferred free and clear to Watson:

> …situated in the County of Stafford and the state of Virginia opposite the town of Fredericksburg containing 468-½ acres with all the buildings and improvements thereon, the fisheries, shores, landings and the rights and privileges of crossing the 'Chatham' bridge adjoining said land free of toll for the Family, servants, teams and said horses, cattle of the said Farm with all rights, liberties and privileges belonging on and pertaining to said Estate. The main tract upon which the buildings and improvements are situated contains by a recent survey made by C.M. Braxton and W. Gordon in June, 1874, 424-½ metes and bounds by said survey and as follows:
>
> The second tract conveyed in the deed known as the 'woodlot' is situated on Claiborne's run now adjoining or nearly adjoining on the North east by the land of Miles Scott and in the West by the said railroad containing 44 acres connected with and being part of the said Chatham farm…[328]

Between 1874 and 1889/90 the Watsons leased Chatham to Samuel R. Shadle. Shadle was from Nippenose Valley near Williamsport, Pennsylvania. It is believed that Shadle had a close personal relationship with the Watsons.[329] The 1880 U.S. Census for Stafford County lists Shadle as a farmer, with a wife and three small children at home. At the time, four black laborers worked at Chatham: Isaac Ford (age 38), Austin Jackson (age 18), Henry Weaver (18), and William Brooks (13). The 1870s saw an emphasis on livestock, rather than crop production, as the value of livestock on the farm increased. The value of the property, farm implements, wages, and number of improved acres decreased (from 400 to 104 acres during the decade).[330]

A daguerreotype taken from the steeple of St. George's Church during Oliver Watson's Sr.'s ownership shows Chatham from a distance (Figure 1.72). This view, similar to views of Chatham from the bridge, shows the carriage drive bordered with limited evergreen and deciduous trees. Chatham's southwestern façade was visible, along with the Smokehouse to the northwest and additional dependencies to the southeast. Beyond the South Ravine, a large barn with central cupola or silo was visible, along with at least two other smaller buildings beyond. It is unclear if this barn was built by Watson or earlier by the Lacys. Likely as a result of the war, trees are largely absent from the landscape, aside from in the vicinity of the house and Center Embankment.

EMMA (WATSON) JONES AND OLIVER WATSON JR. OWNERSHIP

Oliver Watson Sr. died on September 1, 1882 following a period of illness and almost total blindness.[331] Watson left his son, Oliver, Little Falls Farm and an adjoining mill tract, which comprised about 900 acres of land in Stafford County. He left his daughter, Emma (Watson) Jones, Chatham:

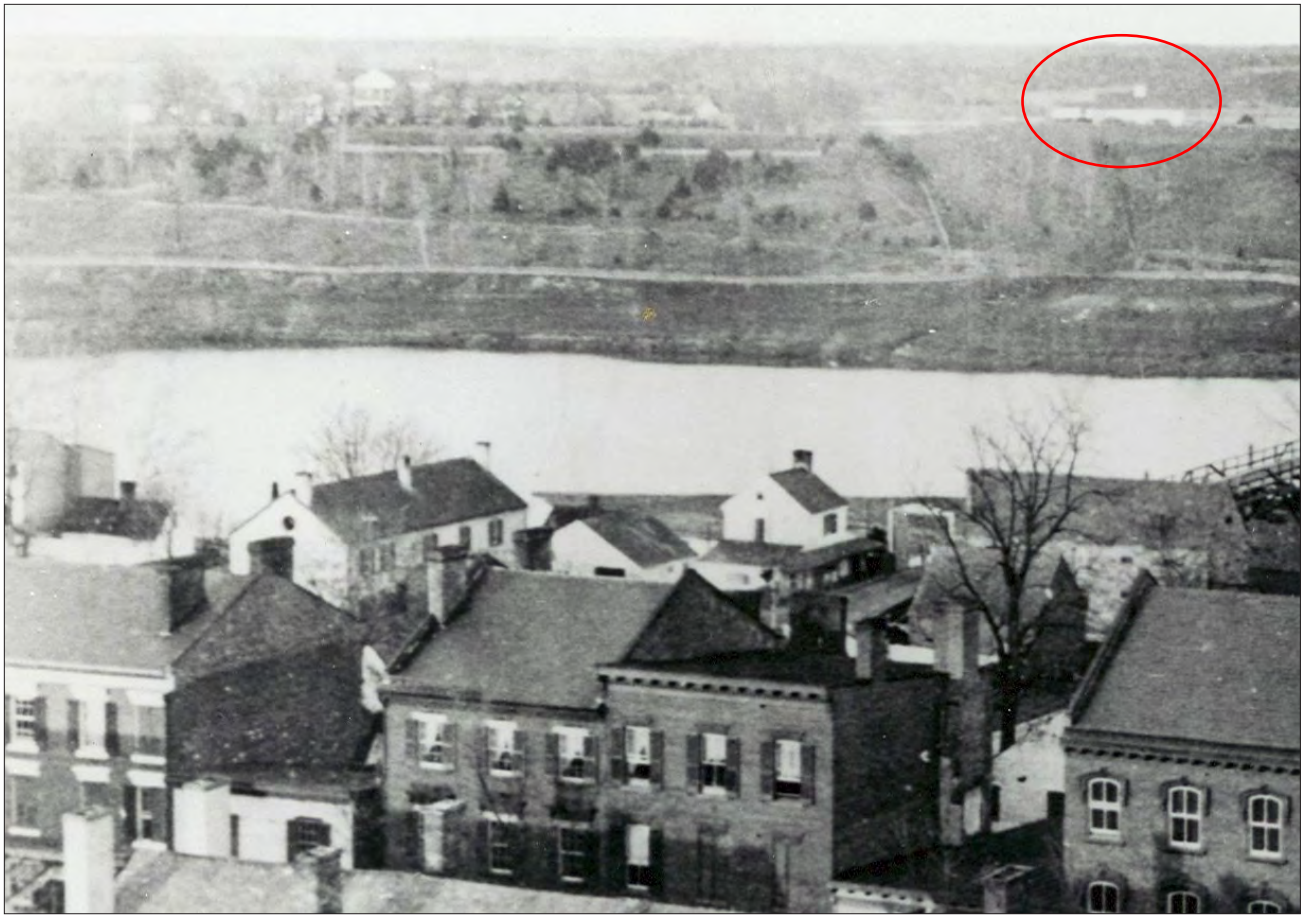


Figure 1.72. Chatham (upper left) as seen from the steeple of St. Georges Church in Fredericksburg. The barn along Chatham Lane is circled in red. View looking north, 1875 (Central Rappahannock Heritage Center 2004-042-P-011-001).

> I give and bequeath to my daughter Emma Jones my farm in Stafford County, Virginia, known as Chatham farm with the wood lot adjoining it, and also the wood lot that I purchased of Alcock about six miles from Chatham and known as the wood lot, containing nearly four hundred acres, and all the horses, cattle and other stock and all the farming implements and utensils owned by me which shall be upon said farm at the time of my death for all which she is to be charged against her position of my estate on the final distribution thereof of $25,500.[332]

At the time, Emma (Watson) Jones lived in Buffalo, New York and did not have a desire to manage the estate. Emma Jones sold Chatham to her brother on November 8, 1883 for $25,000, but continued to pay taxes on the property until 1889.[333] Within two years, a mortgage deed with the American Surety Company of New York for $30,000 lists the address of Oliver Watson Jr. and his wife, Ella, as Fredericksburg, Virginia. The property concerned was 468.5 acres of Chatham land, all buildings and improvements. A second tract of 44 acres known as the Wood Lot and 860 acres of Little Falls Farm were also referenced.[334]

Watson's participation in local activities through 1887 also placed him in Fredericksburg. In 1886, Watson was elected one of ten vice presidents of the local Agricultural Fair Association.[335] On July 5, 1886, the Watsons hosted a horse race at Chatham, where a circular track of half a mile was laid out. The entrance

to the race grounds was at "the gate leading into Mr. Watson's on the top of the hill above Scott's bridge [now Chatham Bridge], on the White Oak Road [now Chatham Heights Road]."[336] Watson intended to make the event an annual tradition. *The Free Lance* reported on five races at Chatham, including two foot races and three horse races:

> By half past ten, nearly a thousand people found their way to race track on Chatham Farm eager to witness races announced to come off about that hour… This ended the day's racing on 'Chatham,' without accident, without occurrence or an event to mar the pleasure of anyone. The crowd returned to town in good order and patiently waited for hour of boat races.[337]

On April 1, 1887, the *Winchester News* reported a rumor that Mr. Graham Lacy, son of Maj. J.H. Lacy, of Spotsylvania, purchased Chatham for $40,000 and that Mr. Watson purchased Brompton, better known as Marye's Heights for $10,000.[338] While this was not true, Watson appears to have fallen on hard times. In February 1888 he and his wife mortgaged Little Falls Farm.[339]

In April 1888, Oliver Watson's daughter, Marietta W. Watson, married Carlton B. Hazard, the son of Fredericksburg's mayor, at Chatham. There are few references to the appearance of Chatham's grounds during Oliver Watson Jr.'s ownership, but the *Free Lance* reported that Chatham "appeared beautiful in its present green leaves and buddings of bowers in its lawn carpeted with tender grass" at the time of the wedding.[340]

ALBERT O. MAYS (B. 1866) OWNERSHIP

Oliver Watson Jr. moved to Liverpool England in 1899 and decided to sell Chatham. The circumstances of the sale were quite complicated. The buyer, Albert O. Mays, was a native of Stark County, Ohio and settled in Virginia with his mother, Caroline, and sister, Mary. He was only twenty-three years old.

On April 16, 1889 Oliver Watson Jr. and M.M. Mays entered into a contract by which Watson agreed to sell Mays the tract of land known as Chatham, estimated to contain 400/20, excepting from the tract the house and 12 acres of grounds, for $9,985.00 payable within seven years.[341] Instead, on May 25, 1889 Oliver Watson sold Chatham to Albert O. Mays, son of M.M. Mays. The estate was comprised of 468.5 acres. The transaction also included horses, cattle, farm implements, and vehicles. The sale price of $9,985.00 was "payable seven years [1896] after the date at a rate of 6% per cent per annum until paid negotiable and payable to the 4th National Bank of Cincinnati with the proviso that if not paid when due bear 8% interest from date granted, sold & conveyed."[342] Mays also assumed Watson's 1885 deed of trust with the American Surety Company of New York. Mays purchased the property assistance from his father and financed $9,985 sale price with a loan underwritten by the Society of Shakers, Pleasant Hill, Kentucky.

On October 14, 1889, Oliver Watson also sold "all lands, buildings and improvements—part of the property known as Chatham" to his sisters, Fanny Owen and Mary Myers for $4,500. Mays also transferred to each sister one third of the mortgage security given in the deed from Oliver Watson. This second sale was designed to prospect Mays against the mortgage described in the May 25 sale, for which Watson had not received proceeds.[343]

On November 7, 1889, a *lis pendens* was issued concerning the two sales of Chatham. In the first case, *Henry Souther (plaintiff) v. M.M. Mays, Albert O. Mays, Fanny Owen, We. E. Owen (her husband), Mary Myers, Resin Myers and Oliver Watson*, Souther claimed fraud on both the deed from Watson to Mays (dated 25 May 1889) and the deed from Mays to Owen and Myers (dated 14 October 1889). Souther had a financial lien on Oliver Watson's property through the American Surety Company of New York.

A second *lis pendens* claimed fraud on the same two deeds. In the second case, *Oliver Watson (plaintiff) v. Albert Mays, M.M. Mays, Mrs. Fanny Owen, We. E. Owen (husband), Mrs. Mary Myers, and Resin Mays*, Watson pursued the proceeds of his May 25 sale. Eight days later, Albert O. Mays (first part); and Mrs. Fanny Owen, Wm. E. Owen (her husband), Mary Myers, and Resin M. Myers (her husband) (second part); and St. George R. Fitzhugh and W.S. White (trustees of Oliver Watson, third part) entered into a deed to trust.[344]

In 1890, M. M. Mays was ordered by the court to cultivate Chatham Farm under the direction and supervision of the court and apply proceeds beyond what was necessary to maintain the farm and his family to the National Bank of Fredericksburg to credit of the suit and to defray the expenses of the suit upon the note of the Trustees of the Shaker Society in the Blue Mountains of Kentucky. M.M. Mays and Watson agreed that Watson would have the furniture from the house to be held as collateral security for the house and twelve acres immediately associated with the house, then occupied by M.M. Mays, until the house and twelve acres could be sold.[345]

A December 1889 court ordered inventory of Chatham recorded nine cows, from which "a large quantity of butter is made and that there are a number of customers in the City of Fredericksburg who purchase the butter thus produced." The dairy was in the hands of Mrs. Mary M. Myers, who superintended production and sale. The inventory also noted "a large quantity of stock on the said farm, which while expensive to keep will be necessary for use if the farm is to be kept and cultivated."[346]

IMAGES OF CHATHAM

A view of the western façade of the house in the post-war years shows the unkempt appearance of the landscape on the upper terrace. Trees were unpruned

and vines covered the porch at the entrance to the south hyphen. Tree species evident included an eastern red cedar, crape myrtle, black locust, and Norway spruce (Figure 1.73).

A matte photograph of the southwestern façade of Chatham, taken about 1890, shows the distinctive mustard yellow and crimson paint on the house (Figure 1.74). Two evergreen trees (likely Norway spruce) flanked the central porch, with deciduous trees on the lawn. A small building with a pyramidal roof, likely



Figure 1.73. Chatham, showing an overgrown garden on the upper terrace. View looking north, c. 1870 (FRSP archives, Chatham historical photos).



Figure 1.74. Southwestern facade of Chatham. View looking north, c. 1890 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files, 120).



Figure 1.75. Chatham, showing its mustard yellow and crimson paint scheme in the post-war years. View looking north, c. 1870 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).

the Smokehouse, is visible beyond to the northwest. Herbert Brooks, who grew up in Falmouth, reported that Chatham's smokehouse was given to his father, who moved the structure (intact) and placed it behind the Brooks' home on Washington Street. The 1937 flood carried it away.[347]

Late in May's ownership, Chatham was featured in the *Ladies' Home Journal* (November 1889). The published image, taken before the evergreen trees than flanked Chatham's porches were removed, shows signs of neglect in the landscape maintained (Figure 1.75). By 1890, push lawn mowers were in popular use in the United States. Yet, at Chatham, the lawn remained unmown, even in preparation for a photograph.

A matte photograph from November 1891 is one of few to show the northeastern façade of Chatham in the nineteenth century (Figure 1.76). The photograph, taken prior to construction of the wide, single-story porch (with roof supported by Ionic columns) along the land side façade, shows the house with dark trim and shutters (painted crimson) and lighter brick (painted mustard yellow). A driveway

extended along the façade, possibly bordered by a low curb. Deciduous trees stood along the northeastern side of the drive, while what appear to be shared evergreen trees flanked the central doorway.

Two photographs from about 1900 (or possibly slightly earlier) by Dayton-based photographer Albert Kerns show the two facades of Chatham (Figures 1.77 and 1.78). The river side view shows the central porch intact, with railings and its post-war paint colors, overgrown shrubs along the foundation and vines on the central porch. The land side view shows the crescent-shaped Carriage Drive, a simple set of six stone steps leading to the entrance, and the distinctive American sycamore growing along the drive. Both views suggest that the landscape was poorly maintained at the end of the nineteenth century.

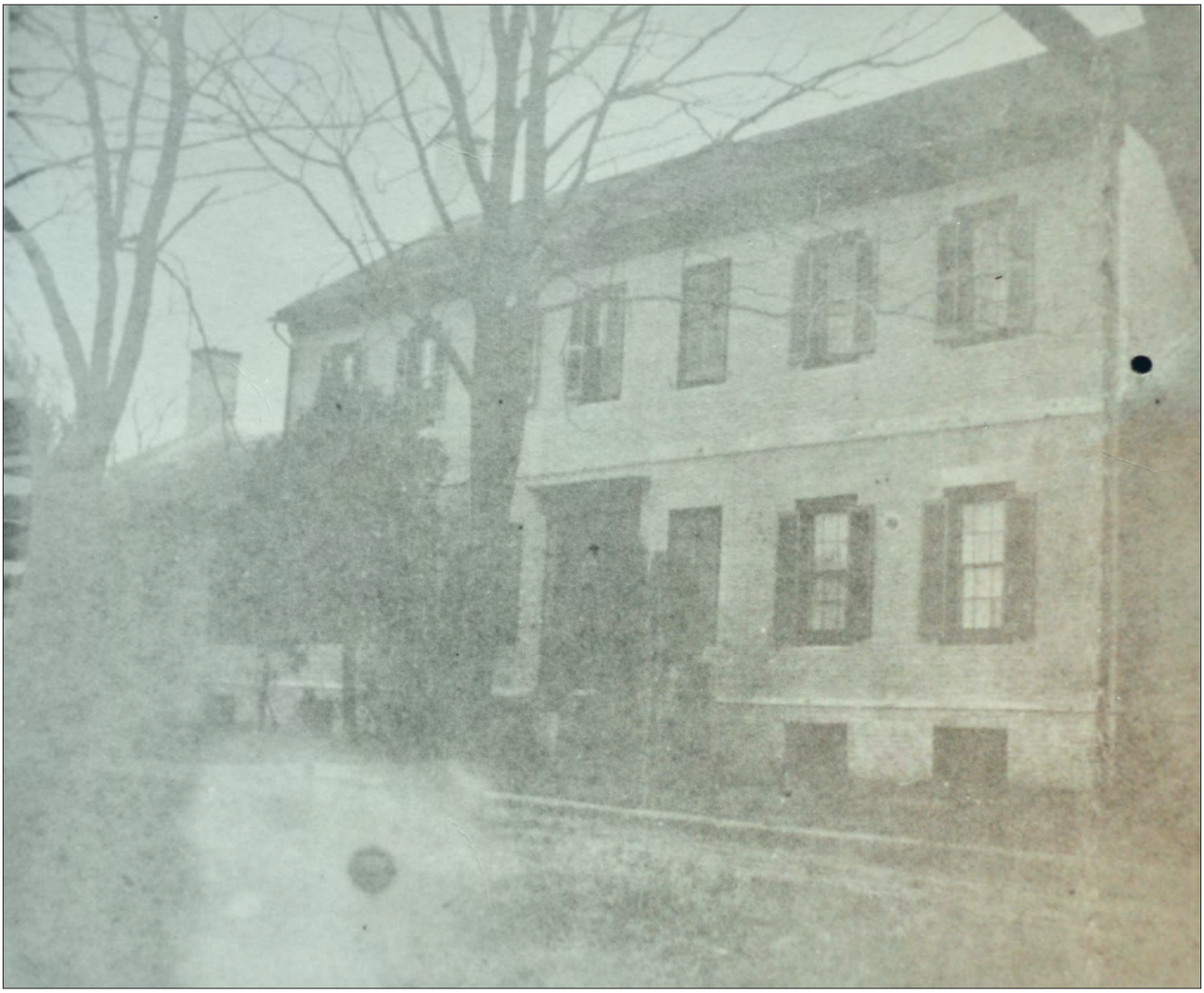


Figure 1.76. Northeastern facade of Chatham. View looking south, November 1891 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room files).



Figure 1.77. Southwestern facade of Chatham by Albert Kerns. View looking north, c. 1900 (Dayton History, K.5.9.271).



Figure 1.78. Northeastern facade of Chatham by Albert Kerns. Note the American sycamore at left and a portion of the semi-circular drive. View looking southwest, c. 1900 (Dayton History, K.5.9.1530).

SUBDIVISION OF CHATHAM

Mays was desperate to generate revenue to repay his debt for Chatham. In response, he subdivided land at the southern end of the estate for residential development. In September 1890, a plat drawn by L.R. Grabill, Civil Engineer of "Chatham Heights, Opposite Fredericksburg Virginia, for sale by White and Botts, Fredericksburg, Va." showed the proposed subdivision of land on the southeast side of White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road) into 103 residential lots (Figure 1.79). The plan for the community included two park areas, one near the Chatham Bridge and one close to the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac Railroad track. The layout of roads and lots in this area today largely reflect this subdivision plan.

The following year, the southern portion of Chatham was surveyed and mapped by von Schon and Garner, Civil Engineers, Norfolk, to prepare for the sale of lots in the Chatham Heights neighborhood by the Fredericksburg Development Company. By this time, White Oak Road had been renamed Chatham Avenue (now Chatham Heights Road) in the preceding year (Figure 1.80).



Figure 1.79. Subdivision proposal for the southeastern portion of Chatham prepared by L.R. Grabill. Plan view, September 1890 (Stafford County Circuit Court, Plat 131).



Figure 1.80. Advertisement of lots for sale across the southeastern portion of Chatham and elsewhere in Fredericksburg. Plan view, 1891 (Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia).

RECEIVERSHIP

By 1891, Mays' financial difficulties became public knowledge. Chatham was in receivership, with C.L. Kennedy, Receiver of the Cifrcuit Court of Stafford County, reporting to the Honorable Wm. S. Baron, Judge of the Circuit Court of Stafford County.[348]

In October 1892, Kennedy reported that he received $234.47 income and paid $238.58 expenses. He also reported that he had rented Chatham (farm) for the 1893 calendar year for the sum of $850, likely to Henry W. Edwards. Tellingly, Kennedy reports that the "farm, stock, and farming implements are in as good condition as it is possible for such property to be, when rented out," suggesting that the condition of the property had deteriorated since Mays took ownership.[349] In 1892, Kennedy received $888.28 from the farm for the year and reported that the stock on the farm was in good condition.[350]

Mays financial difficulties were not uncommon in the early 1890s. The Panic of 1893 was a serious economic depression in the United States spurred by the

decline of international commodity prices. The prosperity of the 1870s and 1880s Gilded Age is attributed to economic growth enabled by high international commodity prices. With the decline of commodity prices in the early 1890s, including the crash of wheat prices in 1893, this era of great prosperity came to a halting end. Shaky railroad financing and railroad overbuilding contributed to the crisis that caused panic, bank runs, bank failures, declining stock prices, and business and farm closures. Throughout the United States, unemployment rose markedly.

In 1894, Mays rented Chatham (farm) again to Henry W. Edwards for the year for $850. (Notes on the contract suggest that it may have been written in 1893, renewed in 1895 and 1896.) In addition, he rented Edwards "four work horses, twelve milch cows, and all farming utensils, wagons, buggies, and implements now on the Chatham Farm, such as the said Edwards may have use for in the cultivation of the said Farm." Edwards was entitled to keep crops raised, but not the livestock. In addition, Edwards was to raise and fatten the hogs, for which he would receive one half of the pork killed, one half of the increase in sows.[351] At the close of 1894, Kennedy reported to the court that he received $1,007.98 from the Chatham property, and had paid $996.94 to the court. Again, he reported, "That the farm is in fair order and that it is kept as well as could be expected under the circumstances."[352]

In 1897, a series of legal proceedings caused Mays to lose Chatham in a foreclosure suit. The court ordered St. George Fitzhugh, commissioner, to sell the estate to satisfy Watson's debt to the American Surety Company of New York ($12,894) "after advertising the same twice a week for four consecutive weeks in some newspaper published in Fredericksburg, Virginia…But in making sale of the said real estate the said commissioner shall first offer for sale the tract of 385 acres mentioned in the deed of trust of May 18, 1885 and the Mansion House and about 12 acres of Chatham tract which is described by metes and bounds in deed of May 25, 1889 from Oliver Watson to Albert O. Mays and shall sell one Chatham tract…"[353] The published notice read:

> Public Sale of Very Valuable Real Estate Near Fredericksburg, Va. By virtue of a decree of the Circuit Court of Stafford county, Va., rendered on April 6th, 1897, in the chancery suit of American Surety Company, of New York, and Letitia Souther, executrix, against Oliver Watson and others, I will expose to sale at public auction, in front of the Exchange Hotel, in Fredericksburg, VA., at 12 o'clock M., on Wednesday, May 12, 1897, the following three parcels of real estate, in the following order:
>
> 1st. A Tract of Wood Land, containing about 385 acres in Stafford county, on the Ridge Road, about six mile above Falmouth, adjoining the lands of Thomas Walace, Mrs. Allen Withers, and Jho. P. Randolph, known as the Alcocke Tract.
>
> 2nd. The Chatham Manor House and about 12 acres of land adjoining the same, in the county of Stafford, immediately opposite the City of Fredericksburg. The Mansion House is an elegant, massive building of brick, built in

> colonial times, with beautiful grounds surrounding it, within ten minute walk of the postoffice [sic] and railroad depot in Fredericksburg.
>
> 3rd. The splendid estate on the Rappahannock river, in Stafford, immediately opposite Fredericksburg, known as Chatham, containing about 456 ½ acres, with valuable barn and other buildings thereon, recognized as one of the most valuable and desirable properties in Eastern Virginia.[354]

To satisfy the creditor, who was technically the thirteenth owner of the estate, Chatham was auctioned in front of the Exchange Hotel in Fredericksburg in May 1897.[355] The *Daily Star* reported that Chatham and 12 acres of land, 300 acres of woodland, and the rest of the farm was sold at auction for $13,750 to Albert O. Mays.[356] Albert O. Mays and St. George R. Fitzhugh (trustee) entered into a deed of trust on May 18, 1897 for a tract of 385 acres on Ridge Road, known as the Alcocke Tract, and Chatham, estimated to contain 468.5 acres.[357] On August 6, 1898, Albert O. Mays and Gysbert A. Van Maaven (third part) also entered into a deed of trust for the 385-acre of the Alcocke Tract, six miles from Falmouth. St. George Fitzhugh released the land to Van Maaven for $500 paid against the May 18, 1897 deed of trust.[358]

However, misfortune followed Mays. On April 16, 1898, just one year after he purchased Chatham for the second time, a large barn and corn house on the estate were destroyed by fire. Four hundred barrels of corn and farming equipment were also lost in the fire.[359] Presumably, this barn was located along Chatham Lane beyond the South Ravine (see Figure 1.72). Within two years, Mays would sell Chatham.

FLEMING G. (1857–1915) AND ELIZABETH H. BAILEY (1861–1935) OWNERSHIP

Both Fleming and Elizabeth Bailey were natives of Griffin, Georgia and both had inherited money from their parents—David J. and Susan Grantland Bailey, and H.P. Hill—sufficient to buy Chatham. Fleming Bailey's mother was Susan Mary Grantland, who married David Jackson Bailey, who spent many years in the Georgia legislature. Elizabeth Bailey's mother was Augusta Pritchard, who married Captain Henry P. Hill, a Confederate veteran and member of the Georgia House of Representatives. Fleming and Elizabeth Bailey bought Chatham from Albert Mays on August 22, 1900:

> In fee simple the Chatham Mansion House on the estate known as Chatham in Stafford County Virginia on the north bank of the Rappahannock River opposite Fredericksburg, together with thirty and 234/1000 of an acre of said Chatham Estate connection with said Mansion House and all the buildings thereon which said parcel of land herein conveyed has been surveyed by E.H. Randall County Surveyor of Stafford County and a plat thereof made by said surveyor which is attached to this deed as part thereof, and said parcel of land is described in said plant which bears date on August 13, 1900 as follows…[360]

This thirty-acre tract was part of the larger tract that Mays bid for successfully in 1897. With the Bailey's purchase, Chatham's core was effectively detached from the historic plantation lands for the first time. While the Bailey's owned Chatham's core, Mays retained the farm's outlying acreage, including property along all four sides of the Bailey's thirty-acre holdings. The Bailey's, in effect, were landlocked.

A photograph taken in 1901 for Benjamin Borton, who wrote *On the Parallels or Chapters of Inner History, A Story of the Rappahannock* (1903), shows the house and immediate grounds shortly after the Baileys' purchase. A view of the western façade shows three people and a dog seated on the porch, with a hammock hanging near the historic catalpas (Figure 1.81). All three porches and connectors remained intact, although the railings were missing. The façade was painted mustard yellow with crimson trim, consistent with improvements after the close of the Civil War. Tree species were readily identifiable, including white birch, catalpa, Norway spruce, oak, and possibly a larch.



Figure 1.81. Chatham during the Bailey's ownership, as photographed for Benjamin Baron's book, *On the Parallels or Chapters of Inner History: A Story of the Rappahannock* (1903). View looking east, September 1901 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room files).

SUBDIVISION CONTINUES

While the Baileys owned Chatham's core, Mays continued to subdivide Chatham's outlying acres. He sold two parcels to the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad on June 5, 1903 for $3,500.[361] Only a few days later, Mays sold an approximate 245-acre tract of Chatham lands to the west of the core to Max Buell for $7,350.[362] Mays retained extensive acreage to the west, south, and east/north-east of the Bailey's property. By July 1903, he was building a large dairy barn and silo along Chatham Lane to support his ongoing agricultural operation.[363] Presumably, this barn was to replace the large Chatham barn destroyed by fire in 1898.

A plat developed on November 4, 1904 showed "That part of Chatham still held by A.O. Mays" (Figure 1.82). These parcels were principally to the northeast and southeast of the main house, as well as along the river directly below Chatham. Chatham Lane and the Farm Road Trace were described as "the Road, or lane, used for farm purposes but owned by A.O. Mays," suggesting that Mays retained ownership of Chatham Lane and the Farm Road Trace during the Bailey's ownership of the main house. That same year, Mays sold the forty-four-acre parcel known as the woodlot to Jake Goldsmith for $10 and "other valuable consideration."[364] (By 1910, the U.S. Census listed Mays living with Goldsmith's family in Falmouth.)

In January 1905, Max Buell deeded 245 acres of land to Albert O. Mays, Mary Mays, and Fanny Owen. Buell had been unable to fulfil his obligation to pay Mays for the land (purchased 20 June 1903) and was eager to re-convey the real estate to Mays to satisfy his indebtedness.[365] In 1905, Mays also had two small parcels along River Road surveyed (45/1000 of an acre and 154/1000 of an acre). Ownership of the two parcels was exchanged between A.O. Mays and Mary J. Roach.[366] In 1906, Mays also sold a 4,657 square foot parcel to Elizabeth Bailey.[367]

The Panic of 1907, also known as the Knickerbocker Crisis, saw the New York Stock Exchange fall almost fifty percent from its peak the previous year. The panic was alleviated when financier J.P. Morgan pledged large sums of his own wealth to shore up the banking system, highlighting the need for a Federal central bank, which was ultimately established in the form of the Federal Reserve. The economic contraction that coincided with the panic may have contributed to Bailey's decision to sell Chatham about this time.

In 1908–09, Chatham, along with at least six other properties, was proposed as the site of the Fredericksburg Normal and Industrial School (now the University of Mary Washington).[368] It is unclear if the Baileys were interested in selling the house and their thirty-acre tract or if the school was proposed for Mays' portion of the historic plantation. In either case, the Bailey's sold Chatham and thirty associated acres to Allan Randolph Howard and his wife, Francis R. Howard

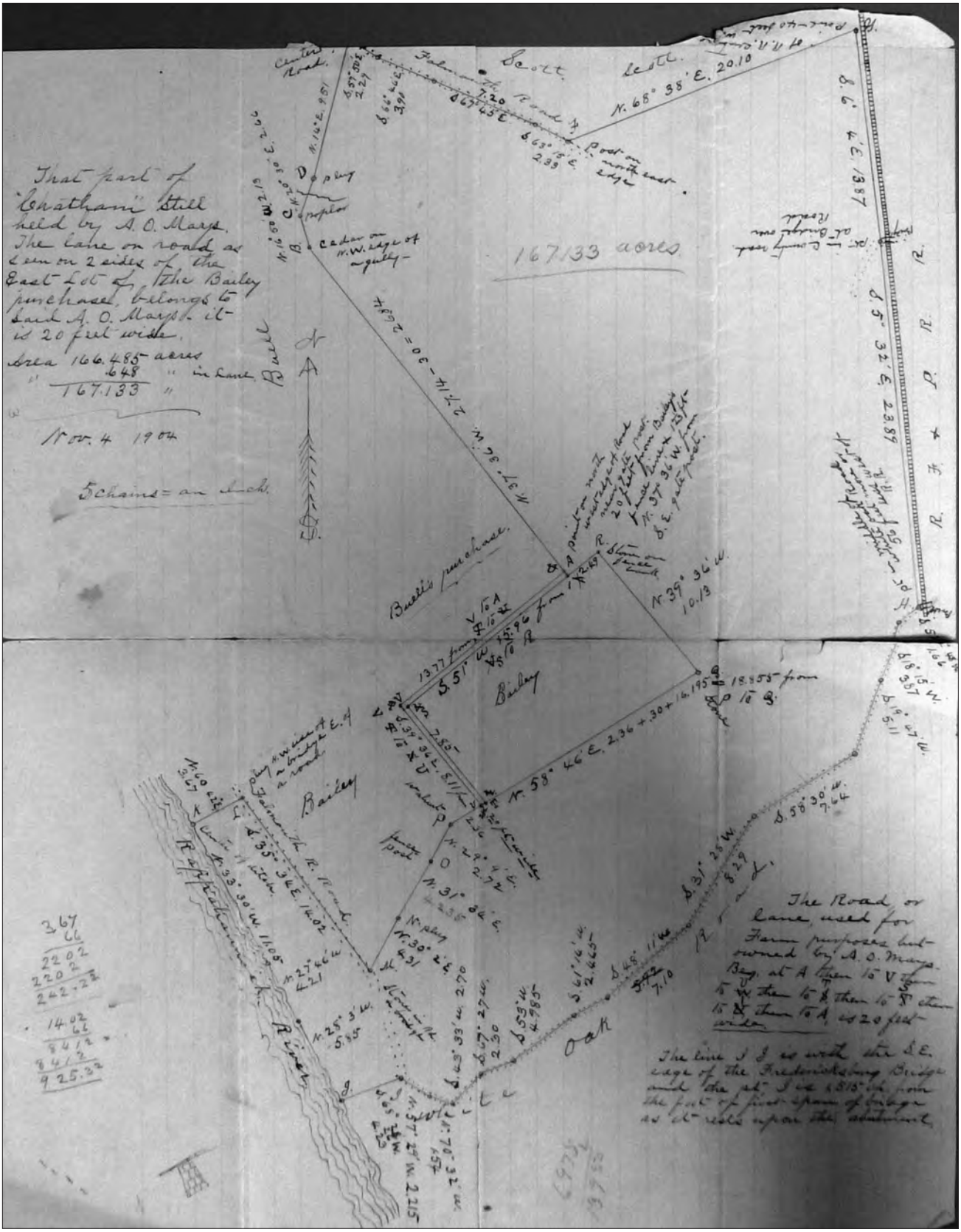


Figure 1.82. Plat of "that part of Chatham still held by A.O. Mays." Plan view, November 1904 (Stafford County Commissioner of Revenue Office).

in January 1909. After selling Chatham, the Bailey's moved back to Georgia. Mr. Bailey died September 15, 1915 a resident of Atlanta, Georgia. Mrs. Bailey died September 13, 1935, a resident of Griffin, Georgia. Both are buried in the Bonaventure Cemetery in Savannah.

ALLAN RANDOLPH HOWARD (1866–1937)/HARRIET G. SMITH OWNERSHIP

Allan Randolph Howard was born at Altoona in Spotsylvania in 1866 to Mr. and Mrs. William Key Howard, Sr., whose great-grandfather was Francis Scott Key. His father purchased Kenmore in 1881 and moved the family, including fifteen-year-old Allan Randolph, to Fredericksburg. (His brothers lived in the mansion until 1914.) In his career, A. Randolph Howard was a cashier at the Conway, Gordon & Garnett National Bank and engaged in business and civic affairs in the Fredericksburg area. After his wife, Francis R. Howard (b. 1871), died in 1916, he remarried to Margaret K. Howard.[369]

A. Randolph Howard purchased Chatham on January 30, 1909, along with 30 acres and 23/100th of an acre from the Baileys. The Howard's purchase of Chatham was featured in the Fredericksburg *Daily Star*: "Historic Chatham, Purchased by Mr. A. Randolph Howard, Who Will Make it his Home, Improvements will be Made." The article noted that "the grounds are attractive, having a variety of trees and shrubbery, walkways and terraces…in the lifetime of Mr. Fitzhugh, who built 'Chatham' there was a fine race track on the place, which was famous in that day and drew large crowds to the races. The great race horse Boston was among the successful competitors on this track...Mr. Howard will take possession of the property about February 1st and after extensive improvements are made, will move his family to 'Chatham' and occupy it as his home."[370]

Like William Fitzhugh, A. Randolph Howard was an equestrian enthusiast. The Fredericksburg *Daily Star* reported on his trotting stock: "In his well-appointed private stables in Fredericksburg, Mr. Howard has Royal Swell, brown horse brown horse by Bow Bells 219 ¼, dam Rachel, 2:08 ¼, by Baron Wilkes, 2:18. The Prince Royal, and Royal Seal, black colt, 2, by Royal Swell, dam Nyanza, 2:21 ¾, by Quartermaster, 2:21 ¼. Among trotters as with show horses Mr. Howard insists on beauty of form, high finish and style along with soundness, as evidenced by present stable, every member of which figures as winner in show ring while richly bred and showing a disposition to stay on a trot."[371]

Within days of purchasing Chatham, Howard transferred the property to his mother-in-law, Harriet Smith. She took ownership of 30 acres and 234/1000 of an acre connected with the house on February 1, 1909. A note in the margin of the February 26, 1909 deed of trust reads: "don't publish."[372] Harriet Smith lived at Chatham with A. Randolph Howard, his wife, and their two children, William Key (b. 1904) and Francis Randolph (b. 1907).

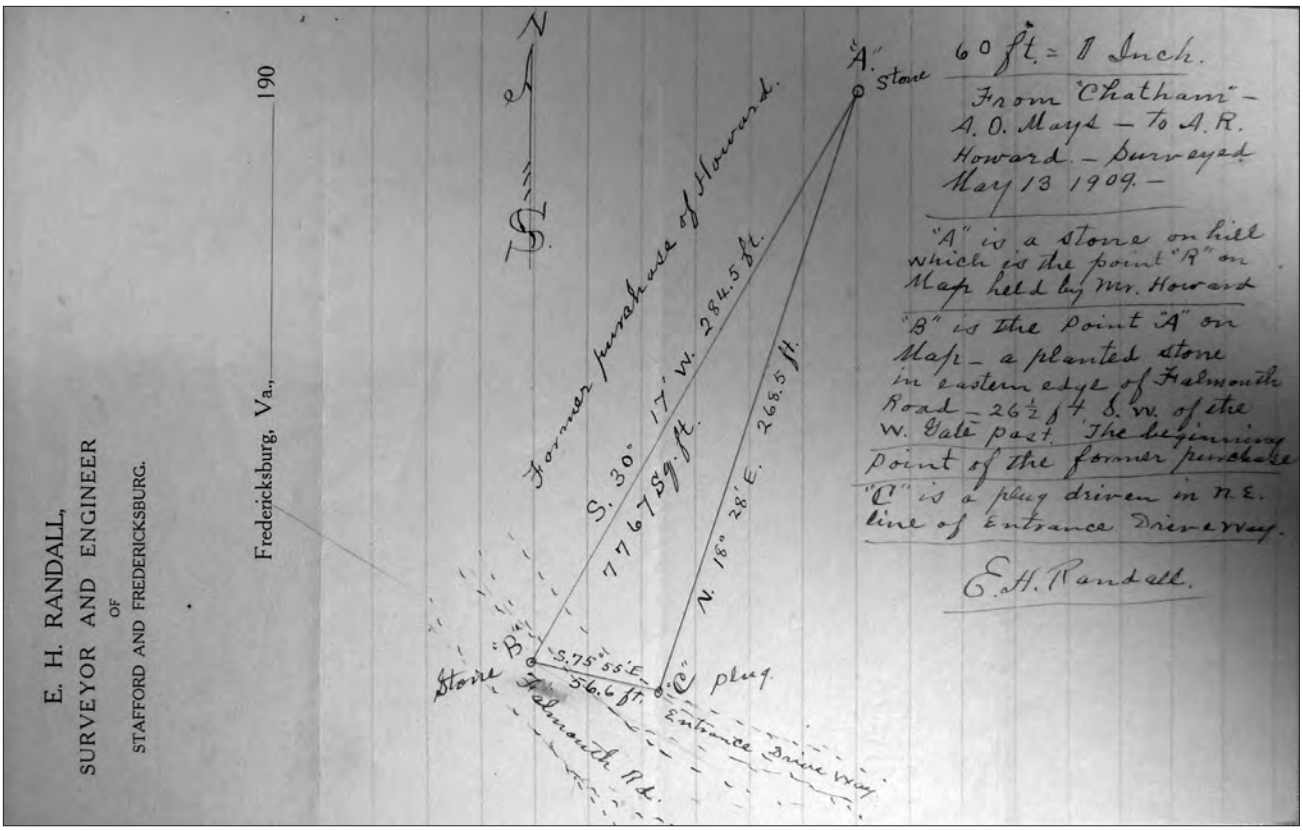


Figure 1.83. Plat of a small parcel at the base of the Carriage Drive prepared by E.H. Randall. Plan view, May 1901 (Stafford County Commissioner of Revenue Office).

In May 1909, E.H. Randall, Surveyor of Fredericksburg, surveyed a 7,767 square foot parcel at the base of the Carriage Drive (near Falmouth/River Road) for A. Randolph Howard. This survey clarified the line of Howard's Chatham lands to the west and lands retained by Mays to the east (Figure 1.83).

DESCRIPTIONS OF CHATHAM'S GROUNDS

In a 1978 interview, William Key Howard recalled that the property "wasn't very well kept up [when purchased by his father]. The grounds and the grass was knee high around the place" and "a lot of stumps right out front that I remember quite well." An undated photograph of Chatham from about 1909 matches William Key Howard's description well (Figure 1.84). The image shows an unmown lawn, trees and shrubs overgrown, and Chatham's trim painted white. Three white men are shown in hats, with two African-American kids in the nearby shrubs.

At the time, Chatham had two ice houses. One, located "on the way down to the stables," and the other, "between the cow barn and the laundry house… that rotted down." Presumably, these structures stood along the crescent shaped drive, flanking the house. Howard also remembered an old building next to the garage where his mother kept a chicken yard, the stables, the Milk House (which he called the creamery), and a water tank in the vicinity of the Dairy Barn and Laundry.



Figure 1.84. Chatham's unkept appearance about the time of the Howards' purchase. View looking north, c. 1909 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).

During the Howard family's tenure, Chatham's carriage drive "didn't come in front of the house, though, it came in back. Came up by the—what you call the laundry house and then it went around by the big sycamore tree and the house itself. . .Also there was a drive that went around the laundry house and came out front, and it went around to the front of the house and then you could turn around by the gingko tree and come around—it made kind of a rectangle there."

Howard also recalled that his "grandmother was very fond of roses so down below the big terrace [his] father had a garden laid out for her with cement walks in it, and that was a rose garden (Figures 1.85, 1.86, and 1.87)." The present location of the Walled Garden was occupied by an apple orchard. He recalled the gingko tree in place, "but it was only the size of one of the limbs then," with the little square stone marker with the number on it for the unknown soldiers buried at the edge of the terrace. [373]

Postcards of Chatham during the Howard family's tenure show the west façade of the house and adjacent garden, which includes evergreen and deciduous trees over mown lawn, with well graded drives that form an elongated oval on the terrace immediately to the west of the house and a circle around the ginkgo tree to the southwest of the house. Small shrubs or perennial plantings are visible bordering the portion of the drive closest to the house (Figure 1.88).



Figure 1.85. Rose garden on the lower terrace. View looking northwest, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).



Figure 1.86. Rose garden on the lower terrace. View looking west, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).



Figure 1.87. Rose garden on the lower terrace. View looking west, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).



Figure 1.88. Upper terrace during the Howard family's tenure. View looking north, c. 1910 (Central Rappahannock Heritage Center, 200-001-PC13-118).



Figure 1.89. Upper terrace showing the pill-shaped drive. View looking north, c. 1910 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).

By 1909, the connections between porches along the river-side façade of Chatham had been removed. A view from about this time also shows the distinctive circle around the gingko, pill-shaped drive lined with low planting, scattered deciduous and evergreen trees, and a fenced tennis court on the northern end of the middle terrace. This view was republished many times as a postcard (Figure 1.89).

HOWARD FAMILY GROUNDS IMPROVEMENTS

The Howards were prompt in making improvements to the property. In the first half of 1909, architect and builder Frank Stearns' ledger book indicated work on stable #1 and a tenant house for A.R. Howard at Chatham. Stearns had established an office on Water Street (now Sophia Street) in Fredericksburg in 1889. His professional life spanned approximately 1880–1920.[374] In February

1909, the *Daily Star* reported that the Howards employed twenty-five workmen to make improvements to Chatham, "beautifying the interior of the house and grounds. When completed this will be one of the handsomest country homes in Virginia."[375]

Two photographs of the river-side of the house from about 1910 show the character of the grounds early in the Howard family's ownership. A view of the southwest façade of Chatham (donated by Marianne Wheaton) shows four children (two white and two black) standing near the gingko tree, which is under planted with rows of annuals. Low plantings lined the drive along the façade of the house, while a hedge extended to the southeastern pavilion, separating the entrance forecourt from the Kitchen area (Figure 1.90). A second snapshot shows foundation planting along the southeastern end of the house (Figure 1.91).



Figure 1.90. Upper terrace showing plantings near the gingko tree and the pill-shaped drive. View looking north, c. 1910 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files, 302, courtesy of Marianne Wheaton).



Figure 1.91. Upper terrace showing plantings at Chatham's foundation. View looking northeast, c. 1910 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files, 302).

A collection of photographs in a scrapbook in the Robb-Bernard Papers at the College of William and Mary document Chatham's grounds following the Howards' improvements. Frances Robb (b. 1891), who identified the photos in the album, was the daughter of A. Randolph Howard and Frances Howard.[376]

On the southwest side of the house, the photographs show the distinctive pill-shaped drive and an axial walk leading southwest from the main entrance, along with the two-story porch on the main block of the house. A new tree stood near the southern corner of the porch, and hydrangeas flanked the stairs to the porch (Figure 1.92). At the time, the lawn to the southwest of the house was well-kept, with evergreen and deciduous tree limbed-up (Figures 1.93 and 1.94). Photographs of dogs show a tent-like structure on the lawn near the South Ravine, as well as the pyramidal roofline of a building that is believed to be a store house or shed (Figure 1.95). A group shot, taken on the upper terrace, shows the fenced tennis court at the northwestern end of the middle terrace. The surface of the court was packed earth, and the fencing consisted of chicken wire over a metal pipe frame (Figures 1.96 and 1.97).

On the northeastern side of the house, a photograph of the façade shows five steps leading to a wide porch that was supported by Ionic columns (Figures 1.98 and 1.99).William Key Howard (b. 1904), who lived at Chatham from about age



Figure 1.92. Hydrangea planted at the steps to the central porch on Chatham's southwest elevation. View looking northwest, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).

five to ten (1909–14) recalled his father adding the one story porch "from the big sycamore tree on down a little ways." In a 1978 interview, he also added that the granite steps from that porch are out there [along the road to the old farmhouse, piled up right about the corner] now."[377]



Figure 1.93. Upper terrace showing Chatham's southwest elevation. View looking northeast, c. 1910 (Cook Collection, The Valentine).



Figure 1.94. Well-kept plantings to the southwest of Chatham. View looking northeast, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).



Figure 1.95. Lawn adjacent to the pill-shaped drive showing a store house or shed in the distance at center and a tent at right. View looking east, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).



Figure 1.96. Group on the upper terrace, showing the tennis court on the middle terrace. View looking west, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).

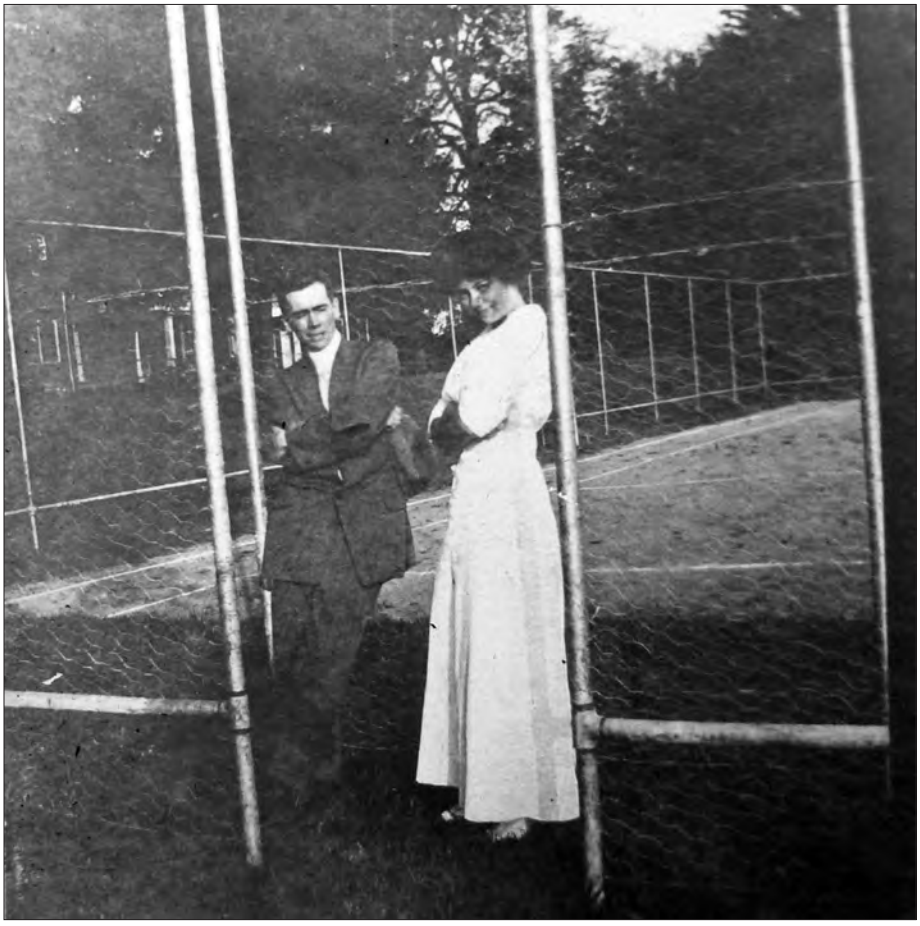


Figure 1.97. Tennis courts on the middle terrace. View looking east, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).

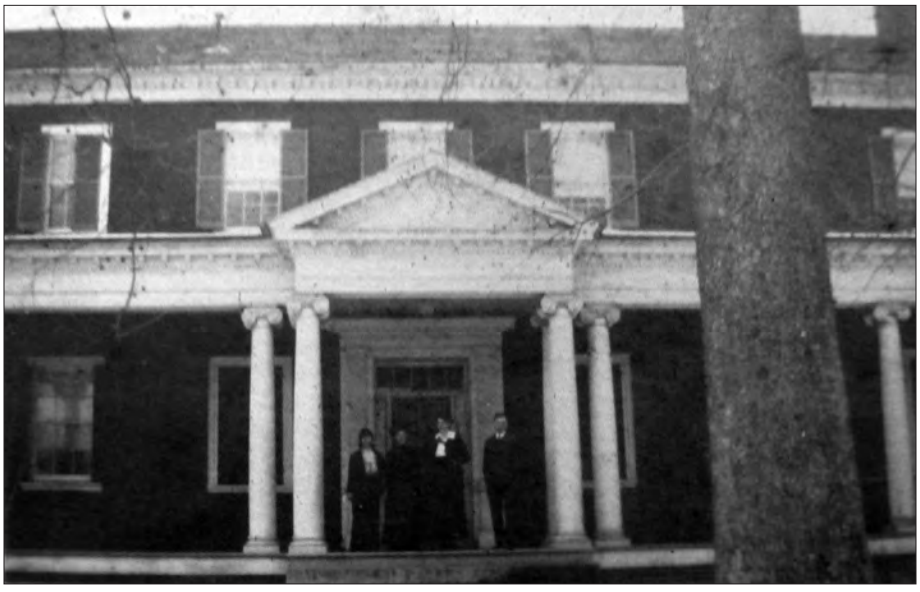


Figure 1.98. Northeast elevation of Chatham showing the single story porch. View looking southwest, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).



Figure 1.99. Northeast elevation of Chatham. Note the presence of the semicircular drive in front of the porch. View looking southwest, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).



Figure 1.100. Chatham from the Chatham bridge. View looking north, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).

Farther afield, views of the house taken from Chatham Bridge show the character of the Center Embankment at the time. The area, traversed by the Carriage Drive, consisted of low lawn/meadow, with scattered evergreen and deciduous trees throughout the lower portion of the area (Figure 1.100). Scattered trees also grew throughout the riverside field. Both ravines were heavily wooded, while the landscape beyond the house and across the embankment to the south appeared clear.



Figure 1.101. Chatham from the Chatham bridge. View looking north, c. 1910 (Special Collections Research Center, William & Mary Libraries).

The South Ravine Path is visible leading up the embankment (Figures 1.101). In addition to the house, the rooflines of two buildings are visible. One stands to the southeast of the South Ravine, roughly parallel with the house (likely the remnants of masonry slave quarters). The second stands immediately to the southeast of the house (likely the Kitchen).

CHANGES IN LAND OWNERSHIP

The period from 1911 to 1914 saw several changes to land ownership in the vicinity of Chatham. A November 1911 survey of the land of Mrs. Jake Goldsmith along White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road) showed the location of Colhert's Ice Plant and the Pitt's stone house near the "Entrance to Fredbg. Free Bridge" (Chatham Bridge) (Figure 1.102). Mrs. Goldsmith exchanged a portion of her land along White Oak Road with the Falmouth District for improvement of the road in 1911. In repayment, she was given the land that comprised the old road bed.

On June 14, 1911, the Howards conveyed an additional 4,657 square foot tract at Chatham to Harriet F. Smith. The transfer was subject to two deeds of trust: February 8, 1909 for $5,000 from H. Lewis Wallace and February 1, 1909 for $20,000 from William W. Butzer.[378]

In November 1912, Louis Hertle of Chicago, who bought Gunston Hall in 1912 and later deeded to the state, considered buying Chatham after a staying a night with Mr. and Mrs. Howard. He wrote in his *Recollections,* "'Chatham' offered at a very low price completely furnished was most tempting. . .The lure of Gunston Hall however was to strong, and desire warnings that it would take longer to reach Washington due to the condition of Virginia roads at that time, than it would from Fredericksburg."[379]

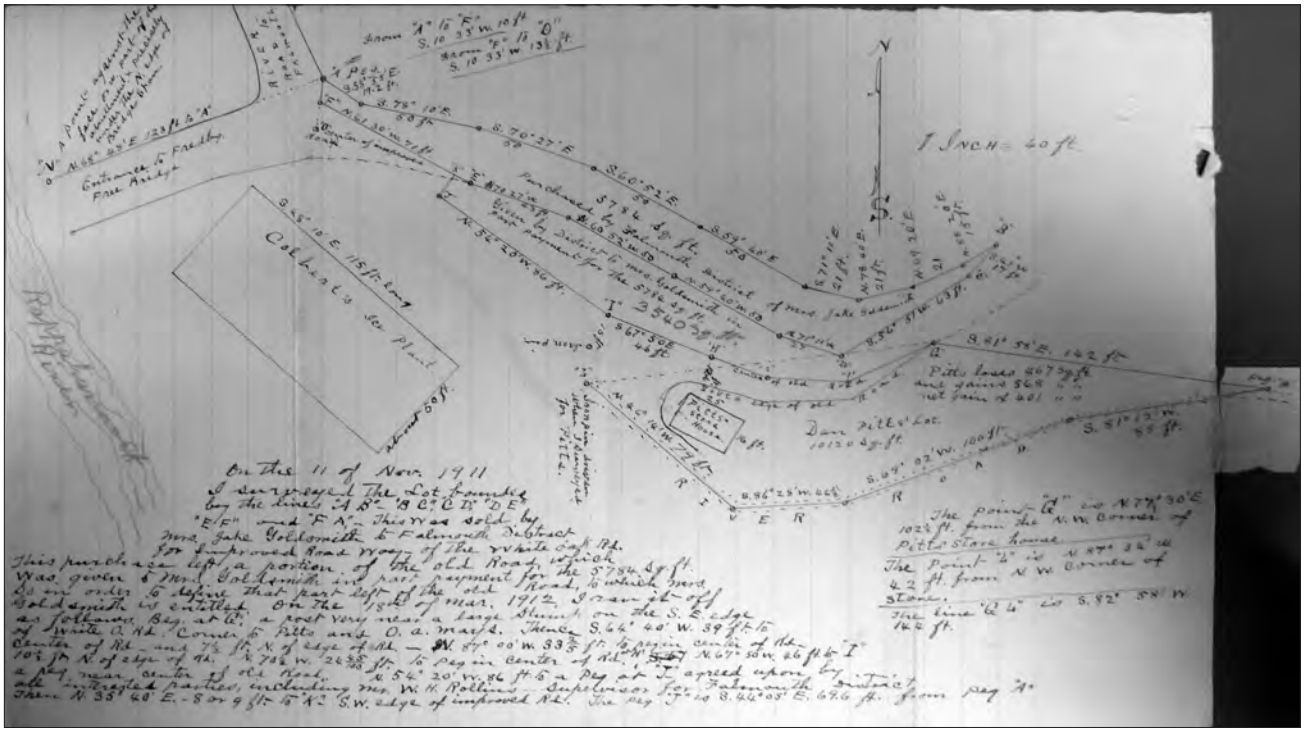


Figure 1.102. Survey showing the intersection of White Oak Road and Falmouth River Road at Chatham bridge. Plan view, November 1911 (Stafford County Commissioner of Revenue Office).

Within months of Hertle's visit, Chatham was advertised for sale for $43,000 in *Country Life in America*. The advertisement noted, "Charmingly situated in spacious grounds, amidst large trees of beautiful foliage, with a long stretch of lawn on the west from of the house. Upon the first terrace are the tennis courts, upon the second the rose gardens, containing 2,000 bushes, and divided by a bowered walk of old box that has flourished for a hundred years, from which branch off nearly half a mile of concrete walks."[380]

By January 1913, the United States entered another economic recession that coincided with a global financial panic over the next two years. On March 14, 1914, Harriet Smith sold Chatham (30.324 acres and 4,657 square feet) to the Conway, Gordon & Garnett National Bank of Fredericksburg to satisfy her debts.[381] It wasn't until the Great War that the United States' economy began to recover, as both industry and agriculture benefitted from foreign allies' orders.

After the sale of Chatham, A. Randolph Howard was charged in December 1914 for reportedly embezzling $14,000 from the Masonic Lodge of Fredericksburg. He was ordered to return to Virginia from New Jersey. About this time, he made his home in Arlington County, where he farmed on a small scale. A. Randolph Howard died at his home, Freedom Hill, near Vienna, Virginia of pneumonia in 1937 at the age of seventy-one. He was survived by his second wife and two children from his first marriage, Mrs. R.G. Robb of Williamsburg and William Key Howard, then Acting Superintendent of the National Battlefield Park.[382]

MARK (1874–1952) AND MARIE SULLIVAN

Mark Sullivan was born in West Chester, Pennsylvania to Cornelius Sullivan, a farmer of Irish descent, and Julia Gleason on the family farm, Avondale. He entered West Chester State in 1888 and was first employed by a West Chester newspaper. He went on to work in Philadelphia and later earned a law degree, practicing for more than a year. In 1901 he joined the staff of the *Ladies Home Journal* and campaigned against patent medicines, resulting in the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act. He became the Washington correspondent for *Collier's Weekly* in 1906, and was named editor of *Collier's Weekly* in 1914. In 1916, he traveled to Paris to cover the peace conference. In 1919, he left Collier's to work for the *New York Evening Post*. In 1923, he went to the *New York Tribune*. The following year, the paper merged with the *New York Herald*. Sullivan was its political correspondent, with a column that was syndicated nationwide. He was a friend of President Herbert Hoover and outspoken opponent of F.D. Roosevelt. He married Marie Buchanan in 1907 (d. 1940). In 1945, after selling Chatham, he returned to Avondale, where he continued to write his syndicated column. He died on August 14, 1952 in West Chester, Pennsylvania of a heart ailment.[383]

SALE OF CHATHAM

On November 28, 1914, Executives of the Conway, Gordon & Garnett National Bank of Fredericksburg liquidated the bank's holdings and sold Chatham (30.234 acres, 7,767 square feet, and 4,657 square feet) to Marie M.B. Sullivan, wife of Mark Sullivan. The Sullivans purchased the estate for $10,000 cash and a three-year $20,000 note.[384] A few weeks before the purchase, Mrs. Sullivan and a friend arrived in Fredericksburg to "look over Chatham and plan the improvements. . . "[385]

During the economic recession of 1913–14, the United States established the Federal income tax with ratification of the Sixteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution (February 1913). Very likely, establishment of the Federal income tax figured in the Sullivan's decision to purchase Chatham in Marie Sullivan's name. At first, the tax was modest. With the Great War, however, income tax became the centerpiece of federal finance. World War I began in 1914, and by 1917 the United States was engaged in the Great War.

The Sullivans advertised Chatham for sale with the Ashbridge Realty Company in June 1916 for $38,000. The accompanying description provided a portrait of the estate at the time:

> Charmingly situated in spacious ground, midst winding walks and ancient trees of beautiful foliage. The first broad terrace facing south, runs level with the house; the second, nearer the picturesque river contains the Rose Garden of perhaps two thousand bushes, divided by a bowered walk of fragrant Box which has flourished for nearly 200 years [compared to the April 1913 adver-

> tisement in which the boxwood were 100 years old] and from which branch off nearly half a mile of concrete walks. . .A brick stable and garage; a modern cow-barn (both with cement floors, electric lights and running water); two tenant houses; up-to date laundry equipped with stationary tubs and electric irons; pump-house and huge water-tower, all models of construction, constitute the group of well arranged out-buildings. Water is pumped electrically from a never ending supply and is of crystal purity. The sewerage system is scientific and completed. The well kept grounds surrounding 'Chatham' contain about 35 acres including an excellent paddock and fine vegetable garden. The fertile land is well watered and well fenced.[386]

This depiction of Chatham reveals little change from the Howards' ownership, and there is little evidence of changes to the estate during the war. Chatham's grounds retained the Howards' improvements, including the pill-shaped drive on the upper terrace, tennis courts on the middle terrace, rose garden on the lower terrace, and new buildings added to the land-side of the property.

SALE AND ACQUISITION OF CHATHAM'S OUTLYING ACREAGE

In 1916, Albert O. Mays remained in possession of Chatham's outlying acreage. In March, he sold 3.901 acres of to Edward Wali.[387] And in July, he sold 245 acres, less the 3.901 acres sold to Wali, to Lewis R. Watson of Washington, D.C. All of this land lay outside of the core of Chatham owned by the Sullivans, but was part of the original estate purchased by Mays.[388]

In turn, Watson deeded the same to Horatio E. DeJarnette of Princeton, West Virginia on May 21, 1919.[389] A "Map Showing Property of H.E. DeJarnette, Princeton, W. VA, Located North of Rappahannock River near Fredericksburg, Virginia" documents DeJarnette's holdings at the time (Figure 1.103). The surveyed land comprised 206.93 acres of what is now Pratt Park and St. Clair Brooks Memorial Park and documented the sale of 17.01 acres along the southeastern end of the property, adjacent to Chatham, which Watson deeded to DeJarnette in a separate transaction on May 19, 1920.[390]

On January 7, 1920, Mark Sullivan purchased the same 17.01 acres of land associated with Chatham from DeJarnette. DeJarnette had placed a restrictive covenant on the tract, making it illegal for the tract to be owned or occupied by a person of African descent:

> It is hereby expressly provided that no part of the property hereby conveyed shall ever be owned or occupied in any manner by a person of African decent [sic] or lineage, except that person is occupying such property of parts thereof, may allow his or their domestic servants to reside upon the premises. This provision shall be construed and considered as an easement upon the property conveyed. . .It is further stipulated and provided that no dwelling or residence other than servants quarters shall be built upon that portion of said property of said tract lying between the River Road and 20 foot alley costing less than $4,000 and that no servants quarters, stables or outbuildings shall be built thereon within 200 ft. of River Road.[391]

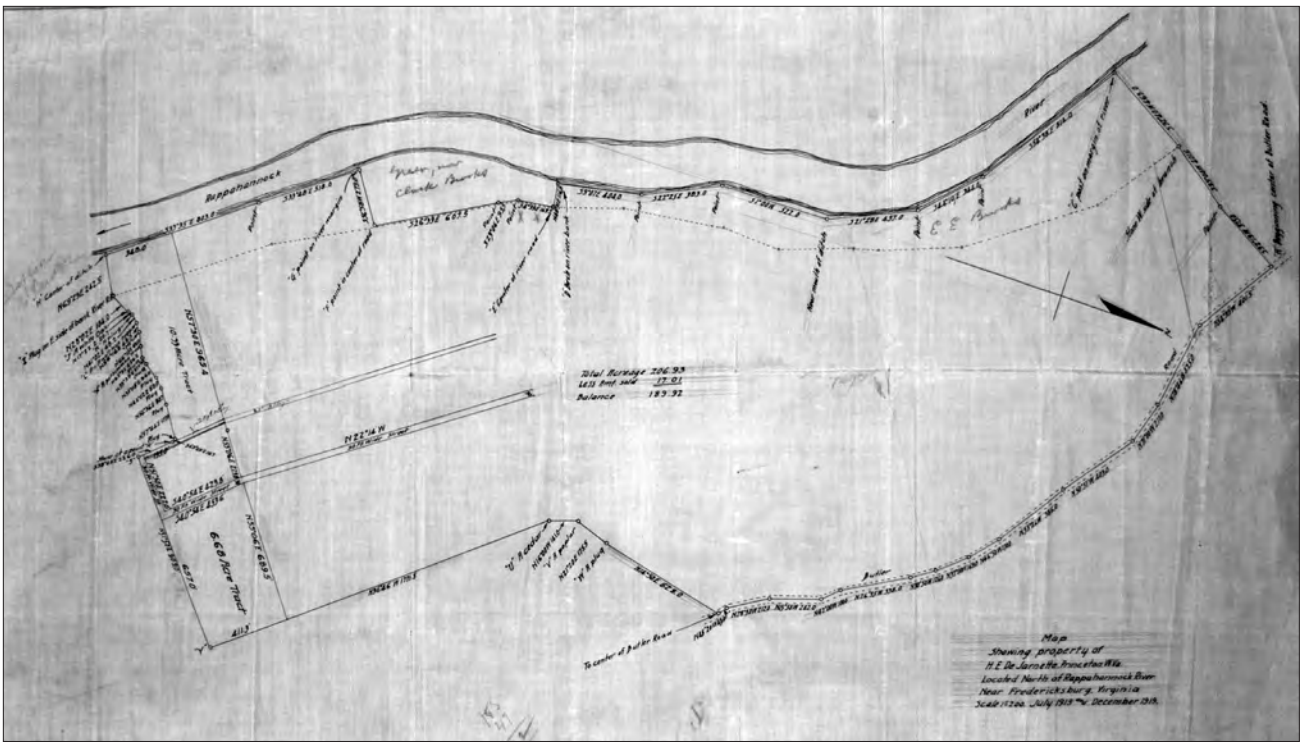


Figure 1.103. Survey showing the DeJarnette property to the north of Chatham. Plan view, November 1911 (FRSP archives, Garage flat files).

After the end of World War I in 1918, a soaring stock market and cuts to income taxes fueled spending. The Sullivans listed Chatham for sale. Two newspaper articles describe the grounds provide a portrait of the estate at the time:

> ..charmingly situated and spacious grounds, amidst large trees of beautiful foliage, with a long stretch of lawn on the west front of the house. Upon the first terrace are tennis courts upon the second the rose gardens, containing 2,000 bushes and divided by a boardwalk of old box that has flourished for a hundred years, from which branch off near the [sic] half mile of concrete walks.
>
> The mansion is considered the best example of Colonial Architecture of the Georgian Period in Virginia. The original plans for it and the house in England, are said to have been designed by Sir Christopher Wren, to whom it was largely due the English Renaissance. [Wren died in 1723, about 50 years before Chatham was built.] Extending a space of 210 feet, there are the large reception hall, through the middle paneled from floor to ceiling in 25 feet square connecting the two fronts.
>
> Flanking the house at each end are brick houses, containing three rooms each, one is used for guests, and one for servants. The entire house is furnished with old fashioned mahogany furniture, some of which has an unbroken family record of 200 years. All woodwork is white, the walls are tastefully covered with expensive papering and adorned with paintings of great value. There is hot and cold water in each room. Hot water heat and electric lights throughout the house. Numerous substantial out buildings are suitably placed.
>
> There are 40 acres more or less belonging to the estate which one half are grounds surrounding the mansion, much available land in pasture adjoining may be purchased. The Rappahannoc [sic] River furnishes the best facilities for motor boating, fishing, duck deer quail turkey and other shooting obtains in that section. Chatham is one hour and 15 minutes from Washington. Ten trains

> daily. Chatham may be purchased either furnished or unfurnished. And with or without its present complete equipment of horses, carriages, harnesses and jerseys. This is truly a wonderful old place, very beautiful in perfect condition, price without equipment -- $45,000.[392]

A second advertisement details the outbuildings and extensive gardens that characterized the estate at the time:

> One of the most desirable and historically important country places in America, located fifty-five miles from Washington, on a terraced bluff overlooking the Rappahannock River at Fredericksburg. Within ten minutes of station, with excellent express train service, and directly on the main automobile highway from Washington to the South now being concreted by the Government. The brick dwelling house, 210 feet long, built about 1722, is considered the finest example of long Colonial architecture in America. While carefully preserving every original detail of paneling, etc. the house has recently been thoroughly modernized by its present owner, Mr. Mark Sullivan, with its own water system, electric lights, hot-water heat and four bath-rooms. *The brick stable, the barn, the dairy, the two guest houses and the tenant house are supplied with electric light and running water. The fifty-three acres include fifteen acres of lawn, with magnificent trees, vegetable garden, orchard, asparagus bed, etc.* [emphasis added] This is one of the two or three finest and best preserved of the Virginia Colonial manors. Among its numerable historic associations is the fact that Washington spent his honeymoon here. Can be bought now at an extraordinarily reasonable figure. Address your own broker, of H.W. Hilleary, 1000 Vermont Avenue, Washington, D.C.[393]

The Sullivans owned Chatham for only six years before selling it to the Devores in 1920 and returning to Mr. Sullivan's native Pennsylvania.

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY, 1920

By 1920, the general topography and natural systems at Chatham remained intact from previous periods of ownership (Drawing 4). The spatial organization of the landscape surrounding the house was shaped by the growth of vegetation, particularly within the ravines and along the embankment. The river side of the house remained ornamental, with the addition of a rose garden on the lower terrace and a tennis court on the middle terrace. The upper terrace, adjacent to the house, was defined by a pill-shaped entrance drive and mature trees, some of which remained from the post-war era. The inland side of the house was transformed by the addition of the Dairy Barn, South Greenhouse, and Carriage House and Stables between 1890 and 1910. Spaces adjacent to them were likely used for domestic agriculture. The fields beyond were in cultivation.

While the crescent-shaped drive remained the primary point of access to the land side of the house, a pill-shaped drive was added to the river side of the house, accessed by driveway extensions on the far sides of the Kitchen and Laundry. A spur also connected to the Carriage Drive behind the Laundry. Chatham Lane remained the primary access point from White Oak Road, while farm roads were added to the northeast to provide additional access to fields and reflect strict

orthogonal directions associated with the mechanization of agriculture. The farm road on the North Embankment remained and was used to access river-side agricultural fields.

By 1920, vegetation had changed markedly since 1872 when J. Horace Lacy sold Chatham. Aside from successional woodlands across the embankment and in the ravines, deciduous and evergreen trees were added along the crescent-shaped drive and fruit trees were planted in the same area to the northeast of the house. Hydrangeas marked the entrances along the southwest façade of the house and small ornamental plantings along the drive gave the house a domestic air. A well cultivated rose garden on the lower terraces contained, by one account, 2,000 shrubs and a collection of mature boxwood.

Chatham's buildings and structures expanded in the post-war years under ownership by Watson, Mays, Bailey, Howard, and Sullivan. This included the addition of the Dairy Barn (about 1890 to 1900), South Greenhouse (about 1890 to 1900), Barn with Silo (by 1903), Milk House (by 1908), Carriage House and Stable (about 1910), Caretaker's Cottage (prior to 1920), Farm Office and adjacent shed (prior to 1920), and possibly the Boathouse (prior to 1927). A tennis court was also added to the middle terrace by the Howards and an ice plant was built at the entrance to Chatham Bridge by 1911. The storehouse to the southeast of Chatham and several buildings beyond the South Ravine were lost between 1872 and 1920, including the large barn or quarters on the precipice of the embankment, and the probable overseer's house, blacksmith shop, or former slave quarters along Chatham Lane.

Views to and from Chatham were substantially changed during the 1872 to 1920 period as vegetation was planted on both the land and river sides of the house. On the land side, new trees lined the crescent-shaped Carriage Drive and a hedge screened utilitarian functions between the Dairy Barn and Stable from the house. On the river side, ornamental trees created framed and filtered views to Fredericksburg beyond. Mature successional vegetation in the ravines that flank Chatham screened views to adjoining fields, while the Farm Road that extends from the crescent-shaped drive northeastward was lined with evergreen trees. The view along Chatham Lane was also changed, as a large Barn with Silo, Caretaker's Cottage, and possibly the Boathouse were added along the road, replacing smaller agricultural buildings that existed prior to the Civil War.

Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

1920 Period Plan

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Albert Kerns, Photographs of Chatham, c. 1890-1900, Dayton History, K.5.9.1530, K.5.6.271
2. Richmond Times-Dispatch, 30 July 1903, Library of Congress, Historic Newspapers Collection
3. Photographs of Chatham in Robb-Bernard scrapbooks, c. 1915, William and Mary Spoecial Collections
4. Ashbridge Realty Company advertisement of sale, 16 June 1916, FRSP Archives, Chatham File Drawer
5. Oliver Clarke, Measured drawings of Chatham, December 1920, eTIC 87058, p. 7
6. Photograph of original Caretaker's Cottage, c. 1920, FRSP Archives, Laundry Conference Room Slides
7. Photographs of the northeast side of Chatham from the Devore family photo album, c. 1920, FRSP Archives
8. Undated newspaper clippings (2), c. 1920, FRSP Archives
9. Robert Forman, Tree Location Plan, 31 January 1922, FRSP Archives, Maintenance Drawings
10. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
11. Hydrology: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan, 2015

AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Park fee boundary (current)
- Topographic contours (10′ interval, based on current)
- Road / drive
- Trees
- Orchard
- Lawn / pasture / field
- Building / structure
- Fence

NOTE

All features shown in approximate scale and location.

0′ 125′ 250′ 500′

Drawing 4

1920 TO 1975

The Sullivans sold Chatham to Helen G.S. Devore of Washington on November 11, 1920. The property consisted of 30.234 acres and two other small parcels (4,657 and 7,767 square feet). In addition, the Devores purchased another 17.01 acre tract near the house, with a restrictive covenant.[394] By Jack Devore's account, his uncle and aunt, Daniel and Helen Devore, traded their home on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington with the Sullivans for Chatham, plus $1,000. However, this is not corroborated by any other information.[395]

DANIEL (1860–1956) AND HELEN DEVORE (D. 1960)

General Devore, a native of Ohio, was a graduate of West Point. Helen Devore, his junior, was the youngest daughter of Alexander Stewart, a Wisconsin lumberman and one time representative in Congress from Michigan (1904–10). Daniel Devore married Helen Stewart on August 25, 1918 in Boston.[396] Daniel Devore died on March 12, 1956. Helen Devore died July 26, 1960 after a heart attack at her home in Washington.[397] The Devores died without children, yet Mrs. Devore left approximately $10 million to help disabled children, "without regard to the race, color or creed of the afflicted child."[398]

IMPROVEMENTS TO THE HOUSE

Before moving into Chatham, the Devores undertook extensive renovations to the property. In December, they hired Washington, D.C. based architect Oliver H. Clarke to prepare measured drawings of the house, as it stood, and to make suggestions for improvements. The measured drawings of the exterior show a two-story porch on the center block of the riverside façade and a one-story porch across the land side façade of the house, as evidenced in Civil War era photographs (Figure 1.104).

In 1921, the Devores hired Evan Davies, a builder and contractor from Highland Springs, Virginia to make improvements to the house. With a crew of thirty-four laborers, they removed porches from both façades of the house, allegedly reverting the building to its colonial appearance. The builders also removed the tennis courts from the middle terrace and added gardens on the land side of the house.[399] During construction, workers found a block inscribed with "John Hall, Builder, October 11, 1859," which correlates with Lacy's improvements to the property between 1857 and 1859, during which time the insured value increased by $3,250 (from $8,000 to $11,250).[400]

Photographs from a Devore family album, now in the possession of the Gallahan family,[401] include three very rare images of the northeastern side of the house prior to construction of the Walled Garden. These views show the crescent-shaped

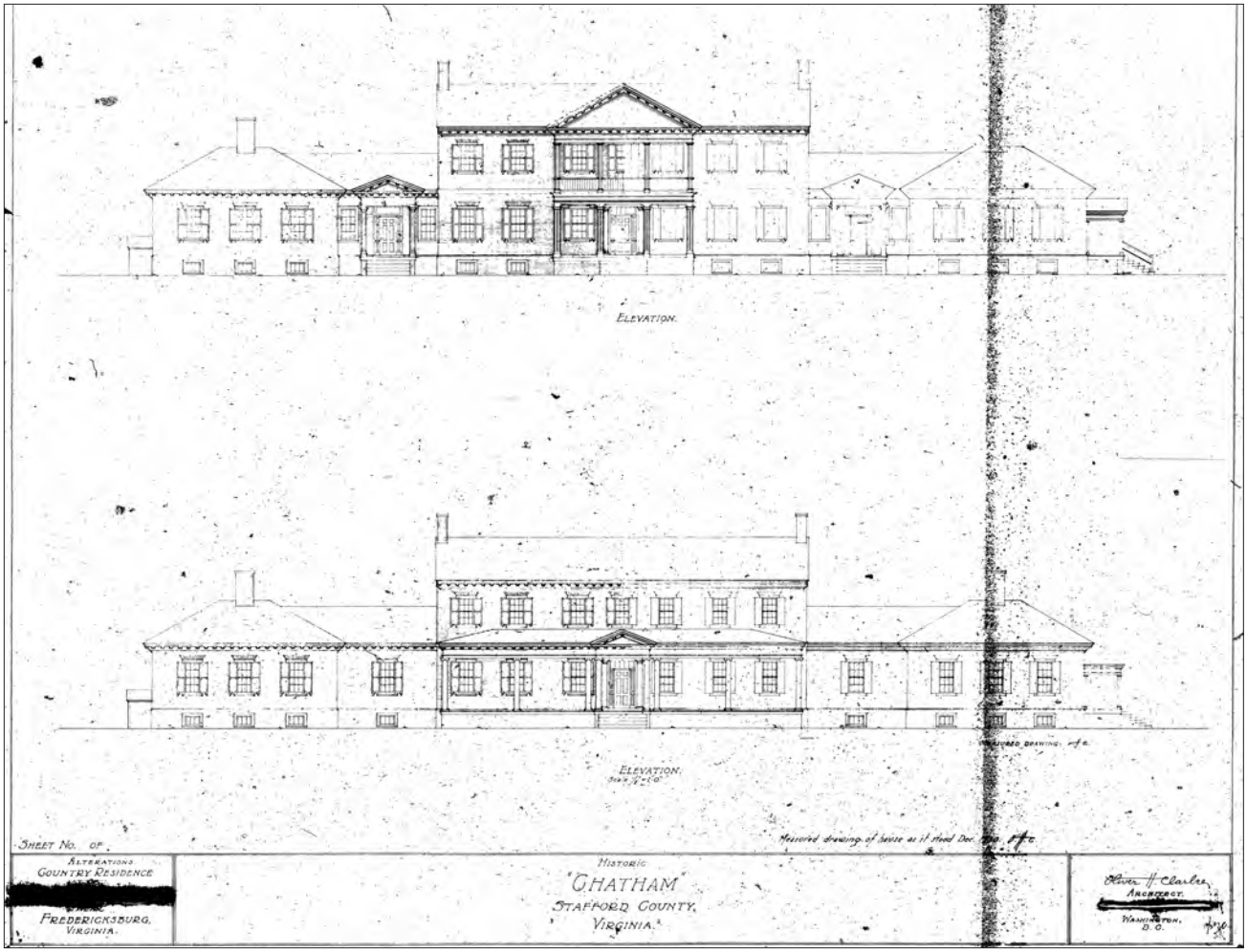


Figure 1.104. Principal elevations of Chatham prepared by architect Oliver Clarke prior to his improvements to the building's principal entrances. Elevation view, December 1920 (NPS, eTIC, FRSP-326-25000).

Carriage Drive intact, lined with deciduous trees (predominantly white birches) and adjoined to the northeast by fruit trees (likely apples) and an evergreen hedge that screened the area beyond, which may have been a kitchen garden or barnyard associated with the Dairy Barn or Stable. Evergreen trees lined the eastern extent of the crescent-shaped drive and clusters of evergreen trees marked the intersection of the crescent-shaped drive and connections to the pill-shaped drive on the river side of the house (Figures 1.105, 1.106, and 1.106).

In March 1921, Oliver Clarke also prepared two different designs for new entrance doorways and stoops for Chatham's façades (Figures 1.108 and 1.109). Images in the Devore's album document construction of improvements to the building and grounds, including the addition of a new stone frontispiece to the land side of the house, with a new terrace constructed with crushed concrete from the rose garden walks, as noted on Shipman's 1921 "General Plan" (Figure 1.110). A second image shows a new frontispiece on the river side of the house, shortly after its completion (Figure 1.111). Several blocks of stone, which may have been old supports for the porch or new materials used to construct the half-round steps to the new entrance, remained in view.



Figure 1.105. Northeast elevation of Chatham prior to removal of the single-story porch. View looking southwest, c. 1920 (FRSP archives, Devore album, 47).



Figure 1.106. Land side entrance drive looking toward the Kitchen. Chatham is out-of-view, immediately to the right. View looking southeast, c. 1920 (FRSP archives, Devore album, 48).



Figure 1.107. Land side entrance drive looking toward the South Ravine. The Kitchen is out-of-view, immediately to the right. View looking east, c. 1920 (FRSP archives, Devore album, 47).

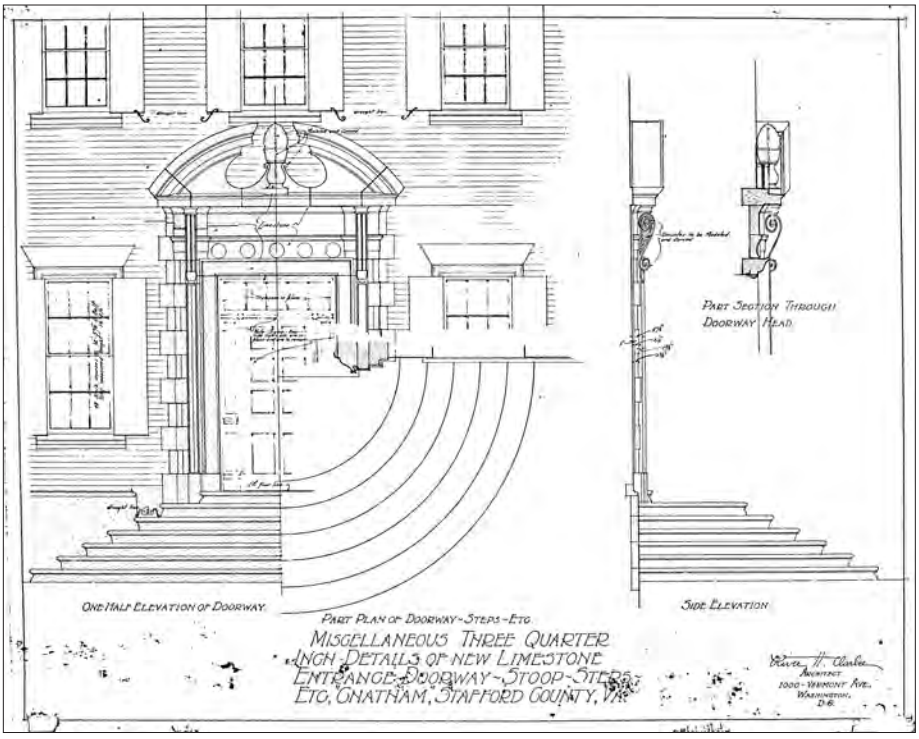


Figure 1.108. Oliver Clarke's design for the river side frontispiece to Chatham. Plan/section/elevation view, March 1921 (NPS, eTIC, FRSP-326-25000).

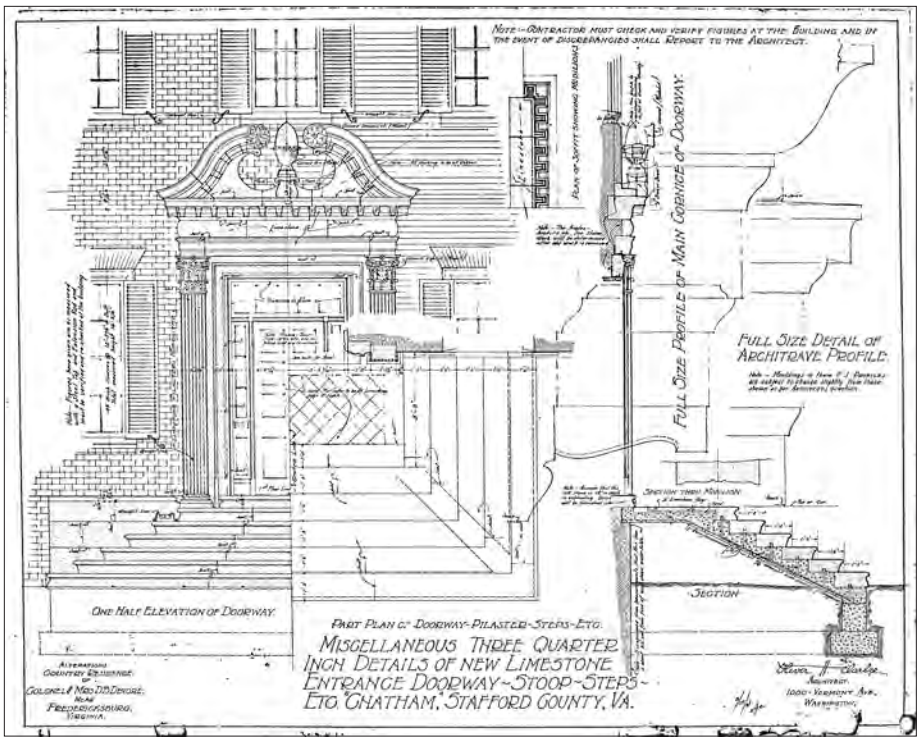


Figure 1.109. Oliver Clarke's design for the land side frontispiece to Chatham. Plan/section/elevation view, March 1921 (NPS, eTIC, FRSP-326-25000).



Figure 1.110. Construction of the land side frontispiece. View looking north, c. 1921 (FRSP archives, Devore album, 47).



Figure 1.111. Chatham following removal of the two-story porch and addition of a new frontispiece. View looking north, c. 1921 (FRSP archives, Devore album, 115).

CONSTRUCTION OF THE WALLED GARDEN

Swept up in the Colonial Revival zeitgeist, the Devores hired Ellen Shipman to design a fundamentally new garden for Chatham. Shipman, an established and noted landscape architect by this time, derived her inspiration of humble New England flower gardens. Her training with architect Charles Platt reinforced the importance of the connection between the house and garden. These axial relationships are readily apparent in her design for the Walled Garden at Chatham. At Chatham, Shipman also used structures to link the house and garden.[402]

Ellen Shipman completed a "General Plan of Gardens for Chatham" in January 1921. Several undated planting plans reflecting the same general planting bed configuration accompany the "General Plan" drawing, including the Planting Plan of Long Flower Border, Planting Plan of Chrysanthemum Garden, Planting Plan of Flower Border, and Planting Plan of Flower Garden (Figure 1.112).

About this time, the Devores hired David Hanlon (1885–1961) to be a gardener at Chatham. According to his brother-in-law, Ralph Happel, "there existed nothing much in the way of formal gardens when the Devores bought the place [Chatham]." Hanlon, of Irish birth, lived and worked in Scotland and England (Mentmore) as a gardener before moving to the United States. He worked in several parts of the United States, including the Lake Forest, Illinois area and served in Canada, Britain, and France during World War I. At Chatham, he lived in the "tiny house at the southern end of the mansion complex." From Chatham,

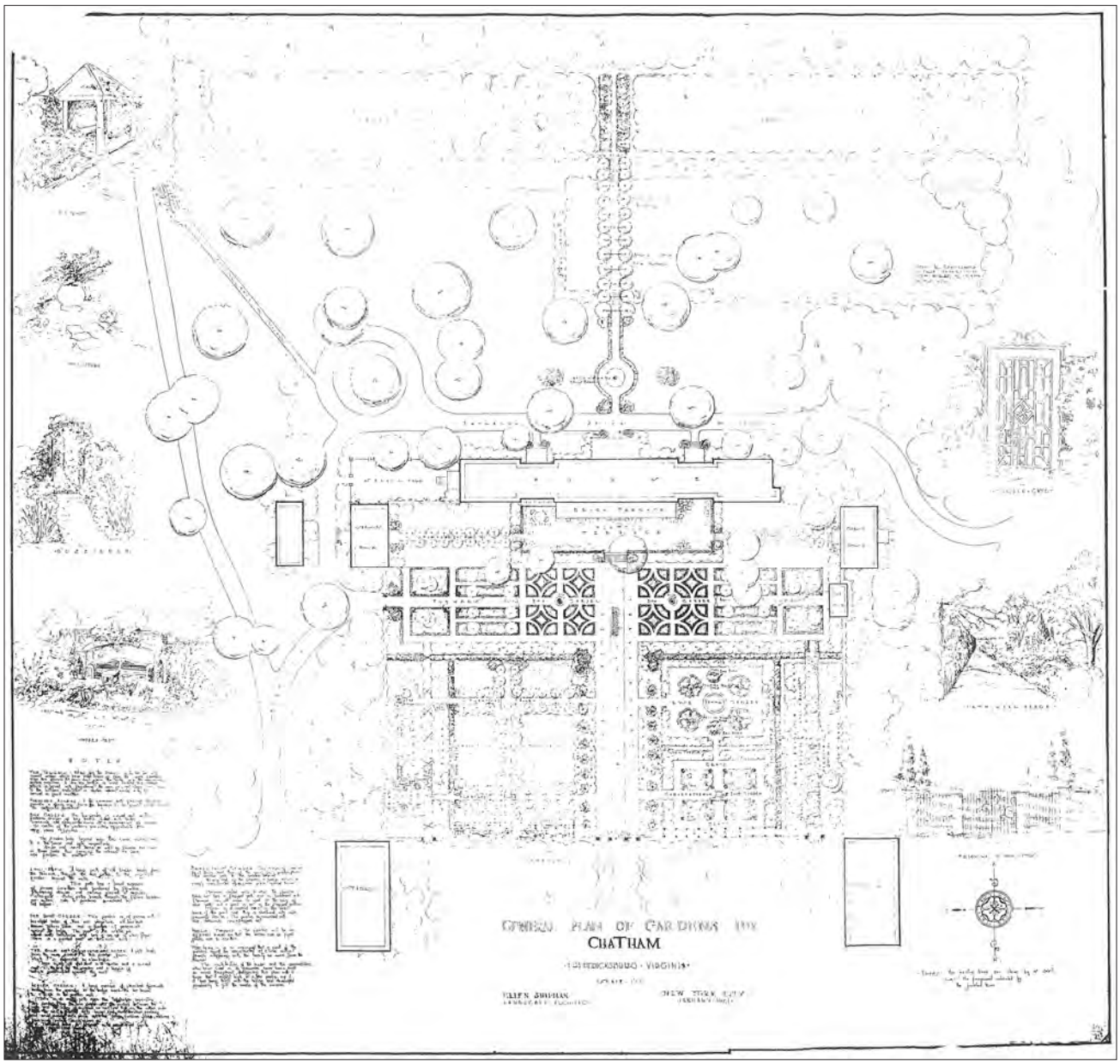


Figure 1.112. "General Plan of Gardens for Chatham" by Ellen Shipman. Plan view, January 1921 (FRSP archives, Garage flatfiles).

he went on to be superintendent of the Paul D. Cravath estate near Locust Valley on Long Island. Mr. Richardson, an Englishman, succeeded Hanlon as gardener at Chatham.[403]

Robert Forman completed a "Tree Location Plan" for Chatham in January 1922 (Figure 1.113). The drawing showed the locations and species of trees on the upper terrace, to the southwest of the house, as well as a few trees at the southwestern end of the Walled Garden area. The pill-shaped drive is readily visible on the terrace, as is the connection to the Service Drive. A spur leads from the northwestern end of the drive to the Carriage Drive. While the walls of the garden appear on the plan, the outline of the crescent-shaped drive is also visible, as it was lined with trees. Species noted on the plan include: beech, white ash,

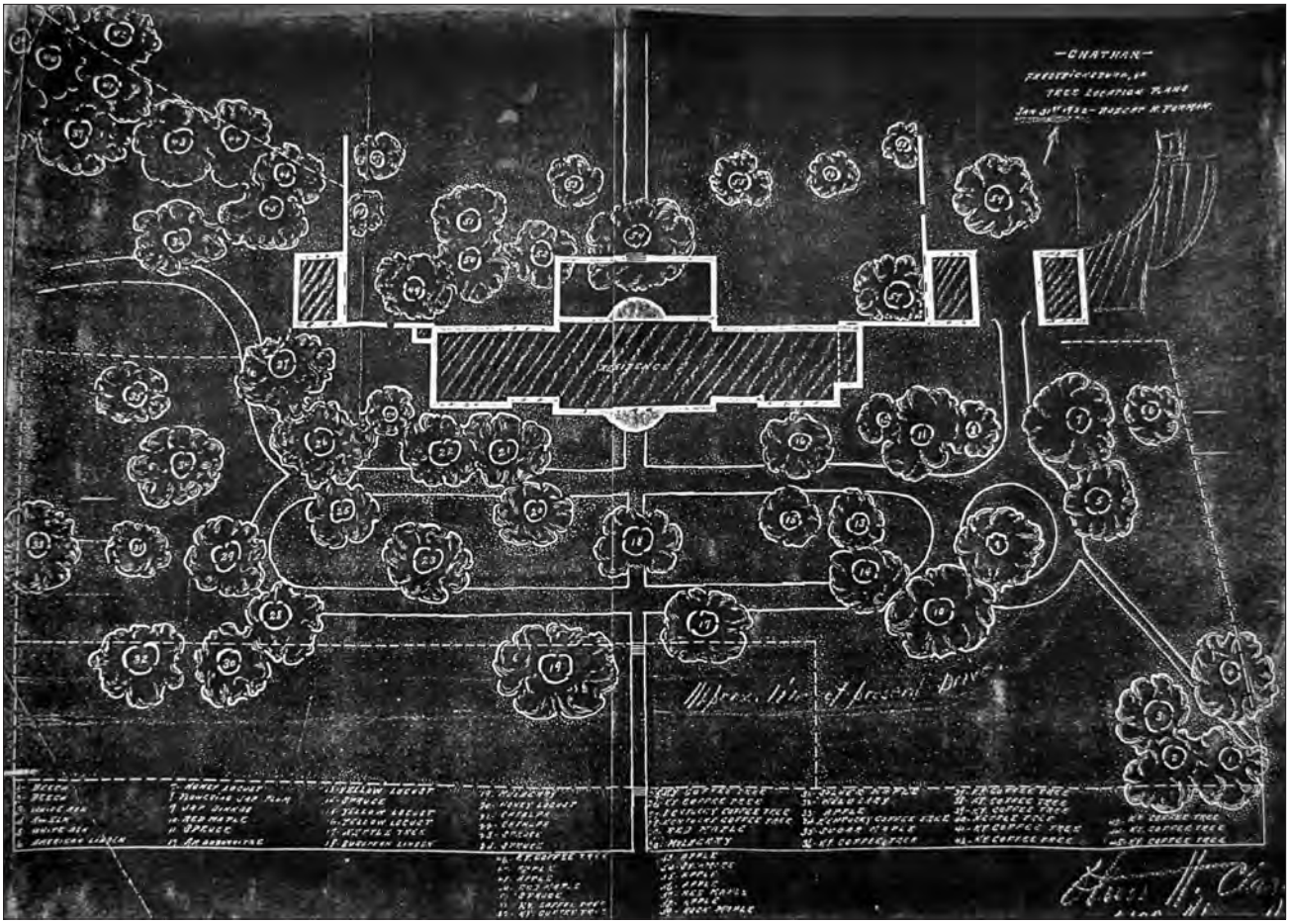


Figure 1.113. "Chatham Tree Location Plan" by Robert Forman prepared after construction of the garden wall, but before implementation of Ellen Shipman's design. Plan view, January 1922 (FRSP archives, Garage flatfiles).

American elm, American linden, honey locust, flowering Japanese plum, gingko, red maple, spruce, American arborvitae, yellow locust, nettle tree (possibly in reference to sweetgum), European linden, mulberry, catalpa, Kentucky coffeetree, apple, sycamore, rock maple, silver maple, and sugar maple.

About the same time, in March 1922, Shipman completed a "Vine and Shrub Plan for Chatham," showing a revised planting bed configuration in the northeast quadrant of the garden to accommodate a swimming pool, which was not installed (Figure 1.114). Seemingly, Shipman was satisfied with the outcome of the garden. In a letter to Mrs. R.F. Willingham, she wrote, "most people though that the garden had been there when the house was restored."[404]

Beyond the Walled Garden, the Kitchen, Farm Office, and a smaller frame building with pyramidal roof stood along the Service Drive (Figure 1.115). The area on the opposite side of the garden, on the backside of the Laundry, appears to have been heavily used by foot or vehicular traffic (Figure 1.116). Farther from the house, images from the Devore family album show cows near the stable (Figures 1.117) and the South Ravine Path stairs under construction (Figure 1.118).

In 1923, Oliver Clarke also prepared design proposals for a "Farm Building" and "Farmer's Cottage" (Figures 1.119 and 1.120). These buildings were not constructed. However, photographs from about this same time show the Corn Crib and original Caretaker's Cottage prior to replacement by the Pratts (Figures 1.121 and 1.122). The open character of the fields beyond is apparent in the photographs as well.

In 1924, architect and builder Frank Stearns' ledger books indicate an extensive tally of laborers and materials for work at Chatham, including, but not limited to, construction of the pergola (October 13), gates and fences (June 20), garage doors (June 27), cold frames (July 25), and a chicken house (June 23).[405]

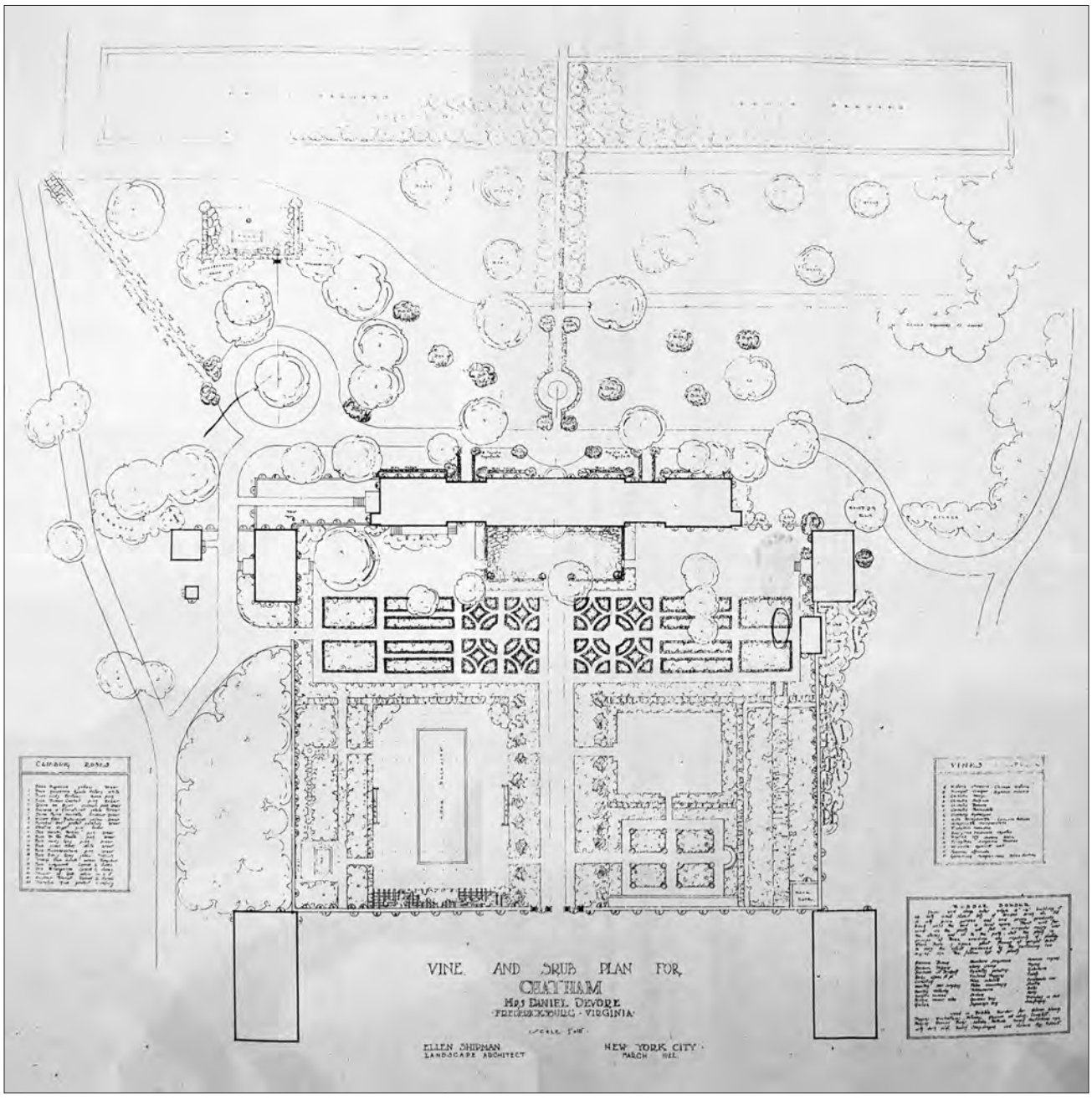


Figure 1.114. "Vine and Shrub Plan for Chatham" by Ellen Shipman. Plan view, March 1922 (FRSP archives, Garage flatfiles).



Figure 1.115. Kitchen and Farm Office following construction of the Rear Garden Wall. View looking north, c. 1921 (FRSP archives, Devore album, 43).



Figure 1.116. Laundry following construction of the Rear Garden Wall. View looking southeast, c. 1921 (FRSP archives, Devore album, 45).



Figure 1.117. Service Drive adjacent to the Carriage House and Stable. View looking northeast, c. 1921 (FRSP archives, Devore album, 73).



Figure 1.118. South Ravine stairs during construction. View looking northeast, c. 1921 (FRSP archives, Devore album, 100).

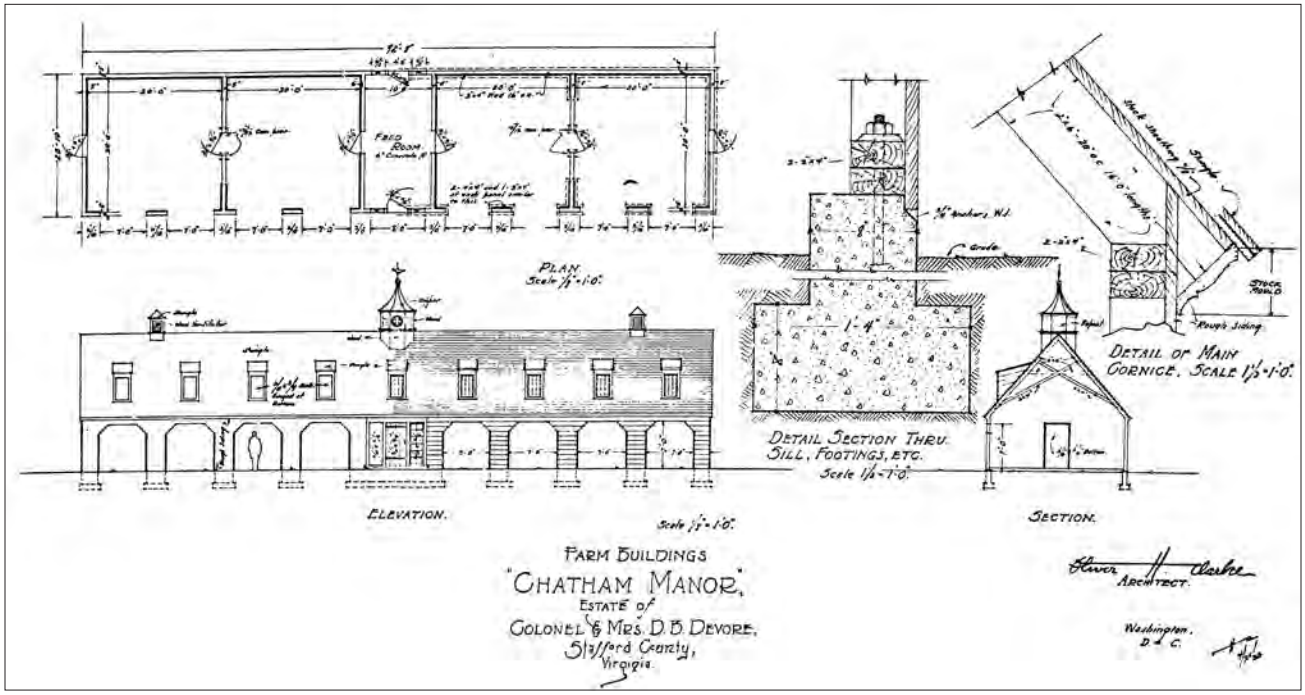


Figure 1.119. Proposal for "Farm Buildings for Chatham Manor" by Oliver Clarke. Plan/elevation/section view, 1923 (NPS, eTIC, FRSP-326-25000).

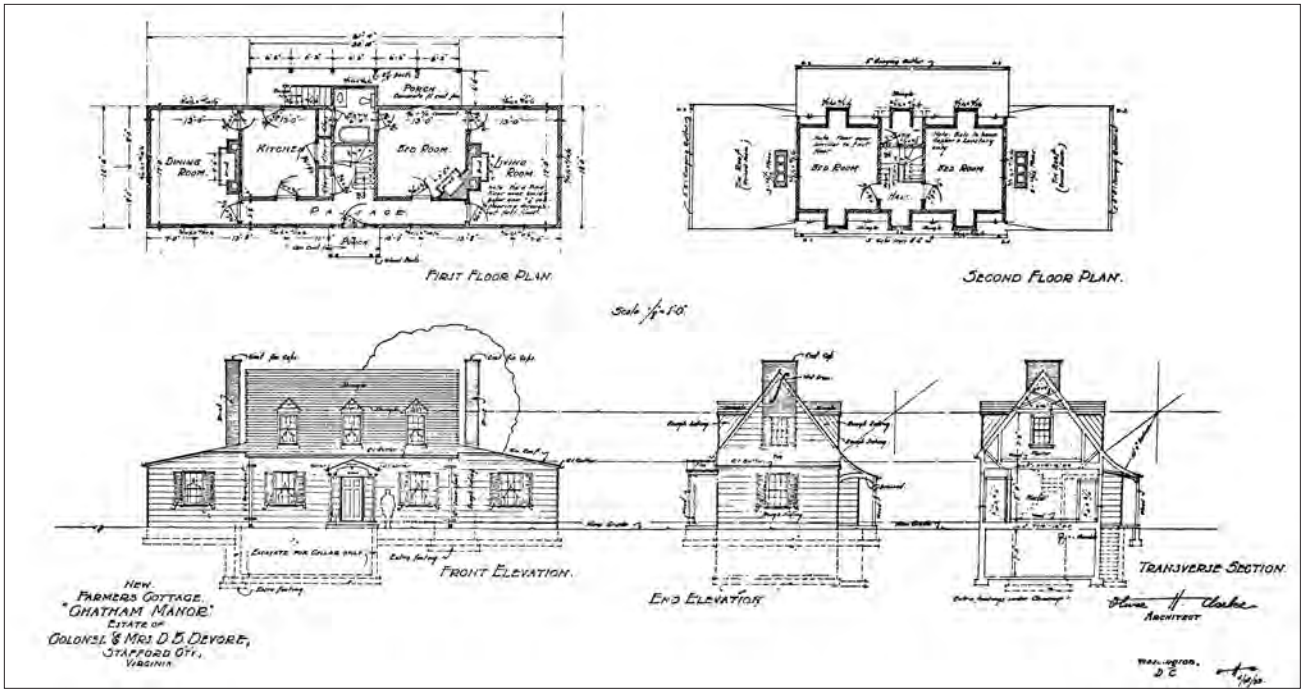


Figure 1.120. Proposal for "Farmer's Cottage, Chatham Manor" by Oliver Clarke. Plan/section/elevation view, 1923 (NPS, eTIC, FRSP-326-25000).



Figure 1.121. Corn Crib and original Caretaker's Cottage. View looking east, c. 1921 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room slides).



Figure 1.122. Original Caretaker's Cottage. View looking northeast, c. 1921 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room slides).

In 1924, Mrs. Devore was named the first president of the Rappahannock Valley Garden Club.[406] Photographs from the E.B. Thompson Negative Collection show the original Summer House, prior to its reconfiguration by the Pratts in the 1940s (Figure 1.123); lush Shipman-designed borders (Figure 1.124); extensive boxwood plantings along the southwestern façade of the house and surrounding the exedra bench (Figure 1.125); vines on both facades, parterres and rose beds in place (Figures 1.126 and 1.127); carriage drive entrance gates (Figure 1.128); central axis of the garden, lined with low boxwood edging and punctuated by cedar hedges (Figure 1.129); and the eastern entrance to the garden, with the Diana Stature. Lombardy poplars are visible beyond the garden wall to the east (Figure 1.130).

Two photographs from the terrace within the Walled Garden placed side by side in panoramic style are among the few that show a comprehensive view of the gardens from the house in its early years. Grass can be seen growing in the paver joints, with torpedo-shaped clipped evergreen trees lining the central garden walk. Clipped evergreens and Lombardy poplars are visible beyond the garden wall to the northeast (Figure 1.131).

In March 1926, Oliver Clarke prepared designs for the "Walk Head (Main Entrance)" to Chatham (Music Stair), as well as a design for the "Garden Temple Situate at Head of Second Terrace on Axis with Main Door-ways" (Figures 1.132 and 1.133). A snapshot of the Flora statue in the temple on the lower terrace was likely taken about this time (Figure 1.134).



Figure 1.123. Summer House prior to its reconfiguring. View looking northwest, c. 1925 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).



Figure 1.124. Planting in the vicinity of the Garden Pergola. View looking southwest, c. 1925 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).



Figure 1.125. Planting along the southwestern facade of Chatham. View looking north, c. 1925 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).



Figure 1.126. Northeastern facade of Chatham. View looking west, c. 1925 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).



Figure 1.127. Northeastern facade of Chatham. View looking west, c. 1925 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).



Figure 1.128. Chatham's entrance gates. View looking west, c. 1925 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).



Figure 1.129. View along the central axis of the Walled Garden. View looking west, c. 1925 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).



Figure 1.130. Rose garden showing Lombardy poplars beyond the garden wall. View looking northeast, c. 1925 (Virginia Museum of History & Culture).



Figure 1.131. Panoramic view of the Walled Garden from the terrace. View looking northeast, c. 1925 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files).

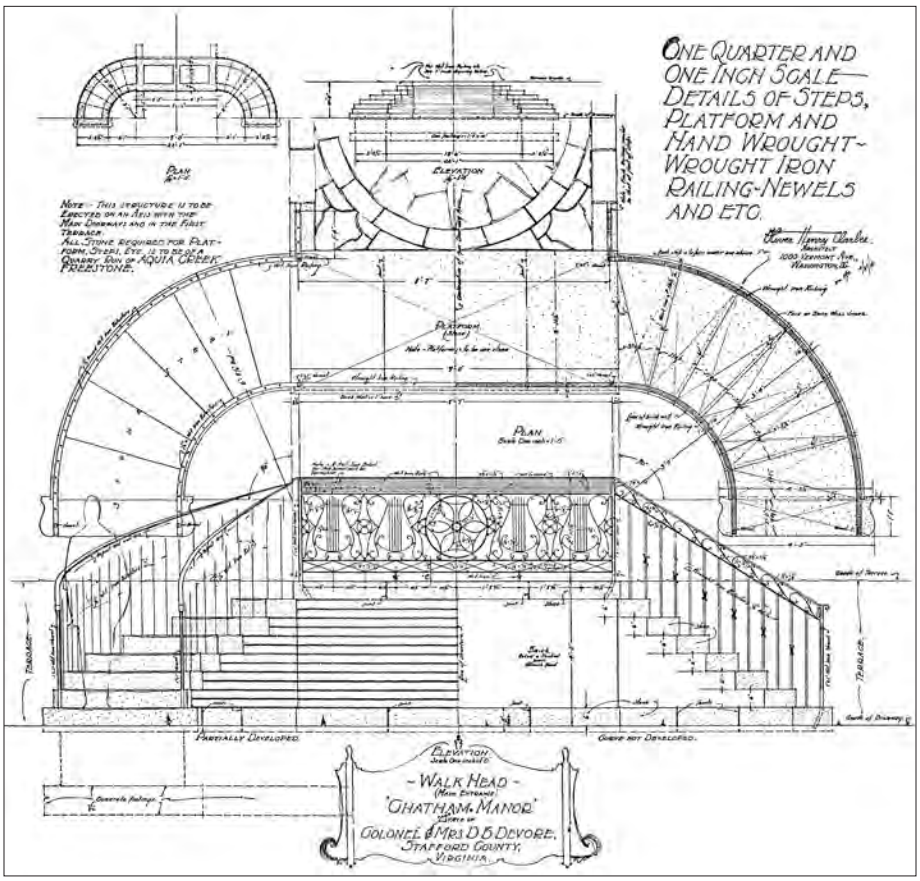


Figure 1.132. Design for the "Walk Head" (Music Stair) at Chatham by Oliver Clarke. Plan/section/elevation view, March 1926 (NPS, eTIC, FRSP-326-25000).

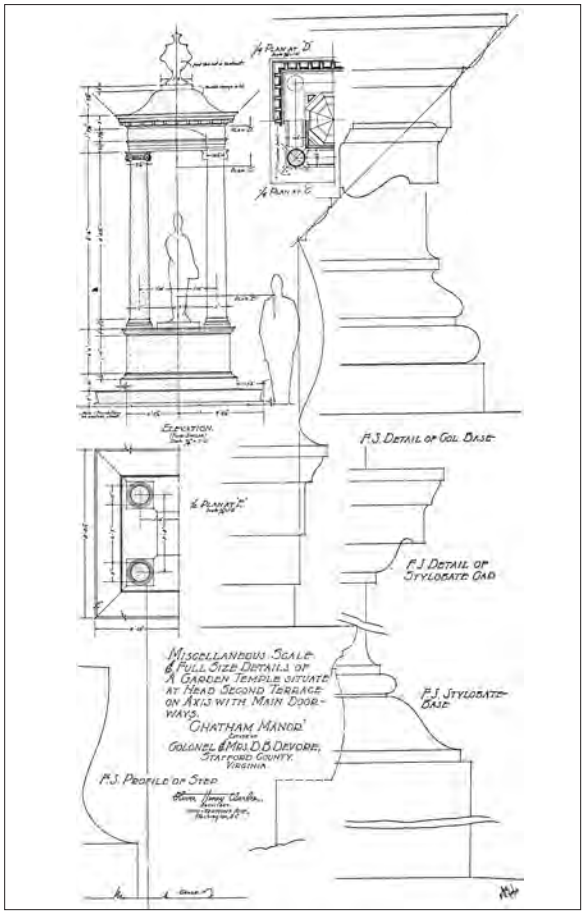


Figure 1.133. Design for the Temple by Oliver Clarke. Plan/section/elevation view, March 1926 (NPS, eTIC, FRSP-326-25000).



Figure 1.134. The Temple from the middle terrace by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking southwest, c. 1927 (FRSP archives, Devore album, 122; also in Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).

CHATHAM'S GARDEN AND FARM STAFF

A summary of workmen at Chatham by D.B. Devore included six gardeners: R.L. [Richard] Gallahan, Hugh Frost, Silas Allen, Leslie Gallahan, Wallace Gallahan, and Lee Sullivan; two farmers: W.W. Fines and Victor Rose; and one poultry farmer: Theodore Catlett. The document included the rates and skills of the men, along with a note: "We have found all these men to be honest, faithful, reliable, and interested in their work at Chatham. Have left them in charge many months at a time and everything went on in fine order. Gallahan, Fines, and Catlett live on the place, are furnished wood for fuel and use the milk when we are not here (which is much of the time) and what there is to spare when we are here at Chatham. P.S. The men on the place have gardens for vegetables for their own use."[407]

In 2004, Charles Gallahan recalled his father pruning the cedar trees in the entryway: "I remember my father going up on a ladder, which was about 15 to 18 feet tall, keeping those trees just perfect shape; that was the instructions that Mrs. Devore gave him. They would meet in the morning, and she would lay out what she wanted to do for that day."[408] Charles Gallahan reported that his father had ten to twelve people working for him on and off in the gardens,[409] although this number may be somewhat inflated.

Willy Fines started working at Chatham for Mark Sullivan (prior to 1920) and continued for the Devores and Pratts. The Fines lived in the two-story frame farm house along Farm Road Trace. Frances Welty, daughter of the Fines, recalls a large cherry tree with a swing in it near the house and irises and roses planted near the house. (Frances Welty also owned the dog Stray, who's buried near the ice house, before Mrs. Pratt bought her from the Fines for $5.) Frances Welty recalled that

the roadbed across the North Embankment was used by her father in farming operations, to access the low-lying riverfront parcels with horses, ploughs and the like.[410]

A sketch map prepared by Mrs. Frances Fines Welty (annotated by retired park historian Don Pfanz) shows the layout of buildings along the Farm Road Trace, which the Fines called Cedar Lane. In addition to caring for the Pratts' cows, the Fines kept two horses (Lord and Beauty) and pigs. The horses were used for ploughing until the Fines acquired a tractor sometime between 1929 and 1947 (Figure 1.135).[411]

CHATHAM PUBLICITY

Mrs. Devore was not averse to publicity. In June 1924, she and the Kenmore Association hosted a gathering at Chatham. The Fredericksburg *Daily Star* reported, "Within the compass of the States, there are, no doubt, more extensive ones [gardens], but for perfection of detail and harmonious color combinations, surely this walled garden at Chatham holds its own against all competitors. The exact exchange of tone reflections between the primary colors, creates a complimentary color scale, which is not a small part of its beauty." At the time,

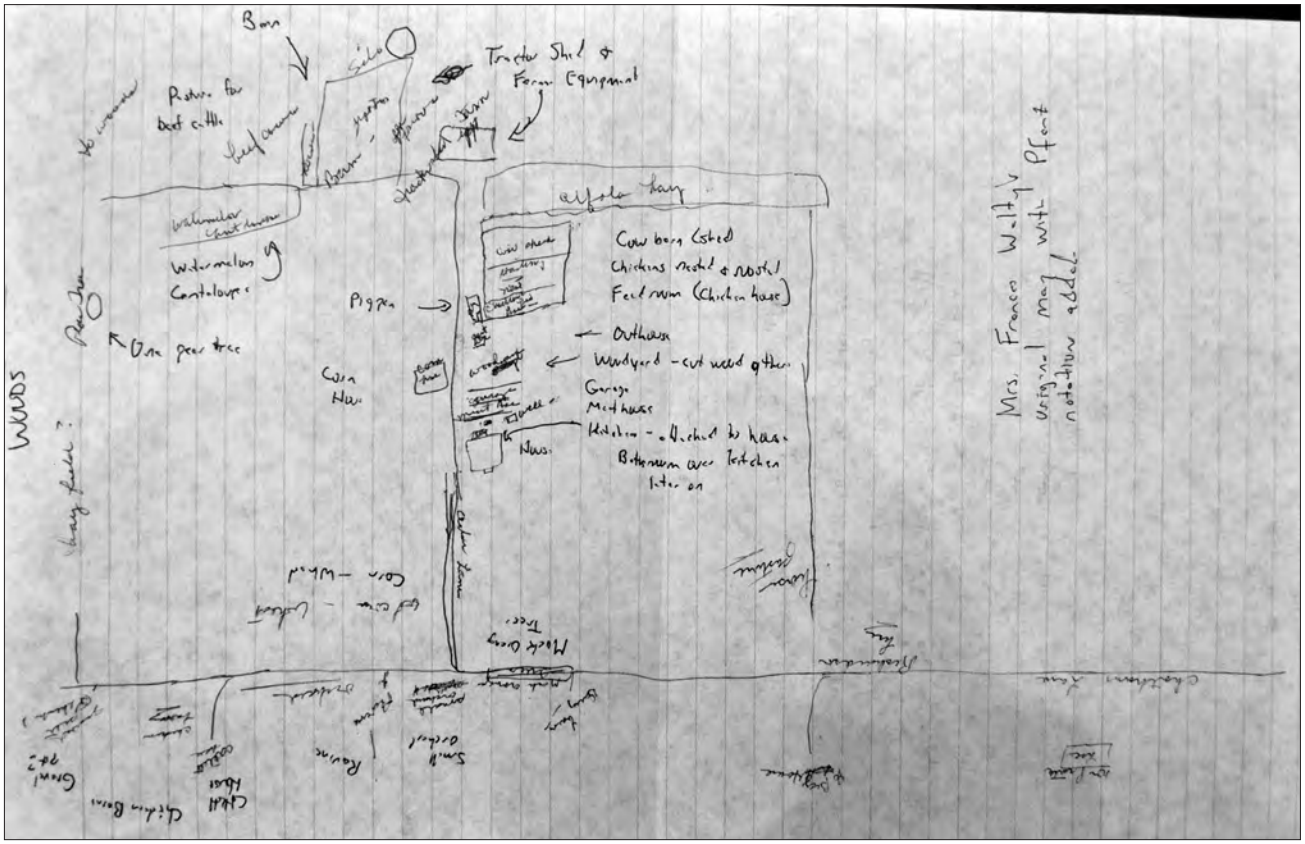


Figure 1.135. Sketch map of Chatham under the Devore's prepared by Frances Fines Welty. Plan view, 2012 (FRSP archives, Laundry office historical files).

Pan stood just outside the garden wall on the central axis of the garden. Garden plantings included roses, delphiniums, multi-colored sweet William, white lilacs, and white lilies.[412]

Chatham was also featured in *The House Beautiful* in April 1926. The author described the house as it was prior to "restoration" and after: "On either side of [the southwest entrance] were great round box-trees, and across the road was a circular planting of the fragrant bushes. The house itself had been scraped down to the mellow old brick, and this had been whitewashed and then peeled off in a pattern that showed the brick beneath." She continued with a description of the Walled Garden:

> The plan of the garden was simple. A broad grass path, about ten feet in width and very long, led straight to an old gate. Through the gateway there was a circle of grass edged with dark cypress, and in the middle of the circle stood a life-size figure of the great god Pan. On the right side of the pathway, nearest the terrace, was that part of the garden which, starting in a formal way with arches and box edgings, had then abandoned the well-laid plan of the gardener and run riot, making the garden its own. And so inspirational was its plan, — with its mass of apricot, rose, and white Phlox drummondi spreading a lovely carpet over the garden beds and reaching beyond, its miniature fruit-trees and tendriled arches growing in willful pleasure — that the fair gardener, putting beauty before order, allowed it to remain and acknowledged her defeat.
>
> Adjoining this garden was the lily garden, just then in the process of planting. It was walled on three sides, and the square brick columns, covered with worn plaster, — to be overgrown with grape vines, — formed a large square. 'Come to Virginia in June and you shall see five thousand lilies blooming,' was the invitation my hostess gave me…This lily garden had not yet been realized, as the one in Venice had, but I felt sure that every one of the five thousand lilies would 'dispread its gracile curls of light,' especially when I heard that more than one hundred tall cypress trees had been transplanted, with not one lost, and also hundreds of old box bushes from the gardens round about, the great round balls growing and flourishing under careful handling and planting. Most remakers [sic] of gardens buy their cuttings from the old box gardens, by Mrs. Devore would not wait for time, but with matchless skill made in one year a garden that had all the appearance of being at least a century old.
>
> The other side of the broad pathway was given up to the queen of flowers. There the rose held full sway, and the autumn blooming made me thing that June had taken the place of October. A white wall was a lovely background, and made a picture of the artist's brush, its tracery of vines casting violet shadows on the white surface. Ornamental baskets of fruit topped the wall and some old lead garden-gods added to this happy ensemble.
>
> Walking up toward the house we came upon a formal marble-edged pool with a stately Gothic garden-house reflected in tis calm depths. The Pheasant Walk was our next delight, extending from the pool and parallel with the garden. On one side of the walk were small dogwood trees, gay with autumn tints and berries, and between each pair of trees was first a large pottery amphora and then a potted strawberry-jar, the everbearing plants peeping from the generous-lipped openings. I was so enraptured with the color around me that for a moment I did not see the shy wild birds, English and Chinese pheasants, whose colors vied with the autumn foliage in loveliness. A fine wire netting kept them royal prisoners. Their quarters were spacious, and a green bank of almost tropical plants

made them forget their prison bars.

On either side of the entrance gate [Service Drive Gates] stood two lodge-houses with tiled roofs and white walls sprayed with the vine of the passion flower and yellow Maréchal Niel roses…[413]

Likely in response to the publicity, Mrs. Devore invited members of the Rappahannock Valley Garden Club and "any lover of flowers" to visit Chatham to see the "iris garden" (below the garden pergola) in full bloom in May 1926.[414] The following month, a meeting of the Rappahannock Valley Garden Club at Chatham saw "tall Madonna lilies, azure blue delphiniums, monkshood, Sweet William, Phlox, Drummondii [annual phlox] and others too numerous to mention."[415]

In 1929, Chatham was published in *Town and County*. The article described Chatham:

The approach to the house is very handsome. A curving drive leads to old stepping stones of slate. A broad green allee stretches across the front of the house. There is a rich planting of box against the walls. The general impression is parklike [sic] and English…The garden itself profits by the kindly state of cedar avenues and broad allees with vistas, then intimately divides and subdivides itself into well directed color and fragrance. There is an iris garden; there are handsome areas of peonies and delphiniums, standard roses, standard wisteria [sic]; casual gardens, and practical gardens, where the seedlings are raised. Somewhere is an avenue of dogwood…Out through the garden gates is the way to Colonel Devore's hobby, a pheasant aviary. This provides most efficient and tidy summer homes for the aristocrats of the species: Amhearst [sic]; Ring Necks; Golden pheasants. The flowers, old and new, have to do their best to keep up with them in the matter of color.[416]

In July 1929, shortly before Black Tuesday, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., his wife and three sons visited Chatham and Kenmore.[417] In the wake of the stock market crash, Mrs. Devore held an "informal" flower show at Chatham with members of the Rappahannock Valley Garden Club in June 1930.[418]

INTEREST IN LOCAL HISTORY ACCELERATES

Interest in local history accelerated in 1927, as Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park was established under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of War on February 14. The stated purpose of the park was to preserve historical points connected with the battles of Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania Court House, Wilderness, and Chancellorsville, including Salem Church. The legislation called for the park to "commemorate the battles…and to mark and preserve for historical purposes the breastworks, earthworks, gun emplacements, walls, or other defenses or shelters used by the armies in said battles."[419] The park was transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior in 1933.[420]

Helen Devore expressed her own interest in the history of Chatham and the Fredericksburg/Falmouth area in 1927, commissioning noted photographer Frances Benjamin Johnston to document Chatham. The Library of Congress's Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection contains 124 images of Chatham, including 8 hand-tinted glass lantern slides (Figures 1.136 to 1.147).[421] Subsequently, Mrs. Devore funded Mrs. Johnson to photograph Fredericksburg and Old Falmouth (1927–28). Two hundred forty-seven of the photographs were exhibited in, "Pictorial Survey—Old Fredericksburg, Virginia—Old Falmouth and Nearby Places" in Fredericksburg in 1928 and at the Library of Congress in 1930.[422]

Over her sixty-year career as a photographer, Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952) produced one of the most important records of Colonial architecture in the American South, including 3,000 negatives of grand architecture and humble buildings and gardens alike in Virginia alone. A graduate of the Académie Julien in Paris and the Art Students' League (now the Corcoran School of the Arts & Design) in Washington, D.C., Johnston entered the photography field at a time when women were achieving a measure of independence from the home, celluloid film began to replace glass plate negatives, and printing technology evolved to encourage use of photographs in newspapers and magazines.[423] In 1933, she received a three-year Carnegie grant to photograph "landmarks of early architecture of Virginia of which no adequate records now exist."[424] Late in her career, Johnston's work focused on preserving a record of the barns, outbuildings, cabins, and other structures of humble origins. Now at the Library of Congress and University of Virginia, they document the fast-vanishing landscapes of the South.



Figure 1.136. Diana just beyond the garden wall by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking northeast, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).



Figure 1.137. Axial view along the central garden path by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking northeast, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).



Figure 1.138. Axial view along the central garden path by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking southwest, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).



Figure 1.139. Chatham across the garden parterres by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking west, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).



Figure 1.140. The stone wellhead and pergola garden by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking west, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).



Figure 1.141. The Exedra Bench surrounded by boxwoods, showing the Laundry beyond, by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking west, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).



Figure 1.142. View out the pedestrian section of the Entrance Gate by Frances Benjamin Johnston. Note the ice plant beyond. View looking south, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).



Figure 1.143. View into the service yard, showing planting to the southeast of Chatham, by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking northeast, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).



Figure 1.144. Hand-tinted glass lantern slide of the pergola garden by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking northwest, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).



Figure 1.145. Hand-tinted glass lantern slide of the Garage by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking southeast, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).



Figure 1.146. Hand-tinted glass lantern slide of the Walled Garden parterres by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking southeast, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).



Figure 1.147. Hand-tinted glass lantern slide of the Walled Garden parterres by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking northwest, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).

SUBDIVISION OF CHATHAM'S OUTLYING ACREAGE

In 1927, A "Survey of Chatham Farm Estates" subdivided by the Louisville Real Estate & Development Company, showed the layout of roads and buildings lots to the northeast, southeast, and southwest of Chatham (to the north of White Oak Road), including along the Rappahannock River (Figure 1.148). Smaller lots were located to the southeast of Chatham, while tracts along the southwest (river) and northwest of the estate core were much larger. The layout of roads and lots in this area today largely reflect this subdivision plan.

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY, 1931

Between 1920 and 1931, Chatham's grounds changed substantially and more rapidly than any time in the preceding 150 years (Drawing 5). On the river side of the house, the Devores oversaw slight changes to the topography of the terraces as the Carriage Drive was rerouted onto the middle and upper terraces and the South Ravine Path was formalized with the introduction of stone stairs. On the wider Chatham property, a new driveway associated with the poultry complex to the north of the house necessitated regrading of a portion of the North Embankment. The North and South Ravines continued to serve as Chatham principal drainages, while the drainage closer to White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road) appears to have dried up or have been redirected.

The spatial organization of the estate's grounds was transformed by the removal of the crescent-shaped Carriage Drive and addition of the Walled Garden and additional domestic support buildings on the land side of the house. Changes to circulation patterns on the river side of the house also reshaped the spatial

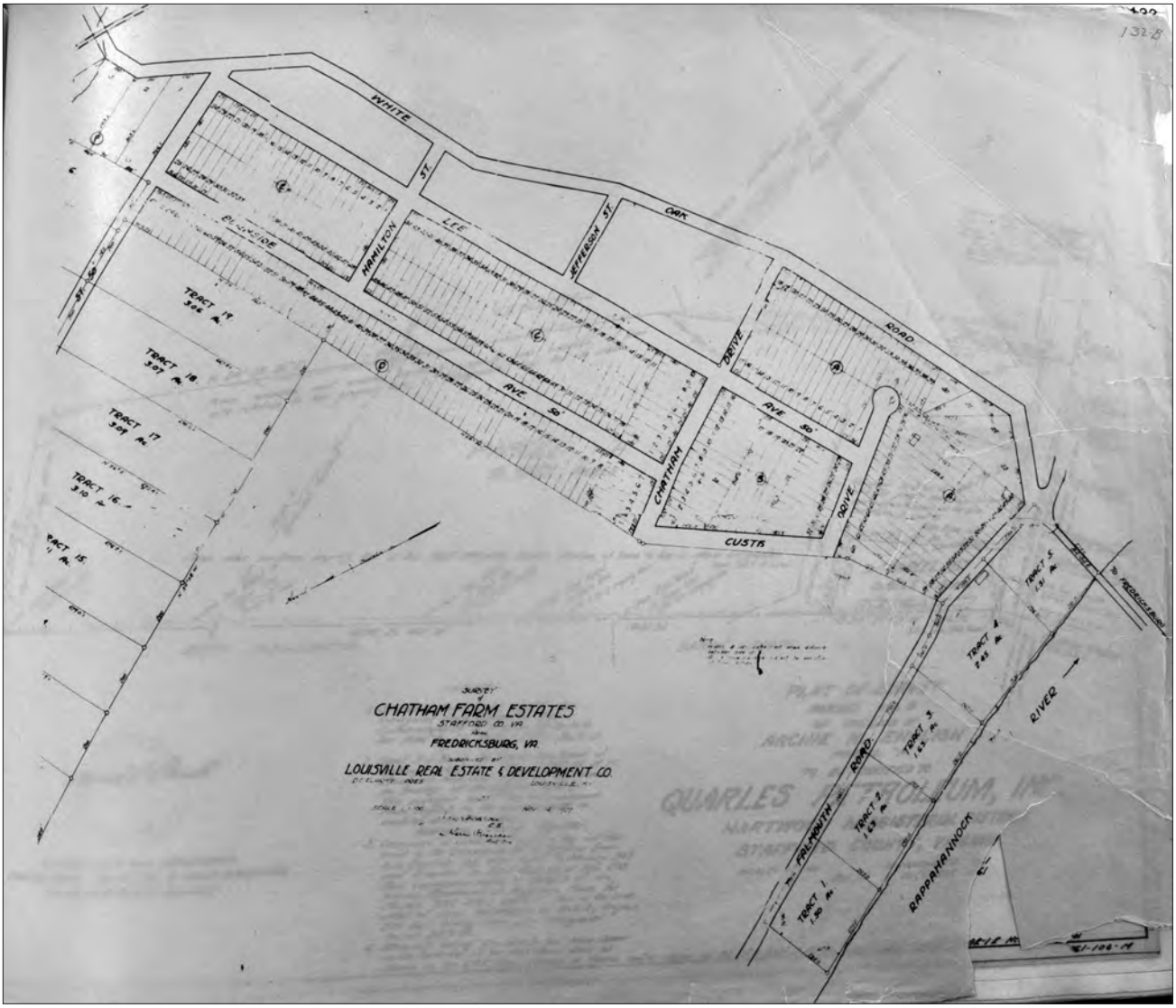


Figure 1.148. Subdivision plan for Chatham Farm Estates prepared by the Louisville Real Estate & Development Co. Plan view, 1927 (Stafford County Circuit Court Plat 132A).

organization of Chatham's grounds, as the river side became the primary access for guests entering from River Road. Residential development along White Oak Road, the addition of the poultry complex beyond the North Ravine, and the addition of the farm complex at the northeastern end of Farm Road changed the character and spatial organization of Chatham's outlying acreage. The addition of an extensive orchard beyond the North Ravine and kitchen gardens in the vicinity of the Caretaker's Cottage also shaped the organization and use of Chatham's grounds between 1920 and 1931.

Changes to circulation patterns between 1920 and 1931 included the addition of the Carriage Drive Spur across the terrace and removal of the pill-shaped drive. The crescent-shaped Carriage Drive was lost to the Walled Garden. Portions of the abandoned crescent-shaped drive were reconfigured to create the Service Drive that leads from Chatham Lane to the Garage. New roads were also constructed to provide access to the poultry complex from both the extension

of Chatham Lane and River Road. New roads were established in the vicinity of residential development along White Oak Road, which was realigned in 1911 to accommodate better traffic flow along the approach to Chatham Bridge.

Vegetation in the immediate vicinity of the house changed with the addition of countless annuals and perennials in the Walled Garden, trees and shrubs bordering the outside of its walls, evergreen trees along the Service Drive, a small orchard near the Milk House, a large orchard beyond the North Ravine, and extensive plantings of boxwoods along the river side façade of the house and on all three of the terraces to the southwest. Planting in the Walled Garden was characterized by Ellen Shipman's distinctive labor-intensive planting design. This included perennial beds near the house and a more relaxed, irregular planting of wildflowers and perennial punctuated with vertical elements in the form of miniature trees, standard wisteria, and fastigiate evergreen shrubs beyond. The ravines remained heavily vegetated with successional vegetation, which matured over the eleven years since 1920. Scattered low trees on the Center Embankment also grew, but views to Fredericksburg remained. Agricultural fields were also kept in cultivation.

Nearly all buildings remained from the 1920s, with the notable exceptions of the shed adjacent to the Farm Office, Smokehouse adjacent to the Laundry, Wash House, and Ice House. The house was transformed by removal of the land and river side porches and the addition of new Beaux-Arts style frontispieces. Other new building and structural additions between 1920 and 1931 included the cluster of agricultural buildings at the northeastern end of Farm Road, the Poultry Cottage and Barn, Farm Office and Furnace House, Garage, Corn Crib, Caretaker's Cottage, Well House, Entrance Gate, Septic Tank, Rear Garden Wall and Gates, Bird Pens and Garden Pergola, Service Drive Gates, Front Retaining Wall, Carriage Drive Retaining Wall and Culverts, the original Summer House, Rotunda, Music Stair, and Temple. This extensive program of construction in the 1920s transformed the property into an estate that rivaled comparable estates that were being built and improved, with European inspired gardens, during what came to be known as the Country Place Era.

Views within Chatham were similarly transformed by the addition of the Walled Garden and focal points across the river side landscape, including the Rotunda, Music Stair, Temple, and garden statuary. Long views that characterized the land side approach to the estate for some 150 years were obscured by the Walled Garden. The approach on the river side was similarly changed by the addition of the Carriage Drive Spur, which gave visitors arriving from River Road a gradual view of the river side façade, then without its distinctive porches.

A myriad of small-scale features were added to Chatham in the 1920s, including statuary on the upper terrace, adjacent to the house, the Exedra bench, Rose

Trellises in the Walled Garden, the Gas Pump near the Corn Crib, Garden Benches, and statuary within the Walled Garden. All of these embellishments lent an air of antiquity to the estate.

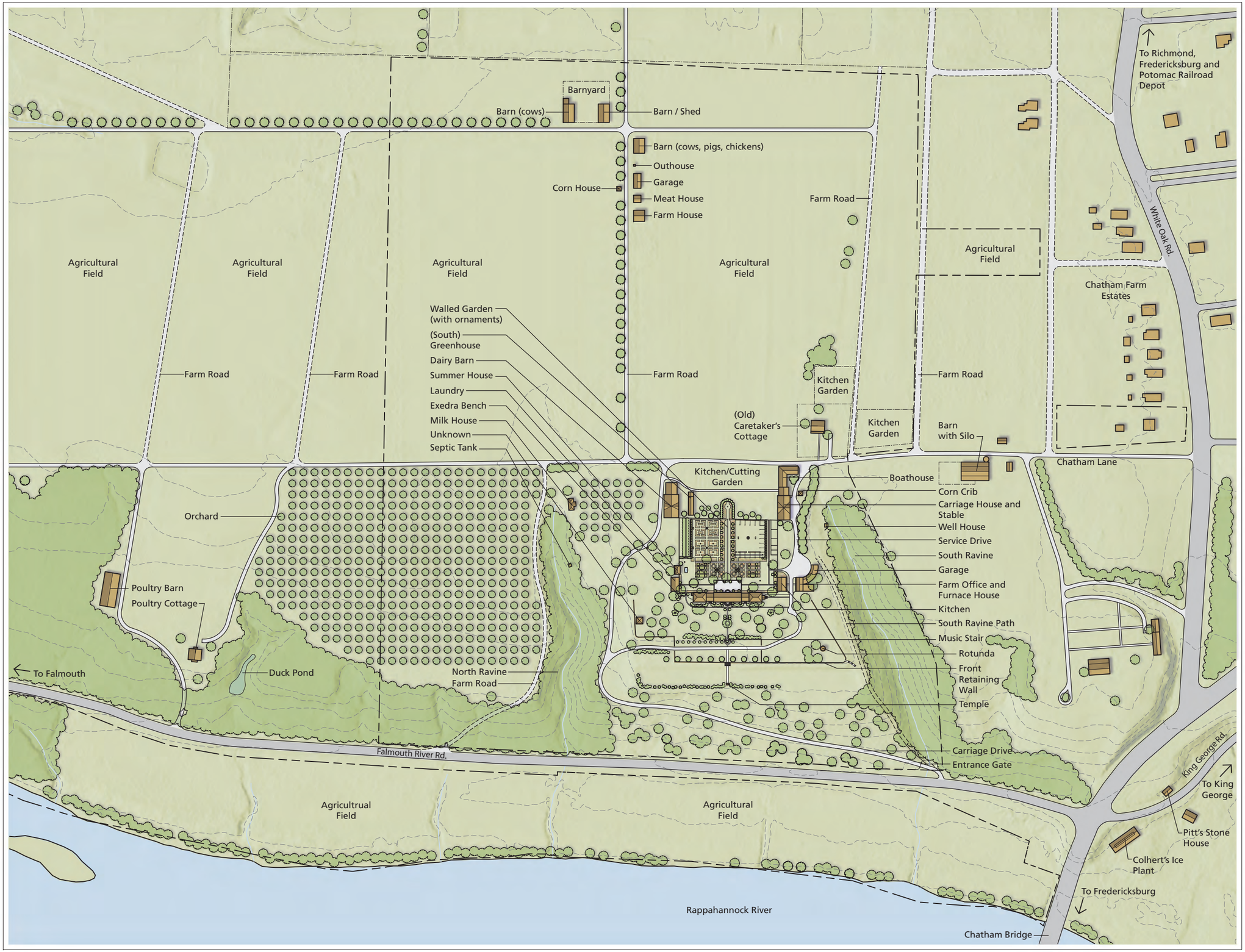
Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

1931 Period Plan



National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

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2. Robert Forman, Tree Location Plan, 31 January 1922, FRSP Archives
3. Ellen B. Shipman, Vine and Shrub Plan for Chatham, March 1922, FRSP Archives
4. Photographs of Chatham, c. 1924-27, Cornell University, Ellen Shipman papers
5. Photographs of Chatham, c. 1924-27, Virginia Historical Society Museum, E.B. Thompson Negative Collection
6. Frances B. Johnston, Photographs of Chatham, 1927-28, Library of Congress
7. Louisville Resal Estate & Development Co., Survey of Chatham Farm Estates, 14 November 1927, Stafford County Circuit Court
8. Aerial photograph of Chatham, c. 1931-36 (dated 1939), FRSP Archives
9. Airscapes Aerial Photograph, 15 May 1933, National Archives
10. Orthophotograph, 1937, VA Department of Transportation
11. Oblique aerial photograph, 1938, FRSP Archives
12. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
13. Hydrology: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan, 2015

AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Park fee boundary (current)
- Topographic contours (10' interval, based on current)
- Road / drive
- Trees
- Orchard
- Lawn / pasture / field
- Building / structure
- Fence

NOTE

All features shown in approximate scale and location.

0' 125' 250' 500'

Drawing 5

JOHN LEE (1879–1975) AND LILLIAN PRATT (D. 1947)

The Devores sold Chatham, including a 30.234-acre tract, 4,657 square foot tract, 7,767 square foot tract, and 17.01 acre tract, to John L. Pratt, a wealthy industrialist and King George County native, for $115,000 cash on November 14, 1931.[425]

John Lee Pratt was born on October 22, 1879 in Aspen Grove, near Passapatansy, in King George County. He was named for his great-grandfather, who served in the Revolutionary War. His father, Alexander Pratt, was a Civil War veteran. Pratt was one of five children. He was a student at old Locust Dale Academy in Orange County, and later attended Randolph-Macon College for a year before going on to the University of Virginia, where he earned a civil engineering degree in 1905. He was employed by the E.I. DuPont de Nemours & Company out of school. In 1917, duPont and General Motors became affiliated with each other, and Pratt was placed on special assignment to the G.M. President W.C. Durant. Pratt left DuPont for a career with G.M.'s president's staff in 1919. He contributed to the development of Freon for the Frigidaire division. In 1921, he was named General Manager and Group Executive of the Accessories Division. He was elected vice president of the corporation in November 1922 and retired from the position in 1937. He remained a director after retirement, leaving the Board of Directors in 1968.

Pratt also served in Washington as a member of the War Resources Board, War Production Board, Lend-Lease Program, and State Department from 1939 to 1945. He was a trustee of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, the Johns Hopkins University, the Brookings Institution, and the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research. He was also interested in research activities at the University of Virginia, The Johns Hopkins University, and Lehigh University, particularly in the field of agriculture. John Lee and Lillian Pratt created the Pratt Foundation, which over the years quietly gave contributions to local organizations, donating a large public park to underwriting projects to improve health of the community and its children.

REVIVAL OF AGRICULTURE AT CHATHAM

Upon purchasing Chatham, the Pratts made few improvements to the house, aside from improvements to the heating and water systems. Instead, they focused their efforts on the development of the farm and grounds.

In 1932, the Pratts replaced the Caretaker's Cottage along Chatham Lane with a more substantial building. The Fines moved from the Caretaker's Cottage to the farm house along the Farm Road. The Richardsons moved into the new Caretaker's Cottage.[426] In May, a Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company policy documents Pratt's plans to construct a 1-½ story frame, asbestos-shingle roof dwelling known as the Gardener's Cottage 250 yards to the northeast

of the house. This policy was to supplement coverage through the Mutual Assurance Company of Virginia, which had decreased its coverage of country residences because they were so far removed from the city that adequate fire protection could not be provided.[427]

Between 1931 and 1942, Charlie Herbert Richardson (1890–1988) was a gardener at Chatham and lived on the estate with his wife, Julia Malek Richardson. Richardson, born in Berkshire England first worked at the estate of Sir Trevor Lawrence, former president of the Royal Horticultural Society. He came to America at the age of twenty-two and worked on estates in Massachusetts and Ohio before moving to Fredericksburg. At Chatham, Richardson refurbished the rose gardens with new pink and red radiance roses, as well as Talisman. All flowers were grown from seed in the greenhouses, one of which was built during Mr. Richardson's tenure. Fruits in the kitchen garden included black and red raspberries, gooseberries, and red currants.[428]

In addition to the Richardsons, the Catletts were in charge of poultry at Chatham (chickens, turkeys, geese, ducks, and guineas) and the Fines, Glenn English, Wallace Gallahan, and Hugh Walker ran the farm and grew corn and grain crops for cattle.[429] A small pond was created by a dam along the bottom of the ravine near the Catlett's house where catfish were raised. This pond is shown in Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographs of Chatham (Figure 1.149). A large apple orchard was located nearby.[430] Milk was delivered daily from Sherwood Forest Farm, the Pratt's farm about four miles down Route 3 from Chatham.[431]



Figure 1.149. View of the duck pond by Frances Benjamin Johnston. View looking northeast or northwest, c. 1927 (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection).

In 1941, John Lee Pratt had the top selling Guernsey bull, Coronation Potentate ($4,550), and top selling Guernsey cow, Sherwood Forest Minion ($3,200), in the United States for the year.[432] According to Oliver Fines, Mr. Pratt had about twenty-five to thirty beef cows (Herefords) at a time at Chatham. He grew wheat, corn, hay, and, after 1942, soybeans. The Fines also grew potatoes, sweet potatoes, corn, beans, cucumbers, watermelons, and cantaloupe for their own use at the farm house along the Farm Road Trace.[433] Charles Gallahan recalled that the Pratts kept two horses.[434]

EARLY AERIAL VIEWS OF CHATHAM

Two aerial photographs from the early 1930s are among the earliest to comprehensively show the character of the landscape. The first photograph, looking northeast, shows Chatham with crops in the Riverside Field, mature trees over meadow on the Center Embankment, with both ravines largely wooded (Figure 1.150). The Carriage Drive Spur is apparent on the middle terrace, with boxwood lining both sides of the drive. Mature trees surround the manor house, and the Walled Garden is fully developed, as is the vegetable/cutting garden beyond to the northeast. The orchard to the northwest of the Dairy Barn is planted, along with a second, larger orchard beyond the Milk House. (According to Frances Welty, this orchard included chestnut, peach, apple, and pears.[435]) The Farm Road Trace and Farm Road are both visible, along with what appears to be a footpath through the Northeast Field, on axis with the centerline of the Walled Garden. Along Chatham Lane, the Caretaker's Cottage is visible, bordered to the southeast by a service drive to the woodlot and a vegetable/cutting garden. A



Figure 1.150. Aerial view of Chatham. View looking northeast, early 1930s (FRSP archives, Chatham historical photos).



Figure 1.151. Detail of Airscapes aerial view of Fredericksburg showing Chatham at left. View looking southeast, May 15, 1933 (National Archives, RG 18AA Box 128).

large barn with cupola stands on the southwest side of Chatham Lane and two smaller service buildings stand opposite each other farther to the southeast along Chatham Lane. The plateau beyond the South appears cultivated as well.

In the second aerial photograph, taken May 15, 1933 by the Army Air Corps looking southeast, shows Chatham's disposition to the Rappahannock River, including extensive orchards to the northwest of the house and cultivated fields along the riverfront (Figure 1.151). Upright evergreen trees are visible within the Walled Garden and on the middle riverside terrace. The upper terrace, adjacent to the house, was heavily wooded with ornamental evergreen and deciduous trees.

WALLED GARDEN IMPROVEMENTS

Like Mrs. Devore before her, Mrs. Pratt took a particular interest in the Walled Garden. The Pratts were in touch with Richmond-based landscape architect

Charles Gillette as early as 1931, when he prepared "A Planting Plan for the Parterre Gardens" that showed a "planting plan" for one parterre and a "color effect" plan for the second that painted the parterres primarily in yellow and blue flowers.[436]

By early 1931, old boxwoods from the home of N.W. Payne were being transplanted to Chatham. The double hedge of box was purchased by Helen Devore while the Devores owned Chatham at a price of $1,500. However, the box was kept in its original place at Dowdall's Tavern until the Pratts decided to relocate them to Chatham. Charles Gallahan recalled his father helping to move the boxwood: "They had a big truck, because it would take three or four men, and they would lift these huge boxwood – you know, the dirt, the ball on the boxwood would be four or five feet in diameter…they would buy it from homes."[437] According to an article in the *Free-Lance Star*, "Chatham is said to have around $150,000 worth of boxwood scattered throughout the spacious grounds… While under the ownership of the Devore's [sic] the garden was entirely redesigned and much boxwood was brought to Chatham and hundreds of cedars from the farm have been transplanted in the ample grounds surrounding the house. Many of these cedars serve as a background for the garden."[438]

The Pratts expanded their greenhouse operation around 1935 with the addition of a second greenhouse to the north of the first. This new building matched blueprints drawn by Lord & Burnham in 1935. It is first shown in a 1937 aerial photograph, along with all the improvements to the grounds undertaken by the Devores and Pratts to date (Figure 1.152). The Pratts were particularly fond of fresh flowers. For about the last decade of the Pratt's ownership, Ed Rider attended to the greenhouses. He was charged with keeping something in bloom every day of the year for the use in the house (Figure 1.153).[439]

In April 1938, Chatham was featured on the cover of the "Garden Week in Virginia" brochure with several full pages of images inside.[440] Before Mrs. Pratt's death in 1947, the Pratts opened the property for Virginia Garden Days regularly in 1935, 1936, 1938, 1939, 1947, and 1948, bringing in a total of $4,484.15 for the Garden Club of Virginia. In addition, John Lee Pratt opened his garden to the public in 1949 and 1950 outside of the structured garden week activities, free of charge (Figure 1.154).

WORLD WAR II'S IMPACT ON CHATHAM'S GROUNDS

World War II ushered an era of change for the United States at large and brought the same to Chatham. On September 23–24, 1939, George C. Marshall and his wife were guests of John Lee Pratt at Chatham, just days after World War II began with the German invasion of Poland. Mr. Marshall and Mr. Pratt served together on the War Resources Board.[441] Within two years, the United States had entered



Figure 1.152. Detail of aerial view of Fredericksburg showing Chatham at right. Plan view, 1937 (Virginia Department of Transportation).



Figure 1.153. Aerial view of Chatham. View looking west, 1938 (FRSP archives).



Figure 1.154. Aerial view of Chatham. This is the only photograph to show the structure at the northwest end of the upper terrace, circled in red. View looking east, 1938 (FRSP archives).

the war, and the Pratts lost many of their staff to the Army. In August 1943, Mr. Pratt returned to landscape architect Charles Gillette seeking assistance with the grounds:

> Last fall our gardener left to go into war service. Previous to that his assistant had died, so we were left with no one who had any knowledge of greenhouses of trimming of shrubs. As we made no effort to replace the, our place has gotten in such shape that we will have to do something about it this fall, and I am wondering if you could get someone for us for two of three months...we would also like to have this man understand something of the greenhouse as we are trying to keep a few of our greenhouse plants although we have not made any effort to do anything in the greenhouse this summer other than keep a few of the plants alive.[442]

Gillette was unsuccessful in recommending any gardeners, writing to Pratt, "there have been no gardeners available in these parts for some time. In fact many of my clients have been without for nearly a year now and aren't able to even get colored men to do the routine work."[443] Instead, the Pratts contacted the Bartlett Tree Company to complete pruning of the estate's trees and shrubs.[444] The Pratts also secured assistance in treating scolded boxwood through Charles Gillette.[445]

At the close of the war, Ellen Shipman contacted the Pratts seeking copies photographs of Chatham that she saw in materials sent to her by Colonial Williamsburg. It appears that this brochure was dated summer 1932 and may have been a convenient excuse to contact the Pratts, seeking to engage them as clients. Shipman, keenly aware of the war's impacts on gardens across the country, wrote, "I feel sure it has been difficult to maintain the gardens during the war, but now that it is over, we are all anxious to get our places back into the condition in which they were before it began."[446] Still seeking assistance in the gardens, the Pratts returned the letter, writing, "I have not had a head man since the war started, and have had to depend on local labor, and only three at that. The place needs someone who really knows about plantings, and the longer my men stay, the less they know. Men do not seem to want to work and are only interested in 'grabbing' their wages."[447]

Mrs. Pratt gave Mr. A. L. Dementi, a photographer in Richmond, permission to release photographs of Chatham (taken by Waller Holladay of the Homier Clark Studios) to Ellen Shipman for use in her office, but refused their use for publicity or advertising.[448] Mrs. Pratt wrote to Shipman, "We have been trying to live down the publicity Mrs. Devore gave the place – for our lives were made miserable for years by people demanding to come and see the house and garden. And so I have refused dozens and dozens of people taking photographs…Our Sundays were made miserable by people who [illegible] it was a public park."[449] John Lee Pratt echoed this sentiment over again to the Virginia Garden Club after Lillian Pratt's death in 1947. Mr. Pratt also denied a request from the National Geographic to include Chatham in one of their issues covering old homes in Virginia, noting "as

Chatham had more publicity that I wanted it to have before I became the owner, I have tried to protect future owner by not permitting, as far as I am able, any photographs of Chatham, that might be publicized."[450]

In February 1948, John Lee Pratt wrote to Mrs. C. James Andrews, President of the Garden Club of Virginia concerning opening his gardens to the public: "On the one hand, we have always wanted to cooperate with the Garden Club in their efforts to restore some of the old historical gardens of Virginia, and have taken pride in their accomplishments. On the other hand, our interest in Chatham was simply a place to live a quiet life, its beauties to be shared by our close friends. We have always hated to build it up in the public mind as a 'show place' and then commercialize it for only one week. This has always been repugnant to our thinking."[451]

LOCAL CIVIC IMPROVEMENTS

In June 1940, the Virginia Department of Highways prepared construction documents to replace the Chatham Bridge and east approach.[452] Realignment of the east approach impacted the topography at Chatham's southern corner.

In 1948, John Lee Pratt commissioned a survey of Chatham from L.R.R. Curits, presumably in hopes of including the estate within the Falmouth Sanitary District (Figure 1.155). The drawing documents 277.325 acres of Chatham, roughly bounded by River Road, Chatham Heights Road, Butler Road, and the Falmouth School Lot to the northwest of St. Clair Brooks Memorial Park. The survey shows the outlines of all buildings on the property, including Chatham, Kitchen, Laundry, Farm Office, Garage, Carriage House and Stable, Boathouse, Dairy Barn, North and South greenhouses, Caretakers' Cottage, two barns and associated farm house along the Farm Road Trace, and the poultry houses and associated residence beyond the North Ravine. Also noteworthy is the subdivision of land for residential development bordering and to the southeast of Burnside Avenue. The drawing notes that the 45.45 acre parcel at the core of Chatham is to be added to the sanitary district.

A drawing from the following year, prepared by W. B. Wingfiled, Jr. shows the extents of the sanitary district, which included all of downtown Falmouth, a portion of the northwestern end of Chatham, a 400-foot wide corridor along Butler Road, and the Chatham Heights community to the southeast of White Oak Road (now Chatham Heights Road) (Figure 1.156). The district excluded Chatham proper, which was still serviced by a private septic system.

Pratt had the Curtis plat updated (Figure 1.157), and in October 1952, he and W.W. Fines petitioned the Board of Supervisors of Stafford County to enlarge the Falmouth Sanitary District to include 45.45 acres of Chatham, as described by a plat of L.R.R. Curtis dated July 12, 1952.[453]

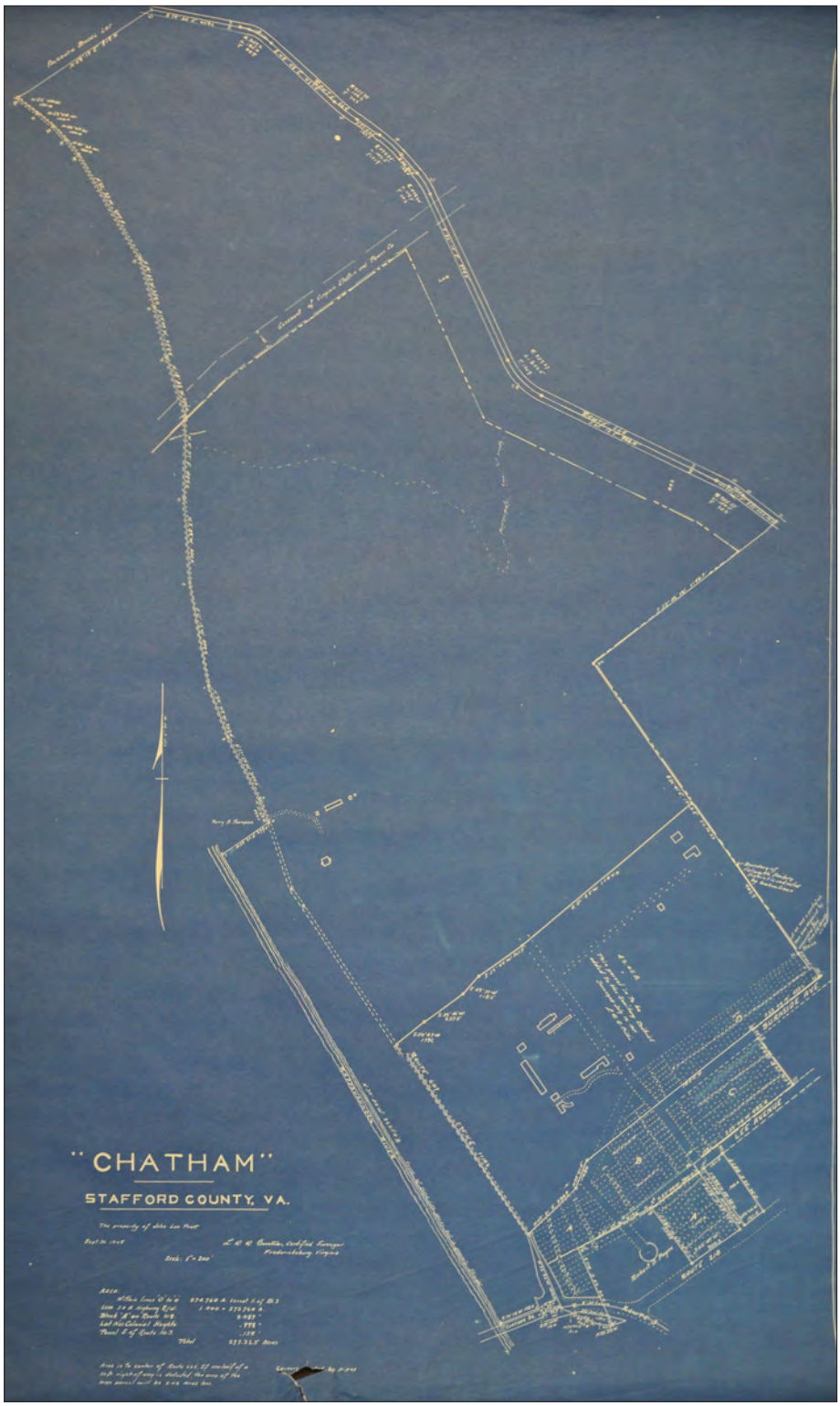


Figure 1.155. Plat of Chatham by L.R.R. Curits. Plan view, 1948 (FRSP archives, Garage flat files).

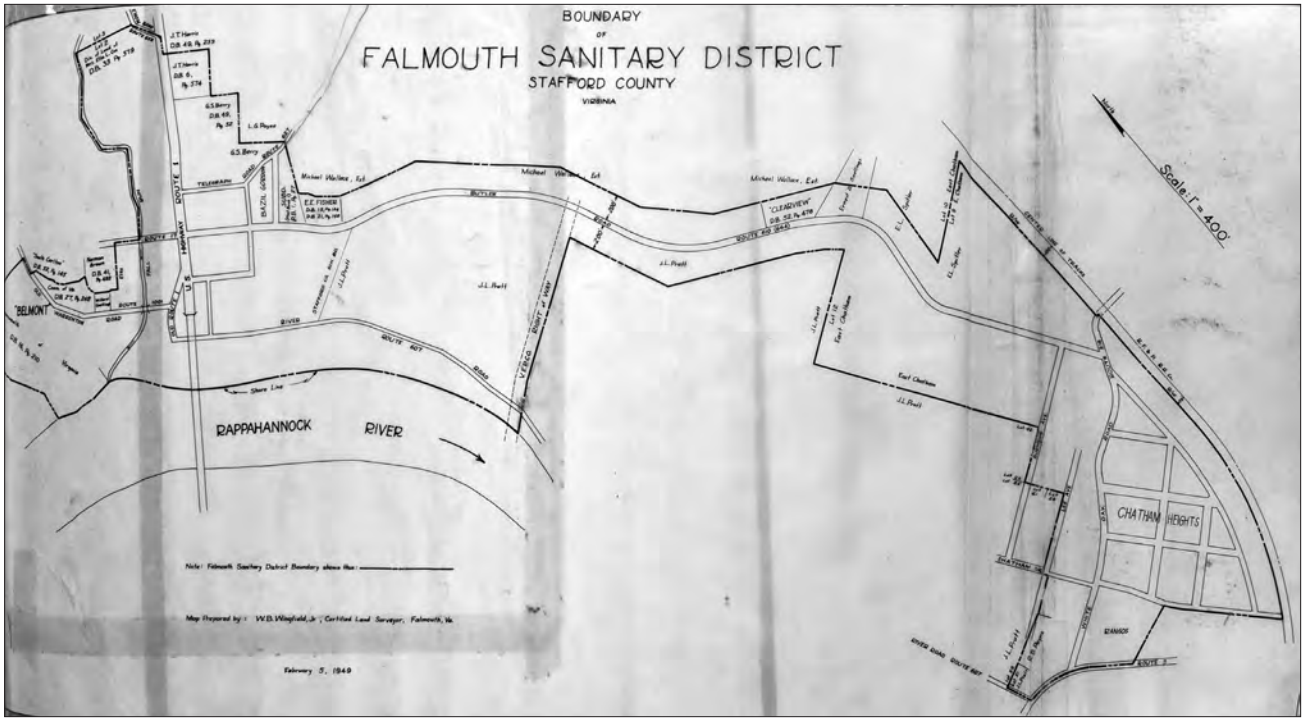


Figure 1.156. Plat of the Falmouth Sanitary District by W.B. Wingfield, Jr. Plan view, 1949 (Stafford County Circuit Court, Plat 111).

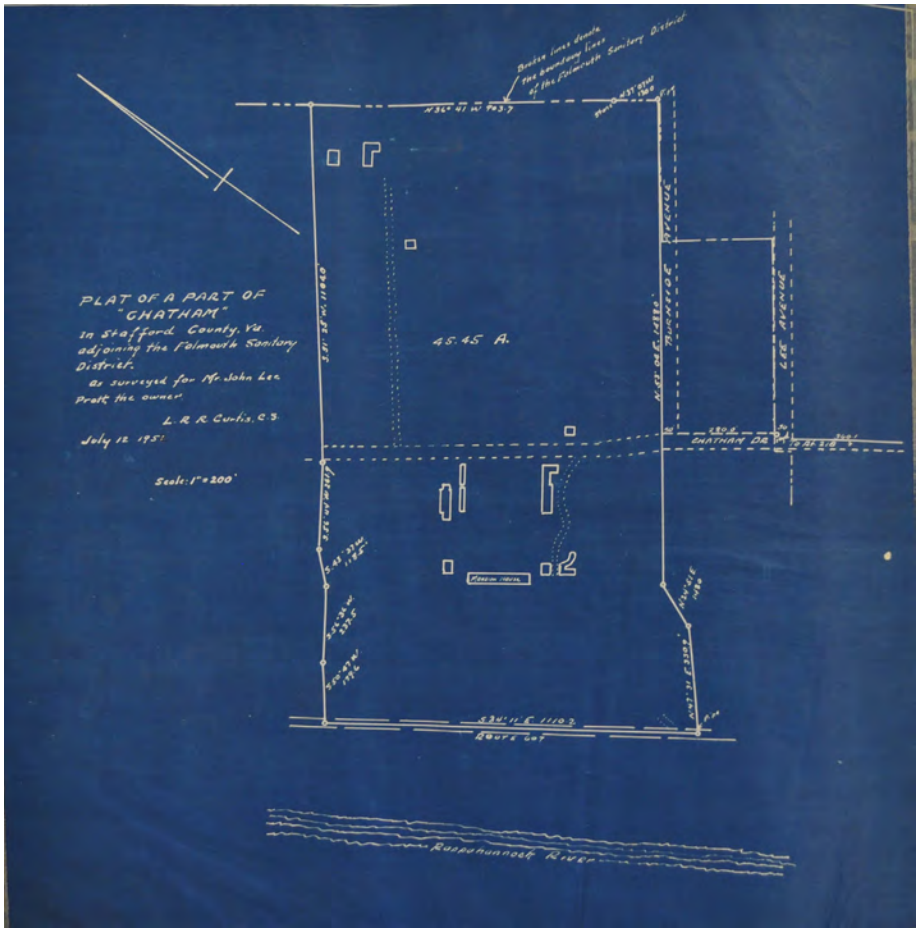


Figure 1.157. Revised plat of Chatham prepared by L.R.R. Curtis to petition the Stafford County Board of Supervisors to include the property in the local sanitary district. Plan view, July 1951 (Stafford County Circuit Court, Plat 172).

In the early 1950s, John Lee Pratt was also considering subdivision of a small portion of the historic Chatham plantation along Claiborne's Run (Figure 1.158). A plat of "Chatham Village, Stafford County, Va." by L.R.R. Curtis, C.S. (1953) shows road and lot layout on a portion of the community to the northeast of Chatham, beyond what is now Chatham Heights Road. The layout of roads and lots in this area today largely reflect this subdivision plan. The following year, in 1954, surveyor L.R.R. Curtis prepared a "Plat of Part of Block 'A' of Chatham Farm Estates" showing lots along what is now Chatham Heights Road (Figure 1.159).

That same year, Curtis prepared a sketch of the water line along Chatham Drive, through the land of John Lee Pratt, to the property of Dr. F. C. Pratt at Chatham, located beyond the South Ravine (Figure 1.160). This plan reveals that the Falmouth Sanitary District was extended to Chatham by 1954. About this time, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Pratt's foreman, and Mr. Mabe, one of Mr. Pratt's handymen, lived in the two houses at the entrance to Chatham Lane, since demolished. Mr. Adams, who lived in town, was Mr. Pratt's gardener and maintained the greenhouse at Chatham.[454]

A 1954 aerial photograph taken by the county soil and water conservation district shows the layout of Chatham at the time, with circulation features, vegetation, and buildings documented (Figure 1.161). In addition to the building cluster around the manor house, the tree-lined Farm Road Trace and cluster of farm buildings at its northern terminus are readily visible. A third cluster of buildings stands in the vicinity of the poultry house (now part of Pratt Park).

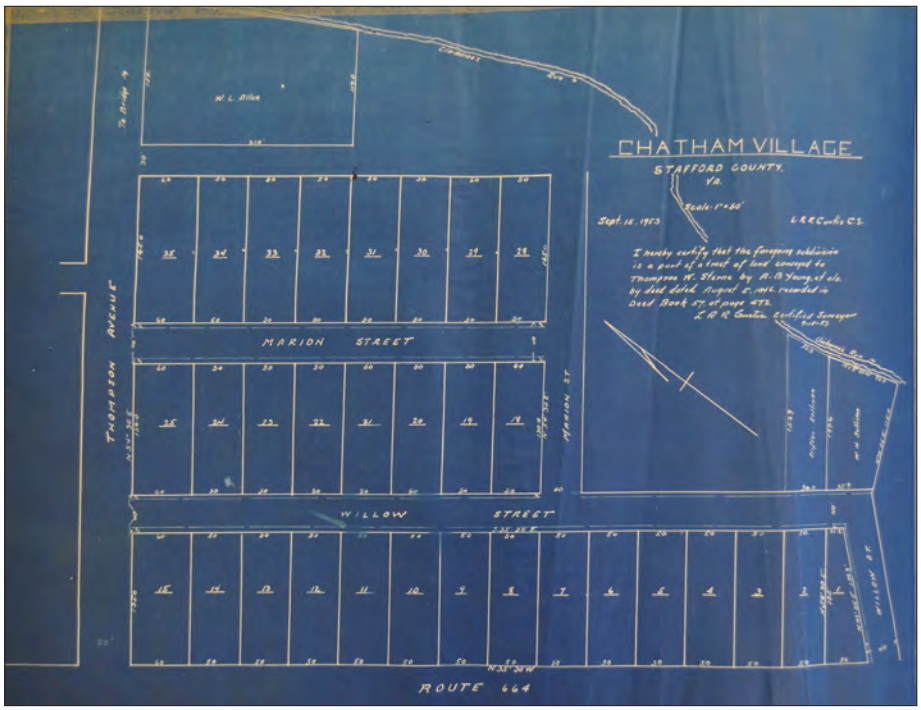


Figure 1.158. Plat of subdivision proposal of Chatham lands along Claiborne's Run. Plan view, September 1953 (Stafford County Circuit Court, Plat 92).

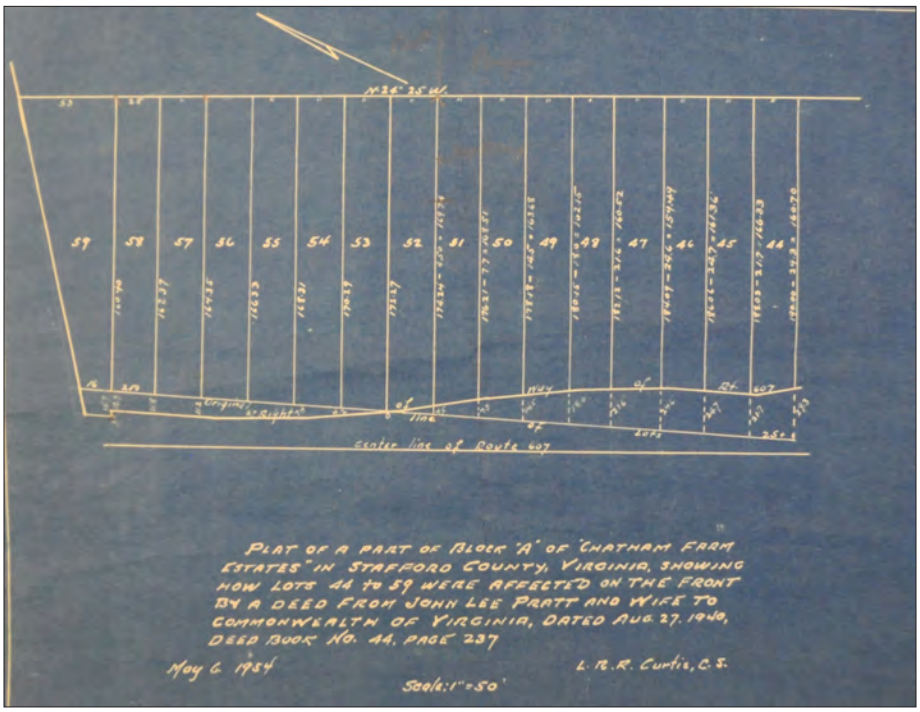


Figure 1.159. Plat of a block of parcels associated with Chatham Farm Estates. Plan view, May 1954 (FRSP archives, Garage flat files).

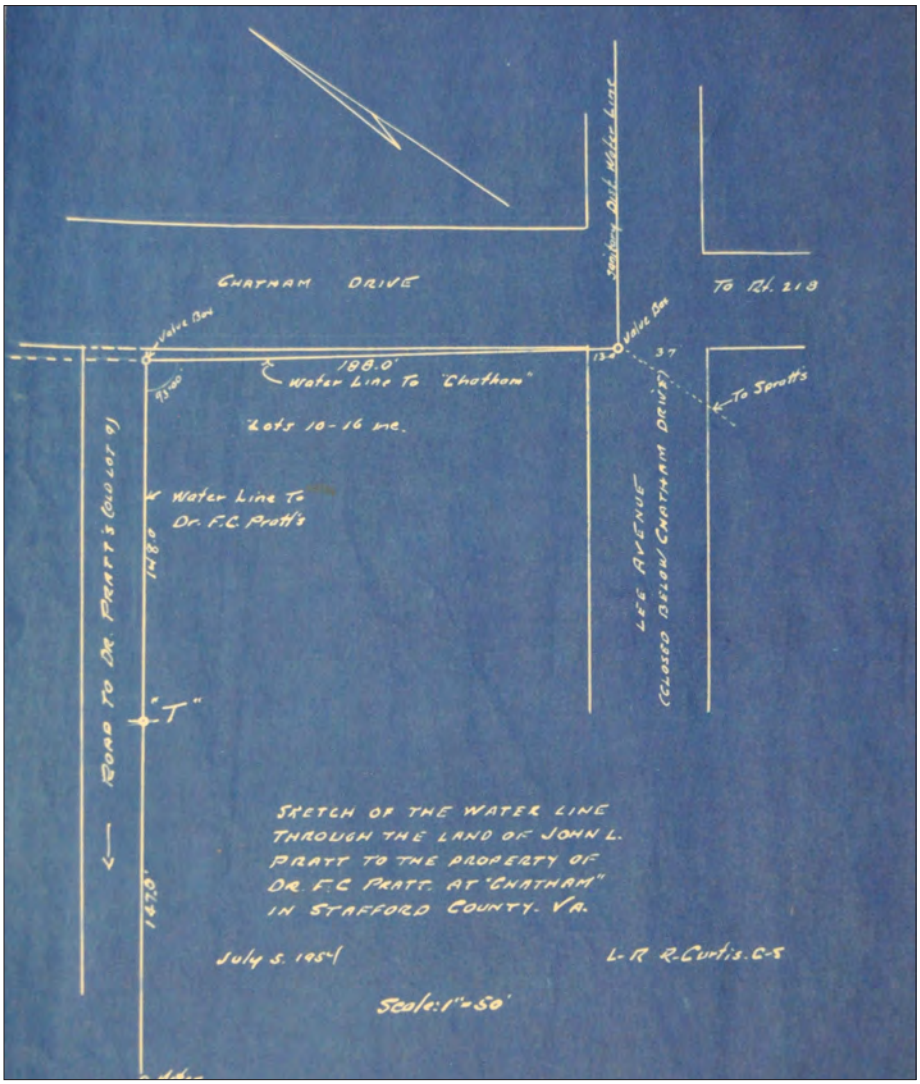


Figure 1.160. Sketch of a water line to Chatham. Plan view, July 1954 (FRSP archives, Garage flat files).



Figure 1.161. Aerial photograph showing Chatham. Plan view, 1954 (Tri-County Soil and Water Conservation District Offices, 1954 DUL-3M-150).

SIMPLIFICATION OF THE GARDENS

In May 1954, Pratt and Gillette, who had recently seen each other socially in Tucson, Arizona, were in touch again. Gillette wrote to Pratt, "We spoke of the plan that you would have made of the change to the garden side of Chatham. As I recall it, you thought we should measure the are in question and suggest a plan which you would want to have even tho you might not carry it out. . .I will be glad to go up there when you are ready and measure the are preparatory to a sketch."[455] In June, Pratt invited Gillette to develop base maps for the Walled Garden. Sketches in the Gillette Papers, likely from June 2, document the existing layout of the garden and some of its plantings. On September 13, 1955, Gillette prepared a "General Layout Plan" for the Walled Garden that appears to reflect existing conditions (Figure 1.162).

The following day, Gillette prepared a "Revised Garden Plan" for the Walled Garden. A note on the plan reads: "All plant material shows on plan 714-2 [sic,

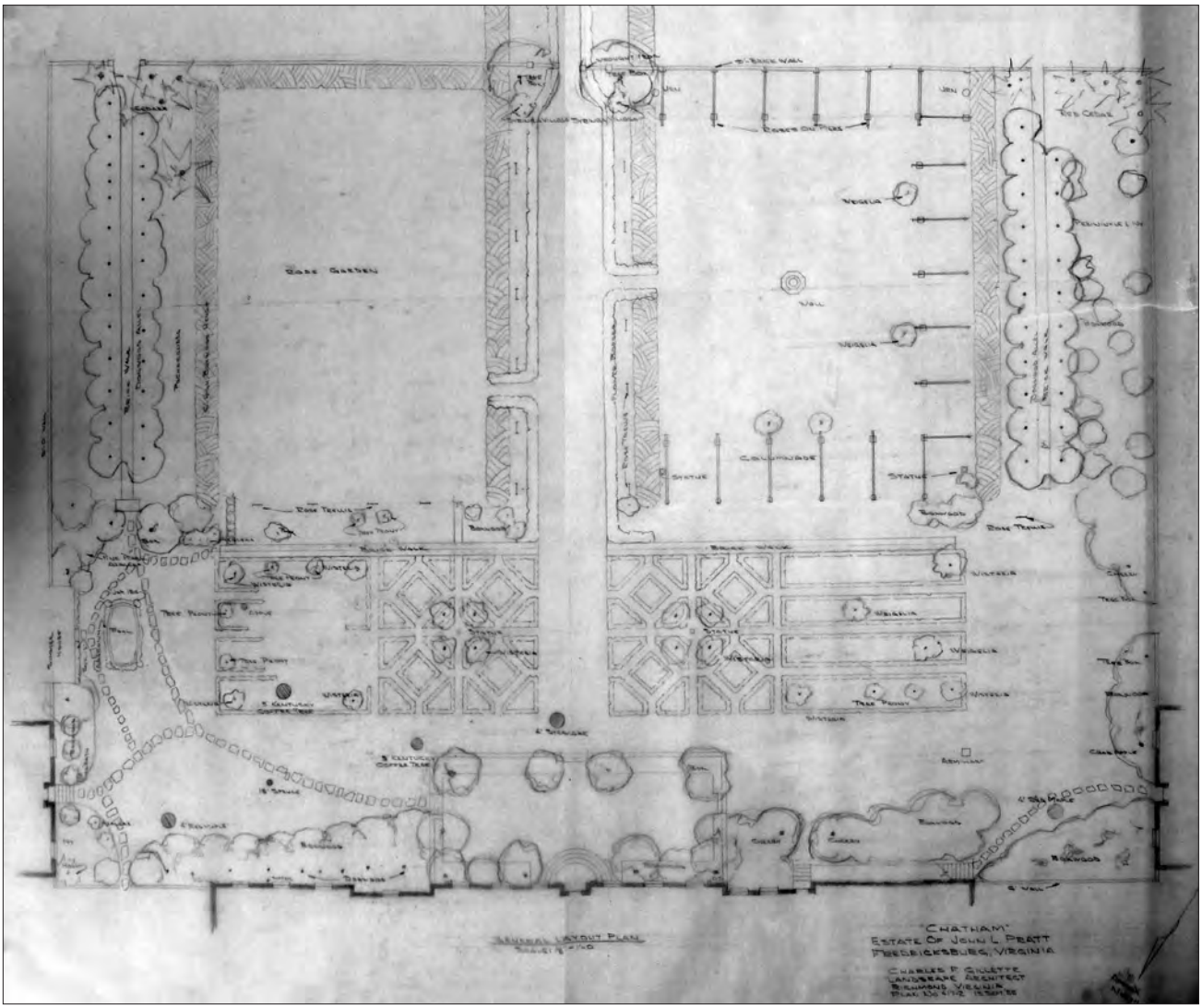


Figure 1.162. General Layout Plan for Chatham's Walled Garden prepared by Charles Gillette. Plan view, September 1955 (Library of Virginia, Charles Gillette Papers, Client no. 417, plan 417-2).

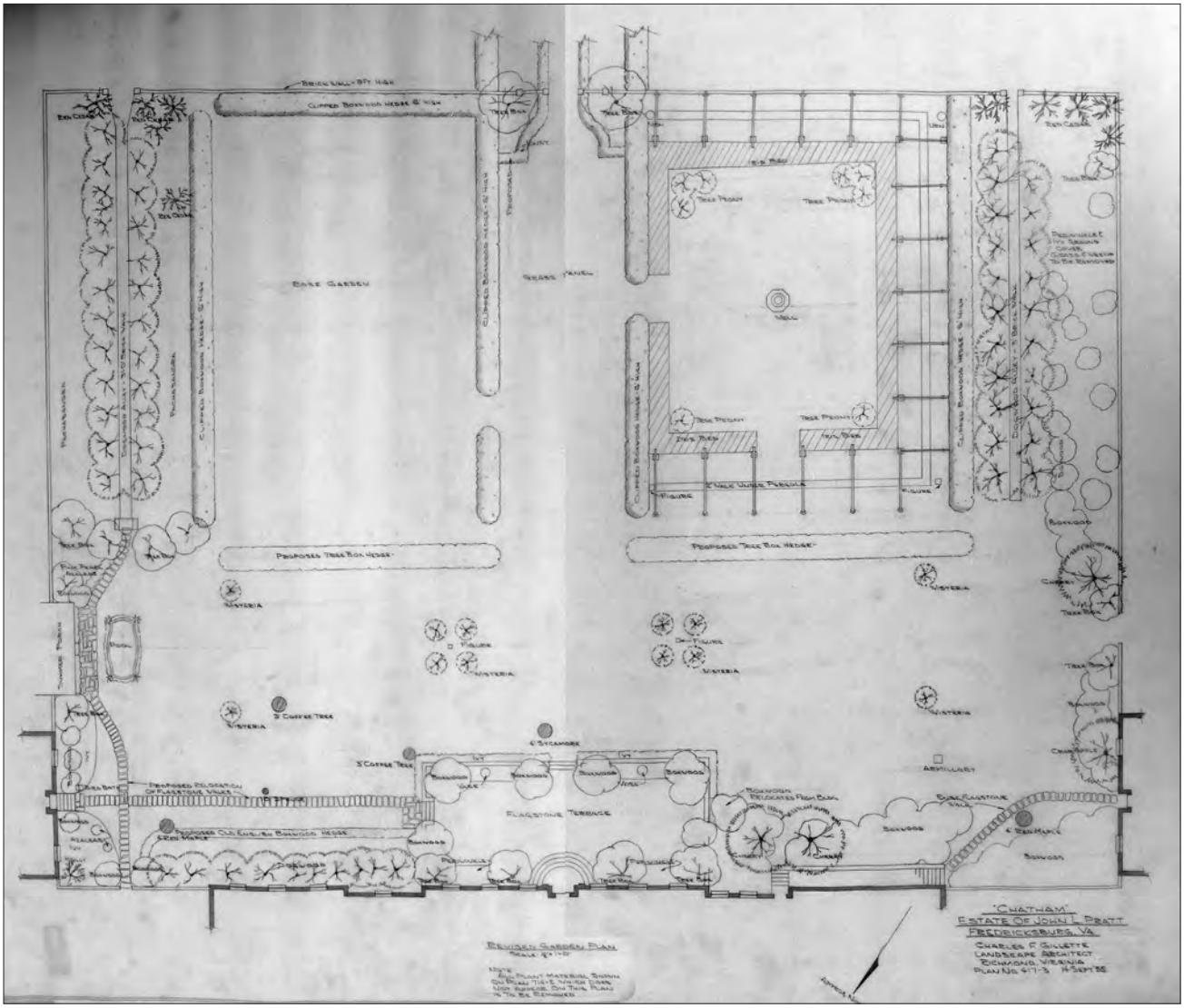


Figure 1.163. Revised Garden Plan prepared by Charles Gillette. Plan view, September 1955 (Library of Virginia, Charles Gillette Papers, Client no. 417, plan 417-3).

probably 417-2, General Layout Plan] which do not appear on this plan to be removed." The plan shows complete removal of the parterres and adjacent planting beds, removal of planning beds along the main axial walk, and replacement of curvilinear stepping stone paths with rectilinear stepping stone paths (Figure 1.163).

A photograph of the Walled Garden taken from the second story of Chatham shows the garden after removal of the parterre beds (Figure 1.164). Clipped evergreen hedges remain around the pergola, as well as around the Ceres statue. While many climbing roses remain, the rafters and battens are missing from the pergola structure. Mature trees stand beyond the perimeter wall to the northeast. This view is also the only known photograph of the two-story farm house along the Farm Road Trace.



Figure 1.164. The Walled Garden following simplification by Charles Gillette. Note the two-story farm house in the upper left of the photograph. View looking northeast, n.d. (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room).

Other views following simplification of the garden show abundant roses in the garden, with mature deciduous trees intact, low boxwood hedges surrounding Ceres, parterre beds removed, with standard wisteria remaining, and upright evergreens flaking the central entrance to the manor house (Figures. 1.165 and 1.166).

While Chatham's gardens were simplified, the estate's broader grounds still required maintenance. About 1956, workers at Chatham were clearing the lower terrace of overgrown roses and honeysuckle, and unearthed two or three bodies. Mr. Inscoe, who worked at Chatham around the same time, but was not present for the unearthing, believed they were Confederate soldiers based on another employee telling him that they found one of the soldiers in a Georgia uniform or wearing a Georgia pin. The bodies were relocated at Chatham, nearer the North Ravine. At one time, this area was fenced with headstones, but only the headstones remain.[456]

EXPERIMENTATION WITH SCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURE

As a retired engineer, John Lee Pratt took a particular interest in the scientific dimension of farming. Notes from his papers in 1955 indicate that he experimented with the application of different soil amendments at Chatham. Two of the amendments he tested, molybedendum and lime, were used in treatment of



Figure 1.165. Chatham following removal of the parterres within the Walled Garden. View looking west, c. 1955 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files).



Figure 1.166. Vicinity of the Ceres statue following simplification of the gardens. View looking southwest, c. 1955 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files).

acidic soils.[457] At one time, he allowed Virginia Poly-Tech Institute (VPI) to use the riverside fields to carry out agricultural experiments. Even shortly after Chatham was donated to the National park Service, VPI (now Virginia Tech) was given permission to continue their research and experiments.[458]

In addition to the soil, John Lee Pratt was also interested in plant breeding. Marien Robinson remembers Pratt giving her "father some white corn to plant in the garden. . .they discussed that this was the most marvelous corn they had ever eaten and it had been, I think, bred out in Washington State or something. Of course it later came on the market as Silver Queen. But I think we had Silver

Queen corn in the '40s when it had never been heard of. But this was his kind of interest. I can remember him talking about lima beans that were so special that were being developed."[459]

Pratt was keenly interested in gingko trees for their scientific value, notably their anti-viral and bacterial properties. Beginning in 1957, he corresponded with numerous scientists about the gingko at Chatham. In 1957, he recorded the size of the tree as 11'-2" circumference at breast height (approximately 3'-6" diameter).[460]

A copy of *The Journal of Biological Chemistry* (vol. 235, no. 11) in John Lee Pratt's papers shows his interest in the fungus-resistance of ginkgo trees. The issue includes an article on "Isolation from *Ginkgo biloba* L. of an Inhibitor of Fungus Growth" from researchers at the University of Virginia and University of Vermont.[461] That same month, Pratt responded to a letter from Rosmer R. Agner of Orcas, Washington regarding ginkgo trees. He noted, "We have biologist in Vermont and Wisconsin who are experimenting with Ginkgo leaves and various viruses, bacteria, etc. and we have not yet found any life that can sustain themselves on Ginkgo leaves. . .we are finding a material in the Ginkgo leaf that destroys all viruses."[462]

By 1961, Pratt was working with a team at the University of Virginia to "find if there is any exceptional chemistry in the tree that accounts for its long life and resistance to disease and insects." He noted that "they have already made one rather interesting discovery in the way of an extract of the leaves that seems to kill all fungi."[463]

DISPENSATION OF CHATHAM LANDS

In September 1963, the National Park Service began contemplating acquisition of Chatham. The agency completed a "Report on Chatham," determining that, "considering position, facilities employed and important people present, Chatham might well be called the most prominent home on the Fredericksburg battlefield." Park Planner Charles A. Jeffers led the effort, with support from park staff.[464]

Ralph Happel, park historian, took photographs of Chatham in the 1960s. Happel described an encounter with John Lee Pratt, "He showed me the big old septic tank and said it was about gone, but that was not his worry; let the Park people worry about that when the time came. He then told me the story of the still. Water from the tank, at one time of wet weather, found its way into a streamlet running down to the river. Some men had a still on the bank making whiskey from this source for quite some time before being caught."[465]

On February 1, 1964, J.P. Harris Jr. prepared a "Plat of Survey of a 29.483 Acre Tract, A Part of Chatham Farm Owned by John Lee Pratt" (Figure 1.167). The

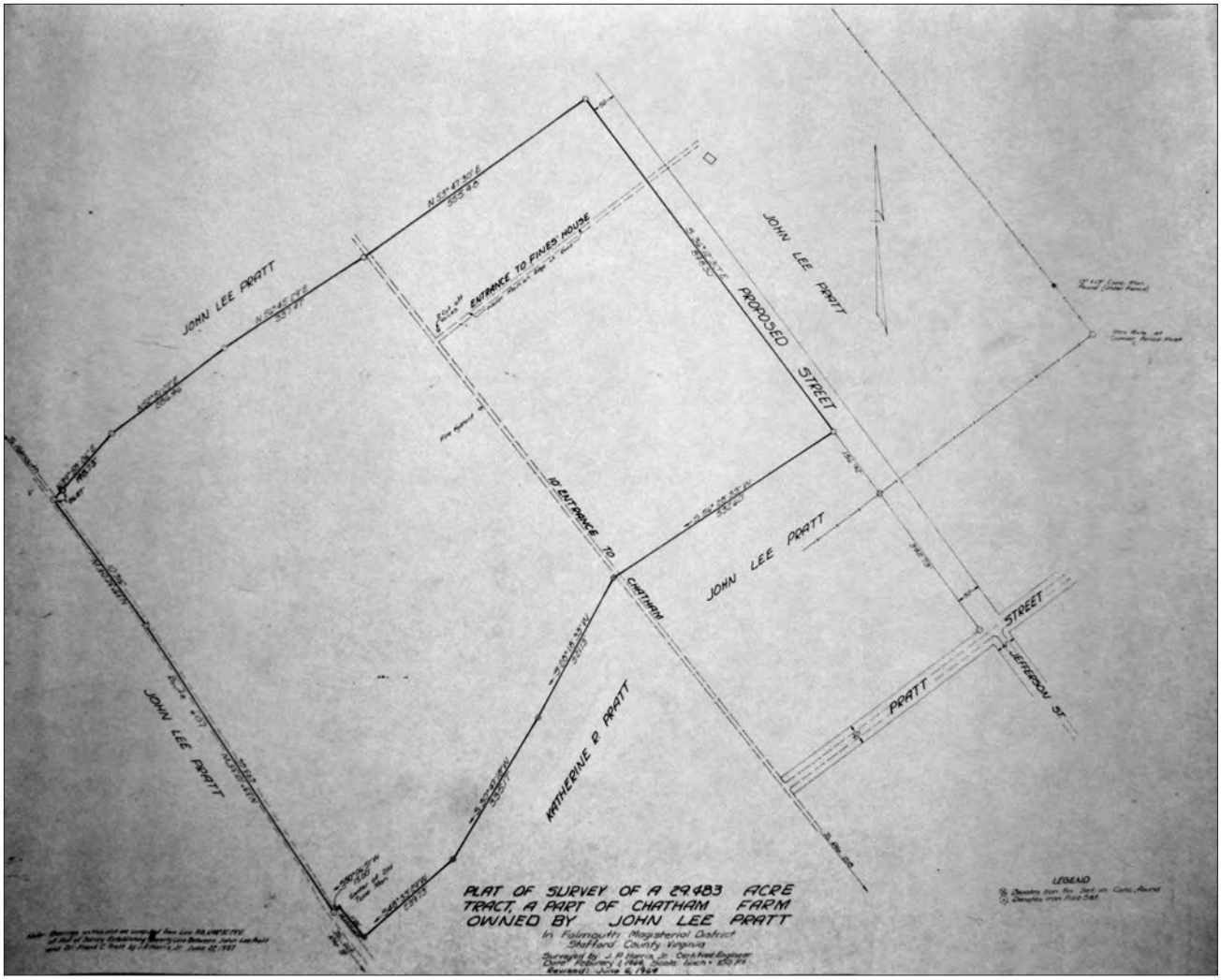


Figure 1.167. Plat of a survey of the core of Chatham prepared by J.P. Harris, Jr. Plan view, February 1964 (FRSP archives, Garage flat files).

survey shows the core of the Chatham property, including the "entrance to Fines house," along the alignment of the Farm Road Trace. Of particular note is the proposed road that was to extend Jefferson Street across the Northeast Field.

Within days, on February 19, John Lee Pratt donated 17.22 acres along the Rappahannock River to the National Park Service. This land included the area that served as the upper pontoon bridge landing during the Civil War. To complete the bridge landing site, Dr. and Mrs. Thomas B. Payne donated four lots in the 1300 block of Sophia Street to the National Park Service.[466]

On March 17, 1964, John Lee Pratt donated an additional 29.48 acres of land to the National Park Service, including the manor house, gardens, and surrounding acreage, effective upon his death.[467] In the first codicil to his last will and testament, he also left six lots described on the plat of Chatham Farm Estates made by W.B. Robards, C.E. on November 14, 1927 to the National Park Service for the development of an access road for Chatham,[468] along with $15,000 for developing the "back road." The balance of Chatham's acreage, excepting the 1927 subdivision of Chatham Farm Estates, was left to the Pratt Foundation.

In 1967, the Virginia Department of Highways prepared additional plans for improvements to the state highway from the end of Chatham Bridge to approximately one mile east. The road's realignment cut into the subdivision of Chatham Heights prepared in 1890.[469] Over the next two years, the Virginia Department of Highways prepared construction documents for road realignment along the eastern approach to Chatham Bridge, including realignment of the intersection Chatham Heights Road and Chatham Lane. An annotated aerial photograph from the *Free-Lance Star* (3 February 1969) showed the proposed road realignment across former Chatham lands (Figure 1.168).[470]

An aerial photograph (Figure 1.169), taken in 1974, documents changes to Chatham since the last aerial photograph was taken in 1954 (see Figure 1.161). Notable changes included the development of clearly defined circulation routes in the vicinity of the poultry complex, a new road along the northwest side of the Dairy Barn, a tilled plot at the intersection of the Farm Road Trace and Farm Lane, a walk in the vicinity of the Rotunda, and maturation of vegetation throughout the grounds.



Figure 1.168. Aerial rendering showing the proposed realignment of King's Highway to the east of Chatham bridge. Chatham is visible along the top of the image. View looking northwest, early 1969 (Free-Lance Star, 3 February 1969).



Figure 1.169. Aerial photograph showing Chatham. Plan view, 1974 (Tri-County Soil and Water Conservation District Offices, 1974 7-10).

ST. CLAIRE BROOKS PARK AND PRATT PARK

While John Lee Pratt had resolved to donate Chatham's core to the National Park Service, Chatham lands to the north remained unclaimed. A 1954 "Plat of Survey of a 127.293 Acre Tract, A Part of Chatham Farm Owned by John Lee Pratt" prepared by J.P. Harris Jr. showed the land to the northwest of Chatham's core (Figure 1.170). An undated blueprint by Slaughter, Saville & Blackburn, Inc. shows a proposed layout of residential lots and roads on the land between River Road and Butler Road, at the northwestern end of Pratt's holdings at Chatham (Figure 1.171). However, these roads were never constructed.

Pratt's neighbor and friend, St. Clair Brooks, felt that the land to the northwest of Chatham's core would make a beautiful park.[471] Pratt agreed. A second undated plan prepared by Blackburn & Blauvelt, Consulting Engineers shows a schematic layout for St. Clair Brooks Memorial Park, including two scenic lookouts at the precipice, a picnic area in the woods, and a large cleared area at the center of the parcel (Figure 1.172). The present layout of the park roughly reflects this plan. Pratt named the park in his friend's memory. It was later reported that Pratt, a civil engineer by training, personally supervised the design of park, including placement of ballfields and type of grass to be used.[472]

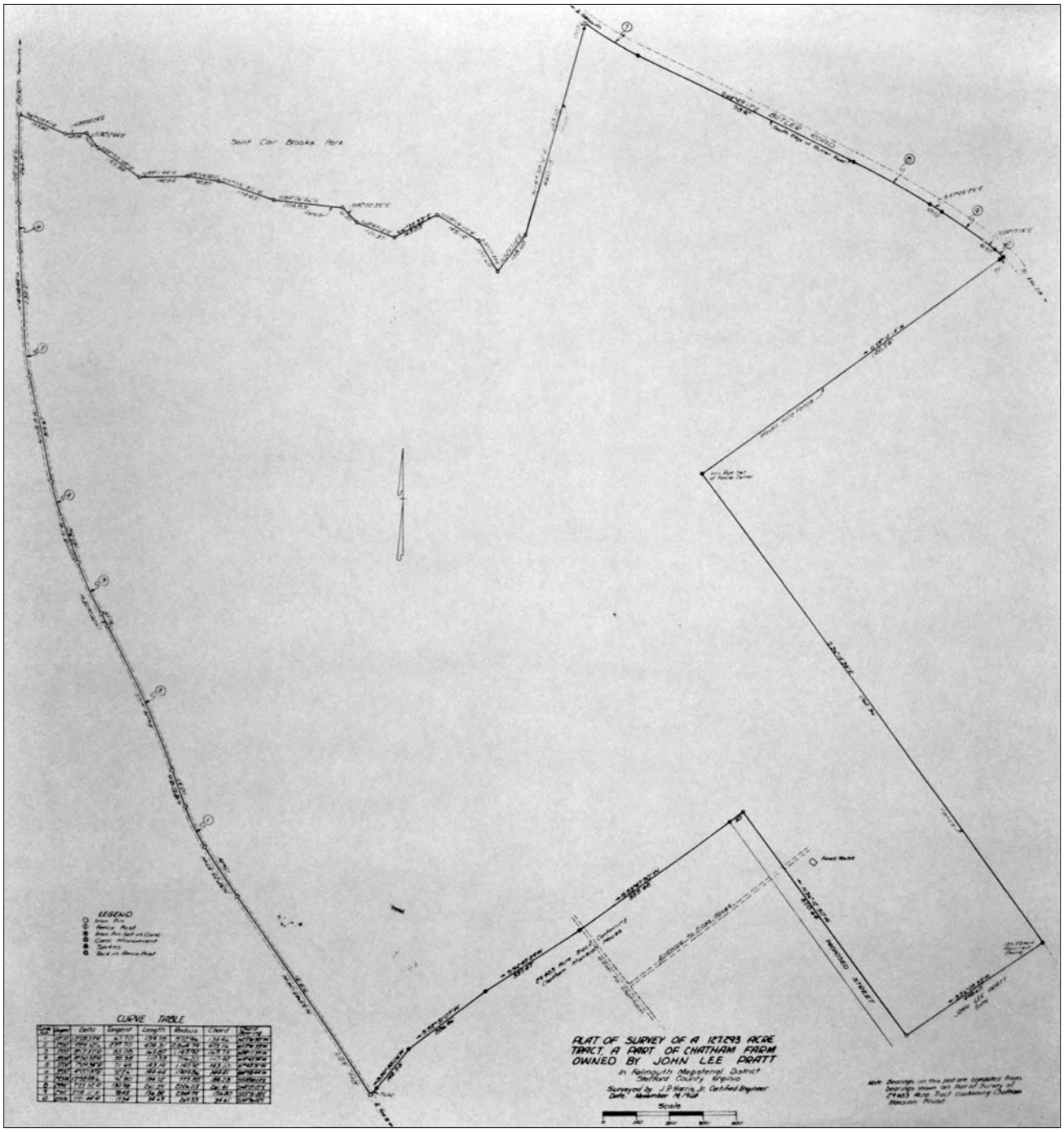


Figure 1.170. Plat of a survey of the northern portion of Chatham prepared by J.P. Harris, Jr. Plan view, 1954 (FRSP archives, Flat files).

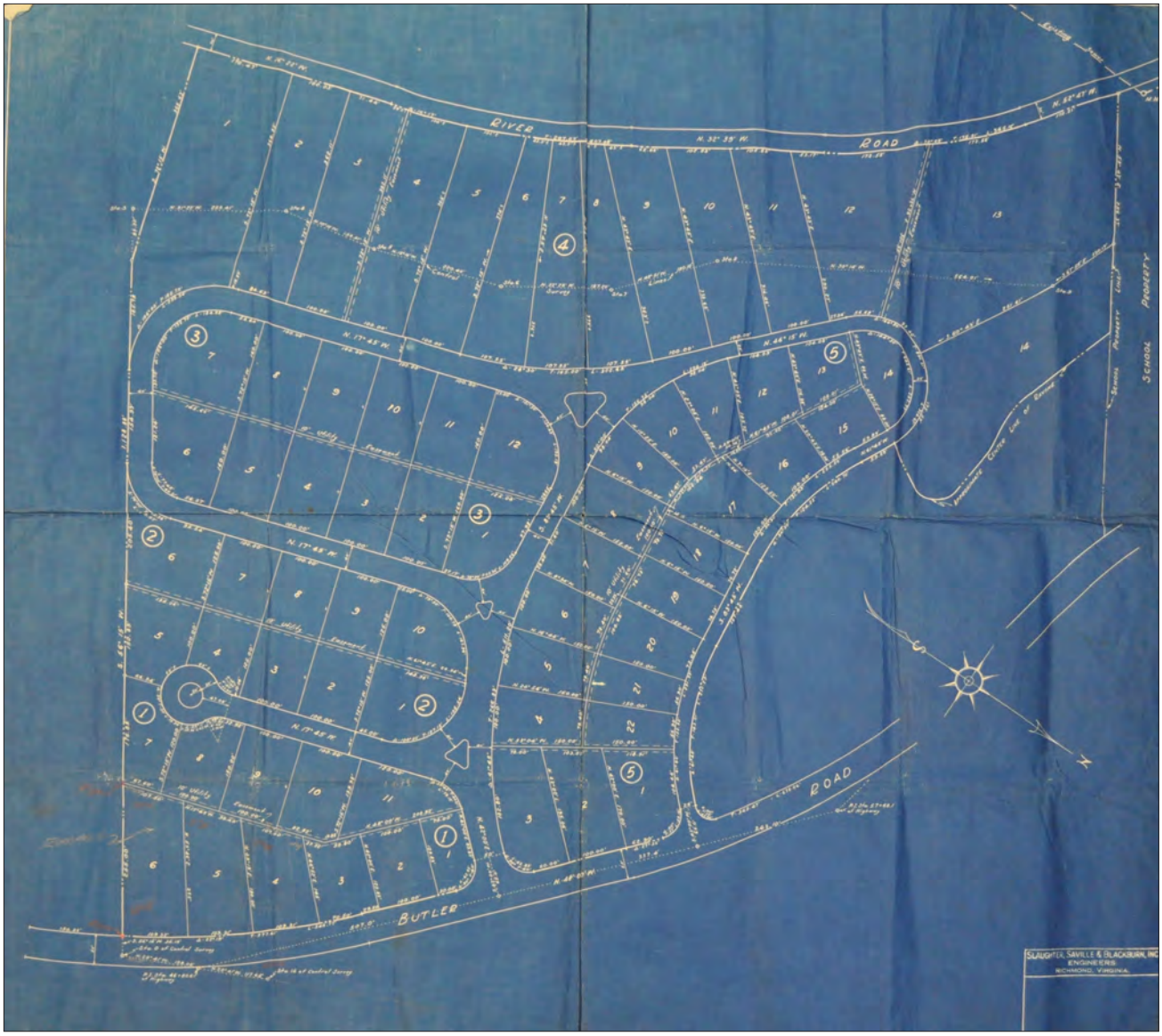


Figure 1.171. Subdivision plan for the northwestern portion of Chatham prepared by Slaughter, Saville & Blackburn. Plan view, n.d. (FRSP archives, Garage flat files).

Marien Robinson, whose father was friends with John Pratt, recalled:

> I do remember that as they [Pratt and Robinson] made these walks through the walks between Falmouth and Chatham, my father kept saying to him, 'John Lee, this is a beautiful piece of woodland.' And he said, 'It's right here on the edge of Fredericksburg.' He said, 'You know Stafford County doesn't have a park at all.' He said, 'It would be nice if you had thought of leaving some of this as a park for the people in Stafford.' He said, 'Yeah, that's an idea. Jim Ashford [spelled phonetically] has contacted me about a subdivision on this track.' But he said, 'I'll think about a park.' And that was all I ever heard.[473]

Pratt Park (Stafford County Parks and Recreation) was established after John Lee Pratt's death on December 22, 1975 by the Pratt Foundation.

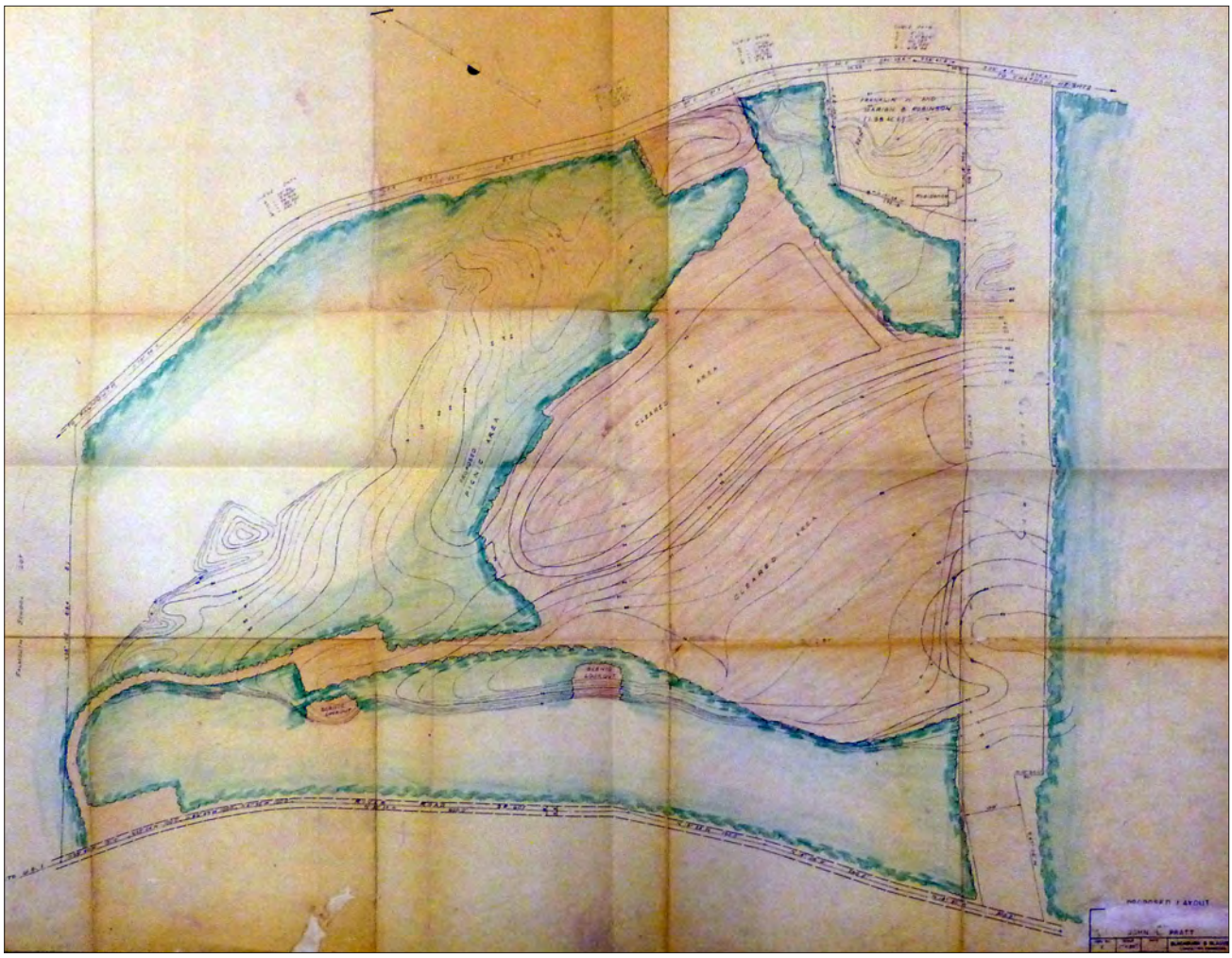


Figure 1.172. Plan for St. Clair Brooks Park prepared by Blackburn & Blauvet. Plan view, n.d. (Pratt Papers, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia).

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY, 1975

By 1975, the Chatham landscape had changed significantly from the heights of its opulence in 1931 (Drawing 6). The property retained all topographic features, natural systems, and general spatial organization that characterized the estate during the previous period of ownership. However, the use of the property as an agricultural estate had virtually ceased and the Walled Garden, painstakingly maintained during the Devore's ownership, no longer demonstrated the same richness.

Circulation patterns in the vicinity of the house remained intact from 1931, altered only by changes to pedestrian walks within the Walled Garden in the 1950s. Across the agricultural fields, several of the farm roads to the north and east of Chatham's core were lost between 1931 and 1975, while use of the farm road beyond the North Ravine appears to have increased. The farm road at the northern end of the North Field, which for generations had connected Chatham with Falmouth, went into disuse and had largely disappeared by 1975. At the same

time, the intersection of Chatham Heights Road and Kings Highway had been reconfigured to accommodate increased traffic across the Chatham Bridge and development along Chatham Heights Road.

By 1975, Chatham's landscape had lost much of its pre-World War II horticultural exuberance. Faced with the challenges of retaining grounds staff during World War II and maintaining the gardens after Lillian Pratt's death in 1947, John Lee Pratt hired Charles Gillette to simplify the gardens with lower maintenance plantings. Most of the herbaceous plant materials within the Walled Garden had been removed or lost by 1975. However, the beds retained their general layout, as envisioned in the 1920s, simplified only by removal of the parterres and reduction of bed sizes in the vicinity of the pergola. Beyond the Walled Garden, boxwoods and upright evergreens remained on the terraces on the river side of the house, with scattered trees on the Center Embankment. Additional yews were planted along the southeastern side of the upper terrace, near John Lee Pratt's prized gingko tree. While the small orchard near the Milk House remained in 1975, the larger orchard beyond the North Ravine was significantly diminished in extent. The embankments and ravines remained wooded, and the riverside fields and woodlot to the east of the Caretaker's Cottage had begun to fill with successional vegetation following a period of disuse. Beyond Chatham's core, successional vegetation also grew along the northeastern property boundary.

The Pratts replaced the Caretaker's Cottage in the 1930s and added a garage to the northeast for their gardener and his wife. The Cottage was adjoined by an extensive kitchen garden to the southeast. In 1935, the Pratts also constructed a second greenhouse at Chatham, the North Greenhouse, to support maintenance of the Walled Garden and to provide fresh flowers for the house. Hot beds adjacent to the structure are believed to have been built about the same time. The Pratts reconfigured the Summer House on the northwestern side of the Walled garden in the 1940s, with the addition to an elliptical bay on the exterior wall.

During the Pratt's ownership, most of the buildings and structures that existed during the Devore's ownership remained, with the notable exceptions of the loss of the large barn with silo and associated buildings along Chatham Lane (constructed by Mays), loss of the garage, outhouse, and barn associated with the agricultural complex at the northeastern end of the Farm Road (now Trace). The larger barn at the end of the road was retained and expanded to an L-shaped footprint during Pratt's ownership.

During the Pratt's ownership, views to and from Chatham were further obscured by the growth of vegetation, including successional vegetation within the ravines, on the embankments, and along the northeastern/southeastern property lines. The expansion of residential and commercial development along Chatham Heights Road (to the northeast and southeast of the estate) also impacted distant views, which were previously unobscured by agricultural fields.

Small scale features remained largely intact from the Devore's ownership, excepting the loss of the Dianna statue that the Devores removed from the garden in 1931, when they moved to Washington, D.C. Despite the loss of several garden beds by 1975, nearly all other garden statuary that was present during the Devore's tenure remained intact during the Pratt's tenure. The fenced kitchen garden adjacent to the Caretaker's Cottage was expanded under the Pratt's ownership, and the Pratts also likely installed supports for grape vines in a second kitchen garden to the northeast of the Walled Garden. Estate employees constructed fenced gardens at the intersection of the Farm Road (now Trace) and the extension of Chatham Lane, within the poultry complex, and adjacent to the agricultural complex at the end of the Farm Road (now Trace).

Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

1975 Period Plan

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Photographs of Walled Garden, c. 1956-74, FRSP Archives
2. Charles F. Gillette, General Layout Plan 417-2, 13 September 1955, Gillette Papers, Library of Virginia
3. Charles F. Gillette, Revised Garden Plan 417-3, 14 September 1955, Gillette Papers, Library of Virginia
4. Orthophotograph, 28 March 1974, Tri County Soil and Water Conservation District Office
5. Historic American Buildings Survey VA-339, March 1977, Library of Congress
6. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
7. Hydrology: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan, 2015
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Park fee boundary (current)
- Topographic contours (10' interval, based on current)
- Road / drive
- Trees
- Orchard
- Lawn / pasture / field
- Building / structure
- Fence

NOTE

All features shown in approximate scale and location.

0' 125' 250' 500'

Drawing 6

1975 TO 2014

In 1975, the National Park Service had ownership of 17.22 acres of Chatham along the Rappahannock River donated by John Lee Pratt, 29.48 acres of Chatham's core donated by Pratt, and a 3.90 acre tract purchased from Perry A. Thompson and Mary B. Thompson on May 9, 1975 along the Rappahannock River for $86,830.[474] A National Park Service outline of decisions on Chatham notes that the core of the Chatham complex consisted of eight acres of landscaped grounds, three vegetable gardens, a small orchard, two water systems, among various other "maintenance responsibilities."[475]

ESTATE APPRAISAL AND AUCTION

A December 1975 appraisal of the Pratt Estate provides excellent documentation of the property at the time of its transfer to the National Park Service (Figures 1.173 to 1.176). On the northeastern side of the house, dogwoods under-planted with English ivy and large sheared boxwood lined the façade. Boxwoods lined the southwestern side of the house, along with forsythia and columnar evergreens. On the middle terrace, large boxwood dotted the landscape and marked the precipice of the slope. Near the hot beds, the remnants of a grape vine were apparent, along with an extensive orchard near the Milk House. Included in this collection of images are rare views of the Caretaker's Cottage, then with a sheared hedge planting along the foundation, and the dwelling on the Entrance Parcel.

According to the deed of gift, the Pratt family had nine months to access the property after his death to settle his estate (until September 1976). Accordingly, in May 1976, the Pratt family organized an auction of the contents of Chatham through Sotheby's.



Figure 1.173. North Greenhouse and adjoining kitchen garden. View looking west, c. 1975 (FRSP archives, Chatham file drawer, Appraisal, John Lee Pratt Estate).



Figure 1.174. Dairy Barn and adjoining orchard. View looking south, c. 1975 (FRSP archives, Chatham file drawer, Appraisal, John Lee Pratt Estate).



Figure 1.175. Middle terrace showing the Carriage Drive Spur and boxwood planting. View looking south, c. 1975 (FRSP archives, Chatham file drawer, Appraisal, John Lee Pratt Estate).



Figure 1.176. Caretaker's Cottage showing the extension of the drive to the garage at rear. View looking north, c. 1975 (FRSP archives, Chatham file drawer, Appraisal, John Lee Pratt Estate).

Several garden furnishings and decorative ornaments were excluded from the sale, including items identified by Mrs. Ashton (Mr. Pratt's niece), Mr. Witticar, Mr. Jedlick, Superintendent Freeland, and Opal Ritchie during their April 1974 walk of the grounds. These items remained on the property for the National Park Service's use in interpreting the twentieth century history of the estate.[476] Garden furnishings and ornaments that were included in the sale (catalogue numbers 213–326), were comprised of:[477]

- Victorian painted cast-iron love seat
- Pair of marble urn-form jardinières on stands
- Pair of Italian terra-cotta wine jugs
- Sculpted stone well head
- Pair of lead groups of musical amors
- Sculpted stone garden settee
- Pair of sculpted stone terrace urns
- Sculpted stone statuette of pan
- Wrought-iron astrolabe on a stone pedestal
- Sculpted stone allegorical figure of a season
- Three marble garden benches
- Set of four lead statuettes of children
- Sculpted marble bird bath
- Lead garden fountain
- Sculpted stone allegorical statue of summer
- Painted cast-iron garden urns
- Pair of stone statues of nude amors
- Pair of metal terrace urns
- Set of three sculpted marble garden table supports
- Pair of sculpted marble plinths
- Two pottery garden jardinières
- Two wicker armchairs
- Wicker chaise

- Group of four painted-metal garden chairs
- Aluminum terrace set

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE RESEARCH AND PLANNING EFFORT

In 1975, the National Park Service was preparing for celebration of the national bicentennial. While these celebrations did not figure prominently in the National Park Service's initial development of Chatham, the timing found the agency with a robust regional support staff. Within months of acquiring Chatham, the Regional Professional Services group planned to initiate a Historic Structures Report for Chatham, which was required prior to any work on the building.[478]

The National Park Service approached the Howard children to collect oral histories of the property. Park historian Bob Krick spoke with William K. Howard on March 2, 1976 and attempted to reach Frances (Howard) Robb in April 1977. In particular, the park was interested in finding the grave of an unknown Civil War soldier that William Howard recalled learning about some sixty-two years before.[479]

In October 1976, the National Park Service regional interpretive specialist visited Chatham to site interpretive waysides and audio near the parking lot as an introduction to the park, along with low profile wayside and audio on the terrace in front the manor house to interpret the town and Civil War landscape features, including the pontoon bridge site.[480] To further advance the interpretation of Civil War history at Chatham, the following spring, the park inquired with the Eagle Head Arsenal in Manassas, Virginia about building two reproduction carriages to mount two 4 ½" sieve rifles on the west lawn at Chatham.[481]

In March 1977, the Historic American Buildings Survey completed photographic documentation of Chatham, including (A) garden statuary and grounds, (B) gazebo with pan statue, (C) kitchen, (D) farm office, (E) stable and garage, (F) greenhouses, (G) dairy barn, (H) laundry, and (I) summer house. All photographs were taken by renowned National Park Service photographer Jack Boucher. Along with the condition of these features, Boucher's photographs also documented vegetation management on the Center Embankment to reestablish the visual connection between Chatham and Fredericksburg, along with the temple (designed by Oliver Clarke), which remained on the lower terrace (Figures 1.177 to 1.180).

In April 1977, the regional park planner, Barron Bohnet, visited Chatham to resolve issues related to the location of the visitor parking area and pedestrian access to the manor house. He also noted that two of the iron supports for the



Figure 1.177. Chatham's southwestern facade from the middle terrace. View looking northeast, 1977 (Library of Congress, HABS VA-339).



Figure 1.178. Chatham's northeastern facade from the Walled Garden. View looking south, 1977 (Library of Congress, HABS VA-339).



Figure 1.179. Chatham from the south side of the Rappahannock River. View looking northeast, 1977 (Library of Congress, HABS VA-339).



Figure 1.180. Chatham from the Ceres statue. View looking southwest, 1977 (Library of Congress, HABS VA-339).

pergola were rusted through and had broken, and that the temple, which was to be moved out of the "interpretive scene" (to the north end of the lower terrace), would likely collapse if moved.[482]

The park safety committee noted other deferred maintenance in 1977, including the need to repair a broken strap hinge on the gate near the Laundry, repair the cracked backrest of the Exedra bench, eliminate hazardous trees, add iron hand rails to the second flight of steps leading to the gazebo, secure garden statuary, repair the love seat bench and arch near rose garden, separate maintenance areas from visitor use areas, reset brick walks, rebuild the service drive entrance gates, repair and bury overhead electrical lines that had been damaged due to rot.[483]

In June 1977, shortly before Chatham was scheduled to open to the public, park superintendent Dixon B. Freeland meet with a representative from the Pratt Foundation and several other National Park Service employees concerning donation of land and money, land acquisition, and the addition of a new access drive for Chatham. The Pratt Foundation, in seeking to liquidate its assets, proposed to sell a thirteen acre parcel adjoining the National Park Service property to the north. Land and Water Conservation funds were proposed for this purpose. The Pratt Foundation intended to return the purchase price to the National Park Service for use in stabilization, interpretation, and/or further land acquisition (six lots) to provide a buffer from adjacent commercial development.

The Pratt Foundation also hoped to donate a rectangular parcel (about 12–15 acres) to the east of Chatham that would roughly square the northern and eastern boundary of the park. Acquisition of this parcel was complicated by the proposed construction of a four-lane highway across the Pratt Foundation property. This highway was at once the best potential access route to Chatham and "a serious

intrusion on the historic integrity of the estate." At the time, proposed visitor access to Chatham was an extension of Jefferson Street over six lots previously donated by Mr. Pratt. The Superintendent Freeland noted: "if the Jefferson Street extension route is not used, we will have to resort to utilizing narrow Chatham Lane for both ingress and egress, a prospect which leaves much to be desired in terms of safety and aesthetics."[484] The Jefferson Street extension was not constructed, and Chatham Lane served as the park's primary, two-way access.

CHATHAM OPENS TO THE PUBLIC

Chatham opened to the public on October 15, 1977. According to the press release, "in the twenty-two months since its acquisition, the National Park System [sic], which administers the thirty-acre site, has completed numerous building stabilization and renovation projects in order to prepare the historic home for its opening this autumn."[485]

Color snapshots from the day by Ron Jordan show visitors on the terraces, with new interpretive signs, parking on the Northeast Field, with one-story farm buildings visible in the distance, Revolutionary War reenactors, picnic tables on the cutting/vegetable garden, and visitors in the Walled Garden, which by then was missing much of its herbaceous planting (Figures 1.181 and 1.182).

In 1978, the National Park Service purchased 13 acres that comprise the northwestern portion of the park, between the manor house and Pratt Park, from the Lillian and John Lee Pratt Foundation.[486] This acquisition was followed by the purchase of 16.17 acres of land to the northeast of Chatham from the Pratt Foundation by way of the National Park Foundation in April 1980 for $150,000.[487]



Figure 1.181. Chatham's terraces on opening day. View looking southeast, 1977 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files, 292).



Figure 1.182. Chatham's Walled Garden on opening day. View looking southeast, 1977 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files, 292).

At the time of the transfer from the Pratt Foundation to the National Park Foundation in 1979, the Pratt Foundation also deeded 30 acres of Chatham to the Rappahannock Area YMCA and 3 acres to the Falmouth Volunteer Firemen's Association and Rescue Squad.[488]

In 1980, the National Park Foundation also sold 3.94 acres (two parcels) along the northeastern side of Chatham to the National Park Service for $84,000. At the same time, the Pratt estate donated an additional 0.30 acres to the National Park Service.[489] With these acquisitions, the National Park Service was in possession of 84.01 acres of Chatham. (In 1993, the National Park Service purchase an additional 1-acre parcel from Steven L. and Mary Ellen Cymrot, bringing the total acreage in fee ownership to 85.01, which remains the current total out of the 88.65-acre current authorized park boundary.)

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE IMPROVEMENTS TO CHATHAM

In August 1978, the National Park Service completed a "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study for Chatham" by Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr. According to the report, the building's proposed treatment approach was preservation. In accordance with a March 1976 Task Directive, special attention was given to the 1862–63 era; secondary effort was given to the periods before and after. In September, the two siege rifles on reproduction carriages were completed and installed on the lower terrace at Chatham to enhance the interpretation of the property's Civil War history. Three Polaroids document the installation by crane (Figure 1.183).



Figure 1.183. Installation of one of two siege rifles on reproduction carriages on the lower terrace. View looking northwest, 1978 (FRSP archives, Chatham photo files, 295).

In November 1978, Scott Blaine with the Virginia Division of Forestry estimated the ages of trees at Chatham using core samples.[490] Based on this analysis, the following was concluded:

- "Linden in front of mansion" planted 1858–63 (Lacy ownership)
- "Locust in front of mansion" planted 1803–28 (Fitzhugh, Jones, or Coalter ownership)
- "Gingko" planted 1873–83 (Watson ownership)
- "Ash in front of house (south side)" planted 1848–58 (Coalter or Lacy ownership)
- "Hackberry in front of mansion" planted 1808–1828 (Jones or Coalter ownership)
- "Catapla trees in front of mansion" planted 1808–18 (Jones ownership)
- "Maple by kitchen in rear of mansion" planted 1868– 78 (Lacy or Watson ownership)
- "Sycamore behind mansion" planted 1858–1868 (Lacy ownership)

In November 1979, the National Park Service also developed plans for a "Comfort Station Facility" in the Boathouse.[491] This planning was followed in October 1981 with plans for sewage system improvements, including alterations and extensions of existing sewer lines, septic tank, and seepage fields.[492]

In 1982, with a $4,950 grant from the Virginia Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation, the Rappahannock Adult Activity Center renovated the North Greenhouse for use as the base for its horticulture training program. The Center also planned to use the South Greenhouse, Dairy Barn, and hot beds, but it remains unknown if the program expanded to these buildings and structures.[493]

Vehicular access to Chatham remained an ongoing concern. In October 1982, the National Park Service evaluated visitor access and circulation alternatives in a formal "Environmental Assessment, Interim Development Concept Plan for Visitor Access and Parking, Chatham Manor Unit," including (1) Chatham Drive entrance and River Road exit (no action), (2) Hamilton Street entrance and exit, (3) Jefferson Street entrance and exit, (4) Jefferson Road entrance and Hamilton Street exit, and (5) Chatham Drive entrance and Jefferson Street exit.[494] No preferred alternative was identified and Chatham Drive entrance with River Road exit continued to serve as the primary vehicular circulation route.

An aerial photograph taken in 1981 (Figure 1.184) documents changes to Chatham since the last aerial photograph, taken 1974 (see Figure 1.169). Notable changes over this period included the addition of tennis courts in Pratt Park, removal of the Poultry House, removal of tilled plots adjacent to the Caretaker's Cottage and the Farm Road Trace, removal of some buildings associated with the cluster of farm buildings at the end of the Field Road Trace, maturation of vegetation throughout Chatham's grounds, and the addition of the Visitor Parking Lot.

"ADAPTIVE RESTORATION" OF THE WALLED GARDEN

Correspondence between James R. Zinck, Superintendent of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park and Mrs. William L. Gillman, Jr., Chairman of the Restoration Committee of the Garden Club of Virginia in 1983 documented early steps in planning for the restoration of the Walled Garden, including questions about restoration to the Devore or Pratt era and the limitations of the park's maintenance capacity. The garden club had been working in consultation with Rudy Favretti and National Park Service's regional landscape architect Reed Engle. However, the garden club was reticent to become officially involved in the restoration project. The superintendent expressed his concerns that without support from the garden club, the garden would see no funding or change.[495]

Between 1984 and 1986, the National Park Service completed an "adaptive restoration" of the Walled Garden, guided by Reed Engle's design work and



Figure 1.184. Partial aerial photograph showing Chatham. Plan view, 1981 (Tri-County Soil and Water Conservation District Offices, FL 14-2).

based on Ellen Shipman's designs and planting plans for the space. Phase I was initiated in 1984 with replanting the perennial border along the central east/west walk. Phase II proceeded in 1985 with replanting the parterre beds close to the house, the "Rose Garden," and in the "Entry Garden" surrounding the statue of Ceres – the Roman goddess of agriculture, grain crops, fertility, and motherly relationships. Many photographs document the National Park Service's work in restoring the garden (Figures 1.185 to 1.188).

Improvements to the garden were enumerated in a 1985 Richmond *Times Dispatch* article that noted that the National Park Service spent $100,000 to restore the "Colonial Revival" Walled Garden. In addition to replanting, funds were used to repoint 16 rose trellis supports (the Garden Pergola) and restore or rebuild 750 linear feet of the Rear Garden Wall (Figure 1.189). Large boxwoods were removed in favor of cedars, and about 270 new small boxwoods (edging) were planted along the axial path to the house. About 100 species of perennials were replanted, along with about 1,500 tulip, daffodil, and Madonna lily bulbs. About 20 pieces of garden statuary were also ordered from a Connecticut company that manufactured some of the original pieces. At the time, an additional $50,000 was needed to build the parterres and replant the entry garden around the Ceres statue.[496]

Subsequent to the restoration project, Reed Engle prepared a "Historic Structure Preservation Guide for Chatham Garden." This guidebook addressed care of garden walls, ironwork, statuary, walks, and plant materials (by species).

In March 1984, during improvements to the Walled Garden, the National Park Service developed a screen planting plan for the eastern property boundary to block views of adjacent commercial development. Species planted included red



Figure 1.185. Upper terrace following installation of the American linden along the central axis of the view. View looking southwest, c. 1986 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room slides).



Figure 1.186. Flowering dogwoods along the northwestern side of the Walled Garden following the adaptive restoration. View looking northeast, c. 1986 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room slides).



Figure 1.187. Central axis of the Walled Garden following adaptive restoration. View looking northeast, c. 1986 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room slides).



Figure 1.188. Parterre beds following adaptive restoration. View looking north, c. 1986 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room slides).



Figure 1.189. Reconstruction of a portion of the garden wall. View looking northeast, c. 1986 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room).

maple, sugar maple, river birch, white dogwood, green ash, American holly, red cedar, sweetgum, tuliptree, southern magnolia, white pine, loblolly pine, scrub pine, and willow oak (Figure 1.190).[497]

In 1988, the National Park Service developed plans for installation of an irrigation system in the garden and on the lawn to the west of the house. However, this system was not installed.[498] By 1993, photographs of the parterres showed how the Walled Garden plantings had deteriorated since their restoration just eight years before, largely on account of limited maintenance (Figures 1.191).

PARK MANAGEMENT AND INTERPRETIVE PLANNING

The National Park Service developed a "General Management Plan for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park" in 1986. The plan included recommendations for Chatham, stipulating modifications to the Stable for interpretive programming, installation of an upgraded two-way road system and a thirty-car "grasscrete" parking lot near the Caretaker's Cottage, increasing the park's public restroom capacity, and burying overhead utility lines. The report also referenced obliterating a residence and outbuilding (Figures 1.192 and 1.193).

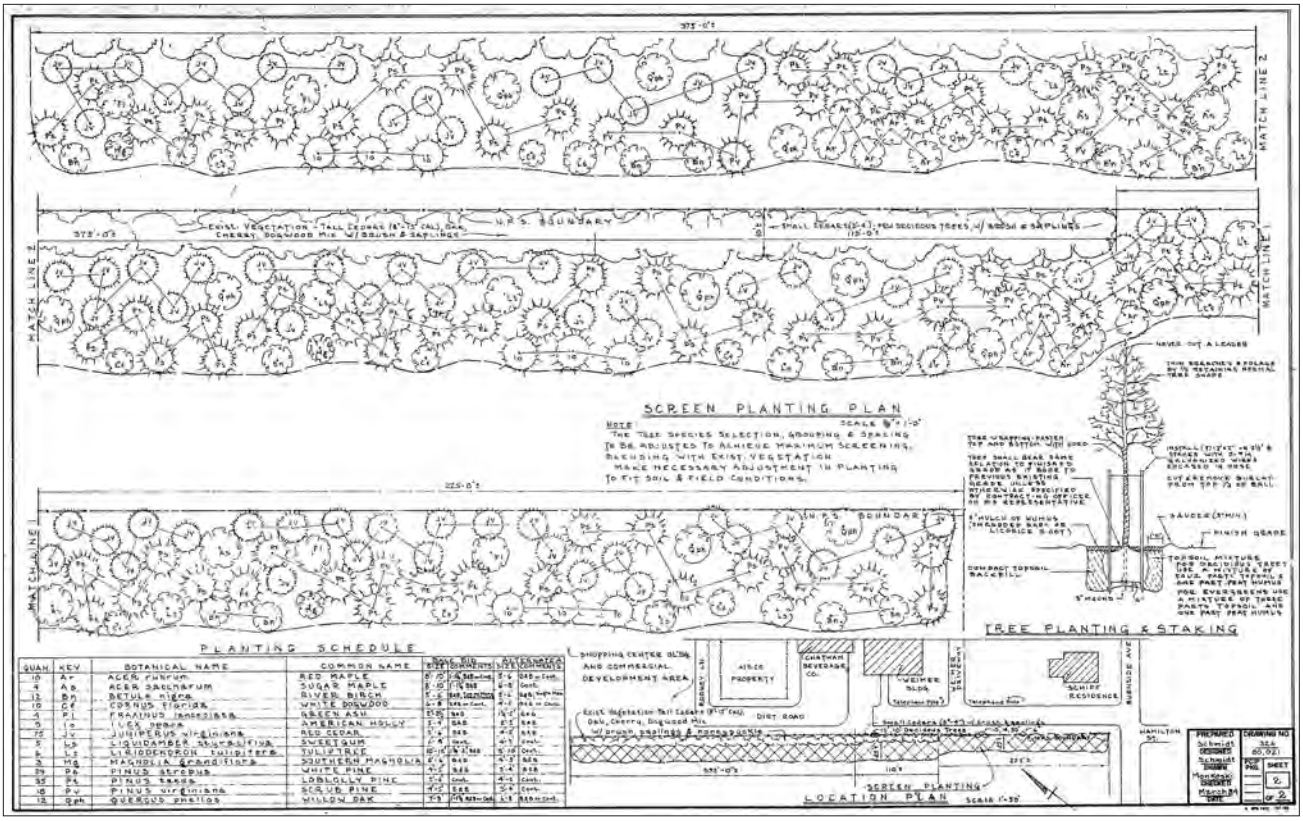


Figure 1.190. Screen planting plan for the eastern property boundary. Plan view, 1984 (NPS, eTIC, 20652).

This planning effort was followed by removal of the Cymrot House from the intersection of Chatham Heights Road and Chatham Lane and the Thompson House from along River Road in 1994–95. Both houses and associated structures were determined ineligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places prior to their demolition.[499]

In 2001, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park completed a "Long-Range Interpretive Plan." The plan detailed an interpretive role for Chatham, with several associated landscape changes to enable the park to achieve its stated goals:

> This plan recommends a changed interpretive role for Chatham. New emphasis will be placed on Chatham as an illustration of the colonial and antebellum South and it associated institutions, social structure, politics, and economics. By illustrating the war's impact on Chatham, Chatham will serve as a metaphor for the fate of the entire south: a prosperous, century-old institution built on a hierarchal social foundation laid waste and transformed by war. Moreover, it is a window into the condition and stresses that begot this war, as evidenced by the 1805 slave insurrection, the Hannah Coalter manumission controversy, and J. Horace Lacy's secessionist activism.
>
> Visitors will leave Chatham understanding that here was a prosperous Southern institution whose foundations and fabric were rocked and ruined by war. Part of this will be accomplished thought a new audiovisual program, to be shown either in the main house or in one of the dependencies.
>
> As part of a broader planning effort (a DCP), the arrival experience to Chatham will be reoriented to the historic front of the house. Visitors will be routed first



Figure 1.191. Deteriorated planting in the parterre beds. View looking south, 1993 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room).

to the north side of the property, past the laundry, and onto the front grounds where elements of the antebellum landscape would be restored. A future DCP alternative also might consider accessing Chatham through Pratt Park, perhaps with some type of combined fee arrangement.

This plan recommends consideration of restoring elements on the historic front of the house (facing the river), where possible and permissible, to their wartime appearance. Exhibits on the terraces will describe the impact of the war on Chatham and the city of Fredericksburg, wartime activity here, the evolution of the antebellum landscape, and connection with the view of Marye's Heights.

The laundry building will be used to illustrate the role of slaves and slavery in the function of Chatham throughout its antebellum history. Interpretation here also can distinguish between differing perceptions of change by slaves and their owners. A combination of exhibits and historic furnishings, perhaps with audio or audiovisual components, will relate these stories. Visitors will see the different levels of southern society as represented at Chatham, including the tensions, prosperity, day-to-day activities, boredom, etc. The number of slaves, the 1805 revolt, and the 1857 manumission trial will be related, illustrating elements of the social condition that eventually led to war.

An integral part of the experience in the main house will be a contrast in furnishings—either in the same room, or in different rooms. The purpose will be to illustrate the impact of the war on this prosperous antebellum plantation. Moving away from the genealogical theme of the existing exhibits, the new approach will inspire a more compelling look at some of the stories Chatham can help tell. These will include Chatham's pre-war evolution, the use of the house as a headquarters, and especially, as a hospital. The hospital story might best be presented through an audiovisual program, as exhibit media and historic furnishings have not proven successful in conveying the reality of field hospital scenes. One unique object, the Beardslee Magneto Telegraph, could be combined with audio, audiovisual, or interactive media to illustrate its use and role in a headquarters operation.



Figure 1.192. The Boathouse prior to installation of brick entrance paths and resurfacing of Farm Lane. View looking southeast, 1986 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room slides).



Figure 1.193. Farm Lane prior to resurfacing showing the kitchen garden at left. View looking southeast, 1986 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room slides).

After experiencing the front of the house and the house itself in an antebellum and wartime context, visitors will exit the rear of the house and enter the existing 1920's landscape. From there they will exit the walled area and return to the parking lot. Whether or not the current garden landscape is retained is less important to the educational experience visitors will have at Chatham—at least the modern gardens will not detract from the interpretation of the significant themes of the site. If the gardens are to be retained, they should be interpreted for what they are, without undue emphasis. Fittingly, under this proposal, the most modern—and least significant—landscape will be the last one encountered by visitors.

The Federal route into Fredericksburg, by way of the ravine and pontoon bridge across the river, will be identified and interpreted. The potential for opening this route as an interpretive trail will be explored. Interpretive media will focus on the numbers of troops that pass through here, and that many never returned.[500]

The landscape implications of the "Long-Range Interpretive Plan" recommendations include:

- Reorienting visitor arrival and entry to the riverside of house
- Restoring the river side of the house and landscape to reflect it 1860s appearance (vista clearing was completed in 2014)
- Installing new interpretive exhibits on the riverside lawn and within the house
- Constructing a new trail to the site of the pontoon bridge river crossing

In June 2002, the National Preservation Institute, in partnership with the park, conducted a strategic planning charrette to develop and evaluate the ways in which Chatham's stories could be better integrated within the overall mission of the park, as well as how the visitor experience at Chatham could be improved. Among the topics discussed were the visitor arrival sequence (through Pratt Park and to the southwest side of the house), development of new interpretive exhibits, replacement of the two-story porch on the south façade, restoration of views to Fredericksburg through vegetation management, use of terraces to interpret different periods of the property's history, establishment of a "garden trust", and development of a self-guided landscape tour.

LANDSCAPE IMPROVEMENTS

Over the summer of 2006, the Garden Club of Virginia awarded a fellowship to Zach Rutz, a master's student at the University of California Berkeley, to research the history of Chatham and document its existing conditions. Rutz's findings are documented in "Chatham, A Landscape Introduction."[501] Subsequently, updated Historic American Buildings Survey documentation for Chatham was completed in June 2013 by Leslie Bird.[502]

Over the summer of 2014, Walled Garden plantings were extensively pruned and managed by Leslie Bird, garden maintenance consultant, who was hired with the support of the Friends of Chatham to improve the condition of the Walled Garden. As a result of this work, the condition of the Walled Garden plantings, particularly within the parterres and along the axial entrance walk, are greatly improved and more closely reflect their condition in the 1920 than any time since the completion of the 1980s adaptive restoration.

In 2014, the National Park Service undertook ambitious improvements to the low-lying lands along the river and across the Center Embankment, clearing the areas of most volunteer and invasive vegetation. This work restored views to and from the manor house and modified wildlife habitat in favor of grassland bird

species along the river.[503] As a result, on the water side of the house, visitors are better able to understand the reasons that Chatham was well-suited as a Civil War headquarters and field hospital.

LANDSCAPE SUMMARY, 2014

In 2014, Chatham's landscape, as it existed at the height of its physical development in the 1920s, has regained much of its charm with support from park staff, the park friends group, and volunteers (Drawing 7). Chatham's siting on the steep embankment overlooking Fredericksburg and the Rappahannock River remain evident, along with the topography of the steep ravines that define the north and south extents of the manor house core. The distinctive earthen terraces constructed to the southwest of Chatham also remain intact, as reconfigured in the early twentieth century during landscape improvements by the Devores. The site's natural systems and features, including the ledge in the North Ravine (now collapsed), as well as intermittent streams in the two ravines, and fertile river bottom soil along the river's edge continue to define the Chatham landscape.

The spatial organization of the site, as it existed under the Pratt's ownership, remains largely intact, with the notable exceptions of the loss of the cluster of agricultural buildings at the northeastern end of the Farm Road Trace and field patterns that are obscured by the growth of hedgerows along the historic alignments of field roads, property lines, and in the vicinity of the orchard beyond the North Ravine (since lost). Despite changes to field and forest patterns, Chatham's agricultural fields remain in use through lease agreements with local farmers. However, with less pressure to maximize productivity in the fields, successional vegetation along the edges has encroached. The manor house, which was a private home for about 200 years (excepting the Civil War era), is now a public park and the administrative headquarters of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. The shift in maintenance practices accompanied this change in use has altered the character of the domestic landscape that surrounds the manor house.

Since the end of the Pratt family's ownership, the National Park Service has added a bituminous concrete Visitor Parking Lot and realigned Chatham Lane adjacent to the lot for visitor safety. The Service Drive was also widened and paved to accommodate staff parking. Brick walks were constructed from the parking lot to the Boathouse to provide a universally accessible route to restrooms and the manor house. Within the Walled Garden and on all three of the earthen terraces, the original paving stones from the 1920s were replaced with slate to accommodate universal access. As a result of increased reliance on vehicular access to the site, the South Ravine Path has become a less prominent circulation route. The Caretaker's Cottage driveway extension, which once connected Chatham Lane to the home's garage, went into disuse and was removed after the

garage was demolished. In addition, nearly all of the remaining farm roads have disappeared since the end of the Pratt's tenure. The Farm Road Trace and road that traverses the North Embankment are all that remain of these historic farm roads.

Since taking ownership of Chatham in 1975, the National Park Service has reintroduced plantings in the Walled Garden to evoke the appearance of Ellen Shipman's 1920s design. Beyond the garden wall, the growth of historic plantings, including the eastern red-cedars (*Juniperus virginiana*) that line the Farm Road Trace and grow to the northeast of the Walled Garden, has changed the character of the landscape substantially since the end of the Pratt's ownership. Many of Chatham's specimen trees and shrubs have reached maturity, necessitating significant management or replacement. On the river side of the house, boxwoods (*Buxus sempervirens*) that lined the river side façade were also removed by the National Park Service to accommodate repairs to the house. The loss of the upright evergreen trees that marked the precipice of the middle terrace and vegetation management on the Center Embankment in 2014 has opened views beyond. The character of several other landscape areas have changed as a result of the growth of successional vegetation, including along property lines and former fence lines, e.g. the former kitchen garden adjacent to the Caretaker's Cottage. The orchard beyond the North Ravine was also lost and the area revegetated by woodland growth. Adjacent to the Milk House, the loss of several orchard trees has also changed the character of this former agricultural area.

Nearly all buildings and structures associated with the manor house cluster remain from the Pratt's ownership, excepting the loss of shed that was formerly attached to the northeastern side of the Dairy Barn, demolition of the garage associated with the Caretaker's Cottage, and hot beds that have deteriorated as a result of disuse. Beyond the manor house building cluster, agricultural buildings, including the Farm House, meat house, and barns at the northeastern end of the Farm Road Trace have all been demolished, along with the poultry complex (now Pratt Park) and homes that once stood on the Entrance Parcel.

Views to and from Chatham have been impacted by encroachment by successional vegetation in the years since the National Park Service took ownership. In 2014, some of this encroachment was remedied by the management of vegetation on the Center Embankment and across the Riverside Field. At the same time, successional vegetation along the park property line helps to screen incompatible views of residential and commercial development adjacent to the park, particularly along Chatham Heights Road.

Since the end of the Pratt's ownership, small-scale features have changed substantially. The property lost many of its garden ornaments and furnishings that were present from the 1920 through 1975, most notably the temple on the lower terrace. Fencing associated with kitchen gardens near the Caretaker's

Cottage, at the intersection of the Farm Road Trace and Chatham Lane, and at the northeastern end of the Farm Road Trace have also been lost, along with the garden spaces they once defined. The National Park Service has also added many small-scale features to the landscape to aid in visitor orientation, interpretation, and use. Benches, picnic tables, trash receptacles, and interpretive and directional signage stand in high visitor use areas. The park also added Cannons on Reproduction Carriages in 1879 and a Reproduction Pontoon Bridge Section in 2005 to enhance the visitor experience and interpretation of the site's Civil War history.

The existing condition of all landscape characteristics and features present at Chatham today are documented in greater detail in the following chapter.



Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

2014 Existing Conditions

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Features inside park boundary: Orthophotograph, USGS, May 2011 and field notes, OCLP, April, July & Sept. 2014
2. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
3. Hydrology, roads, parcels, and buildings outside park boundary: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan & Leslie Bird, 2015
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Park fee boundary
- Topographic contours (10′ interval)
- Bituminous concrete road / drive
- Crushed stone road / drive
- Trees
- Lawn / field
- Building / structure

NOTE

All features shown in approximate scale and location.

0′ 125′ 250′ 500′

Drawing 7

Endnotes

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32. Richmond County Court Deed Book 1, 34, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 6. This tract descended to William Fitzhugh of Chatham and was sold by him to his second cousin Henry Fitzhugh of Bellair on January 14, 1796.

33. Richmond County Court Deed Book 1, 34, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 6. This 1,090-acre tract also descended to William Fitzhugh of Chatham and was sold by him to his second cousin Henry Fitzhugh of Bellair on January 14, 1796.

34. Richmond County Court Deed Book 2, 139, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 6. This 1,246-acre tract also descended to William Fitzhugh of Chatham and was sold by him to his second cousin Henry Fitzhugh of Bellair on January 14, 1796.

35. Fredericksburg District Court Deed Book E, 446, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 10, 32.

36. Josef W. Rukus, "The Plantations of William Fitzhugh of Chatham" (for the National Park Service, 2006), 6.

37. Richmond County Court Deed Book 3, 10 (recorded November 6, 1697), as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 7.

38. This land was part of the 2,000-acre Catlett Patent, which was granted to John Catlett on June 2, 1666, sold by him to William and Leonard Clayburne [sic] on September 8, 1668, and by several conveyances came to John Chadwell.

39. Alvin T. Embry, *History of Fredericksburg Virginia* (Baltimore, MD: Clearfield Company, Inc., 1937, reprint 1994), 211.

40. "Genealogy, The Fitzhugh Family (continued)," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 7, no. 3 (Richmond, VA: The Virginia Historical Society, January1900), 319.

41. Richmond County Virginia Miscellaneous Record Book 1699–1724, 56 as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 9.

42. King George County Deed Bok A-1, 268 (June 12, 1733), admitted to record July 6, 1733 at King George County Court.

43. "Fitzhugh Family," *Virginia Magazine, VII* (April 1900), 425, as referenced in Ronald Johnson and Gerald Karr, *Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, Virginia* (Denver, CO: National Park Service Denver Service Center, 1978), 13.

44. George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 89.

45. King George County Deed Book 2, 159 (February 3, 1737), 161 (January 14, 1737), 163 (January 14, 1747), 165 (February 3, 1737), 166 (February 3, 1737), 168 (February 3, 1737), 168 (February 3, 1737), 239 (2 March 1737), and 355 (July 29, 1740) as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II" 9–91.

46. William W. Hening, *Statutes at Large* 4 (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 238, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 93.

47. William W. Hening, *Statutes at Large* 4 (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 234, as referenced in Jerrilynn Eby, *Land of Hogs and Wildcats, People and Places of Lower Stafford County, Virginia* (Berwyn Heights, MD: Heritage Books, 2013), 547.

48. Westmoreland County Court Order Book 1739–1743, 187a, Court Orders of February 22, 1742/3 as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II:" 84.

49. Stafford County Record Book M, 355 as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 84.

50. Stafford County Record Book M, 369 (June 29,174) as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 84. Inventories were also completed for Eagle's Nest (Stafford County Record Book O, 5) and Ravensworth (Stafford County Record Book M, 380).

51. George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume V," 160; George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 97.

52. Thomas Jefferson to John Page, Annapolis (May 25, 1766), http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl03.php (May 10, 2017).

53. As coined in Barbara Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2008).

54. Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia, 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945).

55. Christopher Harvey Jones, "Robert Beverley and the Furniture of Blandfield, Essex County, Virginia, 1760–1800," (Masters dissertation, 2006), 32, https://repository.si.edu/bitstream/handle/10088/17146/Corcoran_Jones_2006_RobertBeverly.pdf?sequence=1

56. Center for Palladian Studies in America, "Palladio and Architectural Patternbooks in Colonial America" http://www.palladiancenter.org/patternbooks.html (May 11, 2017).

57. Barbara Burlinson Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 289–292.

58. James Hunter to Hon. Richard Corbin (February 26, 1768), as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 26 and George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 10; see also George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume V," 46.

59. Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, "Georgian Style 1700–1800," http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/portal/communities/architecture/styles/georgian.html (March 16, 2016).

60. Wells, Camille, "Social and Economic Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Housing on the Northern Neck of Virginia" (Ph. D. dissertation, The College of William and Mary, 1994), 92.

61. Wells, Camille, "Social and Economic Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Housing on the Northern Neck of Virginia" (Ph. D. dissertation, The College of William and Mary, 1994), citing Thomas Tileston Waterman, *The Mansions of Virginia, 1706-1776* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945).

62. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, William Peden, ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1982), 152.

63. Stafford historian Jerrilynn Eby shared observations on her and her husband Rick's research with the park involving a possible brickyard site on the Chatham plantation, maybe on or near Claiborne Run in the far northern corner of the estate: "For many years I've diligently copied from the Stafford court records every road description I could find. Over the course of time I've repeatedly come across mention of the "old brick yard" or the "old brick kiln." Through a process of elimination I finally determined that this was somewhere on the east side of Forbes Street. We were recently talking to someone whose family used to own property at the junction of Forbes and Harrell. One of his family's deeds included mention of the brick yard as being on their land. My guess is that this deed was late 19th or early 20th century, so mention of the yard was used only as a property reference, not saying that the yard was then functional. Since the family owned land on both sides of Harrell Road where it junctions with Forbes, I still don't know whether the kiln/yard was on the north or south side of the road. The earliest reference I've found of this is in 1854 when William S. Green was named overseer of the road "from Falmouth Bridge through Falmouth to the old Brick Kiln on the road to Stafford Court House." I've copied numerous references to the brick kiln or brick yard and almost without exception it is always described as "old." The more recent deed for a relatively small parcel straddling Harrell Road made Rick and I wonder if this might have been where the bricks for Chatham were made. My guess is that the property had originally been part of Chatham."

64. *Virginia Gazette* (October 5, 1796), as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 123; see also Ralph Happel, *Chatham, the Life of a House* (Philadelphia, PA: Eastern National Park & Monument Association for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, 1984), 10 and Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 22–23.

65. King George County Deed Book 5, 994 (November 27, 1771) and Spotsylvania County records (November 22, 1771), as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 95.

66. Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania

County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 26.

67. Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, Washington Ledger Book B, 65, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 126; *Writings of Washington* v. 3, 205, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 129.

68. Between 1769 and 1773, but primarily in 1796–70, William Fitzhugh sold more than 10,000 acres in Spotsylvania County for upwards of £2,766. These sales included a plantation of 1,500 acres in Spotsylvania, also called Chatham (sold June 4, 1770). It seems that proceeds from these sales were used to fund construction of Chatham. George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 105; see also Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 20–21.

69. Marc R. Matrana, *Lost Plantations of the South* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), 26-27, citing J. F. D. Smith's "Tour of the United States of America," 1784.

70. *Diary of Landon Carter*, vol. 1, 362, cited by Barbara Burlinson Mooney, *Prodigy Houses of Virginia: Architecture and the Native Elite* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 221.

71. James D. Kornwolf and Georgiana Wallis Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial North America, Volume 2* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

72. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed, Four British Folkways in America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1989), 265.

73. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed, Four British Folkways in America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1989), 267.

74. The term oxgang is derived from generally acknowledged limits to the capability of a single oxen's plowing during a season.

75. Thomas Shippen, Westover, to his parents (December 31, 1783), as quoted in Ethel Ames, ed., *Nancy Shippen – Her Journal Book*, https://archive.org/stream/nancyshippenherj006968mbp/nancyshippenherj006968mbp_djvu.txt (May 11, 2017).

76. *Diary of John Harrower, 1773–1776*, as quoted in *The American Historical Review* (Vol. 6, No. 1, October 1900), 65–107.

77. Donald Culross Peattie, *A Natural History of Trees of Eastern and Central North America* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1966), 267-268.

78. Donald Culross Peattie, *A Natural History of Trees of Eastern and Central North America* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1966), 267-268.

79. See Arthur Shurcliff plans at Colonial Williamsburg.

80. Thomas Jefferson to Adrienne-Catherine de Noailles, Comtesse de Tessé (October 26, 1805), Huntington Library Transcription, Founders Online; Fiske Kimball, *Landscape Architecture Magazine* (Vol. 7, 1917), citing Thomas Jefferson to William Hamilton, July 1809.

81. W.G.S. "Racing in Colonial Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (Vol. 2, No 3, January 1895), 304.

82. James R. Fichter, *So Great A Profit* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 15.

83. Benjamin Quarles, "Lord Dunmore as Liberator," *The William and Mary Quarterly* (Vol. 3, No.15).

84. *Virginia Gazette* (19 December 19, 1777), as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 132.

85. Duke University, Manuscripts Division, Letter Book of Robert Carter of Nominy Hall, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 15.

86. Kate Mason Rowland, "Robert Carter of Virginia," The Taylor-Trotwood Magazine (May 1910, vols. 11-12), 461; Andrew Levy, The First Emancipator: The Forgotten Story of Robert Carter, the Founding Father who Freed his Slaves (New York: Random House, 2005), 80.

87. George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 7.

88. St. George Tucker, *Blackstone's Commentaries: With Notes of Reference* (Vol. 3, 1803), Note A: "Concerning the Tenure of Lands in Virginia and the Mode of Acquiring Them."

89. "Governor Nelson to Governor Burke." William P., Palmer, ed. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781* (Richmond, 1881), 381, 390, as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 32.

90. Evelyn M. Acomb, ed. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig Von Closen, 1780–1783* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1958), 210, as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 32.

91. Stafford County Tax Lists (Library of Virginia), as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 12.

92. Stafford County Tax Lists, 1783 (Virginia State Library, Archives Division), as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 52.

93. George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 33.

94. William W. Hening, *Statutes at Large* 12 (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 511, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 31; Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 34.

95. Fredericksburg District Court Deed Book D, 77, as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 34.

96. George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume IV," 87–88.

97. *Virginia Herald* and *Fredericksburg & Falmouth Advertiser* (February 14, 1797), as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 37–40.

98. General George Weedon Ledger E (Virginia State Library, Archives Division), 65, 156, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume V," 153.

99. Ralph Happel, *Chatham, the Life of a House* (Philadelphia, PA: Eastern National Park & Monument Association for Fredericksburg and Spotsyl-

vania National Military Park, 1984), 17.

100. Charles County, Maryland Wills A. H. No. 9 [1785–1788], folio 171–1 74, as referend in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume V," 152.

101. Massachusetts Historical Society, Division of Manuscripts, Jefferson Papers, as referend in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 15 and Josef W. Rokus, "Mystery Solved," *The Free Lance-Star Town & Country* (4 March 2006), 8–11; University of Virginia Special Collections; see also BV 458-06 for transcript of letter.

102. *Virginia Herald* and *Fredericksburg Advertiser* (25 March 25, 1790) as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 27.

103. *Virginia Herald* and *Fredericksburg Advertiser* (April 10, 1791); *Virginia Herald and Fredericksburg & Falmouth Advertiser* (March 1, 1797) as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 41.

104. For example, "Chatham on the Rappahannock," in Paul Wilstach, *Tidewater Virginia* (Indianapolis, Indianna: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1929), 269.

105. Library of Virginia Stafford County Tax Lists, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 12.

106. Stafford County Tax Lists, 1783 (Virginia State Library, Archives Division), as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 52.

107. Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia" in Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 123.

108. Garrett Fesler, "Excavating the Spaces and Interpreting the Places" in Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg, *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 32.

109. John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 183.

110. *Virginia Herald* (August 3, 1804), as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 45.

111. University of Virginia, Special Collections, Fitzhugh Family Papers, as referenced in Albert H. Tilson, Jr. *Accommodating Revolutions, Virginia's Northern Neck in an Era of Transformations, 1760–1810* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 115.

112. Massachusetts Historical Society, Division of Manuscripts, Jefferson Papers as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 16.

113. Olive Moore Gambrill, "John Beale Boardley and the Early Years of The Philadelphia Agriculture Society," *The Pennsylvania Magazine* ,66, (October 1942), 425, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 29 and Washington Papers, William Fitzhugh to George Washington, 25 February 1786, as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 39–40.

114. George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 68.

115. Wells, Camille, "Social and Economic Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Housing on the Northern Neck of Virginia" (Ph. D. dissertation, The College of William and Mary, 1994), 42.

116. Wells, Camille, "Social and Economic Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Housing on the Northern Neck of Virginia" (Ph. D. dissertation, The College of William and Mary, 1994), 42–45.

117. Robert Sutcliff, "Travels in Some Parts of North America in the Years 1804, 1805 & 1806" York, England: W. Alexander, 1815; see Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, Declaration of Assurance, William B. Wallace, policy 130, 30 September 1796.

118. New York Public Library, Manuscripts Division, The Emmett Collection. v. IV, p. 1070, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 22.

119. Ralph Happel, *Chatham, the Life of a House* (Philadelphia, PA: Eastern National Park & Monument Association for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, 1984), 18; George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 3.

120. University of Virginia Special Collections, Fitzhugh Family Papers, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 59.

121. Washington Papers, Fitzhugh to Washington, 15 March 1798, as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 40.

122. Washington Papers, Fitzhugh to Washington, 1 April 1799, as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 40.

123. Writings of Washington v. III, 48, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 136.

124. University of Virginia Special Collections, Fitzhugh Family Papers, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 95.

125. New York Public Library Manuscripts Division, "William Fitzhugh" misc. folder, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 11; Writings of Washington v. 28, 314, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 132; University of Virginia Special Collections, Fitzhugh Family Papers, as referenced in Albert H. Tilson, Jr. *Accommodating Revolutions, Virginia's Northern Neck in an Era of Transformations, 1760–1810* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 115.

126. University of Virginia Special Collections, Fitzhugh Family Papers, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 54.

127. University of Virginia Special Collections, Fitzhugh Family Papers, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 94.

128. University of Virginia Special Collections, Fitzhugh Family Papers, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 98.

129. University of Virginia Special Collections, Fitzhugh Family Papers, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 93.

130. Virginia State Library, Archives Division, Stafford County Tax Lists, 1801, as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 52.

131. University of Virginia Special Collections, Fitzhugh Family Papers, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 117.

132. University of Virginia Special Collections, Fitzhugh Family Papers, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 118.

133. Letter 6 February 1805, William Richards to Governor John Page, Central Rappahannock Heritage Center

134. *Virginia Herald* of Fredericksburg 4 and 8 January 1805, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 44 [King misquotes year as 1804]; see also Central Rappahannock Heritage Center, 2000-035-120, "Plea for mercy for negro slave Robin," 1805; see also BV 458-02, BV 519-23

135. United States Constitution, Article one, section 8.

136. Library of Virginia, Records of the Mutual Assurance Society, no. 47.

137. Library of Virginia, Records of the Mutual Assurance Society, no. 48.

138. Library of Virginia, Records of the Mutual Assurance Society, no. 974.

139. Library of Virginia, Records of the Mutual Assurance Society, no. 975.

140. Ralph Happel, *Chatham, the Life of a House* (Philadelphia, PA: Eastern National Park & Monument Association for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, 1984), 20.

141. University of Virginia Special Collections, Fitzhugh Family Papers, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume I," 77–84.

142. College of William and Mary Special Collections, "Carter Family Papers, "Series 1, Subseries 4, Subseries1, Box 1, Folder 8 (transcribed in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 107–08).

143. *Virginia Herald* and *Fredericksburg & Falmouth Advertiser*, 14 February 1797, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 37–40.

144. *Virginia Herald* and *Fredericksburg & Falmouth Advertiser*, 14 February 1797, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 37–40.

145. Margaret Law Calvert, *Plantation Letters of Rosalie Stier Calvert*, Rosalie Stier to H. J. Stier, 7 July 1804, 89.

146. *Virginia Herald*, 3 August 1804, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II, 45.

147. District Court of Fredericksburg, Deed Book E, p. 446; Ralph Happel, *Chatham, the Life of a House* (Philadelphia, PA: Eastern National Park & Monument Association for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, 1984), 22, 24; George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume IV, 93; Library of Virginia, Stafford County Tax Lists, 1806, 1807, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II, 14; for deed transcription, see Library of Virginia, Embry, Alvin T. George Washington's Boyhood Home (Stafford County, VA, 28560) Misc. Reel 140, 35.

148. We Relate, "Churchill Jones (b. 1748)," http://www.werelate.org/wiki/Person:Churchill_Jones_%283%29

149. Ronald W. Johnson and Harlan D. Urau, "Preliminary Historic Resource Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefield Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Branch of Cultural Resources, October 1982), 62–63.

150. Ronald W. Johnson and Harlan D. Urau, "Preliminary Historic Resource Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefield Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Branch of Cultural Resources, October 1982), 61.

151. George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume IV," 93.

152. Ronald W. Johnson and Harlan D. Urau, "Preliminary Historic Resource Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefield Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Branch of Cultural Resources, October 1982), 62.

153. Ralph Happel, *Chatham, the Life of a House* (Philadelphia, PA: Eastern National Park & Monument Association for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, 1984), 27.

154. "Letter to Martha Selden Jones," contributed by C.G. Chamberlayne, William and Mary Quarterly, Second Series, XVIII (July 1938), 291–93, as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 68–69; see also Virginia Historical Society, King Files, Jones.

155. Ralph Happel, *Chatham, the Life of a House* (Philadelphia, PA: Eastern National Park & Monument Association for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, 1984), 27.

156. Ralph Happel, *Chatham, the Life of a House* (Philadelphia, PA: Eastern National Park & Monument Association for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, 1984), 28.

157. Virginia Herald, 21 November 1806, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume III," 51.

158. Bureau of the Census, Third Census of the United States 1810, Stafford County, Virginia, as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 80; see also BV 458-01.

159. Library of Virginia, Stafford County Tax Lists, 1811, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 10, 15.

160. George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 46.

161. Bureau of Census, Fourth Census of the United States 1820, Stafford County, Virginia, BV 458-01.

162. UVA Historical Collections at the Claude Moore Health Sciences Library, "Letter from C, Jones, 6 January 1821."

163. UVA Historical Collections at the Claude Moore Health Sciences Library, "Letter from M Jones, [18--]."

164. UVA Historical Collections at the Claude Moore Health Sciences Library, "Letter from M Jones, [18--]."

165. Library of Virginia, Stafford County Tax Lists, 1815, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume II," 15.

166. Fredericksburg District Court file #155 Major Churchill Jones v. Wm. H. Fitzhugh, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume IV," 106.

167. Sally M. Lacy, Letter to T*he Daily Star*, November 11, 1909 [VA Hist. Soc. Bryan Family Papers]

168. George H.S. King, "Jones Gibson Papers," 32.

169. George H.S. King, "Jones Gibson Papers," 35–7.

170. Virginia State Library, Archives Division, Fredericksburg District Court, File 289, The Bridge Account, Washington and Thorton v. Fitzhugh, as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 69.

171. George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume IV," 101.

172. Virginia Herald 9 October 1816, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume IV," 95.

173. "Virginia Herald" 1 June 1822, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume IV," 111.

174. Betty Lacy, "Memories," 4, see BV 59.

175. Betty Lacy, "Memories," 4, see BV 59; Stafford County Book "GG," 321 et seq., as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume IV," 104.

176. Will in Washington v. Jones's Executors, File 289, Fredericksburg District Court Records, as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 82.

177. "Virginia Herald" 4 December 1822, as referenced in George H.S. King, "Chatham Papers, Volume IV," 114.

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446. Cornell University, Shipman Papers 1259, Box 8, Folder 34 (5 September 1945).

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450. University of Virginia Special Collections, Pratt Papers, Box 2, 1953-63 Correspondence re: Ginkgo Trees (Pratt to Mrs. William F, Franklin of Washington, DC, 17 July 1958).

451. Pratt to Andrews, 21 February 1948.

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453. FRSP archives, Garage Flatfiles.

454. Interview with Thomas Inscoe (14 January 2008); see also BV 545-07.

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457. University of Virginia Special Collections, Pratt Papers, Box 11, 1953-55 Notes and Journal Articles re: Molybdenum Research.

458. Interview with Mrs. Opal Ritchie (30 August 1978); see also BV 545-10.

459. Interview with Marien Robinson (18 September 2009); see also BV 546-01.

460. University of Virginia Special Collections, Pratt Papers, Box 2, 1953-63 Correspondence re: Ginkgo Trees (Pratt to Dr. W.W. Scott of the Brady Urological Institute, The Johns Hopkins Hospital, November 22, 1957).

461. University of Virginia Special Collections, Pratt Papers, Box 2, 1953-63 Correspondence re: Ginkgo Trees (11 November 1960).

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463. University of Virginia Special Collections, Pratt Papers, Box 2, 1953-63 Correspondence re: Ginkgo Trees (Pratt to Mrs. W.F. Harrington (Elizabeth), 18 July 1961).

464. National Park Service, "Report on Chatham, Stafford County, Virginia" (Atlanta, GA: National Park Service, Southeast Region, 1963), n.p., summary; A development schedule for the park included archeological, historical, and architectural research; vista cutting; and river bank stabilization in the first year after acquisition. In the second year, improvement of roads and walks, restoration/rehabilitation of outbuildings, installation of signs and markers, general grounds clean-up, and additional vista cutting was scheduled. In the third year, construction of a parking area and roads and walks was scheduled along with restoration/rehabilitation of the mansion, installation of wayside exhibits, and removal of undesirable roads, trails, fences, and other structures. In the fourth year, additional restoration/rehabilitation of outbuildings was scheduled, along with restoration of the "historical gardens."

465. FRSP archives, Chatham file drawer.

466. Landsnet FRSP D-116 (tract 01-121); *Free-Lance Star* (14 March 1964), as referenced in Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia" (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 221.

467. Landsnet FRSP D-200 (tract 01-123).

468. Recorded in Plat Book 2, page 132B in the Stafford Country Circuit Court Office, Lots 24, 25, 64 and 65 in Block C and Lots 21 and 22 in Block D.

469. VDOT Project SSG-1561(1).

470. VDOT Project S-1561(1).

471. John Goolrick, "A Millionaire with Simple Tastes," *Free-Lance Star* (14 August 1999), 5–6.

472. John Goolrick, "A Millionaire with Simple Tastes," *Free-Lance Star* (14 August 1999), 5–6.

473. Interview with Marien Robinson (18 September 2009); as referenced in BV 546-12.

474. Landsnet FRSP D-191 (tract 01-134).

475. Memo, Associate Regional Director, Park System Management to Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Region, 19 August 1975.

476. BV 530-22, BV 530-25.

477. Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 1976; see also BV 459-18.

478. Memo, Associate Regional Director, Park System Management to Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Region, 19 August 1975.

479. William and Mary Special Collections, Robb-Bernard Papers, Mss 65 R54, Box 4, Folder 3, Letters January–June 1977

480. Memo, Interpretive Specialist to Mid-Atlantic Regional Director through Associate Regional Director, 2 November 1976.

481. A. Wilson Greene to Dick Carter, 24 March 1977.

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483. Memo, Chairman, Safety Committee to Superintendent (30 August 1977).

484. Draft Memo Superintendent to Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Region, 20 June 1977.

485. Draft press release, FRSP archives, Chatham file drawer; see also BV 530-17 for press release.

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487. Landsnet FRSP D-267 (tract 01-175).

488. Unknown local newspaper, 18 May 1979.

489. Landsnet FRSP D-268 (tracts 01-176–78).

490. FRSP archives, Chatham file drawer.

491. eTIC, 58523.

492. eTIC, 204569.

493. *Free Lance-Star*, 5 February 1982.

494. eTIC, 24629.

495. Virginia Historical Society Garden Club Records, Mss3 G1673 a Sect. 2.

496. *Richmond Times Dispatch*, 18 July 1985.

497. eTIC, 20652.

498. eTIC, 73685.

499. NR Determination of Eligibility files.

500. National Park Service, "Long-Range Interpretive Plan, Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park" (Harper's Ferry, VA: National Park Service, Harper's Ferry Center, 2001), 26–27.

501. Rutz, Zachary, "Chatham: A Landscape Introduction" (Richmond, VA: The Garden Club of Virginia, 2006).

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503. NPS Project No. FRSP 163065.



Figure 2.1. View along the central axis of the Walled Garden. View looking southwest, 2014 (OCLP).

EXISTING CONDITIONS

This chapter describes the existing condition of Chatham in 2016. It begins with a description of the regional context and park operations. This context is followed by a landscape description that documents each of the landscapes characteristics and features that define Chatham, including topography and natural systems, spatial organization and land use, circulation, vegetation, buildings and structures, views and vistas, constructed water features, small-scale features, and archeological features.

The narrative is supplemented by existing conditions drawings (Drawings 8–14). These drawings are based on field notes (2014), US Geological Survey orthophotographs (2011), Federal Emergency Management Agency LiDAR data (2001), and other mapping data from the Stafford County Geographic Information Systems Office (2014). Specimen vegetation in the immediate vicinity of the manor house is inventoried and keyed to existing conditions Drawing 9 (see Appendix B for key). Vegetation within the Walled Garden is inventoried and keyed to existing conditions Drawings 10–14 (see Appendix C for key).

Detailed descriptions of each landscape feature are presented in the following chapter, Analysis and Evaluation. More detailed information about buildings and structures is provided in the *Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study* (1978) and *Historic Structure Report, Architectural Data Section* (1984). Similarly, more detailed information about archeological features is provided in archeological overview and assessment reports for the park, *An Overview and Assessment of Archaeological Resources and Landscapes within Lands Managed by Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, Volume I* (2004) and *Volume II* (2006), as well as archeological studies specific to Chatham: *An Archeological Survey of the Chatham Manor Tract* (1979), *A Geophysical Survey at Chatham Mansion, Virginia* (1981), and *Archeological Study, Chatham Mansion Sewage System* (1982).

REGIONAL CONTEXT

Chatham is situated in Stafford County, Virginia on a bluff overlooking the Rappahannock River and City of Fredericksburg. The park is bordered by the river to the southwest, John Lee Pratt Memorial Park (Stafford County) to the northwest, commercial development to the northeast, and residential

development to the southeast. Beyond, to the east and south, railroad tracks and Claiborne's Run trace the natural topography of the area. The community of Falmouth is located one mile to the northwest of the park.

PHYSIOGRAPHIC

Chatham is located along the Rappahannock River, which defines the southern limits of Virginia's Northern Neck, the peninsula on the western shore of the Chesapeake Bay between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers. The Northern Neck is located in Virginia's Tidewater region, where watercourses remain tidal and topography rarely reaches 100 feet above sea level.

The Fall Line, which lies just one mile up the Rappahannock from Chatham, separates the Tidewater Region from the Piedmont Region of the state. The Fall Line is the tidal reach and furthest naturally navigable point on the river. The Fall Line, which runs from New Jersey to the Carolinas, played a role in determining the location of many cities along the Atlantic coast, as falls were attractive to water-powered industries. The Fall Line also separates the Mesozoic and Tertiary sedimentary rocks of the Coastal Plain to the east from the hard Paleozoic metamorphic rocks of the Appalachian Piedmont to the west. Soils throughout most of Chatham's acreage are characterized as sandy by the Virginia Department of Mines, Minerals, and Energy.

Stafford County, Virginia lies in the humid subtropical climate zone (Köppen climate classification Cfa), with hot, humid summers and mild to cool winters that are moderated by the Chesapeake Bay. Chatham is also located within the United States Department of Agriculture plant hardiness zone 7a, where vegetation is hardy to between zero and five degrees Fahrenheit.

CULTURAL

The Fredericksburg area has a long history of human use, from agriculture, to transportation, to tourism. The Fredericksburg Agricultural Fair was authorized by the Virginia House of Burgess and first opened in 1738. It remains in operation today as the oldest fair in the United States. Tobacco dominated early cash crops in the Fredericksburg area, although it was supplanted by grains in the early nineteenth century, particularly as scientific farming methods promulgated with the establishment of local agricultural societies. Among these societies was the Society of Virginia for Promoting Agriculture (est. 1811), Virginia Agricultural Society of Fredericksburg (est. 1818), and Virginia State Agricultural Society (est. 1845). Agriculture remains an important industry in Stafford County, with 15,260 acres (of 177,280 total acres) of the county in farms. Of that land, 43.5% is in cropland, 29.8% in woodland, 21.6% in pastureland, and 5.1% in other uses.[1]

Local investment in transportation was a topic of debate in the early 1800s. Beginning in 1816, plans were begun to make the Rappahannock River navigable for fifty miles beyond the falls near Falmouth. The Canal Company, to which Judge John Coalter was a subscriber, began work in 1829. By 1849, the canal was complete, with twenty dams, eighteen lift locks, and seven guard locks.[2] The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad opened in 1836, ushering in a new era of transportation for Fredericksburg. The system was expanded to the north throughout the 1840s to connect Richmond with Washington, D.C. Today, river transportation is much diminished, although rail lines (Virginia Rail Express and Amtrak) still connect Fredericksburg to Richmond and Washington, D.C., with the interstate highway (I-95) providing parallel connections for automobiles. Both modes of transportation serve a large commuter population.

Fredericksburg's rich Civil War history makes the region a popular tourist and recreational destination. Stafford County also attracts visitors to ten county parks, three regional parks, and two national parks, Chatham and the Chopawamsic Backcountry Area of Prince William Forest Park in the northern portion of the county. In addition to Chatham, Ferry Farm (George Washington's boyhood home, south of Chatham), and Belmont (artist Gari Melchers' home and studio, north of Chatham) attract visitors to the Rappahannock River bluffs in Stafford County. Nearby Fredericksburg is home to The University of Mary Washington (est. 1908), now a co-ed institution that was, for many years, a women's liberal arts college associated with the University of Virginia (until 1970). Germana Community College and Strayer University are also located in Stafford County, Virginia.

POLITICAL

Land use in the area surrounding Chatham is classified as suburban by Stafford County. Zoning immediately to the northwest of Chatham is suburban residential (R1) and convenience commercial (B1); to the northeast is urban commercial (B2) and light industrial (M1); and to the southeast is suburban residential (R1). According to the 2013 census estimate, Stafford County spans approximately 277 square miles with a population of 136,788.[3] Interstate 95 bisects the county in a southwesterly/northeasterly direction, connecting Washington, D.C. to Richmond, Virginia. Due to its proximity to Washington, D.C., Stafford County is part of the Washington Metropolitan Statistical Area and is home to many D.C. commuters. According to the 2012 census, Stafford was the sixth wealthiest county in the nation with a median annual household income of $97,606. The county seat is Stafford, which is centrally located within the county, close to Aquia Creek.

PARK OPERATIONS

Chatham is open year-round. The grounds are open to the public daily from sunrise to sunset. There is no entry fee to Chatham. The site is accessible by one-way vehicular traffic entering Chatham Lane from Chatham Heights Road or Lee Avenue and exiting the park by way of the Carriage Drive onto River Road.

VISITOR SERVICES

Chatham Manor is open daily from 9:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. and is tour stop two on the Fredericksburg Battlefield driving tour, after the Fredericksburg Battlefield Visitor Center. Parking, the Walled Garden, and the first floor of the manor house are universally accessible. Volunteers and the Friends of Chatham distribute brochures and attend to visitors questions inside the front door of the manor house. An exhibit and introductory video on the first floor of Chatham introduce visitors to the history of the property. In addition to the property's Civil War history as a headquarters, hospital, communication center, and campsite, Chatham illustrates both pre and post-Civil War history. Built between 1768 and 1771, the building has stood long enough to show influences of both the English Colonial period and the Colonial Revival design aesthetics, over 100 years apart.

ADMINISTRATION

Chatham is managed as a unit of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. Chatham Manor serves as the administrative headquarters for the entire park, which is the second largest military park in the world with four major battlefields, five principal historic buildings, and two visitor centers. On-site park offices are housed in the manor house, Laundry, Kitchen, Carriage House and Stable, and Farm Office. The Caretaker's Cottage serves as park housing. Grounds maintenance operations are accommodated primarily in the Dairy Barn, greenhouses, and Milk House.

Landscape maintenance including lawn mowing and tree pruning is accomplished by park staff. Stewardship of the formal garden is accomplished by park staff working in conjunction with contracted garden maintenance consultant. The Friends of Chatham, the property's friends group since 2012, has been instrumental in supporting care of the Walled Garden through fundraising and volunteering. Throughout the spring, summer, and fall, volunteers provide weekly assistance with intensive landscape maintenance tasks, including weeding, light pruning, and watering.

COMPUTER-AIDED FACILITY MANAGEMENT INITIATIVE

For the past two decades, the National Park Service has implemented the use of computer-aided facility management software to manage park infrastructure and track costs associated with their care. Accurate organization and timely updates to the National Park Service Facility Management Software System (FMSS) enables parks to prioritize projects and create funding requests that accurately reflect asset value and condition. FMSS hierarchy consists of Asset Types (e.g. Maintained Landscape), Sites (e.g. 4370 FBF Area), Parent Locations (e.g. Chatham Manor Area), Child Locations (e.g. Chatham Formal Garden), and Assets (e.g. Chatham Lily Pond).

Chatham's cultural landscape is tracked through a number of Asset Types, including roads, parking areas, trails, maintained landscapes, buildings, and interpretive media. The majority of assets associated with the cultural landscape are tracked under the maintained landscape Asset Type. A maintained landscape typically includes exterior park areas that have been developed and improved to support operations or visitor activities. To be classified as a maintained landscape, a landscape must require regular, recurring maintenance and include built features.

Organization of FMSS data varies by park to reflect specific resources for which the park needs to track costs. At the time of writing, Chatham's maintained landscape is tracked with two Child Locations: Chatham Grounds (23635) and Chatham Formal Gardens (23763). Many of the Assets associated with each of these Locations are already entered in FMSS; however, additional Asset data may be required as landscape treatment projects are identified.

LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISTICS AND FEATURES

The following section documents the general landscape characteristics and features of the Chatham landscape. Detailed descriptions and illustrations of each landscape feature are presented in the following chapter, Analysis and Evaluation.

TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL SYSTEMS

Topography is the three-dimensional configuration of a landscape surface characterized by features (such as slope and articulation) and orientation (such as elevation and solar aspect). Natural systems and features are the natural aspects that have influenced the development and physical form of a landscape.[4]

As with many historic homes, Chatham was sited in response to topographic and natural features. The building's location on an escarpment overlooking

the navigable portion of the Rappahannock River and City of Fredericksburg, adjacency to natural ravines and water sources, and solar/wind exposure likely played significant roles in siting the building and its ancillary structures.

Ornamental terraces to the southwest take advantage of the naturally steep topography of the site, as does the property's historic entrance drive. Agricultural fields to the northeast and along the low-lying river flats take advantage of level topography ideal for efficient agricultural production and pastureland. A natural Ledge in the North Ravine (now collapsed) is also an important natural feature of the cultural landscape that is rumored to have ties to the history of the property before construction of the manor house, during the Civil War, and after, during John Lee Pratt's ownership.

SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AND LAND USE

Spatial organization is the three-dimensional organization of physical forms and visual associations in a landscape, including the articulation of ground, vertical, and overhead planes that define and create spaces. Land use describes the principal activities in a landscape that form, shape, and organize the landscape as a result of human interaction[5]

As a fragment of its historic size, Chatham retains a core landscape of the historically sprawling plantation. Historic and contemporary uses of this core area include ornamental residential grounds (now functioning as a museum), as well as active agricultural use and forested areas. Within Chatham there are fifteen distinct character areas (Figure 2.2), including:

- **Manor House and Walled Garden Area** is comprised of the landscape immediately surrounding Chatham, including the Walled Garden to the northeast of the house, the Service Court to the east of the house, and the picnic area to the north of the house. This area encompasses improvements made in the early twentieth century by the Devore family to evoke a Colonial air in keeping with the early history of the property. Within this area, views are limited due to the brick wall that surrounds the Walled Garden and buildings that define the Service Court, including the Corn Crib, Boathouse, Carriage House and Stable, Garage, Farm Office, and Kitchen. Overhead, trees in the vicinity of the picnic area and Service Court provide dense shade, while the Walled Garden is largely open to the sky. The character of this area remains largely residential, with manicured plantings, narrow pedestrian walks, and limited parking.

- **The Caretaker's Cottage Area** consists of the landscape in the immediate vicinity of the Caretaker's Cottage. It is bordered by the Northeast Field to the northeast and southeast, the Visitor Parking Lot to the northwest, and

Chatham Lane to the southwest. Spatially, the area is defined by volunteer and successional vegetation on three sides and the Caretaker's Cottage Picket Fence on the fourth side. The area is residential in character, with manicured foundation plantings, a narrow concrete walk to the front door, and a loose aggregate driveway.

- **Terraces Area** includes the three level terraces to the southwest of the Manor House, including the plane on which the house rests. The Terraces are bordered by the steep Embankment to the southwest, North Ravine to the northwest, and South Ravine to the southeast. Scattered ornamental trees over lawn define the character of the Terraces Area. The massive earth-moving required to construct the Terraces was likely accomplished by slave labor in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, shortly after the manor house was completed. The embankments of the Terraces range in height from five feet to twelve feet. The sloping land to the southwest affords spectacular views of the Rappahannock River and Fredericksburg beyond, framed on the margins by dense, mature trees in the two ravines.

- **Orchard Area** is located to the northwest of the Manor House and Walled Garden Area and is the historic location of a fruit orchard. The area is defined by the Farm Lane to the northeast, Carriage Drive to the southeast, and North Ravine to the northwest. Only six pear trees remain in the northeastern portion of the area, with mature ornamental trees over lawn growing in the southwestern portion of the area. These trees cast dense shade and provide a sense of enclosure. The Milk House is the only building in this area.

- **Entrance Parcel Area** is located along Chatham Lane at the entrance to the park from Chatham Heights Road. The parcel is approximately the same size as adjoining lots with single family homes. Once integrated within the larger Chatham plantation landscape, the parcel is now detached from other contiguous park acreage in fee ownership. The landscape consists of ornamental trees over mown lawn, with a prominent park identity sign visible to drivers and pedestrians along Chatham Heights Road.

- **Center Embankment Area** borders the northeast side of River Road adjacent to the Terraces Area between the North and South Ravines. It consists of a steep (approximate 30–40% slope) hillside. The Center Embankment between the North and South Ravines is largely clear of trees following a 2014 restoration project, which was designed to restore views from the manor house and Terraces to the Rappahannock River and Fredericksburg beyond. The area is traversed by the Carriage Drive, which serves as the park exit road.

- **North Embankment Area** borders the northeast side of River Road adjacent to the Northwest Field Area to the north of the North Ravine. It consists of a steep (approximate 30–40% slope) hillside. This area is heavily wooded with

mature trees. This area includes a historic road bed, now wooded, that once connected the Northwest Field to the Riverside Field.

- **North Ravine Area** is a natural drainage that connects the North Field Area to the Riverside Field Area. This ravine includes remnants of a septic tank and a natural rock Ledge (now collapsed). The ravine show little evidence of ornamental planting, with a dense canopy and steep walls that continue to show signs of erosion that created the ravine.

- **South Ravine Area** is a natural drainage that connects the Northeast Field Area to the Riverside Field Area. This ravine is bordered by a pedestrian trail, and extension of the South Ravine Path, that connects the Entrance Gate to the lower and upper terraces. The ravine show little evidence of ornamental planting, with a dense canopy and steep walls that continue to show signs of erosion that created the ravine.

- **Woodlot Area** is a small wooded parcel that borders the southeast side of the Northeast Field. This forested area is contiguous to other parcels to the southwest (outside of fee ownership) that are also wooded.

- **Riverside Woods Area** extends to the north of Chatham between the Rappahannock River and River Road. This area is forested with successional vegetation that forms both a dense canopy and understory.

- **Riverside Field Area** extends between the Rappahannock River and River Road. Following extensive vegetation management in 2014, this area is comprised of a meadow with limited trees adjacent to drainages and along the Rappahannock River bank.

- **Northeast Field Area** is located to the northeast of Chatham and the Walled Garden. This area is bordered by hedgerows to the northeast, northwest (Farm Road Trace), and southeast (Woodlot). The field is in active agricultural use through a lease agreement with a local farmer. In summer 2014, it was planted with corn. In previous summers, it has been planted with soybeans.

- **North Field Area** is located to the north of Chatham. This area is bordered by hedgerows to the northeast, northwest, southeast (Farm Road Trace), and southwest. The field is bisected by the Farm Lane, which connects Chatham with John Lee Pratt Park (Stafford County park) to the northeast. The field is in active agricultural use through a lease agreement with a local farmer. In summer 2014, it was planted with corn. In previous summers, it has been planted with soybeans.

- **Northwest Field Area** is located to the southeast of the North Field. This small field is enclosed by woods on all sides, although it was once contiguous with the North Field. It is planted in meadow and mown once or twice annually. The field serves as the location of the park's septic drain (leach) field.

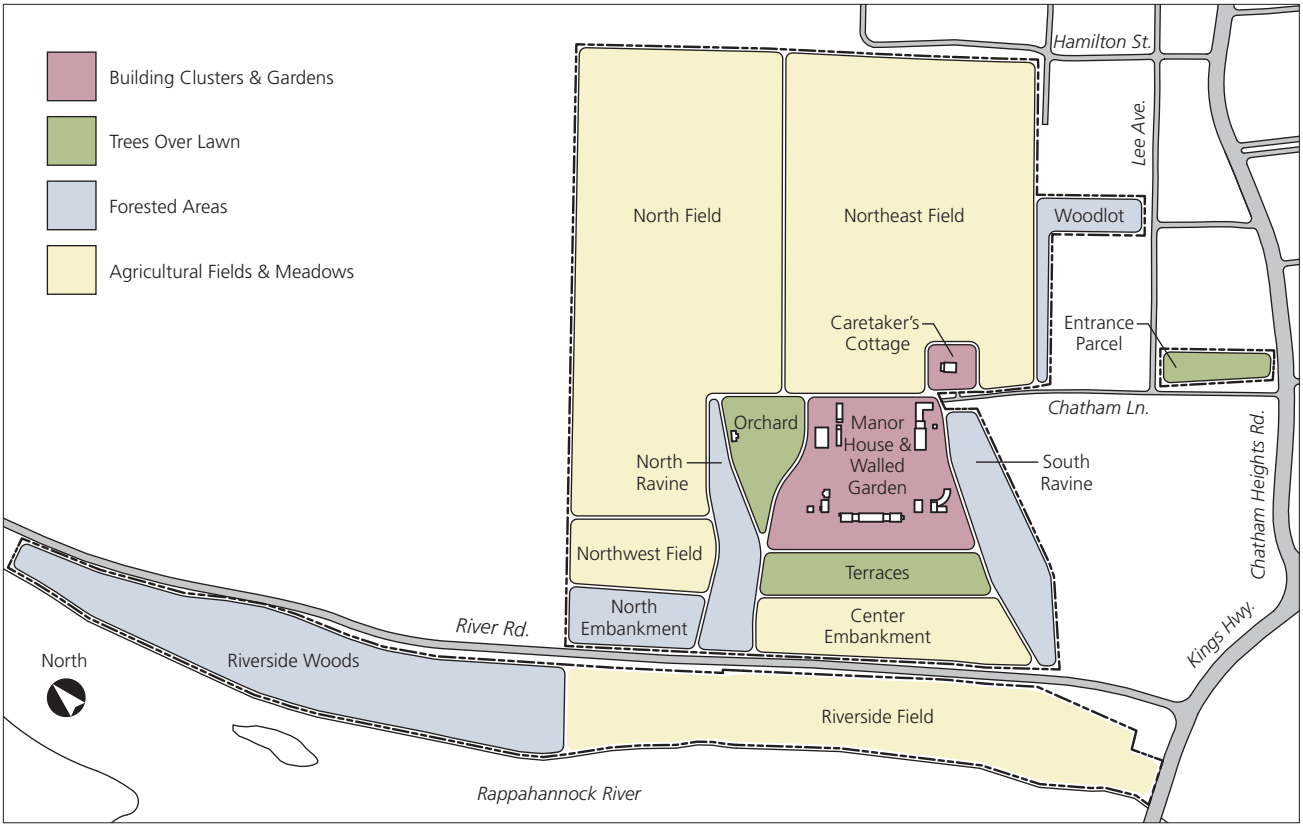


Figure 2.2. Landscape character areas at Chatham. Plan view, 2014 (OCLP).

CIRCULATION

Circulation includes the spaces, features, and applied material finishes that constitute the systems of movement in a landscape.[6]

Circulation at Chatham includes both historic and contemporary vehicular and pedestrian circulation systems. Historic features are generally distinguishable from contemporary features based on materials. River Road bisects park land, separating the low lying lands along the river from the embankment and plateau that comprises the historic core of the plantation.

Historic vehicular circulation features include the Caretaker's Cottage Drive, Carriage Drive, Carriage Drive Spur, Chatham Lane, Farm Lane, and Farm Road Trace. The Caretaker's Cottage Drive, Carriage Drive, Carriage Drive Spur, and Farm Lane are surfaced with crushed stone. Chatham Lane is surfaced with bituminous concrete. The Farm Road Trace is earthen. Non-historic vehicular circulation features are limited to the Visitor Parking Lot, although the surface treatments of Chatham Lane and the Service Drive leading to the Garage are non-historic. Similarly, the Caretaker's Cottage Drive, Farm Land, and Farm Road Trace are only a portion of their historic length.

Historic pedestrian circulation features include the Caretaker's Cottage Walk, Front Entrance Paths, Garden Paths, Music Stair, and South Ravine Path. The Caretaker's Cottage Walk is surfaced with concrete. The Front Entrance Paths on

the terraces are surfaced with irregular flagstone. Adjacent to the house, they are surfaced with square cut slate. Garden Paths are also surfaced with regularly cut slate and brick. Near the house, the Garden Paths meet a small flagstone plaza laid in a random ashlar pattern. While the random ashlar paving is historic, the path surface treatment was installed by the National Park Service in the twenty-first century to accommodate universal access and is non-contributing. The Music Stair is constructed of concrete, sandstone, and brick. The South Ravine Path is earthen, with the exception of set of rustic stone stairs that connect to the upper terrace. The majority of the Brick Entrance Paths, laid in a basketweave pattern, are historic, while the extension adjacent to the Boathouse was added by the National Park Service to accommodate visitors arriving at the parking area.

VEGETATION

Vegetation includes the deciduous and evergreen trees, shrubs, vines, ground covers and herbaceous plants, and plant communities, whether indigenous or introduced in a landscape.[7]

Chatham's diverse horticultural collection is central to the significance of the landscape. Vegetation at Chatham can be divided into four categories: woodlands, ornamental trees and shrubs, ornamental walled garden plantings, and lawns, meadows and fields.

Woodlands cover approximately fifteen acres of Chatham, with the largest stands along the two ravines and the Rappahannock riverfront. Along woodland edges, where sunlight is present, generalist species dominate. Deeper within the woodlands, species are predominantly mature hardwoods (maples, oaks, and tulip poplars, etc.), with little understory vegetation as a result of the dense shade cast by the mature broadleaf canopy. In some areas, invasive vegetation, including trees, vines, and groundcovers, has encroached on the native plant species that otherwise characterize the forested areas. The woodlands at Chatham are largely unmanaged.

Many mature ornamental tree and shrub plantings remain from the historic period in the vicinity of the manor house, including the Walled Garden Area, Caretaker's Cottage Area, and Terraces. The approximate sixty-five different tree and woody shrub species that characterize this planting reflect the horticultural diversity of the Chatham. Nearly all of these native and exotic species were intentionally planted with aesthetics in mind. Some plantings, such as the flowering dogwoods (*Cornus florida*) in the Walled Garden, frame views. Other plantings, such as eastern redcedars (*Juniperus virginiana*) and eastern arborvitaes (*Thuja occidentalis*), were planted to screen undesirable views or enhance privacy. While others, such as the American sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*) in the Walled Garden or ginkgo (*Ginkgo biloba*) on the upper terrace, are the objects of the view

themselves. Many of these trees include hardware, such as cabling, bracing, and lightening protection, and are pruned on a cyclical basis by park maintenance staff. Refer to Drawing 3 for a complete inventory of trees and shrubs in the core area of Chatham. Species are keyed to an inventory included in Appendix B.

Ornamental Walled Garden plantings are comprised primarily of herbaceous perennials, woody shrubs, flowering ornamental trees, and groundcovers. Approximately eighty different species and cultivars of perennials, in addition to twenty different species of trees and shrubs, make this planting particularly diverse and maintenance-intensive. This planting reflects an adaptation of landscape architect Ellen Shipman's original design for the garden in the early 1920s, subsequent simplification in the mid-1950s by landscape architect Charles Gillette, and restoration in the mid-1980s by the National Park Service. Beds are mulched annually and regularly weeded by park staff, contracted garden maintenance consultant, and volunteers. Refer to drawings 4–8 for a complete inventory of vegetation in the Walled Garden. Species are keyed to an inventory included in Appendix C.

Managed lawns comprise the majority of the Manor House and Walled Garden Area, Terraces Area, Orchard Area, Caretaker's Cottage Area. These areas are currently maintained in fine turf (class A turf). Meadows comprise the portion of the Embankment directly to the southwest of the manor house, the Riverside Field Area, and the Northwest Field. These areas are maintained in meadow grasses (class C turf). There is no rough cut (class B turf) at Chatham. Agricultural fields exist to the north and northeast of the manor house. In summer 2014, these fields were planted with corn. The total extent of agricultural fields at Chatham is approximately thirty-seven acres.

BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

Buildings are elements constructed primarily for sheltering and form of human activity in a landscape. Structures are elements constructed for functional purposes other than sheltering human activity in a landscape. Engineering systems are also structures.[8]

Chatham includes buildings and structures that reflect the range of functions typical of a plantation of the era and its continuum of land use. Accordingly, buildings and structures are arranged for both functional and aesthetic considerations. Visual relationships between buildings are a character defining feature of the cultural landscape. Buildings and structures are constructed of a variety of materials, including stone, wood, and brick.

The manor house spans the southwestern side of the Walled Garden, with other primary buildings and structures clustered at each of the four corners of the

garden. The manor house is a two-story Georgian house constructed of brick. The symmetrical five-part linear plan consists of a large central block connected to two wings by hyphens. The central block is seven bays wide with a gabled roof and central entrance. Carved stone pediments accent the entrances. The building is approximately 185 feet in length. The width of the central block is approximately twenty-five feet.

The other primary buildings and structures that border the Walled Garden include: Laundry, Summer House, Kitchen, Farm Office, Garage, Carriage House and Stable, Boathouse, Dairy Barn, North Greenhouse, and South Greenhouse. The park's other primary buildings, the Milk House and Caretaker's Cottage, stand only a short distance from the main building cluster to the northwest and east, respectively.

A variety of smaller structures, including Carriage Drive Culverts, Carriage Drive Retaining Wall, Hot Bed Foundations, Corn Crib, Entrance Gate, Front Retaining Wall and Stair, Furnace House, Garden Pergola, Rear Garden Wall and Gates, Rotunda, Septic Tank, and Well House stand within and around the core area of Chatham. These features served distinct ornamental and functional roles in the operation of the plantation.

VIEWS AND VISTAS

Views and vistas are the prospect created by a range of vision in a landscape, conferred by the composition of other landscape characteristics and associated features. Views are the expansive or panoramic prospect of a broad range of vision, which may be naturally occurring or deliberately contrived. Vistas are the controlled prospect of a discrete, linear range of vision, which is deliberately contrived.[9]

The most prominent view at Chatham is the view from the southwest side of the house and terraces to the Rappahannock River and Fredericksburg beyond. This historic view, recently reestablished through the management of successional vegetation on the embankment and along low lying riverside lands, is central to understanding the location and siting of Chatham and its role in the Battle of Fredericksburg.

To the northeast side of the manor house, the formal garden plantings and walks structure many intimate vistas of the manor house, kitchen, and laundry. These strong axial views contribute to the formal character of the plantation and compliment the symmetry of the Georgian style manor house. The slight off-axis planting of the American sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*) allows for an unobstructed view of the Ceres statue along the central axis of the garden from the north entrance to the manor house.

CONSTRUCTED WATER FEATURES

Constructed water features are the built features and elements that use water for aesthetic or utilitarian functions in a landscape.[10]

The only constructed water feature at Chatham is the Lily Pond, constructed in 1927 as part of the Colonial Revival garden designed for the Devores by landscape architect Ellen Shipman. The poured-in-place basin is roughly rectangular with a raised lip and smooth curved sides of varying radii, as would be drawn with a French curve. A small, ornamental fish fountain with a single jet circulates water at the center of the water feature. Aquatic plants and koi fish live in the pond.

SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

Small-scale features are the elements providing detail and diversity for both functional needs and aesthetic concerns in a landscape.[11]

Historic small-scale features include fences, statuary and garden ornaments, grave markers, fire hydrants, trellises, stone benches, a gas pump, and a millstone. Some historic small-scale features, including Devore era stone and concrete garden ornaments, are believed to be discarded in the North and South Ravines.

Contemporary small-scale features designed to support park operations include benches, fences, gates, picnic tables, refuse barrels, and directional and interpretive signage. Generally, these features are diminutive in scale and compatible with the historic landscape. Two features, the cannon tubes (original), with reproduction carriages on the Terraces and the scale pontoon bridge section, were constructed and installed for interpretive purposes.

ARCHEOLOGICAL FEATURES

Archeological sites are the ruins, traces, or deposited artifacts in a landscape, evidenced by the presence of either surface or subsurface features.[12]

Prehistoric archeological resources have been found at Chatham incidentally during field studies on historic archeological sites. Archeologists found low density Archaic and Woodland period artifact scatters in three areas of the plantation. These scatters were interpreted as small campsites. Additionally, the lack of recorded prehistoric sites in the park is attributed to the focus on historic resources in park interpretation. No archeological surveys have been purposely conducted in locations which are likely to contain prehistoric resources, and no archeological resources associated with Protohistoric Native American groups have been found.

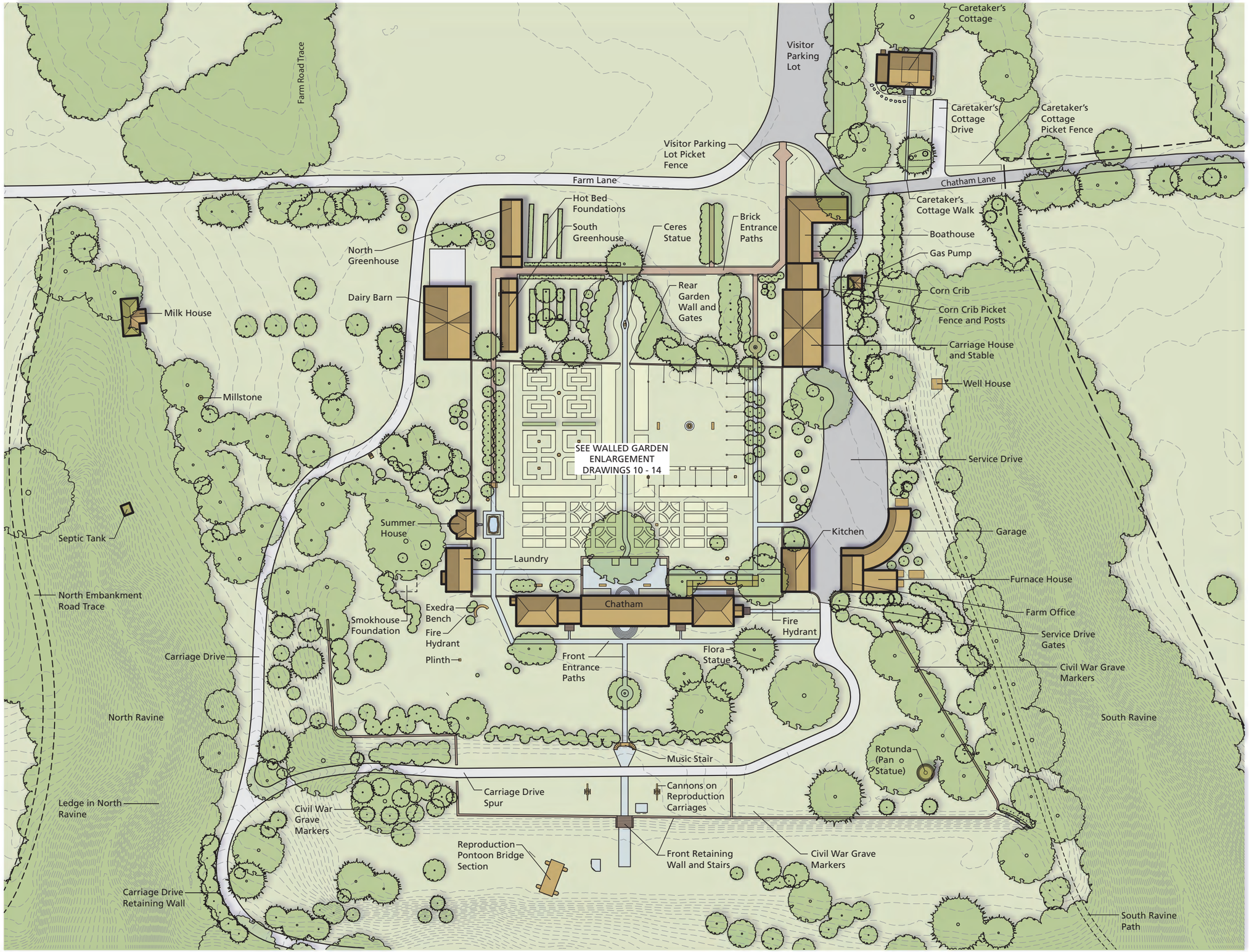
Historic archeological resources at Chatham include the manor house porches, a roadbed beyond the North Ravine that extends down the embankment to

River Road, a brick spring house, an ice house, a smokehouse, a cistern, a refuse midden, and a walkway to the river, all of which are believed to be related to the major occupation period of Chatham. The Terraces immediately northwest of the house also contain exhumed, and perhaps active, graves of Union dead.[13]

Archeological remains of twentieth-century buildings include the sites of the Tenant House and Barns, the Cymrot House, and the Thompson House. The Tenant House and Barns were twentieth century buildings associated with occupation of the manor house. The archeological site associated with these buildings is located at the intersection of the two road traces to the northeast of the manor house complex. A survey of Chatham in 1979 by Mid-Atlantic Research identified two standing barns in a grass field as well as a post and wire fence surrounding an overgrown yard and the former location of a house.[14]

The Cymrot House was built around 1931 on the parcel at the corner of Chatham Heights Road and Chatham Lane (Entrance Parcel). The property included a one-story frame gable-front dwelling, a garage, and two chicken coops. The house and associated outbuildings were determined ineligible for the National Register and demolished in 1994–95. Remnants include a leveled area that presumably held the chicken coops.[15]

The Thompson House was built around 1916 on a parcel on the bank of the Rappahannock River that fronts east onto River Road. The property included a one-story Craftsman style dwelling, a concrete block dependency, and a one-story cinderblock garage. It has been associated with the Schwensen and Thompson families. The complex was determined ineligible for the National Register and demolished in 1994–95. Remnant features include two landscaped landforms divided by a driveway that extends west from River Road, a leveled area which held the house and dependency (converted to a dwelling), as well as a rectangular depression associated with the garage. Additional information about archeological landscape features is included in a series of archeological overview and assessment reports, as well as in the findings of specific field investigations.[16]



Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

2014 Existing Conditions Core Area Features

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Features inside park boundary: Orthophotograph, USGS, May 2011 and field notes, OCLP, April, July & Sept. 2014
2. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
3. Hydrology, roads, parcels, and buildings outside park boundary: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan & Leslie Bird, 2014
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Park fee boundary
- Topographic contours (1' interval)
- Bituminous concrete road / drive
- Crushed stone road / drive
- Slate walk
- Brick walk
- Trees
- Planting beds
- Lawn / field
- Building / structure

NOTES

1. All features shown in approximate scale and location.
2. For vegetation ID, see drawings 9 - 14.

0' 20' 40' 80' 160'

Drawing 8

Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

2014 Existing Conditions Core Area Vegetation

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Features inside park boundary: Orthophotograph, USGS, May 2011 and field notes, OCLP, April, July & Sept. 2014
2. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
3. Hydrology, roads, parcels, and buildings outside park boundary: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan & Leslie Bird, 2014
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Park fee boundary
- Topographic contours (1' interval)
- Bituminous concrete road / drive
- Crushed stone road / drive
- Slate walk
- Brick walk
- Trees
- Planting beds
- Lawn / field
- Building / structure

NOTES

1. All features shown in approximate scale and location.
2. For species ID key, see vegetation inventory.

0' 20' 40' 80' 160'

Drawing 9

MATCHLINE SEE DRAWING 11



MATCHLINE SEE DRAWING 12

Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

2014 Existing Conditions Walled Garden Southwest Quadrant

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Features inside park boundary: Orthophotograph, USGS, May 2011 and field notes, OCLP, April, July & Sept. 2014
2. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
3. Hydrology, roads, parcels, and buildings outside park boundary: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan & Leslie Bird, 2014
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Slate walk
- Brick wall
- Trees and shrubs
- Herbaceous vegetation
- Mown lawn
- Building / structure

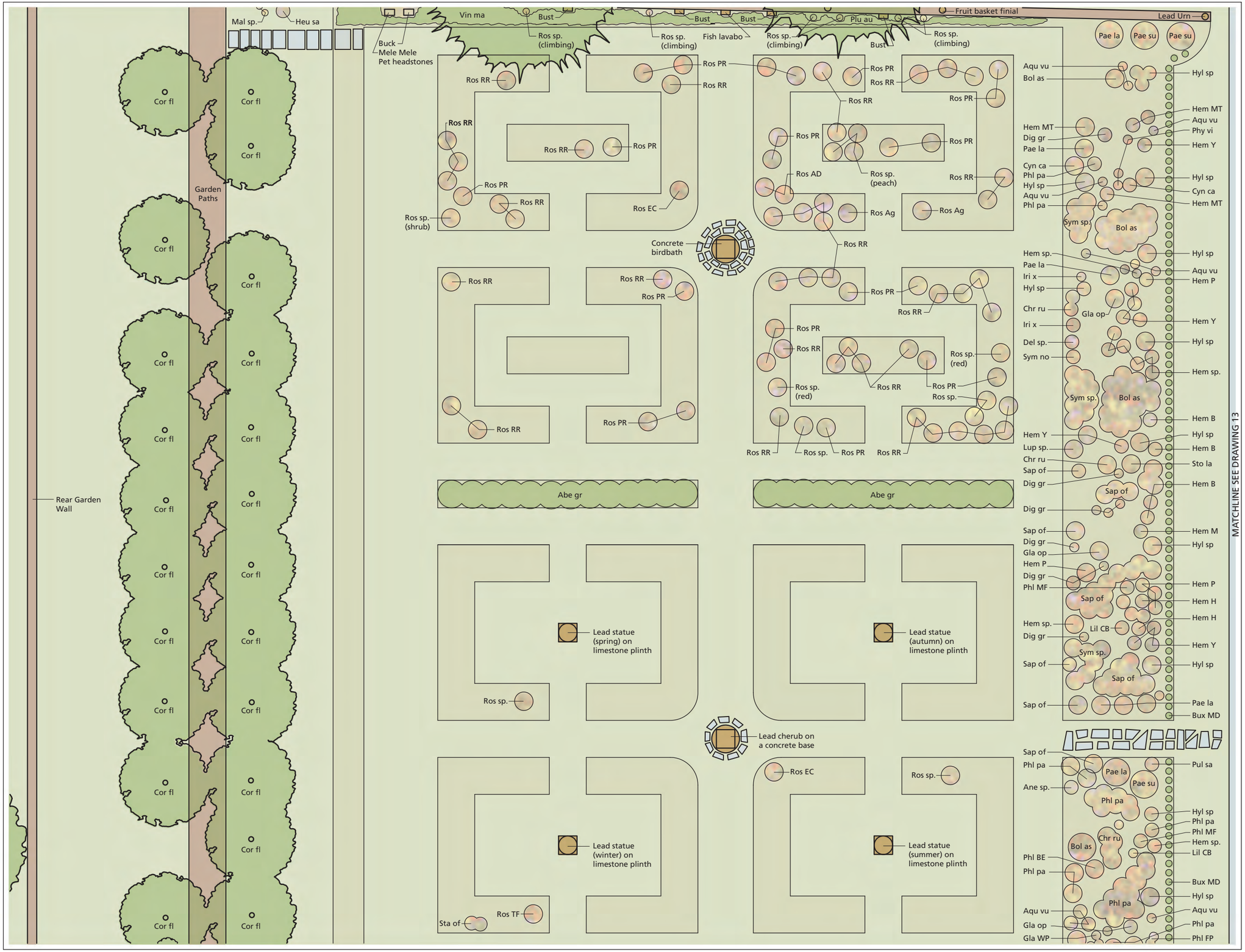
NOTES

1. All features shown in approximate scale and location.
2. For species ID key, see vegetation inventory.

0′ 5′ 10′ 20′

Drawing 10

MATCHLINE SEE DRAWING 14



Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

2014 Existing Conditions Walled Garden Northwest Quadrant

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Features inside park boundary: Orthophotograph, USGS, May 2011 and field notes, OCLP, April, July & Sept. 2014
2. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
3. Hydrology, roads, parcels, and buildings outside park boundary: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan & Leslie Bird, 2014
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Brick walk
- Slate walk
- Brick wall
- Trees and shrubs
- Herbaceous vegetation
- Mown lawn
- Structure

NOTES

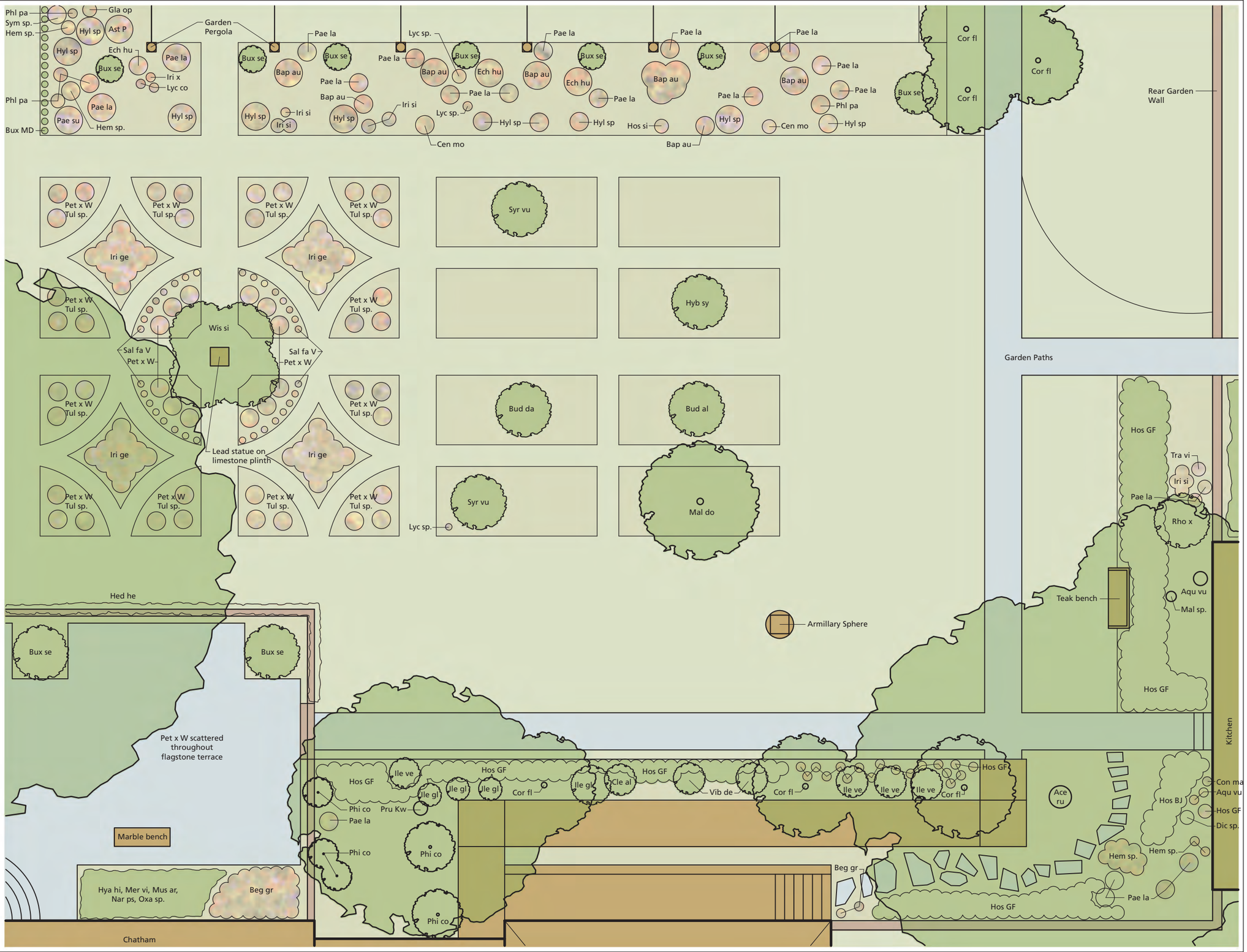
1. All features shown in approximate scale and location.
2. For species ID key, see vegetation inventory.

0′ 5′ 10′ 20′

Drawing 11

MATCHLINE SEE DRAWING 13

MATCHLINE SEE DRAWING 10



Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

2014 Existing Conditions Walled Garden Southeast Quadrant

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Features inside park boundary: Orthophotograph, USGS, May 2011 and field notes, OCLP, April, July & Sept. 2014
2. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
3. Hydrology, roads, parcels, and buildings outside park boundary: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan & Leslie Bird, 2014
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Slate walk
- Brick wall
- Trees and shrubs
- Herbaceous vegetation
- Mown lawn
- Building / structure

NOTES

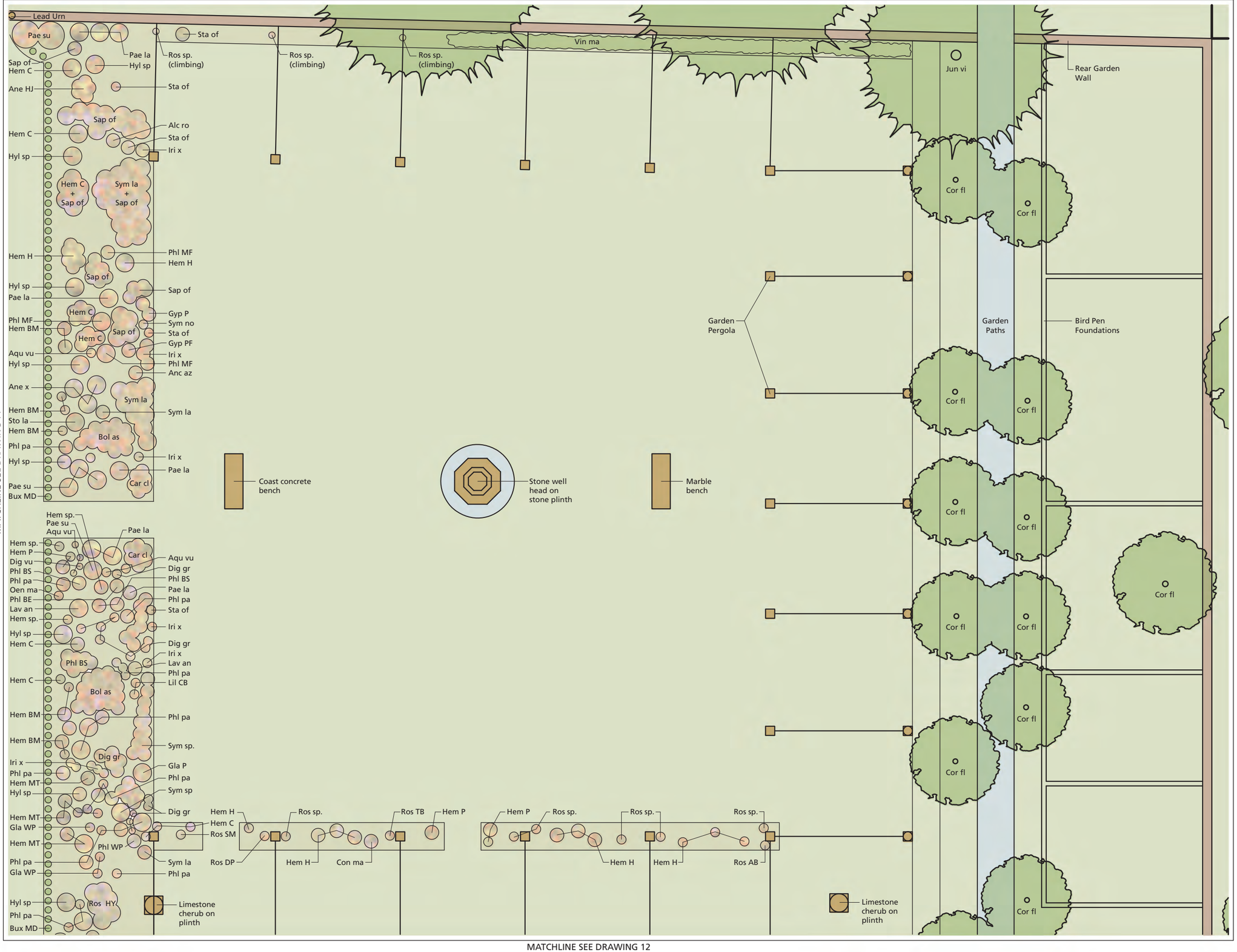
1. All features shown in approximate scale and location.
2. For species ID key, see vegetation inventory.

0′ 5′ 10′ 20′

Drawing 12

MATCHLINE SEE DRAWING 14

MATCHLINE SEE DRAWING 11



MATCHLINE SEE DRAWING 12

Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

2014 Existing Conditions Walled Garden Northeast Quadrant

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Features inside park boundary: Orthophotograph, USGS, May 2011 and field notes, OCLP, April, July & Sept. 2014
2. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
3. Hydrology, roads, parcels, and buildings outside park boundary: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan & Leslie Bird, 2014
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

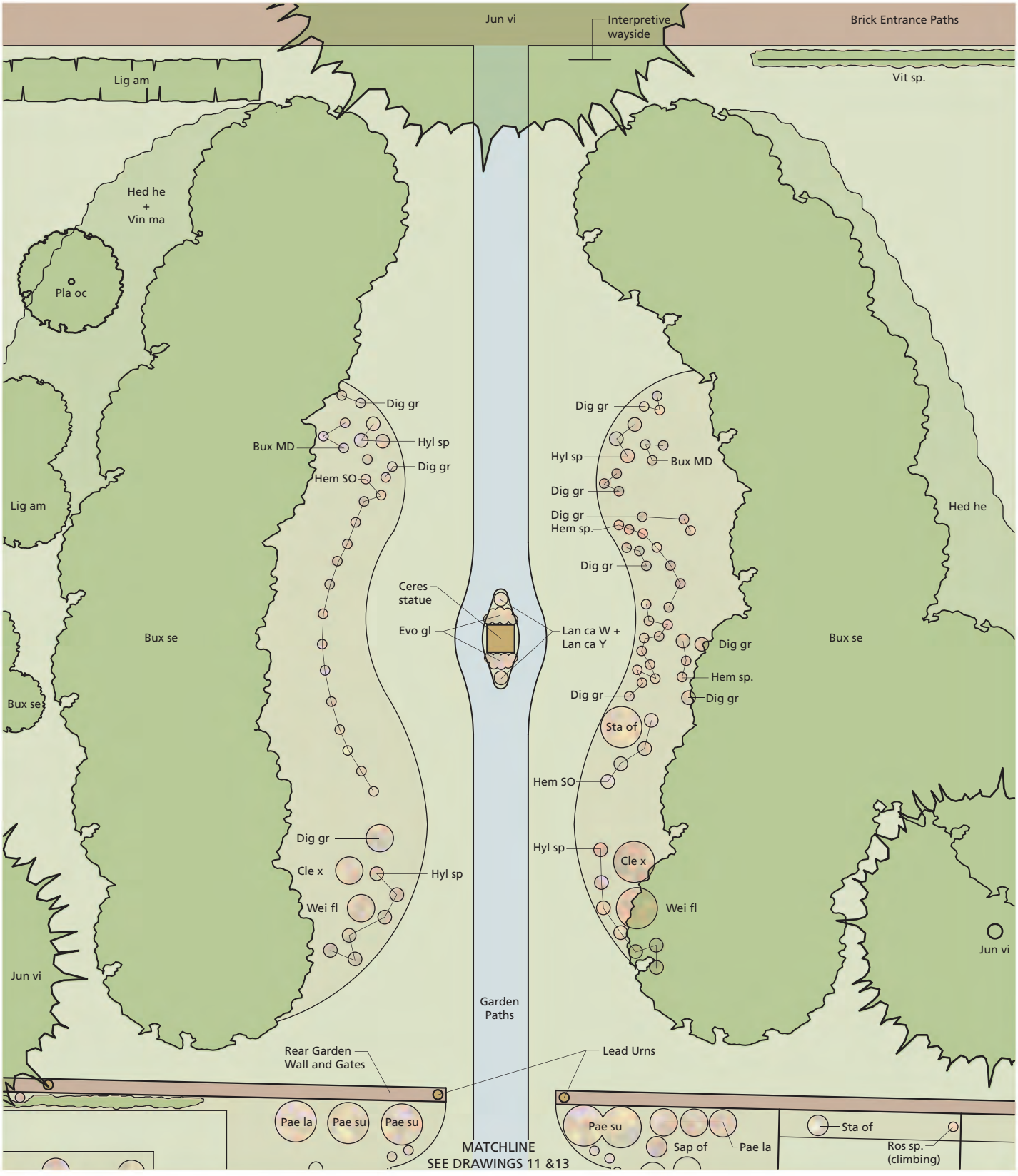
- Slate walk
- Brick wall
- Trees and shrubs
- Herbaceous vegetation
- Mown lawn
- Structure

NOTES

1. All features shown in approximate scale and location.
2. For species ID key, see vegetation inventory.

0′ 5′ 10′ 20′

Drawing 13



DRAWN BY
Christopher Beagan & Leslie Bird, 2014
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

NOTES
1. All features shown in approximate scale and location.
2. For species ID key, see vegetation inventory.

SOURCES
1. Features inside park boundary: Orthophotograph, USGS, May 2011 and field notes, OCLP, April, July & Sept. 2014
2. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
3. Hydrology, roads, parcels, and buildings outside park boundary: Stafford County GIS Office data

National Park Service
Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
www.nps.gov/oclp

LEGEND

- Brick walk
- Slate walk
- Brick wall
- Trees and shrubs
- Herbaceous vegetation
- Mown lawn
- Structure

Cultural Landscape Report
Chatham
Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania
National Military Park

2014 Existing Conditions
Walled Garden, Entrance Area

0′ 5′ 10′

Drawing 14

Endnotes

1. "County Profile, Stafford County, Virginia," 2012 Census of Agriculture, http://www.co.stafford.va.us/DocumentCenter/View/5427 (December 8, 2014).

2. "The Story of the Rappahannock Canal," Robert Hodge, http://www.librarypoint.org/rappahannock_canal (December 8, 2014).

3. "State and County QuickFacts, Stafford County, Virginia," U.S. Census Bureau, http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/51/51179.html (December 8, 2014).

4. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 7, 9.

5. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 7, 8.

6. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 8.

7. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 9.

8. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 9.

9. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 9.

10. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 10.

11. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 10.

12. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 11.

13. Reed, National Register from Ronald A. Thomas, An Archeological Survey of the Chatham Manor Tract, Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania National Historic Park, Fredericksburg, VA. (Newark, DE: Mid-Atlantic Archaeological Research, 1979).

14. Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc., National Register of Historic Places documentation for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (2009 draft), Section 7, 32.

15. Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc., National Register of Historic Places documentation for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (2009 draft), Section 7, 32.

16. Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc., National Register of Historic Places documentation for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (2009 draft), Section 7, 32.

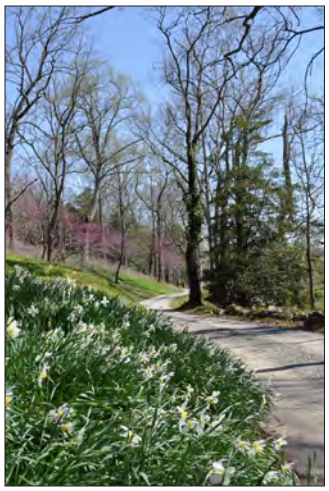


Figure 3.1. View along the Carriage Drive in early spring, prior to vista management. View looking southeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Analysis and Evaluation

Chatham has undergone many changes since it was constructed approximately 245 ago, yet it retains its significance and integrity as one of the preeminent Northern Neck plantations and historic sites associated with the American Civil War in Virginia. Once surrounded by hundreds of acres of fields, Chatham preserves the core of this former estate. The manor house, domestic support buildings, and farm buildings reflect the early financial success of the estate's early owners through slavery, agriculture, and commerce, as well as later owners' commitment to historic preservation and interpretation of the plantation's early history.

This chapter provides an analysis of the historical significance of the Chatham landscape and an evaluation of its historic character based on the findings of the site history and existing conditions chapters. The analysis and evaluation have been developed according to the *National Register Criteria for the Evaluation of Historic Properties* and the National Park Service's *Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques*.[1] The first section of this chapter compares the design of Chatham with other plantations in the Virginia Tidewater region during the late Colonial era. The second section of this chapter reviews the significance of the landscape presented in the National Register documentation and evaluates the landscape's historic integrity. The third section evaluates the historic character of the Chatham landscape based on the National Park Service cultural landscape report methodology, which organizes the landscape into characteristics and features. Each feature is evaluated to determine whether or not it contributes to the historical significance of the landscape.

Comparison of Late Colonial Virginia Tidewater Plantations

The National Park Service defines historic contexts as "an organizing structure created for planning purposes that groups information about historic properties based on common themes, time periods, and geographical areas."[2] Analysis of historic context(s) reveals patterns or trends in history by which a specific property can be understood, thus revealing its historical meaning. This analysis is essential in understanding how a particular property, such as Chatham, compares to similar properties.

Evaluating an individual cultural landscape, such as that of Chatham, requires research into other properties associated with a given theme so that the significance of a property can be evaluated against comparable properties and determined to be representative, unique, or pivotal.

The following comparison considers Chatham in context of other plantations constructed in the Virginia Tidewater region in the late eighteenth century. This analysis consists of a table that summarizes the salient facts about the time, place, and design of these other plantations (Table 3.1, Figure 3.2).[3] Of the forty-nine properties considered for this comparison, sixteen were selected. However, finding a truly comparable property to Chatham is not straightforward. While many former plantations from the late Colonial period remain in the Virginia Tidewater region, few have as distinguished post-Colonial histories as Chatham. Chatham can be appreciated not only for its initial design (architecture and landscape architecture), but also for its historical associations with William Fitzhugh (1741–1809) and the American Civil War (1861–65) and for much later Colonial Revival improvements to the manor house and its grounds (c. 1927).

Table 3.1. Contextual Analysis Summary

Property Name	Date of Construction	Location	Late 18th Century Ownership	Relation to Fitzhugh	Miles to Chatham	Relation to River	Miles to River	Approach	Architecture	Documentation
Chatham	1768–71	East side of Rapp., Stafford Co.	William Fitzhugh	Owner	0	Faces Rappahannock	0.15	Semi-circular carriage turn, inland facade	Georgian, brick, 210'x30' footprint	HALS VA-60
Shirley	1723	North side of James, Charles City Co.	Hill-Carter	Cousin, Chas Carter (1732–1806)	67	Park to river, formal gardens to side	0.07	Carriage turn in circuit drive	Georgian, brick	HABS VA-388
Nomini Hall	1729	South side of Potomac, Westmoreland Co.	Robert Carter III (1728–1804)	Uncle	45	Above Nomini Creek, faced eastward	5	TBD	Original Georgian, brick	HABS Call No. ADE - Unit 2103 (P&P)
Cleve	1735	North side of Rapp., King George Co.	Charles Carter (1732–96)	Cousin	15	Above the Rapp. Falling terraces to ponds/river	0.08	Axial drive lto circular carriage turn, inland facade	William Walker, architect	None
Sabine Hall	1742	North side of Rapp., Richmond Co.	L. Carter (1710-1778)	Uncle	45	Faces river, gardens to rear	1.3	TBD	Georgian, brick	HABS VA-155
Marmion	1750	Inland, above Potomac, King George County	Charles Carter (of Cleve)	Cousin	13	Inland, above Potomac	2	TBD	TBD	HABS VA-145

Property Name	Date of Construction	Location	Late 18th Century Ownership	Relation to Fitzhugh	Miles to Chatham	Relation to River	Miles to River	Approach	Architecture	Documentation
Westover	1750	North side of James, Charles City Co.	Byrd	Aunt, Maria Byrd (1727-1745)	71	Park to river, formal gardens to rear	0.5	Circuit drive	TBD	HABS VA-402
Brooke's Bank	1751	South side of Rapp., Essex Co.	Taliaferro-Brooke; William Brooke	TBD	28	Undetermined	0.07	T-intersection with axial approach	TBD	HABS VA-731
Carters Grove	1755	North side of James, James City Co.	Carter Burwell; Lucy Grymes	Cousin, Carter Burwell (1716-1777	88	Formal gardens to river	0.25	Circuit drive enclosing bowling green	Georgian, brick, attributed to Richard Taliferro from "Palladio Londinensis" (1734)	HABS VA-351
Mount Airy	1758	North side of Rapp., Richmond Co.	Fauntleroy; Tayloe	Godparents of H. Fitzhugh	44	Formal gardens (in rear) to river	3	TBD	Neo-Palladian, attributed to John Ariss (1725–99)	HABS VA-72
Lower Brandon	1760	South side of James, Prince George Co.	Col. Benjamin Harrison (1726–91)	Step-Father	77	Formal gardens in rear, riverside park approach	0.17	Large carriage turn enclosing park, terminating axial approach	Palladian, attributed to Thomas Jefferson	HABS VA-143
Mannsfield	1765–66	On Rapp, south of Fredericksburg	Mann Page (1716-1780)	Cousin,	TBD	TBD	TBD	TBD	TBD	Destroyed in 1863
Menokin	1769	On Rapp., Richmond Co.	Tayloe	Godparents of H. Fitzhugh	42	Above Menokin Creek, Rapp. River	0.25	TBD	Attributed to John Ariss (1725–99)	HABS VA-156
Nanzatico	1770	North side of Rapp., King George Co.	Randolph, Carter, Turner	Cousin, Chas Carter (1751-1811)	20	Rear gardens face river	0.06	Circular carriage turn on inland facade	Attributed to William Buckland (1734–74)	HABS (c. 1958)
Kenmore	1772	South side of Rapp., Spotsylvania Co.	Bertrand-Griffin; Downman	TBD	60	Rear gardens face creek of river	0.5	Circular carriage turn, inland facade	TBD	HABS VA-64
Blandfield	1773	South side of Rapp., Essex Co.	Beverley	Cousin, Rbt Beverly (1769-1843)	35	Rear gardens face river	1.6	Semi-circular approach	Attributed to John Ariss (1725–99)	HABS VA-1198
Elmwood	1774	South side of Rapp., Essex Co.	Muscoe Garnett (1736-1803)	TBD	35	Rear gardens face inland	2.6	Long circuit drive approach	Attributed to John Ariss (1725–99)	HABS VA-323

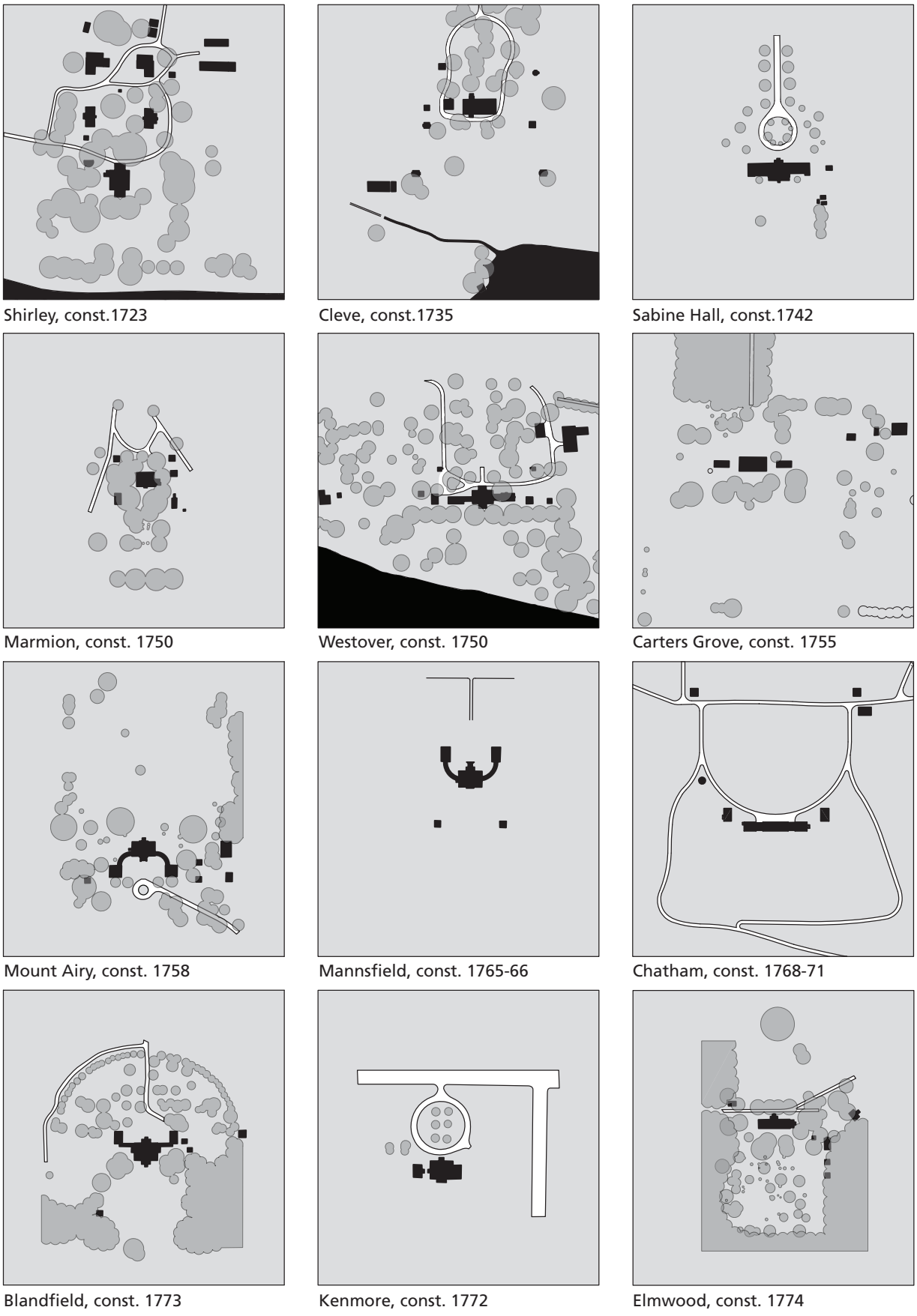


Figure 3.2. Site diagrams of select properties included in the contextual analysis. Note, most approach buildings at inland facade. All diagrams shown at same relative scale and oriented with river to the bottom for this comparison. Plan view, 2016 (OCLP).

NATIONAL REGISTER EVALUATION

The National Park Service evaluates the historical significance of properties through a process of identification and evaluation defined by the National Register of Historic Places program. According to the National Register, historic significance may be present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. A property can be found to have significance on a national, state, or local level, and must meet one or more of the following criteria to be considered eligible for the National Register: (A) association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; (B) association with the lives of persons significant in our past; (C) embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, that represents the work of a master, or possess high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or (D) has yielded, or may yield, information important in pre-contact history or history.[4]

NATIONAL REGISTER DOCUMENTATION

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park was administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966 with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act.[5] In 2009, draft documentation supporting the nomination was prepared by Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc. This draft documentation is currently being updated and completed by Public Archaeology Lab (PAL).

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park is nationally significant over the period beginning in 1768, with the beginning of construction of Chatham, and extending to 1965, with the Civil War Centennial and associated commemoration efforts within the park. The four battlefield units—Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania Court House, Chancellorsville, and Wilderness—and three discontinuous sites—Ellwood, Jackson Shrine, and Salem Church—that constitute Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park derive their primary significance as the site of military activity during the American Civil War. However, according to the draft National Register nomination, the park is significant under all four National Register criteria.

Chatham is significant over the period 1768 to 1965 under National Register Criterion A (Event) in the areas of military history (battlefield), and health and medicine (military field hospital), Criterion C (Design) in the areas of architecture (Georgian) and landscape architecture (late Colonial and Colonial Revival), and Criterion D (Information Potential) in the area of archeology (historic, non-

aboriginal) (see Table 3.2). For the Chatham landscape, these areas of significance relate principally to three historic contexts: the Colonial era, the Civil War era, and the Colonial Revival era.

Criterion A: Military History

Chatham is nationally significant in the area of military history for its recurring role in the American Civil War as a theater of military action from April 1862 to April 1865, including the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862. Located between the Federal capital in Washington and the Confederate states' capital in Richmond, Fredericksburg was poised be a key battle of the American Civil War. With sweeping views of the city, Chatham was also strategically located to serve as General McDowell's and later General Burnside's headquarters, a telegraph relay station (between the Phillips House, Chatham, and Fredericksburg), and a field hospital during and after the Battle of Fredericksburg. Northern forces constructed batteries on the Rappahannock River bluff adjacent to Chatham to protect troops crossing the river and the Union headquarters at Chatham and the Phillips House. The flats below Chatham served as a pontoon bridge landing, which provided an essential function after the destruction of Chatham Bridge by retreating Confederate forces. Union soldiers constructed the bridge and began crossing the river on December 11, 1862. General Burnside gave the order to attack Marye's Heights from Chatham on December 13.

Criterion A: Health and Medicine

Chatham is nationally significant in the area of health and medicine for its association with the development of Civil War era field hospitals and the role that women assumed in their operation. By December 15, 1862 the Battle of Fredericksburg ended. Union casualties numbered approximately 12,700. Some of the Union injured and dead were brought to Chatham, where a field hospital was established at the Union 2nd Corps headquarters. Clara Barton, Dr. Mary Walker, and later Walt Whitman were among the caregivers at Chatham. After December 1862, wounded were evacuated to hospitals in Washington, D.C. Some 98–133 of the soldiers who gave their lives in the Battle of Fredericksburg were buried at Chatham, although most were later exhumed and reinterred in Fredericksburg National Cemetery.

Criterion C: Architecture

Chatham is nationally significant in the area of architecture as an outstanding example of antebellum plantation architecture in the Georgian style, incorporating neoclassical and Palladian elements. Constructed between 1768 and 1771, Chatham is a two-story Flemish-bond brick manor house that consists of a central block connected to two dependencies by enclosed hyphens. The central

block is seven bays wide with a hip roof and features a center entrance. The building is further ornamented with a water table, belt courses, and a modillion cornice. Chatham shows the influence of English architect Christopher Wren (1632–1732), although without the ornamentation typically found in Wren Baroque architecture. At times erroneously attributed to both Wren and Thomas Jefferson, the designer of Chatham is unknown.

Improvements to the building were completed in the 1920s by Washington, D.C. based architect Oliver Henry Clarke during ownership by Daniel and Helen Devore and included installing the broken segmental pediment frontispieces that frame the two principal entrances. At the time of initial construction, Chatham was a particularly opulent estate that reflected the wealth and distinction of the Fitzhugh family. The plantation model is consistent with regional design trends and the building was well-integrated with its surrounding ornamental and agricultural landscape.

Criterion C: Landscape Architecture

Chatham is nationally significant in the area of landscape architecture, with a landscape that reflects late eighteenth century to early twentieth century design traditions, including particularly noteworthy improvements in the early 1920s in the Colonial Revival style by noted landscape architect Ellen Shipman (1869–1950), with later refinements by landscape architect Charles Gillette (1886–1969).

Set above the Rappahannock River, Chatham was once the centerpiece of a vast plantation landscape. Vestiges of what is believed to be the original circulation system remain, including the Carriage Drive, Farm Road Trace, and the South Ravine Path, a portion of which is believed to have once been a roadbed. The distinctive earthen terraces to the west of the manor house suggest that the site was designed in the Virginia Tidewater plantation tradition. Similar topographic manipulation is common at plantations along the James River and elsewhere along the Rappahannock River. Views from the manor house to the west toward Fredericksburg and to the east across the plantation landscape to the east allude to the owners' position of dominance over their once expansive estate. This arrangement of Chatham's grounds and the layout of its ancillary buildings are consistent with late Colonial precedent throughout the region.

Owners Daniel and Helen Devore completed major landscape improvements in the late 1920s based on the design work of Ellen Biddle Shipman. These improvements reflect the aesthetics associated with the Colonial Revival Movement, which increased in prominence after the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia and was characterized by the development of a national historical consciousness and nostalgia for the American Colonial era. Shipman's landscape improvements were made some fifty years after the Exposition, during a

prosperous period before the Great Depression known as the Country Place era. During this time, wealthy clients commissioned extensive gardens for their country estates. The Colonial Revival style was well-suited to Chatham for its many associations with early American history. Shipman's layout and planting design for the formal Walled Garden and west front of the manor house were accompanied by architectural follies designed by Oliver Henry Clarke, including the Rotunda and Music Stair. A noted landscape architect, Ellen Shipman is best known for her horticultural talents and work on residential gardens throughout the United States, including Fynmere, Bayou Bend, Longue Vue, Stan Hywet, and Graycliff. She was mentored by and often collaborated with architect Charles A. Platt (1861–1933), near whom she lived in the Cornish Artists' Colony in New Hampshire.

After the death of his wife Lilian in 1947, the estate's last private owner John Lee Pratt hired landscape architect Charles Gillette (1886–1969) to update the Walled Garden designed by Shipman some twenty years before. Gillette's work through the 1950s entailed a simplification of Shipman's earlier designs that replaced the high-maintenance planting beds, including the two ornate parterres nearest the manor house, with lawn. A long-time resident of Richmond, Gillette is best known for his site design work that accompanies Colonial and Colonial Revival architecture. His notable projects include the Richmond College campus (now University of Richmond), the Nelson House in Yorktown, Kenmore in Fredericksburg, Virginia's Executive Mansion, and Battle Abbey (now the Virginia Historical Society).

Criterion D: Archeology (historic, non-aboriginal)

Chatham is significant at the national, state, and local levels in the area of archeology for its potential to yield information about the history of the property, particularly during the historic period. Archeological excavations have demonstrated that the historic archeological resources include a wide range of structural and landscape building materials, ceramics, and household objects. These objects have the potential to provide information about technology, architecture, horticulture, commerce, and the lives of Chatham's inhabitants. To date, archeological investigations have yielded information about Chatham's porches, springhouse, ice house, smokehouse, cistern, walkways, and roadbeds. A prehistoric archeological survey has not been conducted. However, some prehistoric archeological resources have been revealed during field studies on other archeological sites.

Table 3.2. National Register Significance Summary for Chatham

Criterion	Category	Period	Specific Date	Event
Period of Significance: 1768–1965				
A: Event	Military History (American Civil War)	1862–65	1862	Occupation of Chatham by Union forces
			1863	Battle of Fredericksburg
			1865	End of the American Civil War
	Health and Medicine (Field Hospital)	1862–63	1862–63	Use of Chatham as a field hospital by Union forces
C: Design	Architecture (Georgian)	1768–71	1768	Construction of Chatham begins
			1771	Construction of Chatham substantially complete
	Landscape Architecture (Late Colonial and Colonial Revival)	1768–1956	1768	Construction of Chatham grounds begins
			1926	Shipman-designed landscape improvements substantially complete
			1956	Gillette-designed landsacpe improvements substantially complete
D: Information Potential	Archeology (Historic, Non-aboriginal)	1768–1965	1768	Construction of Chatham begins
			1965	End of the documented period of significance

EVALUATION OF LANDSCAPE INTEGRITY

According to the National Register of Historic Places, integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance through physical resources. The National Register program identifies seven aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Retention of these qualities is necessary for a property to convey its significance; however, not all seven aspects must be present for a property to retain integrity. The following section evaluates each of the seven aspects of integrity as applied to the Chatham cultural landscape, comparing Chatham's grounds at during each of the three historic contexts that relate to the significance of the landscape: the Colonial era, the Civil War era, and the Colonial Revival era.

A basic test of integrity is to judge whether a participant in the historic period would recognize the property and its features as they exist today. That is to say, if the historic residents of Chatham were to return today, would they easily recognize the property as their home? Overall, the Chatham landscape retains integrity to the period of significance, with all seven aspects of integrity evidenced on the grounds to varying degrees. The degree to which Chatham conveys its significance with regard to each of its historic contexts is summarized below (see Table 3.3).

LOCATION

Location is the place where the cultural landscape was constructed or the landscape where the historic event occurred.

Colonial Context: Chatham remains in the same location as it did when it was constructed and occupied. The location of Chatham relative to the Rappahannock River, Fredericksburg, and outlying portions of the plantation are important in understanding the origin and rationale for Chatham's siting. The wider location of Chatham, adjacent to Ferry Farm and between the Virginia Colonial Capital at Williamsburg/Richmond and the National Capital at Washington, made it a historically well-visited landmark. Fredericksburg's location at the western edge of the Northern Neck, at the furthest navigable point on the Rappahannock River (below the falls), made the city and its farmers/manufacturers well-positioned to transport agricultural and industrial products to market by water.

Evaluation: Retains high integrity of location to the Colonial era.

Civil War Context: Chatham remains in the same location as it did during the American Civil War. The location of Chatham relative to the Rappahannock River and Fredericksburg are critical to understanding the strategic role of the plantation in the Battle of Fredericksburg. It's siting on a bluff overlooking the river afforded the occupants of the property both prospect and refuge.

Evaluation: Retains high integrity of location to the Civil War era.

Colonial Revival Context: Chatham remains in the same location as it did during Colonial Revival improvements to the grounds, which included construction the Walled Garden. The location of Chatham during the Colonial Revival improvements is important in understanding and commemorating the estate's earlier historical associations.

Evaluation: Retains high integrity of location to the Colonial Revival era.

DESIGN

Design is the combination of elements that create form, plan, space, structure, and style of a cultural landscape.

Colonial Context: The Chatham landscape retains its basic historic organization and spatial relationships, as they existed during the Colonial era. These characteristics are defined by clusters of buildings and structures as well as the manipulated topography and structured vistas created by Chatham's designers. During the late Colonial era, Farm Lane, the extension of Chatham Lane, served as the "plantation street" and was lined with barns, workshops, and residential quarters. Although all of these frame buildings are lost, the layout and use of the lane as service access to the field side of the property remain. Later modifications

to the design of Chatham's grounds diminished the integrity of the original design with a marked increase in ornamentation of the grounds. Construction of the Walled Garden in the Colonial Revival era, for example, diminished the connection between the manor house and agricultural fields to the northeast. However, many major characteristics of Chatham's original design remain visible in the landscape.

Evaluation: Retains moderate integrity of design to the Colonial era.

Civil War Context: At the beginning of the Civil War, Chatham's ground reflected their evolution under previous owners, including distinctive patterns of use, circulation, and planting. By the war's end, the design of the grounds had been changed dramatically through heavy use of the property as a headquarters and field hospital. Building clusters, manipulated topography, and key views remained. The Farm Road, which was believed to have been lined by eastern red-cedars well before and during the war, appears to have been replanted in-kind, perpetuating this feature of the designed landscape. However, necessary restoration work in the decades following the war changed circulation and overall planting design on the property. One of the most significant changes after the Civil War era was the relocation of the property's ornamental gardens from the earthen terraces to the southwest of the manor house to the area immediately to the northeast of the building.

Evaluation: Retains moderate integrity of design to the Civil War era.

Colonial Revival Context: Modifications to the design of Chatham's grounds during the Colonial Revival era remain well evidenced in the landscape today. This design style is evident in the Walled Garden and in the design of circulation routes to the west of the main building cluster. The loss of most historic plant materials, including herbaceous vegetation and columnar evergreen trees in the Walled Garden, and modification for contemporary use, including construction of the Visitor Parking Lot and pedestrian circulation routes, such as the Brick Entrance Path spur adjacent to the Boathouse, have diminished the integrity of Chatham's design. Despite these changes, the plan, structure, and style of Chatham's grounds at the end of the Colonial Revival improvements remains intact.

Evaluation: Retains moderate integrity of design to the Colonial Revival era.

SETTING

Setting is the physical environment of the cultural landscape.

Colonial Context: The setting of Chatham has been altered significantly since the Colonial era through the construction of roads, housing, and commercial buildings on land that was once part of Chatham and adjoined the historic

plantation. Despite these changes, some aspects of Chatham's setting during the Colonial era remain intact, including surrounding natural and topographic features. The 85.66 acres in National Park Service ownership preserve the core of the plantation.

Evaluation: Retains low integrity of setting to the Colonial era.

Civil War Context: While surrounding residential and commercial development and the sale of portions of the historic plantation since the Civil War era have affected the setting of Chatham, the core of the estate retains its fundamental relationship to the Rappahannock River and Fredericksburg to the west and agricultural uses to the east. Topographic features from the Civil war era also remain.

Evaluation: Retains moderate integrity of setting to the Civil War era.

Colonial Revival Context: The Chatham landscape, as it existed at the end of the Colonial Revival style improvements in the late 1920s, retains much of its historic setting. Few diminutions to the extent of the estate have occurred since the completion of these landscape improvements. The immediate setting of Chatham Manor within the property owned by the National Park Service retains a strong sense of its historic character. Much of the topography, vegetation, and man-made features present upon completion of the Colonial Revival improvements remain, as do the fundamental relationships between buildings and adjacent landscape spaces.

Evaluation: Retains high integrity of setting to the Colonial Revival era.

MATERIALS

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during the particular period(s) of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form the cultural landscape.

Colonial Context: Most of Chatham's original landscape materials have been replaced or altered since the time of original installation due to deterioration, loss, or changes in aesthetic preferences. Original materials, including loose aggregate paving and plantings, are ephemeral and required periodic replacement. While this palette of materials has changed since the Colonial era, the general character of landscape materials in use at Chatham today is compatible with the original. Both are characterized by a suitability to the residential setting, with considerably few materials alterations to accommodate contemporary use as a national park, as may typically be expected.

Evaluation: Retains low integrity of materials to the Colonial era.

Civil War Context: Most of the landscape materials present during the Civil War era at Chatham have been lost to time and the impact of heavy use during the war on the landscape. Despite these losses, the landscape materials that existed at the time of the American Civil War and today are remarkably similar. Both are characterized by their suitability to the residential setting, such as small ornamental trees, shrubs, and perennials, as well as loose aggregate paving materials.

Evaluation: Retains low integrity of materials to the Civil War era.

Colonial Revival Context: Landscape materials present at Chatham today most closely reflect those materials present on the property's grounds following Colonial Revival improvements. Some plant materials, paving materials, as well as wood, stone, metal, and concrete decorative objects and structures remain from this era. Other plant materials have required replacement due to natural aging and loss or, in the case of the Walled Garden, deferred maintenance. Some paving materials have been replaced to accommodate contemporary visitor use and universal accessibility, including surfaces of the Service Drive, Garden Paths, and Front Entrance Paths.

Evaluation: Retains moderate integrity of materials to the Colonial Revival era.

WORKMANSHIP

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.

Colonial Context: The Chatham landscape illustrates some original workmanship from its early development period. Common construction methods are evident on the property, including the extensive earth-moving that was necessary to construct the earthen terraces to the west of the manor house, the graded portion of the South Ravine Path, and the Carriage Drive. Despite replacement of landscape materials over time, the choices and combinations of many of the materials suitable for a residential landscape at the time remain and reflect the availability of materials and technology during the late Colonial era.

Evaluation: Retains moderate integrity of workmanship to the Colonial era.

Civil War Context: The Chatham landscape retains some evidence of workmanship that existed during the Civil War era, as reflected in the earthen terraces to the west of the manor house and circulation routes that conveyed occupants through the landscape, including the Carriage Drive and what is believed to be a historic roadbed beyond the North Ravine. Given the destruction that the war wrought on the landscape, assessing the integrity of the landscape,

assessing the integrity of Chatham's workmanship before and after the war require distinct efforts, as some of the built features that evidence the crafts of the time, including the field fencing and circulation patterns, that were lost during the war.

Evaluation: Retains moderate integrity of workmanship to the Civil War era.

Colonial Revival Context: The Chatham landscape strongly illustrates the aesthetic principles of the Colonial Revival era. Nearly all of the buildings and structures present in the landscape in the early twentieth century remain, with clear evidence of the skills of their builders. Circulation features, including brick paths near and within the Walled Garden, illustrate construction techniques common at the time. The forested woodlands, orchard remnants, small flowering trees, shrubs, and herbaceous plantings in the landscape today strongly resemble the layers of vegetation present in the landscape following completion of the Colonial Revival style improvements. Workmanship from the Colonial Revival era is also evidenced in landscape structures on Chatham's grounds, including the Entrance Gates, Rotunda, Rear Garden Wall and Gates, and Front Retaining Wall and Stairs. Evidence of workmanship from the Colonial Revival era is only diminished by changes in pedestrian and vehicular paving materials necessary to accommodate contemporary use of the landscape as a public park and for universal access.

Evaluation: Retains high integrity of workmanship to the Colonial Revival era.

FEELING

Feeling is a cultural landscape's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.

Colonial Context: The overall feeling of the Chatham landscape as a pre-Revolutionary War plantation in the Virginia Tidewater region that demonstrates sophisticated eighteenth century design principles is readily evident. From the west side of the manor house, overlooking Fredericksburg, the landscape evokes the feeling of a rural estate close to a burgeoning city, as it did in the late Colonial era. Active farming on the property continues to suggest the historic aesthetics and uses throughout the late Colonial era. However, the more polished character of the landscape today detracts from the feeling of the property, as it existed in the late Colonial era, when constructed, used, occupied by William Fitzhugh and his family in business and daily life.

Evaluation: Retains moderate integrity of feeling to the Colonial era.

Civil War Context: The Chatham landscape evokes agrarian life that characterized life in the south during the Civil War era. The refined manor house, surrounded by more humble support buildings is consistent with the feeling and appearance of the landscape during the Civil War era. However, in the mid-1800s, the landscape

demonstrated a more rural character typical of working landscapes, with evidence of daily life. The absence of these "lived-in" qualities detracts from the feeling of Chatham's landscape around the time of the Civil War.

Evaluation: Retains moderate integrity of feeling to the Civil War era.

Colonial Revival Context: The Chatham landscape very closely reflects the feeling of the estate in the early twentieth century, during the Country Place era. Many of the physical features of the property during this time remain. The design, materials, workmanship, and setting of the property are all sufficiently intact to convey the feeling of prosperous country life. Within the Walled Garden and on the terraces overlooking the Rappahannock River, the landscape evokes a particularly strong sense of the historic aesthetics and uses by the Devore family in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Evaluation: Retains high integrity of feeling to the Colonial Revival era.

ASSOCIATION

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a cultural landscape.

Colonial Context: Chatham was the home of William Fitzhugh (1741–1809), an outstanding example of Georgian architecture in America, and a noteworthy example of a late Colonial plantation landscape. The landscape and its constituent features are sufficiently intact to convey a strong sense of these historic relationships.

Evaluation: Retains high integrity of association to the Colonial era.

Civil War Context: Chatham served as a headquarters, field hospital, and telegraph relay station during the American Civil War. The design and remaining physical landscape features from this era, including circulation patterns, burials, and buildings and structures, are sufficiently intact and convey the site's association with the war.

Evaluation: Retains high integrity of association to the Civil War era.

Colonial Revival Context: Chatham is an outstanding example of Colonial Revival style landscape design planned by a prominent American landscape architect, Ellen Biddle Shipman, despite Gillette's alterations. The property retains many of the physical features that reflect these improvements in the early twentieth century, including the Walled Garden and ornamental tree and shrub plantings throughout the grounds surrounding the manor house.

Evaluation: Retains high integrity of association to the Colonial Revival era.

Table 3.3. Landscape Integrity Evaluation Summary for Chatham

Aspect of Integrity	Colonial Context	Civil War Context	Colonial Revival Context
Location	High	High	High
Design	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
Setting	Low	Moderate	High
Materials	Low	Low	Moderate
Workmanship	Moderate	Moderate	High
Feeling	Moderate	Moderate	High
Association	High	High	High

ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION OF LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISTICS AND FEATURES

Landscape characteristics and features are tangible aspects that define a landscape's overall appearance and aid in understanding its cultural value. For Chatham, these characteristics include spatial organization and land use, topography and natural systems, views and vistas, circulation, vegetation, buildings and structures, small-scale features, and archeological features. Findings of the following cultural landscape evaluation are defined as follows:

- **Contributing features** are features that were present during the period of significance, retain their historic character, and are associated with the historic significance of the cultural landscape. Those that add prominently to the historical associations and qualities for which the landscape is significance are described as character defining. Features unique to the historic period are described as distinctive. Features typical of those extant during the historic period are described as characteristic.

- **Non-contributing features** are features that were not present during the period of significance and are not associated with the landscape's historic significance. Non-contributing features that are incompatible with the historic character of the landscape, particularly in relation to historic materials, size, scale, proportion, and massing, are described as detracting. Features distinguishable from the historic character of the landscape but related to historic materials, size, scale, proportion, and massing, are described as compatible.

- **Undetermined features** are those features for which physical or historical documentation is insufficient or inconclusive. Further research may provide an evaluation of either contributing or non-contributing.

Table 3.4 at the end of this chapter provides a summary of landscape characteristics and features based on date of construction and modification(s), as well as an evaluation of whether the feature contributes to the historic character of the landscape.

TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL SYSTEMS

Topography is the three-dimensional configuration of a landscape surface characterized by features (such as slope and articulation) and orientation (such as elevation and solar aspect). Natural systems and features are the natural aspects that have influenced the development and physical form of a landscape.[6]

Center Embankment

Historic Condition: The Center Embankment has provided access between Chatham and the river below since the earliest documented history of the property. The Carriage Drive traverses the Center Embankment in a northerly/southerly direction. Topographic evidence suggests that a spur once extended from the middle of this drive in an easterly/westerly direction to connect to the southeastern end of the lowest terrace. During the Civil War, the vantage afforded by the Center Embankment provided a platform for defending the manor house and soldiers crossing the river below. Through the Civil War, the embankment was largely clear of mature trees, with successional woodlands developing in the post-war period and maturing through the present day.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Center Embankment extends between the North Ravine and the South Ravine below Chatham's terraces, covering approximately 4.3 acres. River Road lies at the foot of the Center Embankment. Following vista management work in 2014, the Center Embankment is mostly clear of trees and shrubs, allowing for unobstructed views of Fredericksburg and the Rappahannock River from above. Only scattered mature deciduous trees stand on the embankment, with dense mixed woods adjacent to the ravines along the southeastern and northeastern edges of the embankment (Figure 3.3).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.3. Center Embankment. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).

Ledge in North Ravine

Historic Condition: According to Marion Rose, "right down in the bottom, here [the North Ravine], used to be an old Indian cave, down here.... We used to go there and pick up old arrowheads.... That's about all caved in, but there used to be some beautiful designs on it—deer and stuff was wrote on the caves."[7] The roughly square walls of the cave formed by the ledge show signs of an axe or chisel, suggesting that the cave may have been, at least partially, manmade. This feature may have served as Chatham's ice house in early years. In a post-war memoir, Martin L. Werkheiser of the 129th Pennsylvania discusses returning to Chatham in 1908 and exploring the North Ravine. One member of his party explains that the North Ravine was used for access to the pontoon bridge and that some black residents had taken shelter in the cave during the Battle of Fredericksburg.[8] Pratt Ashton reported that her uncle, John Lee Pratt, blew up the cave to stop teenagers from hanging out there.[9] Others, including Agnes Harrison and Thomas Inscoe, felt that it wasn't in John Lee Pratt's character to use dynamite.[10]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Ledge in the North Ravine is now collapsed, with debris filling the historic extent of the cave. It is not possible to investigate this feature further without removing this debris (Figure 3.4).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.4. Ledge in North Ravine. View looking southeast, 2014 (OCLP).

North Embankment

Historic Condition: The North Embankment is traversed by two historic road beds, one of which lies entirely within the Chatham parcel, the second of which lies partially on the Chatham parcel and extends into Pratt Park to the northwest. Both roadbeds connect the approximate location of the pontoon bridge landing

with the upland area to the northeast. While the construction date of these roadbeds is not known, the more northerly one is shown on maps of the area from the Civil War era.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The North Embankment spans approximately 2 acres from the North Ravine to Chatham's northwestern property line. River Road lies at the foot of the North Embankment and the Northwest Field at lies at the top. The North Embankment is entirely forested with unmanaged woodlands. A shallow ravine, approximately 7' deep, extends down the center of the North Embankment to meet the base of the more southerly roadbed (Figure 3.5).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.5. North Embankment. View looking west, 2014 (OCLP).

North Ravine

Historic Condition: The North Ravine is a natural topographic feature that provides drainage from the upland area to the north of Chatham to the Rappahannock River. It predates Chatham by many centuries, as it was carved by the natural movement of water. Prior to construction of the manor house, the ravine was likely wooded. During the Civil War, the ravine was denuded as trees were used for fuel. Since the mid-1800s, the ravine has been reforested through the growth of successional vegetation and limited ornamental planting.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The North Ravine extends approximately 750 linear feet from River Road toward to the North Field. It separates the Center Embankment from the North Embankment and covers approximately 2 acres. The sidewalls of the ravine are extremely steep, with a 1:2 slope in most areas. The bed of the ravine makes a more gentle descent of the embankment. The Septic Tank stands on the southeast wall of the ravine. The North Ravine is densely

forested and unmanaged with a mix of native and exotic species, including some invasive groundcovers. The National Park Service dumps herbaceous landscape debris on the northwest side of the ravine near its center point (Figure 3.6).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.6. North Ravine. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).

South Ravine

Historic Condition: The South Ravine is a natural topographic feature that provides drainage from the upland area to the east of Chatham to the Rappahannock River. It predates Chatham by many centuries, as it was carved by the natural movement of water.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The South Ravine extends approximately 825 linear feet from River Road toward to the Caretaker's Cottage Area. It separates the Center Embankment from Massad property to the southeast and covers approximately 2.5 acres. The sidewalls of the ravine are extremely steep, with a 1:2 slope in most areas. The bed of the ravine makes a more gentle descent of the embankment. The South Ravine Path borders the northwest side of the ravine and the Well House stands on the northwest side of the ravine at its upper end. The South Ravine is densely forested and unmanaged with a mix of native and exotic species (Figure 3.7).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.7. South Ravine. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Terraces

Historic Condition: The terraces to the southwest of Chatham are believed to be contemporary with the manor house, dating to about 1770. They were likely constructed with slave labor. Earthen terraces, or falling gardens, were common throughout the Atlantic coast in the eighteenth century, particularly in the Chesapeake Bay area and along the James River. Between 1715 and 1719, Governor Alexander Spotswood installed terraces at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg. By 1777, when eight lots in Fredericksburg were advertised for sale with indication that four were "well improved with a good falling garden," terraces were widely popular throughout the region.[11] Terraces provided a setting for the house and a pleasing view for its occupants, and the elevated position of the house relative to the city below also demonstrates the occupants' position of dominance.

The terraces at Chatham were likely lawn until the Civil War. Rose beds were present on the lower terraces and a tennis court on the upper terrace by the Howard/Smith family's occupancy from 1909 to 1914. The terraces were connected by sets of stone steps down the center of the terraces, on axis with the center entrance to the manor house. According to Charles and Richard Gallahan, who lived at Chatham in the 1920s and early 30s, the Devores intended to add another terrace, but when they started digging, they encountered Civil War era burials and stopped.[12] This may account for the partial terrace that is visible on the embankment below the lower terrace.

According to Thomas Inscoe, who worked at Chatham from 1956 to 1957, the lower terrace was at one time overgrown, while another part of the terrace was a rose garden. It is believed that this rose garden was removed in the 1920s and the concrete walks used as fill below the terrace adjacent to the northeast side of Chatham. Inscoe also reported that there was a Civil War cemetery on the north

side of the terrace, in the direction of the North Ravine that had both headstones and a small picket fence around it, about 3' or 4' x 5'. Three other Civil War burials discovered on the terrace were reburied in caskets at the northwestern end of the middle terrace, where they are marked today.[13] The Carriage Drive spur was installed across the middle terrace, leading to the upper terrace in the 1920s. The two staircases that connect the terraces were also replaced in the 1920s with the Music Stair and the Front Retaining Wall and Stair between the middle and lower terrace.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Including the upper terrace adjacent to the manor house, the terraces cover an area of approximately 3.3 acres. The topography of the terraces remains unchanged from the period of significance, with embankments that range from five to twelve feet from terrace to terrace. The vantage afforded by the terraces affords spectacular views of the Rappahannock River and Fredericksburg beyond, framed on the margins by dense, mature trees in the North and South ravines. The terraces are surfaced with mown lawn, with trees mostly limited to the upper terrace and edges of the lower two terraces. American boxwood (*Buxus sempervirens*) line the precipice of the upper terrace, while the Front Retaining Wall marks the precipice of the middle terrace. Two Cannons on Reproduction Carriages are located on the middle terrace and a Reproduction Pontoon Bridge section on the lower terrace. All are used for interpretive purposes (Figure 3.8).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.8. Terraces. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).

SPATIAL ORGANIZATION AND LAND USE

Spatial organization is the three-dimensional organization of physical forms and visual associations in a landscape, including the articulation of ground, vertical, and overhead planes that define and create spaces. Land use describes the principal activities in a landscape that form, shape, and organize the landscape as a result of human interaction[14]

Caretaker's Cottage Area

Historic Condition: The Caretaker's Cottage Area was created with construction of the original Caretaker's Cottage at the intersection of Chatham Lane and a farm road, likely in the first decade of the twentieth century. With construction of the replacement Caretaker's Cottage 1931, the spatial organization of the area was little changed. The building was adjoined by a garage to the northeast and a large fenced kitchen garden to the northeast and southeast. The cottage and garage were otherwise unscreened from adjacent agricultural fields.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Caretaker's Cottage Area is that space immediately adjacent to the Caretaker's Cottage. Since 1975, the character of the Caretaker's Cottage Area has changed as a result of the loss of the garage and kitchen garden, and the growth of successional vegetation along three sides of the building, resulting in a sense of enclosure for the house and yard that did not exist historically (Figure 3.9).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.9. Caretaker's Cottage Area. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Center Embankment Area

Historic Condition: At the time of construction of the manor house, the Center Embankment was likely clear of vegetation to enable views between the house and Rappahannock River/Fredericksburg, but flanked by trees in the North and South ravines. The embankment remained this way through the American Civil War, when nearly all available trees were used for fuel. After the war, the character of the embankment changed as successional vegetation (deciduous and evergreen trees) began to grow. This vegetation remained and was managed through the Pratt's ownership, slowly growing increasingly dense over time. Since construction of the manor house, the embankment has been traversed by the Carriage Drive that connects River Road to Chatham.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Center Embankment spans the slope to the southwest of Chatham between the North and South ravines, a distance of approximately 800 feet. It negotiates approximately 60 feet of vertical grade change between River Road and the lower terrace over a distance of approximately 200 feet. In 2014, successional vegetation was removed from the Center Embankment to restore the visual connection between Chatham and Fredericksburg and the Rappahannock River. Today, the Center Embankment is characterized by meadow grass, with dense woodland to both the northwest and southeast in the North and South ravines, respectively. Only a few select trees remain on the Center Embankment (see Figure 3.3).

Evaluation: Contributing

Entrance Parcel Area

Historic Condition: The land that comprises the Entrance Parcel had long been part of Chatham. By the end of William Fitzhugh's ownership, the area served as a fenced yard for a barn/quarters and outbuildings that stood just to the northeast of the current parcel. By the end of the Civil War, these buildings were lost, with only a masonry chimney remaining. This chimney may have served as the Army cookhouse during the war. By the 1930s, a private residence and associated garage stood on the Entrance Parcel, known as the Cymrot House.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Entrance Parcel is approximately three-quarters of an acre at the intersection of Chatham Heights Road and Chatham Lane. The Cymrot House, garage, and two large chicken coops were demolished by the National Park Service in 1994–95. Today, the parcel consists of scattered evergreen and deciduous trees over lawn and includes a park sign. It is adjoined by private residences to the northeast and Chatham Lane to the southwest. Spatially, the parcel is more open on its southwestern side than on its northeastern side, where evergreen and deciduous trees screen adjacent homes (Figure 3.10).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.10. Entrance Parcel Area. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Manor House and Walled Garden Area

Historic Condition: The spatial organization of the Manor House and Walled Garden Area has changed substantially since 1771. When the manor house was completed, the area to the northeast was largely open, with a u-shaped carriage drive and one of two domestic support buildings on either side of the house. The terraced ground to the southwest of the manor house has retained largely intact since construction, with only minor alterations in the twentieth century to accommodate the Carriage Drive Spur.

By the time of the Civil War, the u-shaped drive was lined with deciduous trees, yet the lawn at its center remained open. The war saw loss of most of these trees and the addition of a new circulation pattern to connect to the southwest side of the manor house. The addition of the Dairy Barn, Greenhouse, Carriage House and Stable and Boathouse by the 1920s changed the character of this area markedly. On the southwest side of the manor house, the formalization of circulation on the upper terrace, addition of a tennis court on the middle terrace, and a rose garden on the lower terrace were the most noteworthy changes to the southwest portion of the Manor House Area. By the time the Walled Garden was constructed to the northeast of the manor house, these additions had been removed from the terraces and replaced by the Carriage Drive Spur.

The addition of the Walled Garden was the most significant change to the spatial character to the north east of the manor house. The u-shaped drive was removed and replaced by circulation that parallels the two ravines. Jack Devore, Daniel Devore's great nephew, reported that the Devores had a tennis court in the location of the Walled Garden prior to its construction.[15] However, this is not supported by any other evidence.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Manor House and Walled Garden Area is comprised of the area between Farm Lane (extension of Chatham Lane), the North and South ravines, and the first fall of the terraces to the southwest of the mansion. The area retains all buildings that were added during the period of significance and the general form of all landscape spaces, as they existed at the end of the period of significance. The encloses character of the Walled Garden contrasts with the open character of the upper terrace on the river side of the house, where mature evergreen and deciduous trees provide some canopy while allowing views to the river and city of Fredericksburg below (Figure 3.11).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.11. Manor House and Walled Garden Area. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

North Embankment Area

Historic Condition: At the time of construction of the manor house, the North Embankment was likely clear of vegetation to enable views between the house and Rappahannock River/Fredericksburg. The embankment remained this way through the American Civil War, when nearly all available trees were used for fuel. After the war, the character of the embankment changed as successional vegetation (deciduous and evergreen trees) began to grow. This vegetation remained and was managed through the Pratt's ownership, slowly growing increasingly dense over time. A road was constructed on the North Embankment to connect River Road with Farm Lane (Chatham Lane extension) likely prior to or during the American Civil War.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The North Embankment spans the slope to the northwest of Chatham. It negotiates approximately 60 feet of vertical grade change between River Road and the Northwest Field over a distance of

approximately 200 feet. Today, the North Embankment is heavily wooded, with the topographic remnants of the road built about the time of the Civil War still evident (see Figure 3.5).

Evaluation: Contributing

North Field Area

Historic Condition: The North Field was once part of a much larger agricultural field to the northeast of Farm Lane, which at the time of construction of the manor house extended all the way to Falmouth, serving as the primary connection between Chatham and the town center. While the field was likely planted with tobacco early in the Fitzhugh's ownership, it was likely transitioned to grain crops with subsequent owners. By the twentieth century, according to Marion Rose, the Devores grew corn and wheat in the North Field, alternating years.[16] Throughout the period of significance, the field was open in character, with little or no vegetation taller than the crops that were being grown. Farm road patterns also changed, but Farm Road remained constant since at least the end of the Fitzhugh's ownership.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The North Field Area is located to the north of Chatham's core adjacent to John Lee Pratt Park. It encompasses an area of approximately 12.5 acres. It is bordered by the remnants of an evergreen allée along the Farm Road Trace and screen plantings along its northeast and northwest sides. The field is still in use through agricultural leasing and typically planted with corn or soybeans. The North Field once connected with the Northwest Field. The growth of successional vegetation following the loss of an orchard in the area has separated the two landscape spaces since 1975 (Figure 3.12).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.12. North Field Area. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).

North Ravine Area

Historic Condition: The North Ravine has remained a constant feature of the Chatham landscape since well before the manor house was constructed. The character of this space, however, has changed over time, as ravines were cleared of trees during the Civil War and allowed to regrow in the years that followed. It is rumored that the North Ravine was used by soldiers to access the river crossings, but it is more likely that they used the road on the North Embankment.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The North Ravine Area consists of two densely wooded steep slopes with an intermittent watercourse at its base. The area is not easily accessed by foot on account of the steep slopes (see Figure 3.6).

Evaluation: Contributing

Northeast Field Area

Historic Condition: While the field was likely planted with tobacco early in the Fitzhugh's ownership, it was likely transitioned to grain crops with subsequent owners. By the twentieth century, according to Marion Rose, the Devores grew corn and wheat in the Northeast Field.[17] Throughout the period of significance, the field was open in character, with little or no vegetation taller than the crops that were being grown.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Northeast Field Area is located to the northeast of Chatham and encompasses approximately 15 acres. It is bordered by the remnants of an evergreen allée along the Farm Road Trace and screen plantings along its northeast and northwest sides. The field is still in use through



Figure 3.13. Northeast Field Area. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).

agricultural leasing and typically planted with corn or soybeans. The field is prominent in the visitor experience, since it is located adjacent to the park's vehicular access and parking lot (Figure 3.13).

Evaluation: Contributing

Northwest Field Area

Historic Condition: Historically, the Northwest Field Area was undistinguishable from adjoining fields at Chatham. It is believed to be the location of one of two large orchards at Chatham during William Fitzhugh's ownership. Following the loss of the orchards during the Civil War, extensive orchards were reestablished in the same location by the Devores in the early 1900s. According to Marion Rose, the orchard included both peaches and apples, and the Devores sold the apples, but kept the peaches.[18] By the time the property was deeded to the National Park Service, only a fragment of the Devore's orchards remained, separating the North Field Area from the Northwest Field Area, which at the time was fenced for what appear to have been kitchen gardens.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Since 1975, the orchard that separated the Northwest Field Area from the North Field Area was lost due to inadequate maintenance and replaced by successional forest. Today, the Northwest Field Area is approximately 2 acres and serves as the park's leach field. Dense woods on all four sides provide a sense of enclosure for this smaller landscape space (Figure 3.14).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.14. Northwest Field Area. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).

Orchard Area

Historic Condition: Historically, the northwestern edge of the Orchard Area, adjacent to the North Ravine, was likely the location of the plantation's privies and necessary houses. By about 1870, a wash house was constructed in the area, near the Carriage Drive and Ice House. By the twentieth century, this building was accompanied by the Milk House that stands at the edge of the North Ravine. By the Devore's ownership, the wash house had been removed, with a small orchard of approximately thirty trees planted on an orthogonal grid. During John Lee Pratt's ownership, these fruit trees were supplemented with forest trees.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Orchard Area is located between the North Ravine and the Carriage Drive, in the vicinity of the Milk House. It encompasses an area of approximately one acre of trees over lawn, including a notable collection of specimen deciduous tree and six remaining pear trees (of a larger orchard) in a grid formation. The specimen trees over mown lawn impart the character of a grand country estate, as it was managed by the Devores and Pratts. However, many of the trees in the area are mature and beginning to decline (Figure 3.15).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.15. Orchard Area. View looking southeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Riverside Field Area

Historic Condition: The Riverside Field Area has long been a source of natural wealth for Chatham, with rich soil that is periodically replenished by flooding of the Rappahannock River. This area was almost certainly cultivated by Chatham's early owners. By the time of the Civil War, photographs show that area in tillage. According to Marion Rose, corn was grown in the riverside fields during the

Devore era.[19] By the time the National Park Service took ownership of Chatham, the character of the Riverside Field Area had changed as a result of growth of volunteer trees and understory species.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Riverside Field Area encompasses approximately 9 acres at the base of the Center Embankment. In 2014, the area was cleared of trees and understory to reestablish the visual connection between Chatham and the Rappahannock River/Fredericksburg. Today, the character of this area more closely reflects its appearance throughout the majority of its history, as open field between River Road and the Rappahannock River bank (Figure 3.16).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.16. Riverside Field Area. View looking southwest, 2014 (OCLP).

Riverside Woods Area

Historic Condition: Throughout Chatham's history, until shortly before John Lee Pratt's death, the Riverside Woods Area was cultivated. During the Civil War, the Riverside Woods (then field) served as a landing for one of the pontoon bridges that was constructed across the Rappahannock River.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Riverside Woods Area encompasses approximately 11 acres to the northwest of the Riverside Field Area. The area is wooded with native and exotic species, including a canopy of predominantly deciduous trees, with a dense understory of young trees covered by invasive vines.

Evaluation: Contributing

South Ravine Area

Historic Condition: The South Ravine has remained a constant feature of the Chatham landscape since well before the manor house was constructed. The character of this space, however, has changed over time, as ravines were cleared of trees during the Civil War and allowed to regrow in the years that followed. A pedestrian path bordered the South Ravine from about the time of the Civil War to present.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The South Ravine Area consists of two densely wooded steep slopes with an intermittent watercourse at its base. The area is not easily accessed by foot on account of the steep slopes (see Figure 3.7).

Evaluation: Contributing

Terraces Area

Historic Condition: There is reason to believe that the terraces on the southwest side of the house were laid out during William Fitzhugh's ownership. Around this time, they were likely connected by two sets of stairs, constructed on axis with the central entrance to Chatham. By the start of the Civil War, the upper terrace was planted with ornamental trees and a small garden. The lower two terraces were planted with rows of tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*). While nearly all of these trees were lost to the war, the lower two terraces were fenced and used as farmyards. By the twentieth century, the terraces area saw a revival, as formalized circulation was added to the upper terrace, a tennis court to the middle terrace, and a rose garden with concrete walks to the lower terrace. These features were removed in the 1920s, as the middle terrace was slightly regraded and Carriage Drive Spur aligned to connect with the Service Drive between the Farm Office and Kitchen. New boxwood plantings, low brick walls, and statuary was installed to evoke the feeling of a country place estate.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Terraces Area encompasses the three earthen terraces to the southwest of Chatham, including the level plane upon which the manor house was built; the middle terrace, which is traversed by the Carriage Drive Spur and adorned by the Cannons on Reproduction Carriages; and the lower terrace, which is home to the Reproduction Pontoon Bridge section and interpretive waysides. The central view toward Fredericksburg from each of the three terraces is largely open, while scattered deciduous and evergreen trees stand at both ends of the terraces, heightening the massive scale of the earthen slopes. The upper and middle terraces are bounded by a boxwood hedge and low brick wall, respectively, while the precipice of the lower terrace leads without interruption into the Center Embankment (Figure 3.17).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.17. Terraces Area. View looking southeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Woodlot Area

Historic Condition: Throughout most of Chatham's history, the area known today as the Woodlot Area was cultivated and traversed at its southern corner by a farm road. In the early twentieth century, construction of a new farm road along the alignment of what would become Burnside Avenue separated the area from the larger agricultural field to the northwest. The subdivision of Chatham lands into smaller parcels along Chatham Heights Road left the Woodlot Area undeveloped. By John Lee Pratt's death, the area was densely wooded.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Woodlot Area encompasses approximately one acre in National Park Service ownership out of a 3.5 acre forested area along the northeastern edge of Chatham, adjacent to the Northeast Field. The forest is comprised predominantly of deciduous species, with scattered evergreens.

Evaluation: Contributing

CIRCULATION

Circulation includes the spaces, features, and applied material finishes that constitute the systems of movement in a landscape.[20]

Brick Entrance Paths

Historic Condition: The construction date of the Brick Entrance Paths is not known, but they are believed to date to at least the early twentieth century, when the Walled Garden was installed to the northeast of Chatham. During the Devore's and Pratt's ownership of Chatham, the walks provided access to a vegetable and cutting garden that existed just beyond the Rear Garden Wall.

Vestiges of this use can still be seen in the regular lines of trees and shrubs that grow in the area. The long brick path also provided a connection between the Service Drive/Boathouse and the greenhouses/Dairy Barn. Historically, these paths were likely used primarily by grounds staff and servants.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Brick Entrance Paths lead from the Visitor Parking Lot to the three entrances along the northeast side of the Walled Garden. The major northwest/southeast path that parallels the Rear Garden Wall is approximately 6' wide and 250' long. It is bordered by grape (*Vitis* sp.) vines trained on posts along its southeastern end and privet (*Ligustrum amurense*) hedges along its northwestern end. The 6' wide spur that leads to the Visitor Parking Lot is approximately 110' long with a small arrival plaza adjacent to interpretive waysides near the parking lot. This spur was installed by the National Park Service in the late 1970s to provide access to the newly constructed parking area. One 4' wide spurs led off the northeast side of the main walk into the lawn area that once held cutting and vegetable garden beds. At the northwestern and southeastern ends of the main walk, two other 4' wide spurs extend to the southwest, into the Walled Garden. These segments are approximately 75' long. All brick is laid in a basket weave pattern and appears in good condition (Figure 3.18).

Evaluation: Contributing, except the spur along the north side of the Boathouse installed by the National Park Service.



Figure 3.18. Brick Entrance Paths. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).

Caretaker's Cottage Drive

Historic Condition: Little is known about the origin on the Caretaker's Cottage Drive. It was likely constructed around the same time as the original Caretaker's Cottage. After replacement of the building in the 1930s, the drive extended along the southeast side of the building and wrapped along the northeast side to provide access to a garage that once stood beyond the northern corner of the building.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Caretaker's Cottage Drive extends approximately 65 linear feet in a northeasterly direction from Chatham Lane. It is surfaced with loose aggregate and lawn, and used for parking the cottage occupants' personal vehicles. The garage it was once used to access was removed in the 1980s. As a result, the drive spur that extended behind the cottage went into disuse and has been overgrown by volunteer vegetation (Figure 3.19).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.19. Caretaker's Cottage Drive. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

Caretaker's Cottage Walk

Historic Condition: The Caretaker's Cottage Walk likely replaced an earlier walk that led from Chatham Lane to the Caretaker's Cottage when the Pratts replaced the residence with a new, more substantial structure in the 1930s.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Caretaker's Cottage Walk is a narrow 2' wide concrete walk that extends approximately 75 linear feet from Chatham Lane to a set of brick stairs that lead to the main entrance of the Caretaker's Cottage. The walk crosses over a drainage ditch adjacent to Chatham Lane before passing through the Caretaker's Cottage Picket Fence gate. The walk is in poor condition with cracking and lifting (Figure 3.20).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.20. Caretaker's Cottage Walk. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Carriage Drive

Historic Condition: The rough alignment of the Carriage Drive was likely in place by the time construction of Chatham began in 1768. Its existence is well documented prior to and during the Civil War as a primary access route between the manor house, fields, and the banks of the Rappahannock River below.

To the northwest of the manor house complex, the Carriage Drive extends toward the Farm Road Trace. These two road segments likely once connected to provide access to fields beyond. The Carriage Drive also once connected with the northwest side of the u-shaped entrance drive that existed to the northeast of Chatham prior to the 1920s. Following removal of the u-shaped drive, the upper end of the Carriage Drive was realigned to the southeast to direct traffic to the Dairy Barn. Historic photographs show that around the 1930s, the Carriage Drive dead-ended at the Dairy Barn, suggesting that all visitors to Chatham used the Carriage Drive Spur to access the manor house after that time.

The conjectural extension of the South Ravine Path across the Center Embankment may once have also connected to the Carriage Drive and provided direct access to the northeast side of the manor house complex. Historically, the Carriage Drive was surfaced with packed earth. It is one of the most important landscape features at Chatham, as it was extant throughout all historic periods with only very slight modifications to its alignment.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Chatham Carriage Drive extends from the Entrance Gate at River Road, crossing the Center Embankment in a northerly direction before turning northeast in the vicinity of the lower terrace and extending to Farm Lane. It is approximately 2,300' in length, 12' wide, and surfaced with loose aggregate. The Carriage Drive is used as an exit road for

staff and visitors leaving the park. The loose aggregate surface was regraded and replaced in 2008 with 21A gravel, but requires regrading again following heavy use during the 2014 vista management project (Figure 3.21).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.21. Carriage Drive. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Carriage Drive Spur

Historic Condition: The Carriage Drive Spur is first documented as a pill-shaped track on the upper terrace, adjacent to Chatham between 1906 and 1913, as part of Fleming G. Bailey's improvements to the property.[21] The track extended from the area of the Kitchen to the Laundry across the southwest side of the manor house and was surfaced with light colored loose aggregate. This track included a circle at its southeastern end, now in the vicinity of the gingko (*Gingko biloba*) tree. A similar circle may have existed at the northwestern end of the terrace. However, this area is not well documented by documentary evidence.

A spur extended between the Kitchen and future location of the Farm Office, along the present alignment of the Service Drive, to connect the track on the upper terrace to the u-shaped entrance drive that exited to the northeast of Chatham prior to construction of the Walled Garden. A similar spur may have extended between the Laundry and Smokehouse on the opposite side of the manor house. This circulation system is documented in photographs and on the 1922 tree location plan by Robert N. Forman.[22] Remnants of this circulation system can also be seen on Ellen Shipman's initial 1922 design plans for Chatham. It is likely that the southwestern side of the track was used for pedestrian traffic only, while the northeastern side of the track accommodated both carriages and pedestrians.

The Carriage Drive Spur was redesigned by the Devores during their 1920s improvements to Chatham's landscape. The improvements are not reflected on Ellen Shipman's design plans. However, it is likely that she was involved in aligning the Carriage Drive Spur across the middle terrace in the 1920s.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Carriage Drive Spur connects the Carriage Drive with the entrance to the Service Drive between the Kitchen and Farm Office. The spur is approximately 640' in length and 12' in width. As it ascends from the Carriage Drive onto the middle terrace, the road spur is bordered by steep embankments on either side. Across the middle terrace, the drive consists of two tracks with a lawn median. Near the Kitchen, the road reflects the alignment of a historic circle around the gingko (*Gingko biloba*) tree. Remnants of bituminous concrete paving are visible along the length of the spur road. The road is currently only used for foot traffic (Figure 3.22).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.22. Carriage Drive Spur. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).

Chatham Lane

Historic Condition: Chatham Lane is a remnant of the historic road system at Chatham. Historically, Chatham Lane and its extension to the northwest, Farm Lane, likely served as Chatham's "plantation street," with all major buildings and structures arranged in relation to this circulation feature. Functionally, the lane was likely in place at the time construction of Chatham began in 1768. Prior to the construction of Chatham Bridge, the connection to the commercial center at Falmouth provided by the Farm Lane extension was essential to the operation of Chatham as a plantation. Along the southeastern end of Chatham Lane, outbuildings and slave quarters lined the street, which connected Chatham with King's Highway and what became Chatham Heights Road. Prior to completion of Chatham Bridge in the 1820s, primary access to Chatham was likely from the

northeastern (field) side of the manor house, rather than from the southwestern side via the Carriage Drive, with Chatham Lane facilitating this connection to the u-shaped entrance drive that preceded the Walled Garden.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Chatham Lane provides access from Chatham Heights Road to the park entrance at the Caretaker's Cottage. It is approximately 18' wide and was paved with bituminous concrete for the first time in the 1950s or 1960s. Park visitors and staff use the road one-way for access to the park, while neighbors who live along the road use it for two-way access to their homes. The road is privately owned and maintained, and is currently in good condition (Figure 3.23).

Evaluation: Contributing;* the alignment of Chatham Lane is contributing. The materials are non-contributing.



Figure 3.23. Chatham Lane. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).

Farm Lane

Historic Condition: Historically, Farm Lane and its extension to the southeast, Chatham Lane, likely served as Chatham's "plantation street," with all major buildings and structures arranged in relation to this circulation feature. Functionally, the lane was likely in place at the time construction of Chatham began in 1768. Prior to the construction of Chatham Bridge, the connection to the commercial center at Falmouth provided by the Farm Lane extension was essential to the operation of Chatham as a plantation. Along the southeastern end of Farm Lane, outbuildings and slave quarters lined the street, which connected Chatham with King's Highway and what became Chatham Heights Road. Prior to completion of Chatham Bridge in the 1820s, primary access to Chatham was likely from the northeastern (field) side of the manor house, rather than from the southwestern side via the Carriage Drive, with Farm Lane facilitating this connection to the u-shaped entrance drive that preceded the Walled Garden.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Farm Lane extends from the terminus of Chatham Lane (in front of the Caretaker's Cottage) to the entrance to Pratt Park. A portion of Farm Lane is surfaced with loose aggregate and serves as the primary vehicular circulation route on the property, for visitors and staff exiting parking areas. The remainder of Farm Lane to the northwest consists of an earthen track that extends through the North Field. Farm Lane is in good condition and reflects its historic alignment with the exception of the area opposite the Visitor Parking Lot, where the road was realigned to accommodate a small visitor orientation plaza with waysides (Figure 3.24).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.24. Farm Lane. View looking west, 2014 (OCLP).

Farm Road Trace

Historic Condition: The Farm Road Trace is first shown on Civil War era maps of Chatham as an extension of the Carriage Drive. It provided a direct connection between Chatham and Falmouth to the northwest. The road was lined with evenly spaced trees, as it remains today. A distinctive topographic change is marked on the maps along the southeast side of the road. This change in grade indicates that the topography of the roadbed and adjoining field were intentionally manipulated at great labor in a pre-mechanical era to achieve an even grade. By the early 1920s, the Farm Road provided access to a cluster of buildings at the northeastern end of the road, including a two-story residence (Fines' house), garage/meat house, outhouse, corn house, cow/chicken barn with attached pig pen, alfalfa and hay shed, tractor shed, and cattle barn with silo. These buildings entered disuse in the 1970s, around which time the road likely ceased to be used as well.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Farm Road Trace separates the North Field from the Northeast Field. The roadbed extends approximately 900' in a northeasterly direction. The first 600' are lined along both sides with evenly

spaced eastern red-cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) that are in poor condition. The roadbed is blocked by fallen trees, and overgrown with understory vegetation and poison ivy (*Toxicodendron radicans*) (Figure 3.25).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.25. Farm Road Trace. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Front Entrance Paths

Historic Condition: Chatham's original Front Entrance Paths likely consisted of a central axial walk that led from the door at the center of the manor house's southwest façade, across the upper terrace to descend to the middle terrace by way of a set of stairs that preceded the Music Stair, across the middle terrace to descend to the lower terrace by way of a set of stairs that preceded the existing brick staircase. Archeological evidence of these earlier paths and staircases has likely been destroyed by the replacement paths installed in the 1920s and 1994 along the same alignment.

The existing alignment of Front Entrance Paths was designed in the 1920s as part of the Devore's improvements to Chatham's landscape, with the assistance of Ellen Shipman. These paths consisted of rough flagstone laid in lawn across the southwest side of the manor house and in an axial path down the center of the terraces, along the alignment of the earlier path to a garden folly designed by Oliver H. Clarke that contained the Ceres Statue (since removed).

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The National Park Service replaced the Front Entrance Paths on the upper terrace with cut slate along their historic alignments in two stages in 1994 and 2009 to accommodate universal access to the grounds. The replacement paths constitute approximately 410 linear feet. Paths on the lower two terraces retain original materials from the 1920s renovation, with rough cut stone laid in a random pattern with wide, grass-filled joints. The path extends

approximately 55 linear feet on the middle terrace and 30 linear feet on the lower terrace. The widths of the paths vary by terrace level, increasing in width at lower levels. The paths are generally in good condition, but joints have spread and some pavers have settled since installation, resulting in uneven surfaces and gaps (Figure 3.26).

Evaluation: Contributing;* the alignments of the Front Entrance Paths are contributing. The replacement materials are non-contributing.



Figure 3.26. Front Entrance Paths. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).

Garden Paths

Historic Condition: The Garden Paths were installed by the Devores between 1922 and 1927 based on the design work of Ellen Shipman. They were constructed of rough-hewn flagstone set in lawn, brick laid in a basket weave pattern, and peastone gravel. According to Oliver Fines, who was born at Chatham in 1920 and lived on the estate until 1942, "The walkway was washed [pea] gravel, and you walked down through there.... They had flagstones down through the center here, but those walks in between where they was designs, it was gravel—washed gravel. It was nice. It was good lookin'..."[23] Fines comments suggest that the axial peastone and flagstone paths were the primary routes through the garden. According to Shipman's design plans, the flowering dogwood (*Cornus florida*) lined walks were designed to accommodate access from the terraces to the servant's quarters and vegetable gardens. The terrace adjacent to Chatham was constructed of fill consisting of concrete walks removed from the lower terrace, where they defined rose beds prior to the Devores' improvements.[24] The paths are well documented by Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographs from 1927.

The paving was modified by John Lee Pratt, with assistance from Charles Gillette, who prepared plans for the garden in the 1950s. The alignment of Gillette's

replacement garden paths were more curvilinear than Shipman's original layout, with pavers spaced much closer that the original irregular flagstones that were set in lawn.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Garden Paths extend along the central axis of the garden, connect the Kitchen and Laundry with the terrace at Chatham's northeast entrance, and parallel both the southeast and northwest Rear Garden Walls. The National Park Service replaced all flagstone path sections with sawcut slate walks (710 linear feet) in two stages in 1994 and 2009 to accommodate universal access, with the exception of the terrace adjacent to the house (1,765 square feet), brick path section that runs through the flowering dogwood (*Cornus florida*) allee along the northwest side of the garden (105 linear feet), and small sections of rough cut flagstone path that extend into the garden from the central, axial path and remain from the 1920s (60 linear feet). The paths are all approximately 4' wide and reflect the general alignment of paths as they existed following the Devore's improvements to the garden. The replacement paths are in good condition. However, paver joints have spread and some pavers have settled since installation, resulting in uneven surfaces and gaps. The peastone path that ran across the garden, along the northeast side of the parterre beds, in the 1920s is now missing along with flagstone paths set in lawn below the Garden Pergola (Figure 3.27).

Evaluation: Contributing*; the alignments of the Garden Paths are contributing. The replacement materials are non-contributing.



Figure 3.27. Garden Paths. View looking southwest, 2014 (OCLP).

North Embankment Road Trace

Historic Condition: Little is known about the origin of the North Embankment Road Trace. It is believed to date to the Civil War era or before. However, it is not documented on any maps from the wartime. It only appears as a topographic vestige in the existing landscape.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The North Embankment Road Trace remains visible on the North Embankment, as it cuts from east to west as it descends the slope. Near River Road, it meets another road trace that ascends the same slope from south to north. This second road trace is only partially on NPS owned property. This more northwesterly road trace is documented on Civil War era maps, while the North Embankment Road Trace is not. The North Embankment Road Trace is overgrown with trees and understory vegetation, which prevent access from both the Northwest Field and River Road. It is approximately 270 linear feet (see Figure 3.5).

Evaluation: Contributing

Service Drive

Historic Condition: The Service Drive was constructed in the 1920s, contemporary with the addition of the Walled Garden to Chatham. Prior to this time, a u-shaped drive provided access to the northeast entrance to the manor house from Chatham Lane. This drive crossed the current alignment of the Service Drive, but was believed to intersect with Chatham Lane further to the southeast. A short spur of this drive led between the Kitchen and future location of the Farm Office. During the Devore's and Pratt's ownership of Chatham, the Service Drive as surfaced with compacted earth and loose aggregate.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Service Drive is a bituminous concrete drive that extends from Chatham Lane near the Boathouse to the space between the Kitchen and Farm Office. Near the Garage, Kitchen and Farm Office, the drive widens to a service courtyard, approximately 65' at its maximum width. The portion of the Service Drive adjacent to the Rear Garden Wall is lined with staff parking for approximately 9 vehicles. Adjacent to the Carriage House, the drive is much narrower at approximately 18' width. The Service Drive is in good condition and reflects he general alignment of the drive during the Devore's and Pratt's ownership of Chatham (Figure 3.28).

Evaluation: Contributing; the alignment of the Service Drive is contributing. The materials are non-contributing.



Figure 3.28. Service Drive. View looking southwest, 2014 (OCLP).

South Ravine Path

Historic Condition: The lower portion of the South Ravine Path is believed to date to before the Civil War era. It can be seen faintly in early photographs from Fredericksburg providing a pedestrian connection from River Road to Chatham. The upper portion of the path is believed to be a historic roadbed that tied into the property's circulation system prior to the Civil War. This road bed trace remained visible as late as the 1920, when Ellen Shipman documented it on her design proposals for Chatham. The connection between the Service Drive and the roadbed was eliminated with construction of the Garage.

Topographic evidence suggests that the roadbed may have once connected to a switchback that traversed the Center Embankment below the lowest terrace, connecting with the Carriage Drive midway down the slope. However, there is no documentary evidence of this connection. The rustic stone staircase was likely installed by the Devores during their improvements to the grounds, and was in place by 1922, as it is shown on tree location plans from that year by Robert N. Forman.[25]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The South Ravine Path extends from the Carriage Drive entrance at River Road to the area of the Well House. From the Carriage Drive, the path follows a steep course up the Center Embankment on the west side of the South Ravine. From the lowest terrace, the path diverges. The western portion follows a set of roughhewn stone steps to the middle terrace. The eastern portion follows the grade at the base of the terrace through a formal row of deciduous trees to the vicinity of the Well House. The lower portion of the path is roughly 3' wide, surfaced with packed earth and random cut stones along

the alignment to facilitate changes in elevation. The upper portion of the path is approximately 10' wide and surfaced with packed earth. The South Ravine Path is in poor condition due to erosion and deferred maintenance (Figure 3.29).

Evaluation: Contributing* (LCS references this feature as Chatham Side Garden Terrace Walkway)



Figure 3.29. South Ravine Path. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Visitor Parking Lot

Historic Condition: This feature did not exist historically.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Visitor Parking Lot was constructed by the National Park Service in the late 1970s to provide parking for visitors and staff. It is located immediately to the northwest of the Caretaker's Cottage, screened from view by naturalized vegetation. The lot is surfaced with bituminous concrete and is approximately 115' x 46'. It can accommodate approximately 22 parked cars. The National Park Service considered four alternative circulation patterns in the 1980s, as documented by the 1982 "Environmental Assessment, Interim Development Concept Plan for Visitor Access and Parking (Figure 3.30)."[26]

Evaluation: Non-contributing



Figure 3.30. Visitor parking lot. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

VEGETATION

Vegetation includes the deciduous and evergreen trees, shrubs, vines, ground covers and herbaceous plants, and plant communities, whether indigenous or introduced in a landscape.[27]

Historic Period Trees

Historic Condition: When William Fitzhugh advertised Chatham for sale in 1805, the listing included reference to a garden "ornamented with forest trees and shrubs of almost every description."[28] Since that time, ornamental trees have graced Chatham's grounds, both on the river side and land side of the house. Early in Chatham's history, these trees were likely arranged in orthogonal patterns, as was fashionable at the time. Around the time of the Civil War, trends in planting design favored naturalistic arrangements of specimens, and tree planting at Chatham followed suit. Select trees shown in historic photographs near the house even survived the Civil War, including the American sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*) that remains in the Walled Garden. Nearly all of the specimen trees that remain at Chatham were planted prior to National Park Service ownership.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Trees that remain from the historic period within the estate's core represent at least sixty-five species of deciduous and evergreen trees. Most of these specimens are planted individually, with only a few evergreens arranged in groups for functional purposes like screening. With the exception of ornamental trees within the Walled Garden, such as the flowering dogwoods (*Cornus florida*), very few trees have been replaced. As such, the extant specimens are original material, but many have reached maturity. For a complete list of species within the estate core, refer to Appendix B (Figure 3.31).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.31. Historic Period Trees. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

Naturalized Woodlands

Historic Condition: Since construction of Chatham, naturalized woodlands have been largely isolated to the North and South ravines, as upland and lowland areas were cleared very early for cultivation. During the Civil War, the ravines were cleared of vegetation by soldiers in search of fire wood. Following the war, naturalized woodlands regrew within the ravines and on the steep slopes that separate Chatham's low river front from upland fields. Naturalized woodland developed in the woodlot area in the mid to late twentieth century, during John Lee Pratt's ownership.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Woodlands cover approximately 15 acres of Chatham, with the largest stands along the two ravines and the Rappahannock riverfront. Along woodland edges, where sunlight is present, generalist species dominate. Deeper within the woodlands, species are predominantly mature hardwoods (maples, oaks, and tulip poplars, etc.), with little understory vegetation as a result of the dense shade cast by the mature broadleaf canopy. Since John Lee Pratt's death in 1975, naturalized growth has increasingly characterized Chatham's boundary and infringed on the historic spatial arrangement of its fields. For example, volunteer species along historic fence lines within the Northeast Field have matured into naturalized woodlands, as has volunteer growth at the southernmost corner of the North Field and in two sections of the North Field (at its northeastern end and at its southwestern end)(Figure 32).

Evaluation: Contributing, except portions that have naturalized since 1975.



Figure 3.32. Naturalized Woodlands. View looking southeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Orchard Trees

Historic Condition: Chatham has a long and rich association with fruit trees. Among the earliest references to Chatham's trees are from 1798 and 1799, when William Fitzhugh sent George Washington cherry, pear, and apple trees from Chatham. It is likely that orchard trees dominated the trees species grown at Chatham during its early years, up until the Civil War. After the war, these orchards were gone, not to be replaced until the early twentieth century by the Devores, who planted an extensive apple and pear orchard beyond the North Ravine and a smaller orchard (likely pears) in the vicinity of the Milk House. By John Lee Pratt's death, the larger orchard was greatly diminished in size, but remained along with the fruit trees near the Milk House.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: After the National Park Service took ownership of Chatham, the remaining swath of orchard beyond the North Ravine was not maintained, resulting in loss of the trees and growth of successional species in their place. Slowly, fruit trees were also lost in the vicinity of the Milk House, with only six specimens remaining in the orchard today (Figure 3.33).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.33. Orchard Trees. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

Post-Historic Period Trees

Historic Condition: These features did not exist historically.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Relatively few trees have been planted at Chatham since 1975. However, the addition of screen planting along the eastern property boundary by the National Park Service in 1984 and specimen trees within the Entrance Parcel following removal of the Cymrot House, garage, and two large chicken coops account for the majority of the Post-Historic Period Trees planted at Chatham (Figure 3.34).

Evaluation: Non-contributing



Figure 3.34. Post-Historic Period Trees. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

Walled Garden Plantings

Historic Condition: Walled Garden plantings were first introduced in the mid-1920s by the Devores following the design work of landscape architect Ellen Shipman. While these plantings flourished under the Devore's ownership, as evidenced by photographs by Frances Benjamin Johnston, a shortage of labor as a result of World War II marked the first significant period of decline for the garden. Following Mrs. Pratt's death just a few years after the war's end, Mr. Pratt hired landscape architect Charles Gillette to simplify the gardens, removing several herbaceous beds and the gardens iconic parterres in the mid-1950s. This work resulted in a predominance of woody shrubs, roses, and trees remaining within the garden, with only limited herbaceous plantings in the vicinity of the Garden Pergola. When the National Park Service acquired Chatham in 1975, scarcely a herbaceous plant remained, with overgrown plants dominating the landscape.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Since 1975, all plantings within the Walled Garden have been replaced. Following a 1984 "adaptive restoration" of the garden, plantings declined to the point that they were in dire need of rejuvenation in 2014, when the park and friends group first hired a garden consultant to care for the beds. Since that time, many of the herbaceous specimens have been rejuvenated and supplemented with additional plantings to fill out the beds. Walled Garden plantings are comprised primarily of herbaceous perennials, woody shrubs, flowering ornamental trees, and groundcovers. Approximately eighty different species and cultivars of perennials, in addition to twenty different species of trees and shrubs, make this planting particularly diverse and maintenance-intensive. For a complete list of species within the Walled Garden, refer to Appendix A (Figure 3.35).

Evaluation: Contributing; the bed layout and presence of perennials are contributing. The specific plants in existence in 2015 are non-contributing.



Figure 3.35. Walled Garden Plantings. View looking west, 2014 (OCLP).

BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES

Buildings are elements constructed primarily for sheltering and form of human activity in a landscape. Structures are elements constructed for functional purposes other than sheltering human activity in a landscape. Engineering systems are also structures.[29]

Bird Pen Foundations

Historic Condition: The Bird Pen Foundations were constructed between 1921 and 1927 to house the Devore's pheasants, which were raised for food. Each of the cages each held a different type of pheasant. The pens consisted of chicken-wire cages on wood frames and concrete foundations. Oral histories suggest that there may have been additional pheasant pens beyond the northwest wall of the garden, near the Dairy Barn.[30] The Devores also kept peacocks—about three or four birds, including white peacocks— which roamed the grounds of Chatham freely and can be seen in many of Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographs. The chicken-wire cages and wood frames were removed by the Pratts, leaving only the concrete foundations in place.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Today, the concrete foundations of the bird pens remain. The concrete defines five rectangular pens along the southeast side of the Walled Garden, near the eastern-most corner. All five pens are approximately 5' deep and range in width between approximately 11' and 24'. The 6" wide concrete foundations show significant signs of deterioration, as they have not be maintained or in used for the past forty years (Figure 3.36).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.36. Bird Pen Foundations. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Boathouse

Historic Condition: The exact construction date of the structure is not known, although it was in place by 1927, as evidenced by Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographs. Although it is called the Boathouse by National Park Service staff, there is no evidence that it was ever used as such. Photographs from 1927 show that the structure was used to store carriages. Marion Rose reported that both corn and farm equipment— "rakes and wagons, ploughs and stuff like that"— were also stored in the structure.[31]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Boathouse is an L-shaped structure that is attached to the brick Carriage House and Stable. It is a post and beam structure with board and batten siding (vertical, painted white), with a gable roof (gray asphalt shingles). The two south-facing facades have arched openings that are now covered with wooden lattice (vertical, painted a dark color) (Figure 3.37).

The National Park Service replaced the roof in about 1970 and installed visitor restrooms in the southwestern portion of the structure in 1980.[32] This portion of the Boathouse still houses the visitor restrooms. The remainder of the structure is used for maintenance storage. The structure is in good condition.

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.37. Boathouse. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

Caretaker's Cottage

Historic Condition: The first evidence of a building on the site of the Caretaker's Cottage dates from the early Devore era, although the building likely existed before the Devores owned Chatham. Oliver Fines, son of Chatham's farmer for the Devores and Pratts, was born in 1920 in "one of the shacks" on the property, a building that stood where the Caretaker's Cottage now stands.[33] The building was a one-story building with four rooms and a hallway, with an unheated loft upstairs.

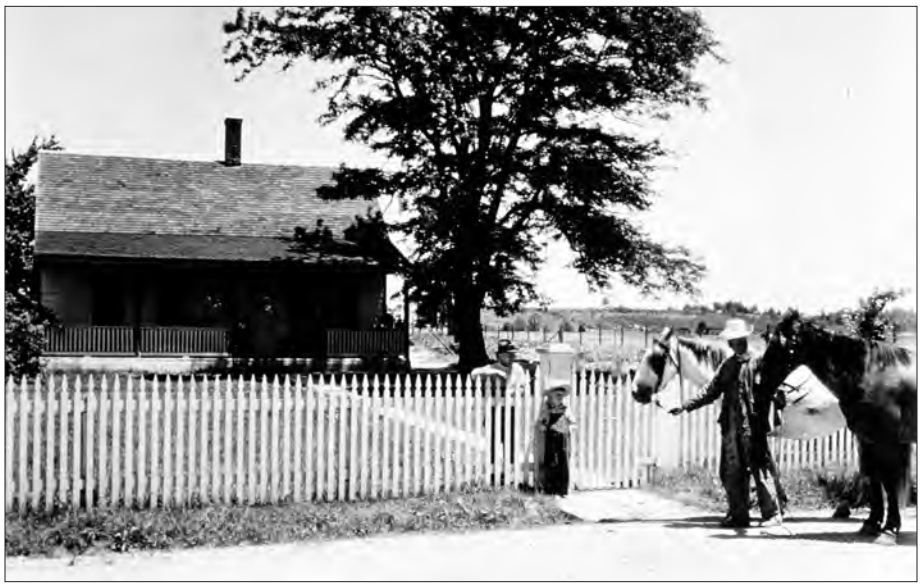


Figure 3.38. Caretaker's Cottage prior to replacement. View looking northeast, c. 1921 (FRSP archives, Laundry conference room slides).

Historic photographs show the residence with a full-length covered porch along the southwest façade (Figure 3.38). The Devores hired Washington, D.C.-based architect Oliver H. Clarke to design a new "Farmer's Cottage" in 1923. However, the building was never constructed.[34]

After the Devores sold the property to the Pratts, the Fines family moved from the dilapidated residence that preceded the Caretaker's Cottage to a residence in the north field known as the Field House. During the Devore's ownership, the Field House was occupied by gardener Richard Gallahan, who went with the Devores to Washington. The Field House was an uninsulated, two-story, weatherboard-clad residence with four rooms, two upstairs and two downstairs. It was adjacent to a red barn with a hayloft that housed the Pratt's cattle and later their horses.

The Pratts tore down the residence that preceded the Caretaker's Cottage shortly after purchasing the Chatham in 1931 and replaced it with the existing Caretaker's Cottage. The new residence was occupied by the Pratt's gardener, an Englishman named Lyle Jenkins (or Jenkinson), and his wife.[35] The Cottage was adjoined by an extensive fenced home garden to the northeast and southeast. The exact date of construction of the Caretaker's Cottage is unknown, but the building is believed to date to the early 1930s. Agnes Harris, Mr. Pratt's niece, reported that she was told that the Pratts shut down the main house during World War II and stayed in the Caretaker's Cottage.[36]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Caretaker's Cottage is a one and one half-story, five-bay frame house resting on a brick foundation that encloses a half basement. The exterior of the building is clad in clapboard siding (horizontal, painted white) and topped by an asphalt shingle (gray) gable roof with shed roof dormers. The building features two brick end chimneys and a set of five

concrete and brick steps that lead to a central entrance with gable end roof and entranceway with sidelights. The approximate footprint of the building is 25' by 36'.

At the time the National Park Service took ownership of Chatham, a one-car detached garage and chicken coop for domestic use stood to the north, behind the Cottage. The National Park Service removed these structures after 1976. According to the park's 1986 *General Management Plan*, the Caretaker's Cottage was also slated for removal. However, it is a contributing structure and will not be demolished. With the exception of significant signs of wear on the roof, the building is currently in good condition and used for park staff housing (Figure 3.39).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.39. Caretaker's Cottage. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Carriage Drive Culverts

Historic Condition: The Carriage Drive Culverts were constructed between 1922 and 1927 as part of Ellen Shipman's landscape improvements to Chatham. The road was redesigned and culverts installed during the 1920s improvements to the property. The pipe culverts provide proper drainage at low points in the drive and reduce washouts.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Carriage Drive Culverts include seven catch basins with grate inlets that range in size slightly around 26" x 26" x 18" deep. Each catch basin is drained by an outlet pipe that runs under the drive and to the outer wall/slope. The culverts are generally in good condition, although their operation was not verified during a rainstorm. Only one was observed to be filled with debris (Figure 3.40).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.40. Carriage Drive Culvert. View looking southeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Carriage Drive Retaining Wall

Historic Condition: The Carriage Drive Retaining Wall was constructed between 1922 and 1927 as part of Ellen Shipman's landscape improvements to Chatham. The wall protects the outer edge of the drive and defines a small pull-out near the lower terrace. In addition to cut, natural stone along the upper portion of the wall, the lower portion of the wall includes rough concrete chunks stacked informally.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Carriage Drive Retaining Wall borders the lower half of the Carriage Drive, from the bend at the lower terrace to River Road. It is approximately 1,200' long and 2' high, and constructed of dry-laid, random-cut and laid blocks. Portions of the wall were reset in 2014 as part of the vista management project completed on the Center Embankment. The wall is in good condition (Figure 3.41).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.41. Carriage Drive Retaining Wall. View looking southwest, 2014 (OCLP).

Carriage House and Stable

Historic Condition: The Carriage House is first documented by historic photographs from the Devore era. The building was extant prior to construction of the Walled Garden in the early 1920s. The building is well documented by Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographs of Chatham from 1927. At the time, the brick complex was painted white and had a wood shingle roof. The main block of the complex, the Carriage House, was used for carriage storage, tack storage, and hay storage. The Stable was used to house horses and store hay. By the late 1920s, English ivy (*Hedera helix*) grew on the southeast façade. The Devores hired Washington, D.C.-based architect Oliver H. Clarke to design a new "Farm Building," seemingly for stables and carriages, in 1923. However, the building was never constructed.[37]

Although John Lee Pratt took an interest in race horses, his race horses were not quartered at Chatham. During the Pratt's ownership, the horse pasture and watering tough were in the field to the northeast of the Boathouse, in the present vicinity of the Visitor Parking Lot.[38] The Pratts kept at least two plow horses, which were housed in the Stable until about 1942, at which point they were moved to the barn in the North Field.[39] After about 1960, horses were no longer kept at Chatham.[40]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Carriage House and Stable building consists of two parts, both of brick with gable roofs clad in asphalt shingles (tan). The Carriage House is a one and one half-story building with a tack room and hay loft on the upper level. The approximate footprint of the Carriage House portion of the building is 66' x 33' (Figure 3.42).

The Stable is attached to the northeast is a one and one half-story building with hardwood horse stalls on the lower level and a tack room and hay loft in the upper portion of the building. A hay mow door on the southeast façade allows for access to the loft. The Stable portion of the complex is attached to the wooden Boathouse to the northeast. The approximate footprint of the Stable portion of the building is 23' x 27'.

The National Park Service converted the Carriage House into a modern garage by reinforcing the ceiling beams and installing a poured concrete floor. The park service also replaced the roofs of the buildings in about 1965. The buildings are in good condition, with only some brick spalling and cracking. The Carriage House accommodates park offices and the Stable is used for equipment storage.

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.42. Carriage House and Stable. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

Chatham

Historic Condition: Chatham was built between 1768 and 1771 by William Fitzhugh. The first documentary evidence of the building is an insurance survey that dates to 1797. This survey describes Chatham as a cluster of five buildings: the manor house, two wings, a kitchen, and a laundry. The two wings were attached to the dwelling house by "brick covered ways." Physical evidence suggests that these "covered ways" were always enclosed. However, a sketch of Chatham from the Civil War era suggests that they were, at the time, covered porticoes.[41]

Chatham's main block reflects the basic proportions of Westover in Charles City County and Sabine Hall in Richmond County, both constructed about 1730. The dependencies (Kitchen and Laundry) are separated from the main block by approximately 44' each, likely to reduce the risk of fire.

During the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, the southwest side of the house featured a central two-story covered porch, as well as one-story porches over the entrances in the building's hyphens. Prior to the Civil War, the porches were all connected by walkways, with railings, along the façade of the manor house. Architectural evidence suggests that the porches were not original to the building. The porches' Greek Revival style also suggests a nineteenth century construction date. The porches were in place by the Civil War, when photographs of the building show these features prominently. The northeast side of the house also included a colonnaded terrace, which was removed in 1921 as part of the Devore's architectural improvements to the property. During removal of all porches in 1921, *The Fredericksburg Free-Lance* reported that the workmen found a stone inscribed "John Hall, Builder. October 11, 1859."[42] This stone may have been associated with the porch or the stone steps noted in Mrs. Lacy's memoir. In place of the porches, two limestone frontispieces were designed by Oliver H.



Figure 3.43. Chatham. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).

Clarke as part of his colonialization of the property. The northeast doorway is a copy of that at Westover, taken from *Palladio Londinensis*. The southwest entrance frontispiece is a modified Doric style, likely of Clarke's own design.

After the Civil War, the brick building was painted. The first coat of paint was mustard yellow, then brick red, followed by several coats of white. While the roof has been sheathed in slate since the 1920s, several cedar shakes found in the attic suggest that the roof was covered in wood in previous decades. The building's chimneys have been rebuilt several times. The Devores installed a lightening protection system in the 1920s.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Chatham is a seven-bay, two-story dwelling house with attached, flanking dependencies, an attic, and a full-height cellar. The footprint of the main block of the building is approximately 24' x 76'; the hyphens 18' x 20'; and the pavilions 24' x 35'. The main block features a gable roof, while the pavilions have hip roofs. Brick chimneys are located at the north and south ends of the main block.

The house, hyphens, and pavilions are constructed with 2' thick brick walls. All walls above the water table are Flemish bond, with glazed headers and grapevine joints. The same bond is used below the water table, where plain headers are used in place of glazed. The window jambs, jack arches, corners of the house and wings, and a four-course belt marking the second floor line are embellished with rubbed brick in "butter" joints.

The National Park Service removed asbestos from the furnace and hot water tank in 1993, installed a universal access ramp in 1994 and repointed the basement wall, upgraded the HVAC system in 1995, repointed exterior brickwork and reset sandstone steps on hyphens in 2001, replaced damaged shingles on north wing

roof in 2004, installed new HVAC system in 2010, and reconstructed basement stairwell roofs in 2011. Chatham is in good condition and presently used as a visitor contact station and park staff offices (Figure 3.43).

Evaluation: Contributing*

Corn Crib

Historic Condition: The presence of sire common nails suggests that it was built in the twentieth century. The first documentary evidence of the structure are photographs from the era of Devore ownership. The Devores and Pratts once also had a second corn crib, which stood along the Farm Road Trace in the North Field. Chatham's owners eventually stopped using the existing Corn Crib adjacent to the Stable and only used the one along the Farm Road Trace, since lost.[43] The open cupola of the structure housed a bell that was used to call farm workers.[44]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Corn Crib is located opposite the Carriage House and Stable along the Service Drive. It is connected to the Stable by a fence and gate posts. The Corn Crib is a 10' x 12' open slat structure set on four concrete corner piers. The structure has a pyramidal roof with open frame cupola. The National Park Service completed repairs to the historic structure around 1995. The roof is clad in wood shingles, which are now moss covered (Figure 3.44).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.44. Corn Crib. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

Dairy Barn

Historic Condition: The Dairy Barn was likely constructed about 1890 to 1900 adjacent to the South Greenhouse by Albert O. Mays or possibly Fleming G. Bailey. The barn was in place by 1909, when Randolph Howard purchased Chatham.[45] This cluster of utilitarian buildings was screened from view from the manor house by hedges. The Devores kept between one and three milk cows in the barn. They were cared for by the Devore's farmer, Mr. Fines.[46] According to Marion Rose, son of Mr. Devore's farmhand, the peacocks used to live in the barn during the winter.[47] The Pratts kept between 25 and 30 Hereford (beef) cattle in the fields to the north of Chatham, now part of Pratt Park, until about 1960.[48] They used the Dairy Barn for tool and lawnmower storage, and farm truck parking.[49] The Dairy Barn was likely in use until about the same time.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Dairy Barn is a post and beam structure with clapboard siding (horizontal). The floor is a concrete slab. Inside, the barn retains the stalls, while the windows on the north side of the building have been reduced in size since initial construction of the building. The gable standing seam metal roof features a cross gable that encloses a small loft. The northeastern portion of the building was removed by the National Park Service, although the concrete slab foundation remains. The building is in good condition and currently used for tool storage and garden maintenance activities. The concrete slab to the northeast is used for parking (Figure 3.45).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.45. Dairy Barn. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

Entrance Gate

Historic Condition: The Entrance Gate was constructed between 1922 and 1927 as part of Ellen Shipman's landscape improvements. The appearance of the gates and surrounding landscape shortly following construction is well documented by Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographs of Chatham from 1927. These images show flowering dogwood (*Cornus florida*), sweetshrub (*Calycanthus floridus*), mountain laurel (*Kalmia latifolia*), lesser periwinkle (*Vinca minor*), honeysuckle (*Lonicera tatarica*), fortune's spindle (*Euonymus fortunei*), and passionflower (*Passiflora incarnata*), and ferns growing in the vicinity of the Entrance Gate.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Entrance Gate consists of a 9'-10" wide gate hung on two brick piers, each 2'-3" square by 11'-6" high. The capstones of the two columns are inscribed with "Chatham" and "Manor." Curved wall sections adjoin the piers on the east and west sides. The eastern wall section is 13'-9" long and includes an arched door that is 3'-4" wide by 7'-3" high. The western wall section is 8'-10" long and adjoined by a low retaining wall that supports the Carriage Drive entrance. This wall is 26'-4" long and 1'-8" high. Both wing walls end with columns that are 23" x 23." The eastern column features a 16" diameter cast-in place sphere cap. Sphere caps are missing from all other piers. The Entrance Gates were restored by the National Park Service in the 1980s. The gates are in fair condition, but require repainting. The mortar in the brick walls is also in fair condition, with signs of cracking, spalling, and efflorescence (Figure 3.46).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.46. Entrance Gate. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

Farm Office

Historic Condition: The Farm Office was first shown on Ellen Biddle Shipman's 1922 landscape plan for Chatham. It is not known whether this represents a part of the existing building or if this was a proposed building. The building was in place by 1927 and painted white. Historic photographs show that it preceded construction of the attached Garage and Furnace House (Figure 3.47). What appears to be the small building shown on Shipman's 1922 plan is visible beyond. Marion Rose reported that the Farm Office served as the Devore's chauffer's residence.[50] By the late 1920s, Boston ivy (*Parthenocissus tricuspidata*) grew on the northwest façade. Sometime after the late 1920s, the chimney at the northeastern end of the building was altered or rebuilt, with modified venting at the top.



Figure 3.47. Farm Office (foreground) and Kitchen (background) prior to construction of the Garage and Furnace House. View looking north, c. 1920 (FRSP archives, Devore family album).

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Farm Office is similar in design to the nearby Kitchen building, with a small office on the first floor and a staircase to the second floor. The one and one half-story building is approximately 18' x 30' and has three bays. The gable roof is surfaced with slate tiles, as it was historically, and includes two pedimented dormers on the northwest pitch of the roof and one pedimented dormer on the southeast pitch. The building is attached to the Furnace House to the southeast and the curved Garage to the northeast. It is connected to the Kitchen by two curved walls with wooden gates, the Service Drive Gates. The Farm Office is in good condition, with only some brick spalling and cracking. The white paint that once covered the building is largely gone. The Farm Office currently houses park offices (Figure 3.48).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.48. Farm Office. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

Front Retaining Wall and Stair

Historic Condition: The Front Retaining Wall and Stair was installed by the Devores in the 1920s based on the landscape design work of Ellen Biddle Shipman. The wall separates the different grades of the earthen terraces, while the stairs provide a connection between the middle and lower terraces on axis with the center door on Chatham's southwest façade. Like many of the Devore's improvements, the wall and stairs were designed to mimic Colonial era designs. A set of statue gnomes flanked the stairs during the Devore's ownership (Figure 3.49).

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The wall extends along the precipice of the middle terrace and wraps back toward the manor house at both ends, approximately 950 linear feet of wall total. On the northwestern end, a break in the wall accommodates the Carriage Drive Spur. The wall is constructed of brick, approximately 2'-6" high by 8" wide. Square pilasters (18") are present at 13' intervals. Ornamental cast concrete pineapples (2' high) adorn the corners and ends of the wall (Figure 3.50). A set of 27' wide brick stairs (10 risers with brick laid on end) separates the middle terrace from the lower terrace (Figure 3.51). A bench is integrated into the wall near the stairs (Figure 3.52). The wall and stairs are in good condition, while some of the pineapple finials on the wall have been damaged by vandalism and many others are missing. A few pineapple finials that became detached from the wall are stored in the Boathouse.

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.49. Front Retaining Wall and Stairs showing the Temple. View looking southwest, c. 1930 (FRSP archives, Devore family album).



Figure 3.50. Front Retaining Wall with pineapple finial. View looking west, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.51. Front Retaining Wall and Stair. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.52. Front Retaining Wall with integrated seat. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

Furnace House

Historic Condition: The Furnace House was likely constructed between 1922 and 1927 by the Devores. The Furnace House encloses a furnace, which supplies heat to the manor house, Laundry, and Kitchen; a hot water tank; water treatment tanks; electrical panels; and a furnace fuel tank. The water treatment system was used until the 1950s, when Chatham was connected to the county system.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Furnace House is attached to the Farm Office to the southwest. It is brick building with an approximate 18' x 30' footprint. It has a gable roof covered with slate tiles. The furnace and fuel tanks remain in use, while the water treatment system is not functional. The Furnace House is in good condition, with only some brick spalling and cracking. The white paint that once covered the building is largely gone.

Evaluation: Contributing* (LCS references this structure incorrectly)

Garage

Historic Condition: The Garage was constructed between 1922 and 1927 by the Devores. Its design suggests that the building was intended to be both ornamental and functional. It was well photographed by Frances Benjamin Johnston in 1927. By that time, climbing roses (*Rosa* sp.) and English ivy (*Hedera helix*) adorned the north façade, which was painted white with signs of wear. The Garage was modified by the architectural and engineering firm of Lee, Smith and Van Dervoort in 1932 to accommodate the heating plant and laundry room for the Pratts. One of the bay openings was bricked in and door installed to provide space for the system. A new door and windows were also added to the rear of the structure.[51] Mr. Pratt used the Garage to park his cars.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Garage is a curved structure with three 16' bay openings and a curved extension to the façade that includes a dovecote and weathervane. The roof is surfaced with slate tiles, as it was historically. The structure is attached to the Farm Office to the southeast. The building is painted white and is in good condition, with only some brick spalling and cracking. Some climbing roses remain near the dovecote. The Garage is currently used for parking of government vehicles and for maintenance storage. The National Park Service added a fuel pump to the northeast of the structure, which has since been removed, with only the concrete pad remaining. It was screened by an original decorative wall with arched opening (Figure 3.53).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.53. Garage. View looking southeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Garden Pergola

Historic Condition: The Garden Pergola was designed by Ellen Shipman for the Devores and was constructed between 1922 and 1927. A pergola is shown on Shipman's 1921 and 1922 plans along the northeast garden wall. As it existed in 1927, the pergola had been constructed to extend along the northeast, southeast, and southwest sides of the northeast quadrant of the garden (u-shaped in plan). This area was once intended for a swimming pool, although the pool was never constructed. During the Devore and Pratt's ownership, the pergola supported climbing roses (*Rosa* sp.). The area was also planted with irises and referred to by the Pratt's staff as the "iris garden" in contrast to the section to the northwest, which was the "rose garden."[52]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Garden Pergola consists of 18 spans of wood lintels set 9' above grade. Along all three sides, the lintels are supported by 18" square brick piers that show evidence of the white paint that once covered them. Along the northeast side, lintels are also supported by the garden wall.

Along the southeast side, the lintels are also supported by 4" diameter steel posts. And on the southwest side, the lintels are also supported by 10"diameter Ionic columns. None of the climbing roses remain. The pergola was repaired in 1984 during garden restoration, with replacement of missing wood lintels (Figure 3.54).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.54. Garden Pergola. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

Hot Bed Foundations

Historic Condition: Little is known about construction of any of the seven Hot Beds at Chatham. It is believed that they were constructed contemporary with the two greenhouses they support, the South Greenhouse between 1890 and 1900 and the North Greenhouse in 1935. Hot Beds associated with the South Greenhouse were once heated by pipes that fed from a boiler room in the South Greenhouse. The area to the southeast of the Hot Beds was used as a vegetable and cutting garden during ownership of the property by the Devores and Pratts. The Hot Beds were used to toughen planted germinated in the greenhouses prior to planting in the vegetable and garden beds.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Three Hot Bed Foundations are located to the southeast of the North Greenhouse, and four Hot Bed Foundations are located to the southeast of the South Greenhouse. The structures consist of brick and concrete foundations, with slanted tops to accommodate wooden and glass sashes. The four northern Hot Beds are approximately 4' wide and range in length between 37' and 45', while the four southern Hot Beds are approximately 5'-6" wide and either 27' or 37' in length. The slanted sidewalls once supported sashes that have been lost since the frames went into disuse at the end of the Pratt's ownership. They also have since fallen into disrepair, with foundation cracking and weed growth (Figure 3.55).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.55. Hot Bed Foundations. View looking west, 2014 (OCLP).

Kitchen

Historic Condition: The Kitchen was built between 1768 and 1771 by William Fitzhugh to support the manor house. The first documentary evidence of the building is an insurance survey that dates to 1797. This survey describes Chatham as a cluster of five buildings: the manor house, two wings, a kitchen, and a laundry. In 1797, a storehouse stood to the southeast of the Kitchen, likely in the vicinity of the current Farm Office. The Kitchen remains in its original location and disposition to the manor house; however, the dormers, slate roof, and interior partitions are later, Devore-era additions to the building designed to accommodate use of the building as a residence for household servants. According to Ed Rider, groundskeeper from 1960 to 1975, the Kitchen served as the Pratt's servants' quarters and included a bedroom.[53] Like the manor house, the Kitchen was painted white.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Kitchen is a one and one half-story, 3-bay, gable roof brick building located approximately 44' to the southeast of the manor house. The Kitchen is approximately 22' x 37'. The building features recessed chimneys and three dormers on the southeast side. The brick exterior is laid in a Flemish bond pattern with glazed headers and grapevine joints, similar to the manor house and Laundry. The building is in good condition and currently houses park administrative offices (Figure 3.56).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.56. Kitchen. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

Laundry

Historic Condition: The Laundry was built between 1768 and 1771 by William Fitzhugh. The first documentary evidence of the building is an insurance survey that dates to 1797. This survey describes Chatham as a cluster of five buildings: the manor house, two wings, a kitchen, and a laundry. In 1979, a Smokehouse stood to the northwest of the Laundry. The Laundry remains in its original location and disposition to the manor house; however, the slate roof and interior partitions are later, Devore-era additions to the building designed to accommodate use of the building as a guesthouse. According to Ed Rider, groundskeeper from 1960 to 1975, Mr. Pratt had an office in the Laundry, which was also used as a guesthouse.[54] Like the manor house, the Laundry was painted white.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Laundry is a one and one half-story, 3-bay, gable roof brick building located approximately 44' to the northwest of



Figure 3.57. Laundry. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).

the manor house. The Laundry is approximately 22' x 37' with a full cellar below, setting the finished floor elevation slightly higher than the Kitchen. The building features recessed chimneys and a small frame addition on the northwest side. The brick exterior is laid in a Flemish bond pattern with glazed headers and grapevine joints, similar to the manor house and Kitchen. The building is in good condition and currently houses park administrative offices and a conference room (Figure 3.57).

Evaluation: Contributing*

Milk House

Historic Condition: Mr. Howard mentioned that the Milk House was in place by 1908.[55] The building was likely constructed between 1900 and 1905 by Fleming G. Bailey. Late in the Pratt era, the building was used for storage and as a staff restroom.[56]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Milk House is a one-story, three-bay by one-bay building constructed of rusticated concrete masonry units formed in ashlar stone. The building is topped by a wood shingle hip roof with a cross pedimented gable entry with two block columns. This roof was installed by the National Park Service to replace an asphalt shingle roof installed in about 1965. The southeastern elevation has a hose bib and pipe. The interior consists of two rooms with milk coolers, separated by a small storeroom. The building is not currently in use and remains in good condition, with the exception of some shear cracking due to settling (Figure 3.58).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.58. Milk House. View looking west, 2014 (OCLP).

Music Stair

Historic Condition: The Music Stair was designed by Washington, D.C. based architect Oliver H. Clarke in 1926 for the Devores (Figure 3.59). The ornamental iron railing features the score to "Home, Sweet Home." The song's melody was composed by Sir Henry Bishop, with lyrics by John Howard Payne from his 1823 opera "Clari, or the Maid of Milan." It was popular among both Union and Confederate soldiers during the American Civil War. The railing was similar to a musically-inspired railing at the Devore's Washington, D.C. home. In 1927, boxwood grew at the base of the stair, obscuring the brick retaining wall.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Music Stair connects the upper terrace to the middle terrace with a split staircase. The upper landing is 9' x 4' with 7 stone risers that are each 3'-9" wide. The base of the stair is brick laid in a Flemish bound pattern, the treads are Aquia Creek freestone, and the railing is ornamental wrought iron. The National Park Service repointed the brick in the 1980s. Today, the masonry shows some cracking, but is otherwise in good condition (Figure 3.60).

Evaluation: Contributing*

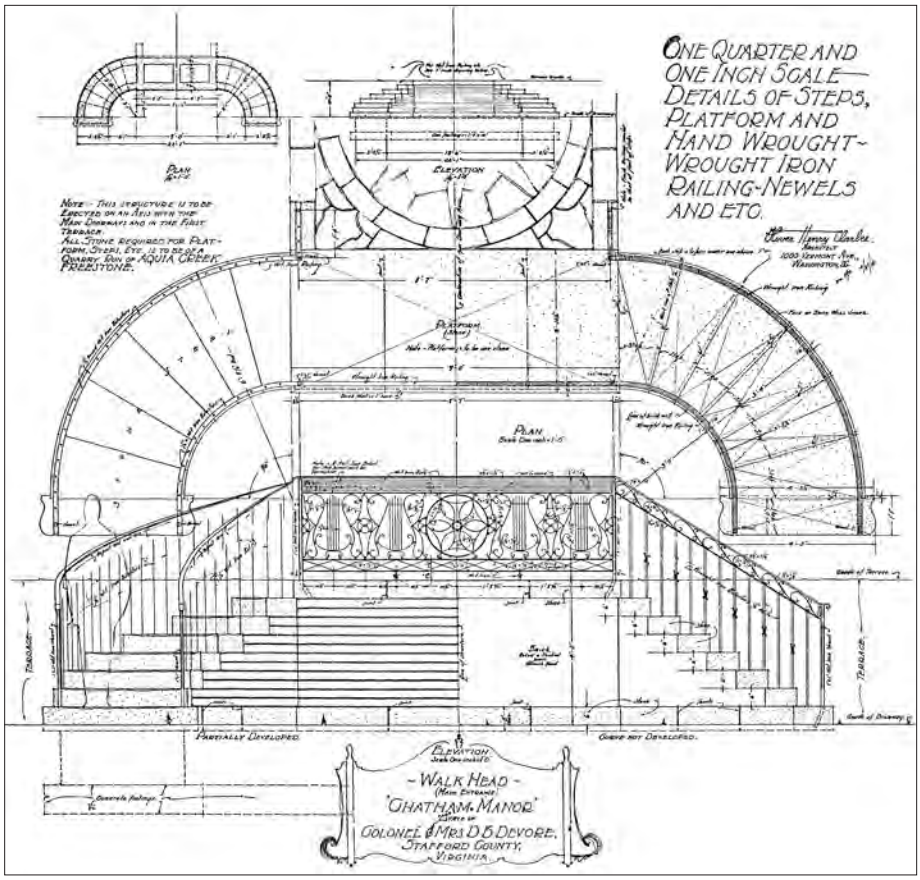


Figure 3.59. Music Stair construction documents by architect Oliver Clarke. Plan and elevation views, 1926 (NPS, eTIC).



Figure 3.60. Music Stair. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

North Greenhouse

Historic Condition: The North Greenhouse was constructed in 1935 by the Pratts to support maintenance of the Walled Garden, to produce cut flowers, and to hold their orchid collection. Mr. Pratt was interested in horticulture and often visited the greenhouses. Mrs. Pratt took an interest in the Walled Garden.[57] The greenhouse was used until at least 1975. The entire area to the northeast of the Walled Garden was used for service, with greenhouses, hot beds, nursery beds, vegetable gardens (between the two hedges), and flower gardens (between the Brick Entrance Paths and Rear Garden Wall).[58] The vegetation that remains in the vicinity of these structures was likely intended for transplanting elsewhere at Chatham, but allowed to mature in place.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The greenhouse is a one-story gabled structure with 3' high brick kneewalls that support a glass and metal framework with glass eaves and a vented bridge. The structure is approximately 19' x 56'. The glass greenhouse is attached to a potting shed and heated by a boiler in the South Greenhouse. A coal storage room is located below the walk between the greenhouses, adjacent to the South Greenhouse furnace room. The greenhouse is currently in fair condition and requires repairs to nearly all components of the structure (Figure 3.61).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.61. North Greenhouse. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).

Rear Garden Wall and Gates

Historic Condition: The Rear Garden Wall and Gates were constructed between around 1922 based on the design work of Ellen Shipman. In 1922, the wall was shown on the tree location plan by Robert N. Forman, which reflects existing conditions at the time. By 1927, the Garden Wall was painted white, as documented by historic photographs by Frances Benjamin Johnston. The two wrought iron gates are believed to have been purchased from a New York City antiques dealer, as were most of the Walled Garden statues procured by Ellen Shipman for the Devores. The wood gates (near the Kitchen) are similar to the Entrance Gates and Service Drive Gates. Wood gates also once enclosed the wall openings near the northern and eastern corners of the garden.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Rear Garden Wall constructed of brick laid in a Flemish bond with 18" square brick piers spaced at approximately 11'. The wall is 7' high, 8" thick, and approximately 605 linear feet, enclosing an area of approximately 52,600 square feet. It shows evidence of the original white paint that covered the structure (Figure 3.62). The Wall includes openings near the western corner (wrought iron gates, Figure 3.63), near the northern corner (no gate), at the center of the northeast wall (wrought iron fencing and gates, Figure 3.64), near the eastern corner (no gate), and along the southeastern wall near the Kitchen (partial wood gates, Figure 3.65). The wood gates are replacements that are similar, but not identical, to the originals. Garden ornaments adorn the wall, including two lead urns at the western entrance; two lead urns at the northeastern (main) entrance; and two fruit basket finials, three stone urns, four stone busts, and a fish lavabo along the northern end of the northeastern garden wall. The Rear Garden Wall and Gates are in fair condition.

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.62. Rear Garden Wall. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.63. Rear Garden Gate. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.64. Rear Garden Gate. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.65. Rear Garden Gate. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

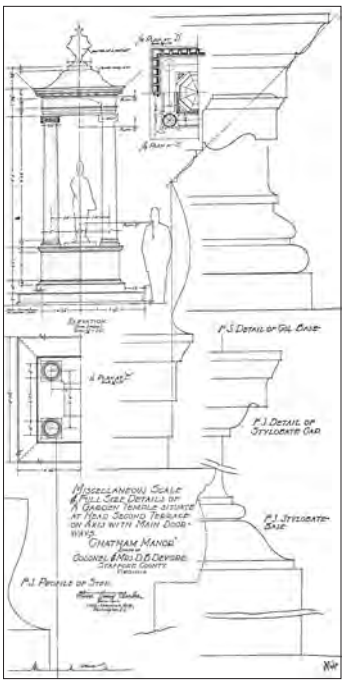


Figure 3.66. Detail of the Temple, designed by architect Oliver Clarke for the lower terrace. Elevation, plan and detail views, c. 1926 (NPS, eTIC).

Rotunda

Historic Condition: The Rotunda was designed by Washington, D.C. based architect Oliver H. Clarke around 1926 for the Devores. The structure was complete by 1927, when it is shown in Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographs enclosing the Pan statue. This garden folly was accompanied by another open structure on the lower terrace, also designed by Clarke (Figure 3.66).[59]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Rotunda is a cast concrete garden folly that is designed to look like stone. It consists of a 16' diameter circular base with three concentric stairs. The domed roof is supported by eight ionic columns and features an entablature with intermediate molding and a large finial on top of the structure. A pedestal in the center of the Rotunda supports a small limestone statue of Pan. The National Park Service completed repair work around 1990, but the structure's roof shows significant signs of water damage, as do the concrete columns (Figure 3.67).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.67. Rotunda. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Septic Tank

Historic Condition: Little is known about the Septic Tank. It was likely constructed by the Devores during their architectural improvement program in the 1920s.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Septic Tank is a brick and concrete structure located approximately one third of the way up the slope of the southeast slope of the North Ravine to the southwest of the Milk House. The tank is approximately 9' x 8' and has a domed machine-extruded red brick roof. A door opening is located on the south side. The tank is part of a three stage system and fed by a line that connects from the Summer House. It has been replaced by a modern septic system, which includes a diversion of the original line beyond the Summer House to connect to a leech field in the Northwest Field. The Septic Tank was abandoned after 1982, when the National Park Service installed the new leech field to coincide with the addition of visitor restrooms in the Boathouse. This structure was misidentified as a spring house by archeological investigations at Chatham in 1979 (Figure 3.68).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.68. Septic Tank. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).

Service Drive Gates

Historic Condition: The Service Drive Gates were constructed with the Farm Office between 1922 and 1927. Around 1927, the upper panels of the gates included vertical rails, much like the existing Entrance Gate, but were replaced with solid wood panels sometime after that date.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Curved brick walls extend from the southeastern corner of the Kitchen and the southwestern corner of the Farm

Office, enclosing the small service yard formed by these two buildings. The walls terminate with small brick pylons capped with stone finials and are connected by solid wood gates that match those on the nearby Rear Garden Wall (Figure 3.69).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.69. Service Drive Gates. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

South Greenhouse

Historic Condition: The South Greenhouse was constructed about 1890 to 1900 adjacent to the Dairy Barn. This cluster of utilitarian buildings was screened from view from the manor house by hedges. The greenhouse was used by the Pratts to grow cut flowers and vegetables (in winter) and likely for Walled Garden plant propagation.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The greenhouse is a one-story gabled structure with 3' high brick kneewalls that support a glass and wood framework with side vents. The structure is approximately 15' x 60'. The glass greenhouse is attached to a potting shed. The structure is heated by a hot water boiler in a cellar below the potting shad. A coal storage room is located below the walk between the greenhouses, adjacent to the furnace room. Hot water is circulated below the benches and into the North Greenhouse and a heated frame to the southeast. The greenhouse is currently in fair condition and requires repairs to nearly all components of the structure (Figure 3.70).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.70. South Greenhouse. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

Summer House

Historic Condition: The Summer House was completed by the time Frances Benjamin Johnston photographed Chatham in 1927. At the time, it was a rectangular pavilion, open to the Lily Pond and Walled Garden. Historic photographs show that the structure enclosed wicker garden furniture, potted plants, and garden ornaments. Climbing roses grew on the columns and roof of the structure. The Pratts are believed to have significantly modified the Summer House in the 1940s with the addition of an elliptical bay on the northwest side of the structure, a hipped and conical roof, and bronze screens to both the garden side and elliptical bay. The interior once featured louvered panels that could cover the screened walls during winter and divide the interior spaces. The panels could be folded for storage in the side walls of the structure.



Figure 3.71. Summer House. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Summer House is located in a break in the Rear Garden Wall to the northeast of the Laundry. The structure consists of a standing seam copper hip and conical roof supported by wooden columns along the southeast (garden) side. It features an elliptical bay on the northwest side and a flat front on the southeast side. Both sides are open with metal screens and screen doors. The footprint of the structure is approximately 24' x 15' (Figure 3.71).

Evaluation: Contributing*

Well House

Historic Condition: The Well House was constructed between 1922 and 1927 by the Devores. Water from a well in this location was pumped to a water treatment facility in the Furnace House prior to Chatham's conversion to the county water system in the early 1950s. Electric service also enters Chatham through the Well House, which also houses electric circuit breakers.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Well House is a 9' x 9' common bound brick structure set into the slope of the South Ravine, along the Service Drive opposite the Carriage House. The structure is approximately 7' in height, with a concrete slab roof and wooden, six-light, three-panel door on the southeast façade. As of 1984, water was pumped from the well and used for landscape irrigation purposes (Figure 3.72).

Evaluation: Contributing (LCS mistakenly references this structure as the Furnace House)



Figure 3.72. Well House. View looking west, 2014 (OCLP).

VIEWS AND VISTAS

Views and vistas are the prospect created by a range of vision in a landscape, conferred by the composition of other landscape characteristics and associated features. Views are the expansive or panoramic prospect of a broad range of vision, which may be naturally occurring or deliberately contrived. Vistas are the controlled prospect of a discrete, linear range of vision, which is deliberately contrived.[60]

Vista along the central axis of the Walled Garden

Historic Condition: The vista along the central axis of the Walled Garden was created in the 1920s, with the addition of the Walled Garden to the northeast side of Chatham. The long, axial vista extends from the Ceres statue area to the northeast door to the manor house, interrupted only by the American sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*). This tree, like many others that once lined the u-shaped entrance drive that preceded the Walled Garden, remained as integral features of Shipman's planting design for the Walled Garden. The low boxwood edging that lines the garden beds on either side of the vista reinforces the linear nature of the vista. Changes to the Walled Garden planting design during John Lee Pratt's ownership of Chatham slightly altered the character of the vista, but did not eliminate it.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The National Park Service restoration of the Walled Garden in the 1980s returned the vista to its historic appearance. Since that time, the vista has been altered by the loss of columnar evergreen trees on either side and the installation of uniform Garden Paths to accommodate universal access to the manor house. Despite these changes, the vista remains intact (Figure 3.73).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.73. Vista along the central axis of the Walled Garden. View looking southwest, 2014 (OCLP).

View from the southwest side of the manor house to Fredericksburg

Historic Condition: The view from the southwest side of the manor house to Fredericksburg is central to understanding Chatham. The vantage afforded by the Rappahannock escarpment directed the initial siting of Chatham in the 1760s and was central to its selection as a headquarters during the American Civil War. Around the time of Chatham's construction, it is believed that the Central Embankment was largely clear of vegetation, allowing for unobstructed views to the young city beyond. Photographs from around the time of the Civil War show very little vegetation on the embankment as well. Following the war, natural succession introduced limited trees to the area, which photographs suggest were managed through pruning and selective removal. The growth of vegetation on the embankment continued through John Lee Pratt's ownership of Chatham. By the 1970s, relatively dense vegetation blocked the view to Fredericksburg almost entirely.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Since the National Park Service assumed ownership of Chatham, the park has managed the view to allow for framed and filtered views of the city beyond. In 2014, the view was restored to its earlier appearance through the removal of trees in an area of 3 acres on the Center Embankment and 6 acres in the Riverside Field. Today, the view of Fredericksburg from the manor house and terraces is sweeping and framed only by mature trees in the North and South Ravines (Figure 3.74).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.74. View from the southwest side of the manor house to Fredericksburg. View looking southwest, 2014 (OCLP).

CONSTRUCTED WATER FEATURE

Constructed water features are the built features and elements that use water for aesthetic or utilitarian functions in a landscape.[61]

Lily Pond

Historic Condition: The Lily Pond is believed to have been designed by Ellen Shipman as part of her design for the Walled Garden. However, it is not shown on her 1921 or 1922 plans for the garden. It was located on-axis, immediately to the southeast of the Summer House. Historic photographs show a low water level in the basin with water lilies. The edge of the basin was also planted with plantain lilies (*Hosta* sp.), iris (*Iris* sp.) and daylilies (*Hemerocallis* sp.). According to Pratt Ashton, John Lee Pratt's niece, Mr. Pratt was very fond of the pond and kept goldfish.[62] Marion Rose reported the same, and indicated that they weighed 3 or 4 pounds each, suggesting they may have been koi.[63]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Lily Pond consists of a 7' x 16' poured in place concrete basin with a raised lip that curves outward at the center of each side and a small lead fish fountain. The basin and fountain head are in good condition, but require regular repair to address cracking (Figure 3.75).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.75. Lily Pond. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

SMALL-SCALE FEATURES

Small-scale features are the elements providing detail and diversity for both functional needs and aesthetic concerns in a landscape.[64]

Cannons on Reproduction Carriages

Historic Condition: While the cannon tubes are original, these features did not exist historically at Chatham. The cannon carriages are reproductions.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The National Park Service, by contract, installed two 4.5" siege rifles on reproduction carriages flanking the axial walk that runs across the middle terrace in September 1978 by crane. The cannon tubes and reproduction carriages are used for interpretive purposes to illustrate the Rappahannock River crossings during the Civil War (Figure 3.76).

Evaluation: Non-contributing



Figure 3.76. Cannons on Reproduction Carriages. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).

Caretaker's Cottage Picket Fence

Historic Condition: The Caretaker's Cottage Picket fence is shown in historic photographs from the 1920s, prior to replacement of the building. The fence was historically approximately 4' high, with approximate 5' gate posts at the Caretaker's Cottage Walk.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Caretaker's Cottage Picket Fence extends approximately 120 linear feet along Chatham Lane in front of the Caretaker's Cottage. It has been replaced since the photographs taken in the 1920s. The replacement fence stands approximately 3' high, with 4' high gate posts. The design of the pickets and fence are comparable to the original (Figure 3.77).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.77. Caretaker's Cottage Picket Fence. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).

Ceres Statue

Historic Condition: The Ceres Statue was relocated to the entrance to the Walled Garden after the Diana Statue ("A Companion of Diana" by René Frémin, 1717) was removed from this location during the Pratt's tenure.[65] The location of Ceres prior to installation at the entrance to the Walled Garden is not known, but is believed to be on the empty plinth at the northwestern end of the terrace adjacent to Chatham. It is believed that Ceres was carved for the Devores by a sculptor who came from Italy and lived at Chatham while he completed the statues.[66] At some point, the statue's head was detached from the body, but has been reaffixed.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Ceres Statue is made of carved limestone and is a slightly smaller than life-size representation of the Roman goddess of agriculture, grain crops, fertility, and motherly relationships. She is depicted robed, holding wheat and a scythe, and appropriately sited near Chatham's agricultural fields to the northeast. The statue stands on a decorative stone plinth in the center of the path at the entrance to the Walled Garden (Figure 3.78).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.78. Ceres Statue. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

Civil War Grave Markers

Historic Condition: It is believed that bodies discovered during Pratt's ownership at the southeastern end of the middle terrace were relocated to the northwestern end of the same terrace.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Civil War Grave Markers are found in three locations at Chatham: at the southeastern end of the upper terrace below mature English yews (*Taxus baccata*) (Figure 3.79), on the middle terrace approximately opposite the southeastern end of Chatham, and on the northwestern end of the middle terrace (Figure 3.80). The grave site on the upper terrace is marked with a contemporary (non-historic) headstone inscribed with "Unknown Soldier, Civil War" and a 6" square granite block that matches those used at Fredericksburg National Cemetery inscribed with two numbers, one the plot number, the other identifying the number of soldiers buried in the plot. It indicates plot number 2636 and indicates that there are three soldiers buried in the plot. Plot number 2636 at Fredericksburg National Cemetery contains the exact same information, suggesting that Chatham's stone may have been a cemetery castoff.[67]

The grave site on the southeastern end of the middle terrace and the grave site on the northwestern end of the middle terrace are marked with identical headstones inscribed with "U.S.A. Unknown, 1862." According to Thomas Inscoe, who

worked at Chatham from 1956 to 1957, three Civil War soldiers' graves were discovered on the terraces by the Pratts during construction. The bodies were exhumed and reburied at the northwestern end of the middle terrace. At the time, Mr. Pratt purchased and installed new headstones to mark the grave sites.[68]

Evaluation: Contributing;* all grave markers are contributing except that inscribed with "Unknown Soldier, Civil War."



Figure 3.79. Civil War Grave Marker. Plan view, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.80. Civil War Grave Marker. Plan view, 2014 (OCLP).

Contemporary Site Furnishings

These features include bike rack, directional signs, interpretive signs, park gates, picnic tables, teak benches, and trash receptacles.

Historic Condition: These features did not exist historically.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Contemporary site furnishings have been installed at Chatham since the National Park Service took ownership of the property. Noteworthy contemporary site furnishings include wooden picnic tables (Figure 3.81) and barrel style trash receptacles (Figure 3.82) in the lawn area to the northeast of the Summer House that are heavily used by park visitors and staff, bike rack at the southern corner of the Visitor Parking Lot, a backless teak bench at the base of the Music Stair, and two teak benches in the Walled Garden (Figure 3.83). In the 1990s, the National Park Service moved four benches with cast iron legs and wooden slats from Fredericksburg National Cemetery to Chatham.[69] However, these benches are not in the landscape. In 2008, Cultural Resources, Inc. conducted archeological testing at seven test pits in the locations of proposed interpretive waysides. These include three test pits at the end of the Brick Entrance Paths near the Visitor Parking Lot, two test pits at the intersection of the axial garden walk and the Brick Entrance Paths, and two test pits at the precipice of the middle terrace. Following these investigations, interpretive signs were installed in all three locations.

Evaluation: Non-contributing



Figure 3.81. Contemporary picnic tables to the northwest of the Walled Garden. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.82. Contemporary barrel-style trash receptacle to the northeast of the Walled Garden. View looking west, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.83. Contemporary teak bench in the Walled Garden. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

Corn Crib Picket Fence and Posts

Historic Condition: The Corn Crib Picket Fence and Posts are believed to have been installed by the Devores to connect the eastern corner of the Carriage House with the western corner of the Corn Crib. The feature is well documented in Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographs, which show a narrow opening (approximately 10'), with two gates connected to ornate posts. The adjoining fence pickets segments gently decrease in height to meet the adjacent buildings. The fence was likely used to control livestock, as many photographs show calves in the service area.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The gate opening has been widened since the late 1920s to allow more space for automobiles. The remaining fence segments on both sides of the drive were shortened to approximately 5' length on each side of the Service Drive. This entailed resetting the square gate posts, with decorative pyramidal caps. The remaining portion of the Picket Fence and Posts are painted white and remain in good condition (Figure 3.84).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.84. Corn Crib Picket Fence and Posts. View looking southwest, 2014 (OCLP).

Exedra Bench

Historic Condition: The Exedra Bench was installed at the southern corner of the Laundry between 1921 and 1927 by the Devores. The origin of the bench is not known, but it may have been purchased from a New York area antiques dealer by Ellen Shipman for the Devores. In the 1920s, the bench was surrounded on three sides by mature American boxwood (*Buxus sempervirens*).

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The semi-circular stone bench is approximately 14' in diameter, with lion relief caps at both ends. Five additional legs ornamented with a leaf motif support the bench. The Exedra Bench is in fair

condition with minor cracking and spalling. A cable runs along the outer edge of the backrest to stabilize the feature. Only three boxwoods remain near the bench, which rests in mown lawn (Figure 3.85).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.85. Exedra Bench. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

Yard Hydrants

Historic Condition: The Yard Hydrants were likely installed by the Devores in the 1920s. The Kupferle Foundry of St. Louis remains in business, selling service and replacement parts for its cast products.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Yard Hydrants are of a frost-free design and found adjacent to the SE and NE corners of the manor house, identified by the model, "Eclipse, St. Louis, No. 2." Extending 14" above the ground surface, they are comprised of a 4" diameter shaft, a 4" nozzle, and a 11" T-handle. The hydrants are in fair, yet repairable, condition, suffering from failing paint, and surface rust (Figure 3.86).

Evaluation: Contributing*

Flora Statue

Historic Condition: The Flora Statue was installed the temple folly designed by Oliver H. Clarke (at the terminus of the axis at the bottom of the Front Stairs) during the Devore's ownership. It is believed that Flora was carved for the Devores by a sculptor who came from Italy and lived at Chatham while he completed the statues.[70]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Flora Statue stands on a stone plinth at the southeastern end of the upper terrace adjacent to Chatham. An empty stone

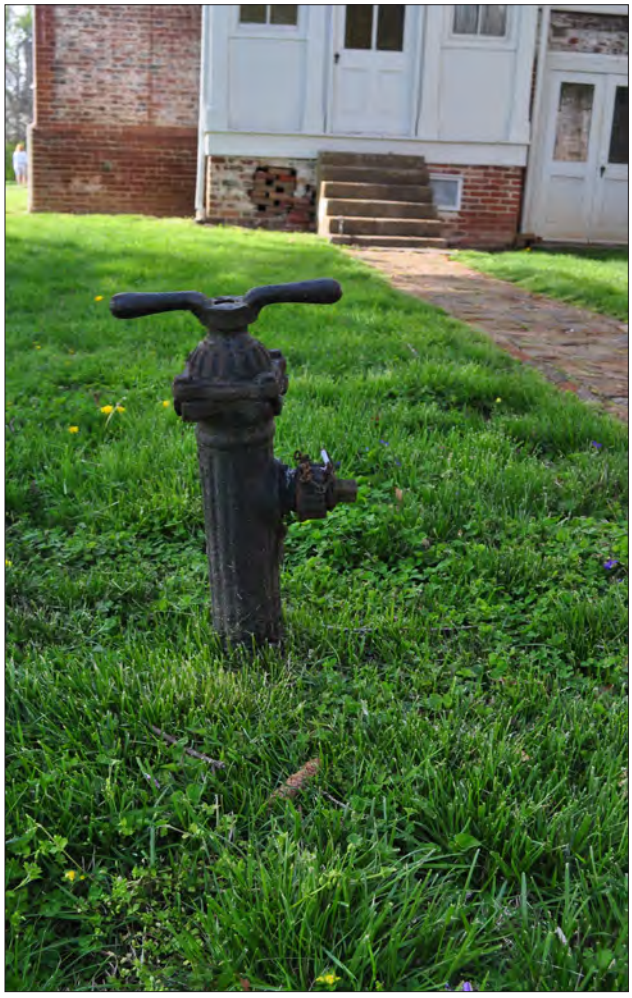


Figure 3.86. Yard Hydrant. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.87. Flora Statue. View looking southeast, 2014 (OCLP).

plinth is located opposite Flora on the northwestern end of the terrace. At one time, this plinth likely held the Ceres Statue, which was relocated to the Walled Garden entrance after the statue of Diana (from the Devore's Washington, D.C. home, present in 1927) was removed. The Flora Statue is made of carved limestone and is a slightly smaller than life-size representation of the Roman goddess of flowers and the season of spring. She is depicted robed, holding bouquets of flowers (Figure 3.87).

Evaluation: Contributing

Garden Bench/Arbor

Historic Condition: The Garden Bench/Arbor was installed in the Walled Garden by the Devores between 1921 and 1927 as part of their Colonial Revival improvements to Chatham. While the Bench/Arbor is not shown in any of Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographs of the garden, it is documented by photo in one of the Devore family's photo albums.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Garden Bench/Arbor straddles the northwestern brick walkway in the Walled Garden. It marks the transition between the slate walk surface to the southwest and the brick walk surface to the northeast. It includes two seats on opposite sides of the walk facing each other. They are connected by an overhead arbor. The Garden Bench/Arbor is painted white and remains in good condition. It is unplanted (Figure 3.88).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.88. Garden Bench/Arbor. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

Garden Rose Trellises (5)

Historic Condition: The Garden Rose Trellises were installed in the 1920s during the Walled Garden construction following the design work of Ellen Shipman. The trellises are shown in Johnston's photographs of the garden from 1927.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Garden Rose Trellises are five metal structures constructed of mesh in a 19" x 74" metal frame. They are articulated



Figure 3.89. Garden Rose Trellises. View looking north, 2015 (OCLP).

with 10" high ornamental metalwork at the top. The five trellises are arranged in line along the northwestern half of the long bed that runs from the southeastern side of the garden to the northwestern side of the garden. The trellises are spaced at approximately 81" to 96" apart. The Garden Rose Trellises are in good condition, with the exception of flaking paint (Figure 3.89).

Evaluation: Contributing*

Gas Pump

Historic Condition: The Gas Pump is a 1930s pump originally for private domestic and farm use. There is no documentary evidence of this feature on the property, although it was likely installed in the early era of the Pratts ownership of Chatham.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Gas Pump is located at the eastern corner of the Corn Crib. It stands approximately 8' tall and is bolted to a concrete slab base. It includes in-line filter. A fill nose, present in 1984, has since been removed. The pump is in good condition (Figure 3.90).

Evaluation: Contributing*



Figure 3.90. Gas Pump. View looking west, 2015 (OCLP).

Marble Garden Benches (4)

Historic Condition: The Marble Garden Benches were installed between 1921 and 1927 by the Devores during their Colonial Revival improvements to the landscape. Like other garden ornaments, the benches were likely purchased by Ellen Shipman for the Devores through New York area antiques dealers. During the Devore's ownership, the benches were in the Walled Garden, with at least one of the marble benches along the northwestern side of the rose garden, flanked by two of the four seasons statues.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Three Marble Garden Benches are located on the terrace flanking the northeast entrance to the manor house (2) and on the lawn to the southeast of the stone well head (1). The three matching marble benches are a simple design with a plain slab seat with beveled edge and two support legs (Figure 3.91). A cast concrete bench is located to the northwest of the stone well head (Figure 3.92). Decoration on this bench is more elaborate, with an egg and dart pattern edge to the seat and scroll-shaped legs. While all benches are in good condition, none are believed to be in their historic locations.

Additional benches in the Walled Garden include non-contributing teak benches near the Kitchen and near the northwestern pavilion of the manor house. These features resemble two wooden benches that stood by the Carriage House during the Devore's ownership, but are not original. They are documented under Contemporary Site Furnishings.

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.91. Marble Garden Bench near the well head. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.92. Cast concrete Garden Bench near the well head. View looking west, 2014 (OCLP).

Millstone

Historic Condition: The origin of the Millstone is unknown and little is known about the Millstone during the historic period. It is believed that the Millstone may have been placed in the Walled Garden during the Devores' Colonial Revival improvements to the property. It is also possible that the Millstone came from the Fitzhugh's grist mill along Claiborne's Run.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Millstone is located to the northwest of the Walled Garden and Carriage Drive, near the North Ravine wood edge. It is set flush with the adjacent lawn. It was likely moved to this location in the late 1970s as the National Park Service removed many ornaments from the Walled Garden in an effort to better depict the character of the landscape during the Civil War era (Figure 3.93).

Evaluation: Undetermined



Figure 3.93. Millstone. Plan view, 2014 (OCLP).

Pan Statue

Historic Condition: The Pan Statue was first installed in the Rotunda during the Devore ownership, between 1926 and 1927. It is believed that Pan was carved for the Devores by a sculptor who came from Italy and lived at Chatham while he completed the statue.[71]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: Pan is the Greek god of the wild, shepherds and flocks, nature of mountain wilds, hunting, and rustic music. He is also recognized as the god of fields, groves, and wooded glens. He is depicted sitting on a stone plinth, playing a panpipe, or satyr flute. He has the hindquarters, legs, and horns of a goat. The statue is carved of limestone and shows significant signs of wear, likely due to prior rain exposure. The statue and plinth stands about 6' high. The statue was badly damaged by vandalism prior to 2006 and repaired with the support of the Friends of Chatham in 2012 (Figure 3.94).

Evaluation: Contributing

Plinth

Historic Condition: The Plinth was likely installed by the Devores in the 1920s during their Colonial Revival improvements to Chatham's grounds. The Plinth likely held the Ceres statue prior to its relocation to the entrance to the Walled Garden after the removal of the Diana Statue from this location during John Lee Pratt's ownership of Chatham.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The empty limestone Plinth is located at the northwestern end of the upper terrace in line with the centerline of the Laundry. The Plinth stands approximately 3' high and features decorative molding at the base and upper edges, as well as chiseled side panels framed with more delicate linear incisions. The Plinth is hollow, with plywood covering the opening in the top. It matches the plinth on which the Flora Statue rests at the opposite end of the upper terrace. The Plinth is in good condition (Figure 3.95).

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.94. Pan Statue. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.95. Plinth. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).

Reproduction Pontoon Bridge Section

Historic Condition: This feature did not exist historically.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Reproduction Pontoon Bridge Section was constructed for production of the film that is shown in the Chatham Visitor Center. The wooden bridge section is built at 80% of the size of the original bridge sections. The components of the bridge section include: two pontoon boats, bulks (siderails), and chesses (boards placed across the bulks as flooring). The reproduction bridge section was added to the park landscape in May 2005 and is used for interpretive purposes (Figure 3.96).

Evaluation: Non-contributing



Figure 3.96. Reproduction Pontoon Bridge Section. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).

Stone Well Head

Historic Condition: The largest, and perhaps most prominent, Walled Garden Statuary feature is the stone well head that is set in open lawn and surrounded by the Garden Pergola. Little is known about the origin of this feature, although it has been conjectured that it is both an original Italian well head and an early twentieth century reproduction.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Stone Well Head remains in the Walled Garden, in its historic location. It remains in good condition.

Evaluation: Contributing



Figure 3.97. Stone well head. View looking southwest, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 3.98. Visitor Parking Lot Picket Fence. View looking west, 2015 (OCLP).

Visitor Parking Lot Picket Fence

Historic Condition: This feature did not exist historically.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Visitor Parking Lot Fence borders the southwest side of the drive at the transition from Chatham Lane to Farm Lane, and defines a non-historic curve in the drive designed to direct traffic into the Visitor Parking Lot. The fence, painted white, was installed around 1980 to separate the new Brick Entrance Paths from the drive. It includes a gate along its southeast side to allow large vehicles to pass through, along the historic alignment of Chatham Lane, without swinging around the realigned road section. The fence extends approximately 95 linear feet and remains in good condition (Figure 3.97).

Evaluation: Non-contributing

Walled Garden Statuary

These features include cast concrete bench, concrete fruit basket finials (3), concrete birdbath, concrete busts (4), concrete jardinière finials (2), iron armillary sphere on limestone plinth, lead four seasons statues on limestone plinths (4), lead statues on limestone plinths (2), lead urns (4), limestone cherubs on plinths (2), stone urns (3), limestone fish lavabo with concrete shell basin, and pet headstones (Mele Mele and Buck) (Figure 3.98).

Historic Condition: The Walled Garden Statuary was added between 1921 and 1927 by the Devores according to the recommendations of Ellen Shipman. Shipman's papers include catalogues from many prominent New York antiques dealers, including metallurgists Lester Boronda, Todhunter, Inc., McKinney, Myron S. Teller, Henry Hope & Sons; antiques dealers Kenneth Lynch, Inc., Erkins Studios, and Louis L. Allen; and Galloway Pottery. The Devores likely

purchased garden ornaments from some of these dealers, among others. Frances Benjamin Johnston's photographs from 1927 provide sound documentary evidence of the diversity and location of ornaments in the Walled Garden. Some of the most notable features in these photographs include the armillary sphere, lead four seasons statues, limestone cherubs, and terra cotta pots and vases.

On May 7 and 8, 1976, Sotheby's auctioned the contents of Chatham, including garden furniture and ornaments. The extensive listing of items in the auction catalogue includes outdoor furniture, urns and jardinière stands, a well head, stone statues, bird baths, a fountain, and marble plinths. The catalogue provides sound evidence of the types and diversity of garden ornaments present at the end of John Lee Pratt's ownership of Chatham. While some of these items were sold, many others, including those listed above, remain on the grounds today.

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Walled Garden Statuary listed above remains in the Walled Garden, in their historic locations or close to their historic locations. Prior to recognition of the significance of the Walled Garden, other historic garden ornaments were discarded in the North Ravine, behind the Milk House, by the National Park Service in an early effort to return the grounds to their Civil War era appearance. It is believed that the legs of the stone table that once stood on the terrace remain in the woods behind the Milk House. The National Park Service purchased a reproduction armillary sphere and placed on a repaired limestone plinth in the 1980s. All other Walled Garden Statuary is original. Statuary that remains in the Walled Garden is listed above and remains in good condition.

Evaluation: Contributing

INTERPRETED ARCHEOLOGICAL FEATURES

Archeological sites are the ruins, traces, or deposited artifacts in a landscape, evidenced by the presence of either surface or subsurface features.[72]

Smokehouse Foundation

Historic Condition: The Smokehouse is first documented in a 1797 advertisement to sell Chatham. The building was located approximately 25' to the northwest of the Laundry. Its footprint was approximately 16'-8" square. The foundation bricks are handmade and held together by crude mortar or river silts and lime.[73]

Post-historic and Existing Condition: The Smokehouse Foundation was discovered prior to 1979 during archeological investigations by Daniel Crozier, with Temple University. In 1979, the feature remained exposed to the elements, badly weathered. Today, the structure remains below grade and is marked at its four corners by posts and an identification sign.

Evaluation: Contributing*

LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISTICS AND FEATURES SUMMARY

The following table (Table 3.4) summarizes landscape characteristics and features based on date of construction and modification(s), as well as an evaluation of whether the feature contributes to the historic character of the landscape. Features that are specifically described and evaluated in the 2009 draft National Register of Historic Places documentation for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park are marked with an asterisk (*) under "evaluation."

List of Classified Structures (LCS) numbers and Facility Management Software System (FMSS) Location and Asset records are based directly on system data, as of 2014. All landscape features area associated with a FMSS Location record, while only some are associated with a more specific FMSS Asset record. In FMSS, work orders must be associated with a Location; association with an Asset record is optional, depending on specific resource and project circumstances.

Table 3.4. Landscape Characteristics and Features Summary for Chatham

Preferred Name	Date of Construction and/or Modifications(s)	Historic Context(s)	Evaluation	LCS ID	FMSS Asset Type	FMSS Location Record	FMSS Asset Record	Page
Topography and Natural Systems								
Center Embankment		Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	325
Ledge in North Ravine		Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	326
North Embankment		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	326
North Ravine		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	327
South Ravine		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	328
Terraces		Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	329
Spatial Organization and Land Use								
Caretaker's Cottage Area		C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	331
Center Embankment Area		Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	332
Entrance Parcel Area		Colonial	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	332
Manor House and Walled Garden Area		Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	333
North Embankment Area		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	334

Preferred Name	Date of Construction and/or Modifications(s)	Historic Context(s)	Evaluation	LCS ID	FMSS Asset Type	FMSS Location Record	FMSS Asset Record	Page
North Field Area		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	335
North Ravine Area		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	336
Northeast Field Area		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	336
Northwest Field Area		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	337
Orchard Area		Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	338
Riverside Field Area		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	338
Riverside Woods Area		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	339
South Ravine Area		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	340
Terraces Area		Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	340
Woodlot Area		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	341
Circulation								
Brick Entrance Paths		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	3100	23635	18435	341
Caretaker's Cottage Drive		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	—	—	—	343
Caretaker's Cottage Walk		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	—	—	—	343
Carriage Drive	1769–71 (built) 2008 (rehabilitated)	Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing*	082039	3100	23635	22909	344
Carriage Drive Spur	1922–27 (built) 2008 (rehabilitated)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082041	1100	23787	18436	345
Chatham Lane	1769–71 (built) 1950–60 (altered)	Colonial Civil War	Contributing*	082035	1100	23787	multi.	346
Farm Lane	1769–1820 (built) 1922–27 (altered)	Colonial Civil War	Contributing	082046	1100	23787	multi.	347
Farm Road Trace		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	TBD	—	—	—	348
Front Entrance Paths	1922–27 (built; Ellen Shipman, landscape architect) 1984–86 (restored)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082038	2100	23796	multi.	349
Garden Paths	1922–27 (built; Ellen Shipman, landscape architect) 1984–85 (restored)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082045	2100	23798	multi.	350
North Embankment Road Trace		Colonial Civil War	Contributing	TBD	—	—	—	352
Service Drive		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	1300	23795	multi.	352

Preferred Name	Date of Construction and/or Modifications(s)	Historic Context(s)	Evaluation	LCS ID	FMSS Asset Type	FMSS Location Record	FMSS Asset Record	Page
South Ravine Path	1922–27 (built)	Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing*	082044	1300	23797	multi.	353
Visitor Parking Lot		None	Non-contributing	n/a	1300	23793	multi.	354
Vegetation								
Historic Period Trees		Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	3100	23635	multi.	355
Naturalized Woodlands		Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	—	—	—	356
Orchard Trees		Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	3100	23635	1326970	357
Post-historic Period Trees		None	Non-contributing	n/a	—	—	—	358
Walled Garden Plantings		C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	3100	23763	multi.	359
Buildings and Structures								
Bird Pen Foundations		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	—	—	—	360
Boathouse		C. Revival	Contributing	007877	—	—	—	361
Caretaker's Cottage	1900–30 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	080077	4100	23757	multi.	361
Carriage Drive Culverts	1922–27 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082040	1100	23787	67814	363
Carriage Drive Retaining Wall	1920–30 (built; Ellen Shipman, landscape architect)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082042	3100	23635	17506	364
Carriage House and Stable	1920–30 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	007877	4100	23751	multi.	365
Chatham	1768–71 (built) 1820–30 (altered) 1920 (restored; Oliver H. Clarke, architect) 1977 (rehabilitated)	Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing*	000422	4100	23741	multi.	366
Corn Crib	1940–50 (built) 1995 (restored)	C. Revival	Contributing*	007878	4100	23752	multi.	368
Dairy Barn	1890–1900 (built) 1984 (altered) 1987 (altered)	C. Revival	Contributing*	080076	4100	23759	multi.	369
Entrance Gate	1920–30 (built; Ellen Shipman, landscape architect)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082043	3100	23635	17507	370
Farm Office	1920–30 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	007873	4100	23744	multi.	371
Front Retaining Wall and Stairs	1922–27 (built; Ellen Shipman, landscape architect)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082037	3100	23635	17506	372
Furnace House	1922–27 (built; Oliver H. Clark, architect)	C. Revival	Contributing*	007873	4100	23758	multi.	374
Garage		C. Revival	Contributing	007873	—	—	—	374

Preferred Name	Date of Construction and/or Modifications(s)	Historic Context(s)	Evaluation	LCS ID	FMSS Asset Type	FMSS Location Record	FMSS Asset Record	Page
Garden Pergola	1922–27 (built; Ellen Shipman, landscape architect) 1984–86 (restored)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082033	7100	23784	—	375
Hot Bed Foundations		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	—	—	—	376
Kitchen	1771 (built) 1920–30 (altered) 1990–91 (rehabilitated)	Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing*	007872	4100	23742	multi.	377
Laundry	1771 (built) 1925 (altered)	Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing*	007874	4100	23747	multi.	378
Milk House	1900–05 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	007879	4100	23754	multi.	379
Music Stair	1926 (built; Oliver H. Clarke, architect) 1984–86 (restored)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082031	3100	23635	17503	380
North Greenhouse	1935 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	007881	4100	23635	multi.	381
Rear Garden Wall and Gates	1922–27 (built; Ellen Shipman, landscape architect) 1984–85 (restored)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082036	3100	23635	17505	382
Rotunda	1926 (built; Oliver H. Clarke, architect) 1990 (restored)	C. Revival	Contributing*	007883	7100	23782	—	385
Septic Tank	1922–27 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082052	3100	23635	18156	386
Service Drive Gates		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	—	—	—	386
South Greenhouse	1890–1900 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	007880	4100	23755	multi.	387
Summer House	1920s (built) 1940 (renovated)	C. Revival	Contributing*	007875	4100	23749	multi.	388
Well House	1940 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082051	4100	23760	multi.	389
Views and Vistas								
Vista along the central axis of the Walled Garden		C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	3100	23635	1327298	390
View from the southwest side of the manor house to Fredericksburg		Colonial Civil War C. Revival	Contributing	n/a	3100	23635	1327298	391
Constructed Water Features								
Lily Pond	1927 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	007876	3100	23763	10992	392
Small-scale Features								
Cannons on Reproduction Carriages		None	Non-contributing	n/a	7100	23785	—	393
Caretaker's Cottage Picket Fence		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	3100	23635	559385	393
Ceres Statue		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	7100	23785	—	394
Civil War Grave Markers	1879 (built)	Civil War	Contributing*	007885	7100	23766	—	395
Contemporary Site Furnishings[1]		None	Non-contributing	n/a	7100 3100	231387 23635	multi. multi.	397
Corn Crib Picket Fence and Posts		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	—	—	—	399

Preferred Name	Date of Construction and/or Modifications(s)	Historic Context(s)	Evaluation	LCS ID	FMSS Asset Type	FMSS Location Record	FMSS Asset Record	Page
Exedra Bench		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	—	—	—	399
Fire Hydrants	1900–05 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082053	3100	23635	18168	400
Flora Statue		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	7100	23785	—	400
Garden Bench/Arbor		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	3100	23763	1327399	401
Garden Rose Trellises (5)	1922–27 (built; Ellen Shipman, landscape architect) 1984–86 (reconstructed)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082047	3100	23763	17502	402
Gas Pump	1925–1930 (built)	C. Revival	Contributing*	082050	3100	23635	18169	403
Marble Garden Benches (4)		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	3100	23763	1322628 1322633	404
Millstone		C. Revival	Undetermined	TBD	—	—	—	405
Pan Statue		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	7100	23785	—	406
Plinth		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	7100	23785	—	406
Reproduction Pontoon Bridge Section		None	Non-contributing	n/a	7100	23786	—	407
Stone Well Head		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	7100	23785	—	408
Visitor Parking Lot Picket Fence		None	Non-contributing	n/a	1100	23787	67809	409
Walled Garden Statuary[2]		C. Revival	Contributing	TBD	7100	23785	—	409
Interpreted Archeological Features								
Smokehouse Foundation	1771 (built)	Colonial	Contributing*	n/a	—	—	—	410

Table Footnotes

1. These features include bike rack, directional signs, interpretive signs, park gates, picnic tables, teak benches, and trash receptacles.

2. These features include cast concrete bench, concrete fruit basket finials (3), concrete birdbath, concrete busts (4), concrete jardinière finials (2), iron armillary sphere on limestone plinth, lead four seasons statues on limestone plinths (4), lead statues on limestone plinths (2), lead urns (4), limestone cherubs on plinths (2), stone urns (3), limestone fish lavabo with concrete shell basin, and pet headstones (Mele Mele and Buck).

Endnotes

1. *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 1990, rev. 2002).

2. Robert R. Page, Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan, *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process and Techniques* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, second printing 2005), 137.

3. In addition to properties included in this analysis, other properties considered include: Arlington, Ball family, Belle Grove, Belle Isle, Berkeley, Boscobel, Buckner, Corbin, Corotoman, Eagle's Nest, Executive Mansion, Fantleroy, Grymes, Gunston Hall, Habre de Venture, Hayfield, Kittewan, Mason, Mill Bank, Mount Vermon, Robinson, Rosewell, Sherwood Forest, Skinker, Smithfield, Smith's Fort, Stratford Hall, Traveller's Rest, Wakefield, Wheatland, Woodlawn (King George Co.), and Woodland (Fairfax Co.).

4. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Nomination Form* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1991).

5. Public Law 89-665 (15 October 1966), *The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*.

6. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 7, 9.

7. Marion Rose, interview by Donald Pfanz and Stacy Humphreys, 23 December 2003, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

8. BV 120, p. 28

9. Pratt Ashton, interview by Donald Pfanz, Fredericksburg, VA.

10. Agnes Harris, interview by Donald Pfanz, August 2003, Aspen Grove, King George County, VA; Thomas Inscoe, interview by Donald Pfanz, 14 January 2008, Chatham Laundry, Fredericksburg, VA.

11. *Virginia Gazette*, 2 May 1777 from Barbara Wells Sarudy, *Gardens and Gardening in the Chesapeake, 1700–1805* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 31.

12. Charles and Richard Gallahan, interview by Donald Pfanz, February 2004, Fredericksburg, VA.

13. Thomas Inscoe, interview by Donald Pfanz, 14 January 2008, Chatham Laundry, Fredericksburg, VA.

14. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 7, 8.

15. Daniel Devore, interview by Donald Pfanz, 3 July 2005, Chatham Laundry, Fredericksburg, VA.

16. Marion Rose, interview by Donald Pfanz and Stacy Humphreys, 23 December 2003, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

17. Marion Rose, interview by Donald Pfanz and Stacy Humphreys, 23 December 2003, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

18. Marion Rose, interview by Donald Pfanz and Stacy Humphreys, 23 December 2003, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

19. Marion Rose, interview by Donald Pfanz and Stacy Humphreys, 23 December 2003, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

20. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 8.

21. As evidenced by comparison of images and mailing dates on postcards in the collection of the Central Rappahannock Heritage Center, Fredericksburg, VA.

22. Robert N. Forman, "Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA, Tree Location Plans," 31 January 1922 (Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, Maintenance Division).

23. Oliver Fines, interview by Donald Pfanz, 25 May 2004, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

24. Ellen Shipman "General Plan of Gardens for Chatham," January 1921.

25. Robert N. Forman, "Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA, Tree Location Plans," 31 January 1922 (Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, Maintenance Division).

26. National Park Service, Denver Service Center, "Environmental Assessment, Interim Development Concept Plan for Visitor Access and Parking, Chatham Manor Unit," October 1982.

27. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 9.

28. "Valuable Land and Negroes for Sale," *Virginia Herald*, 18 October 1805.

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31. Marion Rose, interview by Donald Pfanz and Stacy Humphreys, 23 December 2003, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

32. Lukens and Summerlin, "Comfort Station Facility, Chatham Estate," NPS Construction Drawing Number 326, 80006, 30 November 1979, eTIC 58523.

33. Oliver Fines lived at Chatham until 1942.

34. Oliver H. Clarke, "New farmer's Cottage,, Chatham Manor, Estate of Colonel & Mrs. D.B. Devore, Stafford County, Virginia," April 1923, eTIC 87058, p. 6.

35. Oliver Fines, interview by Donald Pfanz, 25 May 2004, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

36. Agnes Harris, interview by Donald Pfanz, August 2003, Aspen Grove, King George County, VA.

37. Oliver H. Clarke, "Farm Building, Chatham Manor, Estate of Colonel & Mrs. D.B. Devore, Stafford County, Virginia," April 1923, eTIC 87058, p. 6.

38. Marion Rose, interview by Donald Pfanz and Stacy Humphreys, 23 December 2003, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

39. Oliver Fines, interview by Donald Pfanz, 25 May 2004, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

40. Ed Rider, interview by Will Greene, 7 September 1978, Fredericksburg, VA.

41. Robert Knox Sneden, Diary, "The Lacy House Opposite Fredericksburg, VA, Hurs. of Gen. Sumner during the Battle (December 1862), Virginia Historical Society, Mss5:1 Sn237.1 Vol. 4 p. 141.

42. *The Fredericksburg Free-Lance*, 22 June 1921 from HSR, 10.

43. Oliver Fines, interview by Donald Pfanz, 25 May 2004, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

44. The bell is believed to be in the possession of Mr. Massad, who lives immediately to the south along Chatham Lane.

45. Interview with William Key Howard, National Park Service, "Historic Structure Report, Architectural Data Section," January 1984, 60.

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47. Marion Rose, interview by Donald Pfanz and Stacy Humphreys, 23 December 2003, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

48. Oliver Fines, interview by Donald Pfanz, 25 May 2004, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

49. Ed Rider, interview by Will Greene, 7 September 1978, Fredericksburg, VA.

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51. Lee Smith & van Dervoort, Architects & Engineers, "Heating Plan for Mr. John L. Pratt, Fredericksburg, VA," 24 August 1932, eTIC 87058, p. 10.

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53. Ed Rider, interview by Will Greene, 7 September 1978, Fredericksburg, VA.

54. Ed Rider, interview by Will Greene, 7 September 1978, Fredericksburg, VA.

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56. Thomas Inscoe, interview by Donald Pfanz, 14 January 2008, Chatham Laundry, Fredericksburg, VA.

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62. Pratt Ashton, interview by Donald Pfanz, Fredericksburg, VA.

63. Marion Rose, interview by Donald Pfanz and Stacy Humphreys, 23 December 2003, Chatham, Fredericksburg, VA.

64. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes, *Landscape Lines 3: Landscape Characteristics* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), 10.

65. Mrs. Pratt donated Diana to the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond.

66. Charles and Richard Gallahan, interview by Donald Pfanz, February 2004, Fredericksburg, VA.

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68. Thomas Inscoe, interview by Donald Pfanz, 14 January 2008, Chatham Laundry, Fredericksburg, VA.

69. Donald C. Pfanz, "Where Valor Proudly Sleeps: A History of Fredericksburg National Cemetery, 1866–1933," (2007), 138.

70. Charles and Richard Gallahan, interview by Donald Pfanz, February 2004, Fredericksburg, VA.

71. Charles and Richard Gallahan, interview by Donald Pfanz, February 2004, Fredericksburg, VA.

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73. Mid-Atlantic Archeological Research, "An Archaeological Survey of Chatham Manor Tract, Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania National Historic Park, Fredericksburg, Virginia" Newark, DE (December 1979), IV-26



Figure 4.1. Flora statue on the upper terrace, adjacent to the manor house. View looking southwest, 2015 (OCLP).

Treatment

This chapter is organized into four sections. The first section establishes a framework for treatment based on the park's enabling legislation, National Register of Historic Places documentation, *General Management Plan* and other planning efforts, and the findings of preceding chapters. This framework articulates a treatment philosophy that describes the desired character of the landscape, establishes a primary treatment approach for the landscape, and identifies treatment reference dates as benchmarks for assessing historic character. Based on this treatment framework, the second section of this chapter describes general treatment recommendations that address broad issues impacting the historic character of the landscape. The third section describes specific treatment tasks necessary to enhance the historic character of the landscape while accommodating contemporary site management needs. The fourth section includes a summary discussion of implementation considerations, including a table that recommends practical priorities and considerations related to facility management.

The general treatment recommendations and specific treatment tasks included in this chapter were developed in collaboration with park staff during workshops held in Fredericksburg on October 22, 2015 and March 9, 2018. During the treatment workshops, the team discussed recommendations based on an analysis of resource integrity, directives and goals expressed in existing planning documents, as well as previously unidentified park needs (Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2. Treatment workshop in the Laundry at Chatham. View looking west, 2015 (OCLP).

This chapter recommends and describes all landscape treatment at the conceptual level. Further planning, design, and compliance will be required for implementation of many of the recommendations. Section four of this chapter details the relationship between treatment recommendations and the National Park Service Facility Management Software System (FMSS) in an effort to facilitate translation of recommendations into project funding requests. The majority of these recommendations are related to addressing deferred maintenance, new construction, or improving universal accessibility. This chapter does not address recurring and cyclical maintenance tasks, such as weeding and tree pruning, which are necessary in daily operation of the park and to perpetuate the historic character of the landscape. These types of recommendations are typically addressed in a landscape preservation maintenance plan.

TREATMENT FRAMEWORK

This section describes a philosophical framework that provides context for the treatment recommendations included in this chapter. This section begins with an overview of applicable regulations and policies, park enabling legislation, and current park planning. Based on this framework, a landscape treatment philosophy articulates a guiding vision for the Chatham landscape, including a primary treatment approach and treatment reference dates.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE REGULATIONS AND POLICIES

The treatment framework for the Chatham landscape is guided broadly by the mission of the National Park Service, defined in the Organic Act of 1916, "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[1] The application of this mission to cultural landscapes is articulated in *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*, which in turn is interpreted within a hierarchy of National Park Service management regulations and policies.

As a cultural resource, management of the Chatham landscape is defined by *36 Code of Federal Regulations: Parks Forests and Public Property, Part 2: Resource Protection, Public Use and Recreation* (preservation of natural, cultural and archeological resources). The application of these regulations to cultural landscapes is contained within *National Park Service Management Policies* (2006), *Director's Order 28: Cultural Resource Management*, and *NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline*.

Landscape Preservation Principles

- Land use activities, whether historic or introduced, do not impair archeological resources.
- New uses addressing programmatic needs or park facilities within a cultural landscape, such as visitor centers, parking, interpretive structures, housing, administrative facilities, maintenance yards, and storage areas, are carefully considered in the context of the significance of the landscape.
- Use is monitored and regulated to minimize both immediate and long-term damage.
- Contemporary facilities do not adversely impact the landscape's physical and visual character. New facilities are compatible with the historic character and material of the landscape.
- Contemporary structures facilitating access, such as ramps, railings, signs, and curb cuts, are designed and located to minimize adverse impacts on the character and features of a cultural landscape.
- Access to a cultural landscape that is vulnerable to damage from human use is limited, monitored, or controlled.
- All treatment and use decisions reflect consideration of effects on both the natural and built features of a cultural landscape and the dynamics inherent in natural processes and continued use.
- Use of destructive techniques, such as archeological excavation, is limited to providing sufficient information for research, interpretation, and management needs.
- All work that may affect cultural landscapes is evaluated by a historical landscape architect and other professionals, as appropriate.
- All modification, repair, or replacement of materials and features is preceded by sufficient study and recording to protect research and interpretive values.
- New work, materials, and replacement features are identified, documented, or permanently marked in an unobtrusive manner to distinguish them from original work, materials, and features.
- A proposed treatment project is initiated by the appropriate programming document, including a scope of work and cost estimate from a cultural landscape report. Such projects include preservation maintenance as well as major treatment. No treatment is undertaken without an approved cultural landscape report or work procedure specifying the work, and Section 106 compliance.
- A treatment project is directed by a historical landscape architect and performed by qualified technicians.
- Representative features salvaged from a cultural landscape are accessioned and cataloged, provided that they fall within the park's scope of collection statement.
- All changes made during treatment are graphically documented with drawings and photographs. Records of treatment are managed as archival materials by a curator or archivist within the park's museum collection.
- Work on historic structures, including modifications to improve drainage and access, does not harm the character-defining features of a cultural landscape.

ENABLING LEGISLATION

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park was established by Congress on February 14, 1927 (P.L. 69-609, 44 Stat. 1091), under the name Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park. The purpose of the park, as stated in the 1927 act, is:

> To commemorate the Civil War battles of Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania Court House, Wilderness, and Chancellorsville, including Salem Church. . .and to mark and preserve for historical purposes the breastworks, earthworks, gun emplacements, walls, or other defenses or shelters used by the armies in said battles. . ..and together also with such additional land as the Secretary of War may deem necessary for monuments, markers, tablets, roads, highways, paths, approaches, and to carry out the general purposes of this Act.

Further, the legislation states that:

> It shall be the duty of the commissioners, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to survey, locate, and preserve the lines of the opposing armies in said battles, to open, construct, and repair such roads, highways, paths, and other approaches as may be necessary to make the historical points accessible to the public and to students of said battles for the purposes of the park. . .

Executive Order No. 6166 transferred jurisdiction from the War Department to the National Park Service, effective August 10, 1933. Therefore, the park's purpose was further clarified by the mission of the National Park Service, as articulated in the Organic Act of 1916. The National Park Service added the Chatham property to the National Military Park in several phases between 1964 and 1978.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES DOCUMENTATION

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park was administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966 with passage of the National Historic Preservation Act. National Register documentation for the park was approved on May 23, 1978. The documentation identified significance under Criterion A in the area of Military and Criterion C in the area of Architecture for twenty-three resources associated with the battlefields of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, The Wilderness, and Spotsylvania. Chatham Manor was identified for its use as the headquarters for several Union generals, a hospital, and the site of an early field telegraph. It was also noted as an excellent example of Georgian style architecture. A brick slave quarters was also described in the documentation. The period of significance was listed as 1700–1899, with a specific span of dates from December 1862 to May 1864.

February 2010 National Register Documentation Draft

There have been several efforts to revise the 1978 park-wide National Register documentation to address park property added since that time and more thoroughly document the historic resources and areas of significance. Draft park-

wide documentation completed in February 2010 identified significance in the areas of Military History, Other (Commemoration), Engineering, Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Archeology-Historic (Non-Aboriginal) for specific time periods.

The park's significance was identified at the national level for the period 1862–1865 under Criteria A and D for its recurring role in the American Civil War as a theater of military action and for its potential to yield archeological information about the associated battles; at the national level for the period 1865–1942 under Criterion A and Criteria Considerations D and F for its important role in the memorialization and commemoration efforts carried out by Civil War veterans, citizens, and the federal government; at the national level for the period 1927–1956 under Criteria A and D for the its role in the federal battlefield park development efforts carried out first by the War Department, and continued by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) during the 1930s, and by the National Park Service; and at the state level for the period 1768–1959 (fifty-year rule) under Criterion C for its outstanding architectural examples from the antebellum plantation period in Virginia with elements of landscape architecture from late eighteenth century and early twentieth century design traditions. Park-wide significance was also identified under Criterion B for associations with Lieutenant General Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, General Robert E. Lee, Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, Major General Joseph Hooker, and Major General Ambrose Burnside.

The overall period of significance in the February 2010 draft was listed as beginning in 1768 with construction of Chatham Manor, the oldest dated architectural resource in the district, and ending in 1959, the fifty-year cutoff date for National Register significance. Significant dates listed in the nomination included 1768 for the construction of Chatham, 1921 for the Chatham garden designed by Ellen Shipman, 1862 and the Battle of Fredericksburg, 1863 and the Battle of Chancellorsville, 1864 and the Battles of Wilderness and Spotsylvania, 1865 for the National Cemetery, 1927 for the year the park was established, and 1933 when construction by the Civilian Conservation Corps began.

May 2016 National Register Documentation Draft

The draft park-wide National Register documentation was revised in May 2016 and identifies significance in the areas of Military, Conservation, Other (Commemoration), Health/Medicine, Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Archeology-Historic (Non-Aboriginal) for specific periods. The park's significance is identified at the national level under Criterion A as the site of the American Civil War Battles of Fredericksburg (December 11–15, 1862), Chancellorsville (April 27–May 6, 1863), the Wilderness (May 4–7, 1864), and Spotsylvania Court House (May 8–21, 1864); Criterion A for several buildings associated with the care of wounded soldiers during and after the battles; at

the national level under Criterion A for its association with national trends in battlefield commemoration and preservation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; Criterion C for its examples of antebellum plantation houses set in landscapes that reflect design traditions from the late eighteenth century through the early twentieth century; and Criterion D for the archeological data it has yielded, and has the potential to yield, about the experiences of the Union and Confederate armies during the battles, and the state and local levels for the demonstrated and potential ability to provide information about the evolution of the agrarian and industrial economy and landscape in antebellum Virginia and the enslaved and free people who lived there.

Significance is also identified under Criterion B for associations with Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, Robert E. Lee, Ulysses S. Grant, George Meade, Joseph Hooker, and Ambrose Burnside.

The overall period of significance in the revised May 2016 draft begins in 1768 with construction of Chatham Manor, the oldest dated architectural resource in the district, and ends in 1965, the 100th anniversary of the end of the Civil War. Significant dates listed in the nomination include 1768 for the construction of Chatham Manor, 1862 and the Battle of Fredericksburg, 1863 and the Battle of Chancellorsville, 1864 and the Battles of Wilderness and Spotsylvania, 1927 for the year the park was established, 1933 when park administration transferred from the War Department to the National Park Service, and 1961–1965 and the Civil War Centennial.

Significance Summary

For purposes of this treatment chapter, Chatham Manor is nationally significant under National Register of Historic Places Criterion A (Event) in the areas of Military History and Health/Medicine for its recurring role in the American Civil War as a theater of military action from April 1862 to April 1865, including the Battle of Fredericksburg in December 1862, and its association with the development of Civil War era field hospitals and the role that women assumed in their operation. The property is nationally significant under Criterion C (Design) in the areas of Architecture and Landscape Architecture as an outstanding example of colonial plantation architecture in the Georgian style, incorporating neoclassical and Palladian elements, and for its landscape that reflects late eighteenth century to early twentieth century design traditions, including particularly noteworthy improvements in the early 1920s in the Colonial Revival style by noted landscape architect Ellen Shipman (1869–1950), with later refinements by landscape architect Charles Gillette (1886–1969). Lastly, Chatham is nationally, state, and locally significant under Criterion D (Information

Potential) in the area of Archeology (historic, non-aboriginal) for its potential to yield information about the history of the property and the lives of Chatham's inhabitants.

For the Chatham landscape, these areas of significance relate principally to three historic contexts: the Colonial era, the Civil War era, and the Colonial Revival era. The documented period of significance for Chatham begins in 1768, with the beginning of the construction of Chatham Manor, and extends to 1964, the year that Chatham's last private owner, John Lee Pratt, began to transfer the property to the National Park Service.

RELATIONSHIP TO EXISTING PARK PLANNING

General Management Plan (1986)

The National Park Service prepared a *General Management Plan* in 1986 to replace the 1968 *Master Plan* for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. Chatham falls within the park's preservation/adaptive reuse subzone, which prioritizes historic preservation, but accommodates "minor changes in the historic fabric… to allow permitted uses."[2]

Specific recommendations for physical improvements to the Chatham landscape in the *General Management Plan* include installing a two-way road system, constructing a 30-car permeable parking area, and burying overhead utility lines.

Several key issues identified in the document also relate directly to Chatham:

> The park's 38 miles of earthworks have received very little maintenance in the past, and measures need to be taken to reduce deterioration. Recent studies have shown that earthworks can best be preserved if brush and trees are removed from them.
>
> Many areas that were open fields at the time of the battles, and played key roles in those battles, are now forested. Similarly, some areas that were heavily forested during the battle action are now open fields. Both of these factors make interpretation and understanding of the battle strategies difficult.
>
> Some nonhistoric buildings continue to intrude on the historic scene, diminishing the visitor experience. As such structures are acquired by the Park Service, decisions need to be made on how to dispose of them.
>
> Adjacent urban development and commuter traffic are encroaching on the historic scene, and the potential for new access development exists. Land protection measures need to be implemented to minimize the effects of incompatible or intrusive land uses.[3]

Long-Range Interpretive Plan (2001)

The National Park Service developed a *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park in 2001 to identify interpretive themes, articulate visitor experience goals, and identify products and develop an action plan to implementing the plan. The plan recommended an interpretive focus for Chatham "as an illustration of the colonial and antebellum South and its associated institutions, social structure, politics, and economics. By illustrating the war's impact on Chatham, Chatham will serve as a metaphor for the fate of the entire South: a prosperous, century-old institution built on a hierarchical social foundation laid waste and transformed by war."[4] Key product and interpretive recommendations related to Chatham included: reorienting visitor arrival and entry to the river side of house, evaluating park access through Pratt Park, establishing a trail to the river crossing, restoring the river side of the house and landscape to its 1860 appearance, installing new exhibits on the river side lawn and within the house, interpreting the twentieth century significance of the Walled Garden, using the Laundry to interpret the role of slavery at Chatham, and creating a new audiovisual program on the roles and functions of Chatham during the Civil War.

National Preservation Institute Case Study Workshop (2002)

In June 2002, the National Preservation Institute conducted a weeklong course in Fredericksburg focused on strategic planning for historic sites. The group used Chatham as a case study. During a four-hour planning charrette, the group broke into work groups and examined how Chatham's history could be better integrated with the purpose and mission of the park, as well as how the visitor experience could be reevaluated. The group generated many recommendations. Those that relate to the landscape and were recommended by more than one work group or are reinforced by other park planning documents include: allowing for choice in visit sequence, moving parking to the north end of site, constructing a new visitor center near the parking area, removing the linden that obstructs the view to Fredericksburg, interpreting slave quarters on site, and creating a self-guided garden tour.

Facility Management Software System Work Planning

The National Park Service Facility Management Software System (FMSS) is designed to manage park infrastructure and track costs associated with its care. Accurate FMSS organization and timely updates enable parks to prioritize projects and create funding requests that accurately reflect asset value and condition. FMSS hierarchy consists of a Sites (e.g. Fredericksburg Battlefield Area), Asset Types (e.g. Maintained Landscape), Locations (geographic areas, e.g. Chatham Formal Gardens), and assets (features, e.g. Chatham Lily Pond).

Chatham's cultural landscape is tracked through a number of Asset Types, including Roads, Parking Areas, Trails, Maintained Landscapes, Buildings, and Outdoor Sculptures. The majority of the assets located with the cultural landscape at Chatham are tracked under the Maintained Landscape Asset Type. A Maintained Landscape typically includes exterior park areas that have been developed and improved to support operations or visitor activities. To be classified as a Maintained Landscape, a landscape must require regular, recurring maintenance and include built features.

Organization of the Maintained Landscape Asset Type varies by park and should reflect specific areas for which the park needs to track costs. At present, Chatham's Maintained Landscape encompasses two Locations, including Chatham Formal Gardens and Chatham Grounds. These Locations are well-populated with associated assets in the FMSS database, following hierarchy development and condition assessment with Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation staff in 2013. Because cultural resources management and facilities management use different terminology to plan for and manage cultural resources, the last section of this chapter includes a crosswalk to translate cultural landscape treatment recommendations to FMSS work orders and tasks.

LANDSCAPE TREATMENT PHILOSOPHY

The Chatham landscape treatment philosophy articulates the essential qualities of the landscape that convey its significance and is consistent with broad principles derived from the park's enabling legislation and *General Management Plan*. The philosophy helps guide decisions and provide context for the general recommendations and specific treatment tasks included in this chapter.

Chatham Landscape Treatment Philosophy

Chatham was a vast colonial plantation supported by slavery, ravaged by war, and revived in the last century. Embellishments to the grounds chronicle nearly two centuries of landscape history (1768-1965), as eighteenth century formality gave way to the picturesque of the nineteenth century, and reinterpreted in the early twentieth century through Colonial Revival improvements.

Today, Chatham serves as the headquarters of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, retaining 86 acres centered on its historic core, bearing traces of its Colonial, Civil War, and Colonial Revival history. Park visitors discover how the property has evolved, mirroring the entire South, as regional social, political, and economic structures became transformed by the American Civil War and its aftermath.

The Chatham landscape will be rehabilitated in two zones in support of the park's primary interpretive themes (Figure 4.3). Across the broader estate, the landscape will be rehabilitated to convey its historic relationships with adjacent communities that explain the development and evolution of the property through the Civil War. The fundamental physiographic features of the site will reveal the strategic advantages of the manor house's siting, as well as its physical integration with the formerly larger historic plantation. Within this zone: modifications that have obscured broad landscape patterns, including spatial organization and circulation, will be remedied, features that postdate the Civil War will be preserved and retained where they do not detract or interfere with understanding of these broad patterns, rehabilitation will balance historic character with contemporary park uses, including visitor services and maintenance, compatible new circulation routes will be accommodated so that visitors of all physical abilities might experience the landscape, new park furnishings and signage necessary for public use will be inconspicuous and compatible with the historic setting, and landscape improvements will be achievable and sustainable.



Figure 4.3. Treatment zones, including the "Broader Estate Area" (green) and the "Formal Garden Area" (blue). Plan view, 2018 (OCLP).

Within the Formal Garden area, the Chatham landscape will be rehabilitated to reflect its character following implementation of Ellen Shipman's design. This garden will reflect Ellen Shipman's signature style, with the walled enclosure surrounding carefully articulated flower borders reinforced by axial circulation and punctuated with statuary and structural plantings of evergreens and small flowering trees. Within this zone: alterations and diminutions since the 1920s will be remedied by replacing lost plant materials with species that perpetuate the historic size, form, texture, and seasonal character of the original plantings; traces of circulation patterns present prior to the garden will be reintroduced to unify the garden with the primary interpretive theme; the garden will continue to receive a high level of skilled care to present the horticultural and ornamental qualities that make it one of Ellen Shipman's most significant designs; and treatment will take into account the perennial constraints of maintenance, as well as opportunities to enhance stewardship partnerships.

Primary Treatment Approach

To implement this treatment philosophy, the recommended primary treatment approach for Chatham is rehabilitation. Rehabilitation accommodates repair and replacement for deteriorated and missing historic features, while simultaneously accommodating compatible alterations and new additions to facilitate Chatham's continued use as a unit of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.

Rehabilitation is defined as, "the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values."[5]

As interpreted in the Secretary's Standards one through eight, rehabilitation emphasizes protection and preservation of extant historic features, repair of deteriorated historic features, and replacement in-kind of severely deteriorated or missing historic features.[6] At the same time, standards nine and ten acknowledge the need to meet changing uses through alterations or new additions while perpetuating the historic character of the property. They allow for repairs and alterations of the cultural landscape to improve the utility and function of landscape features, making a compatible use of a property feasible while preserving those landscape characteristics and features that contribute to its historic significance.

Standards nine and ten above are warranted for Chatham because of the need to adapt the landscape to public visitation and interpretation. Rehabilitation provides the philosophical basis for adding such features as interpretive waysides and altering circulation to accommodate universal accessibility in a manner that

is compatible with historic character. Rehabilitation also provides flexibility to address contemporary management considerations, such as altering vegetation to address maintenance and plant disease concerns.

As interpreted in *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*, the standards do not require that landscapes be maintained in a static appearance, but rather that they be managed to preserve and enhance historic character.[7] Managing for historic character means that those aspects of a landscape that illustrate its significance will be perpetuated. Integral to managing for historic character is a site-specific judgment about the importance of some landscape characteristics and features over others. Under rehabilitation, establishing priorities offers an opportunity to maintain the historic appearance of the landscape with limited resources.

Treatment Reference Date

Identification of treatment reference dates provides an objective benchmark for managing historic character in a landscape. A treatment reference date corresponds to a time during the historic period when the landscape reached the height of its development and the property best illustrated its significance and interpretive themes. Further consideration is given to the level of historic documentation and to existing landscape conditions.

For Chatham, the period of significance extends from 1768, with the beginning of construction of Chatham, to 1965, with the Civil War Centennial and associated commemoration efforts within the park. This long period of significance encompasses three particularly significant eras, the Colonial era, the Civil War era, and the Colonial Revival era.

Across the broader estate, the landscape will be rehabilitated to reflect its appearance in the 1860s during the Civil War era. Within the Formal Garden area, the landscape will be rehabilitated to reflect its appearance in the 1920s, following Colonial Revival improvements to the property. Treatment of each of these areas will not preclude changes that pre-date or post-date the treatment reference date, provided they do not detract from the historic character of the landscape at that date.

"Rehabilitation"

according to the Secretary of Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties

1. A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that requires minimal change to its distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships.

2. The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The removal of distinctive materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize the property will be avoided.

3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties, will not be undertaken.

4. Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right shall be retained and preserved.

5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.

6. Deteriorated historic features will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration required replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.

7. Chemical or physical treatment, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.

8. Archaeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.

9. New additions, exterior alterations or related new construction will not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work will be differentiated from the old and will be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment.

10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction will be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.

GENERAL TREATMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

This section includes general treatment recommendations for the Chatham landscape. The intent of this section is to provide direction for future management decisions on issues that impact the historic character of the landscape. The recommendations included in this chapter are rooted in resource integrity and intended to guide treatment decisions. Recommendations in this chapter are based on the findings of the site history chapter and the landscape treatment philosophy defined in this chapter, and support park planning efforts, including the park's *General Management Plan* (1986), *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* (2001), and outcomes of the National Preservation Institute Case Study Workshop (2002). General treatment recommendations are documented on Drawings 15 and 16, which are included at the end of this chapter. Specific treatment tasks are included in the next section.

ENSURE PRESERVATION OF CHATHAM'S BROADER LANDSCAPE SETTING

Protection of acreage to the southeast of Chatham, beyond the park boundary, is fundamental to the visitor experience. Preservation of this acreage will allow future generations to understand the property's history and ensure a compatible entrance experience for visitors arriving by car from Chatham Heights Road. Chatham Lane, to the southeast of the park, was once lined by agricultural buildings traditionally associated with a "plantation street" (Figure 4.4). Preserving and expanding interpretation of this area will enable the park to better interpret the lives of enslaved people who lived and worked at Chatham. This area also offers unique opportunities to relocate parking and re-sequence visitor circulation (see general treatment recommendation below).



Figure 4.4. Ensure preservation of Chatham's broader landscape setting. The South Lane at George Washington's Mount Vernon is comparable to the former general character of the historic "plantation street" at Chatham, now Chatham Lane. View looking northeast, 2017 (OCLP).

Since the late 1920s the core of the Chatham landscape has faced development pressure from the northeast and southeast. By the 1930s residential development continued to expand to the southeast of the estate, along White Oak Road (later Chatham Heights Road). By the 1970s, when the National Park Service acquired Chatham, commercial development had begun along the northeast side of the park. At the same time, the open character of acreage to the northwest of the park was preserved by the establishment of Pratt Park and views of Fredericksburg were preserved passively by the Rappahannock River to the southwest.

Today, much of the park perimeter to the northeast and southeast is densely developed. Yet, three large residential properties immediately to the southeast of Chatham preserve the open and agricultural character of the area. Perpetuating this landscape character is critical along Chatham Lane, which serves as the park entrance and offers visitors a first impression as they arrive at the park from Chatham Heights Road.

The land immediately to the southeast of Chatham must be preserved to ensure that resources vital to the historic approach along Chatham Lane are protected and incorporated into the site's interpretive program. This requires expansion of the park's legislative boundary to encompass the acreage between Chatham Lane, Chatham Heights Road, Kings Highway, and River Road, as well as subsequent acquisition of parcels to the northwest of the Lee Avenue alignment, were it extended to the river.

Additionally, the park might appropriately explore acquisition of preservation easements for parcels to the southwest of Chatham Lane and to the southeast of the Lee Avenue alignment, were it extended to the river (Figure 4.5). Preservation of this acreage will ensure that the park's broader landscape setting is unspoiled. The National Park Service American Battlefields Protection Program and the non-profit American Battlefield Trust (formerly the Civil War Trust) offer partnership opportunities to protect this important remnant of the Civil War battlefield and plantation.



Figure 4.5. Ensure preservation of Chatham's broader landscape setting. Areas recommended for acquisition (green) and preservation easements (blue) to preserve Chatham's setting and allow for expanded interpretation to include the historic "plantation street," now Chatham Lane. Plan view, 2018 (OCLP).

RELOCATE VISITOR PARKING AND RE-SEQUENCE VISITOR CIRCULATION

The Chatham visitor parking lot should be relocated from the historic core of the Chatham landscape to reduce visual instruction on the visitor experience. Relocated parking will also allow for visitor arrival on the river side of the house, enabling visitors to see and learn about the site's colonial and Civil War contexts on the river side of the house before entering the twentieth century Walled Garden. Two alternatives may be pursued separately or simultaneously to achieve this vision (Figure 4.6). Both alternatives rely on a pedestrian bridge across the North or South Ravine to deliver visitors from their vehicles to the river side of Chatham (Figure 4.7).

The current visitor parking lot is located immediately to the northwest of the Caretaker's Cottage. It was sited here in the late 1970s. Shortly following installation, National Park Service evaluated four alternative circulation patterns, as documented in the 1982 "Environmental Assessment, Interim Development

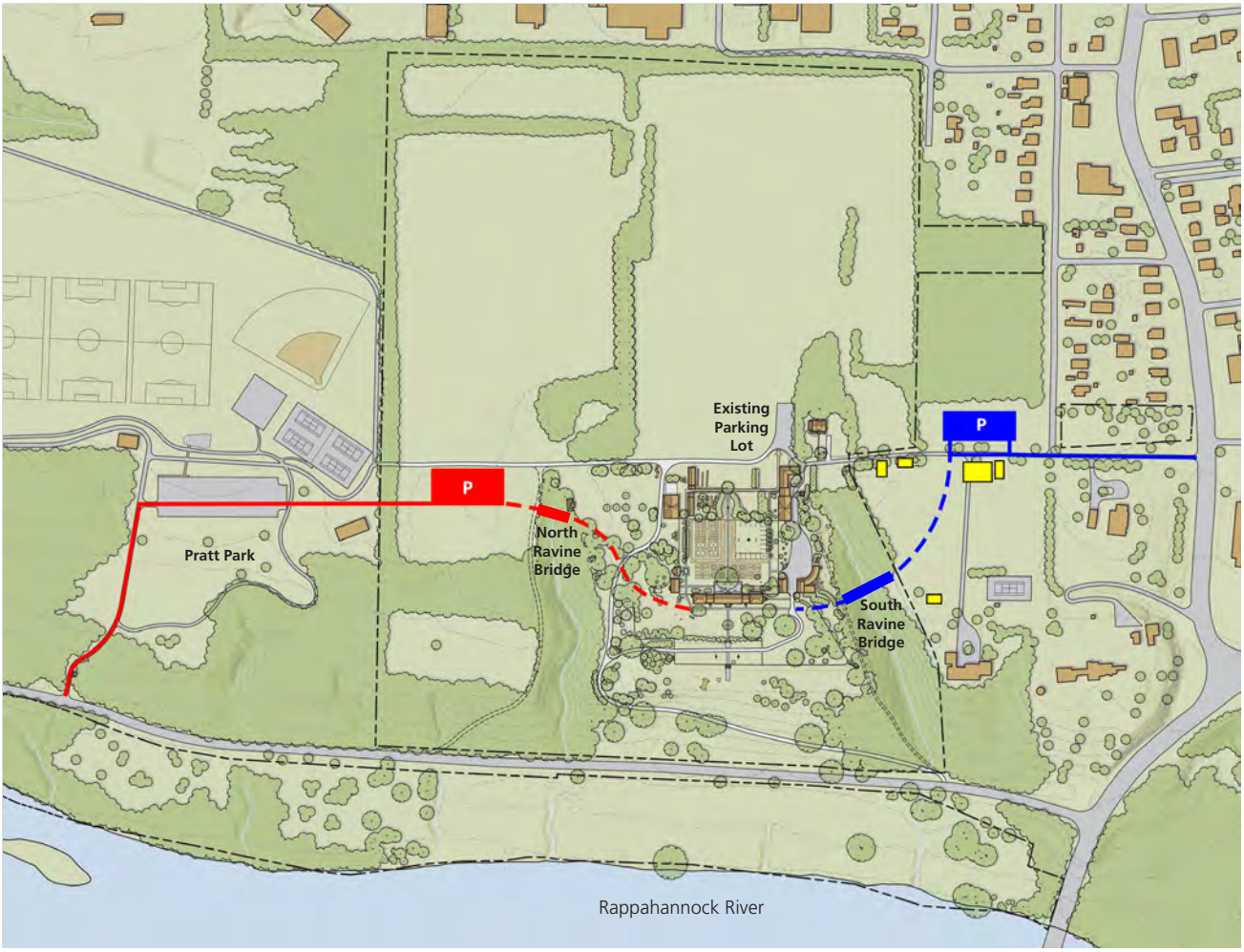


Figure 4.6. Relocate visitor parking and re-sequence visitor circulation. Schematic visitor arrival (solid line) and parking (solid box) alternatives. Alternative 1 (red) relies on Pratt Park for vehicular access and a new parking lot to the southwest of the North Field. Alternative 2 (blue) relies on Chatham Lane for vehicular access and a new parking lot on the northeast side of Chatham Lane. Proposed pedestrian circulation is indicated with dashed lines. Historic locations of slave quarters and agricultural buildings are indicated in yellow. Plan view, 2018 (OCLP).

Concept Plan for Visitor Access and Parking."[8] This plan presented a "no action" alternative, along with three alternative circulation plans, all of which relied upon a new parking lot immediately to the northeast of the Caretaker's Cottage. Ultimately, the "no action" alternative was adopted, retaining the parking lot to the northwest of the Caretaker's Cottage and relying upon Chatham Lane for entry from Chatham Heights Road and the Farm Lane/Carriage Drive for exit onto River Road.

Alternative 1, relocated visitor parking to the northwest of Chatham, relies on the Pratt Park entrance road for access to a new parking area to the southwest side of Farm Lane, below the North Field. This alternative relies on a new pedestrian bridge across the North Ravine to deliver visitors to the river side of Chatham, along with a new universally accessible ramp to the river side entrance of the house. Following rehabilitation of the orchard (see task VG-4), this arrival

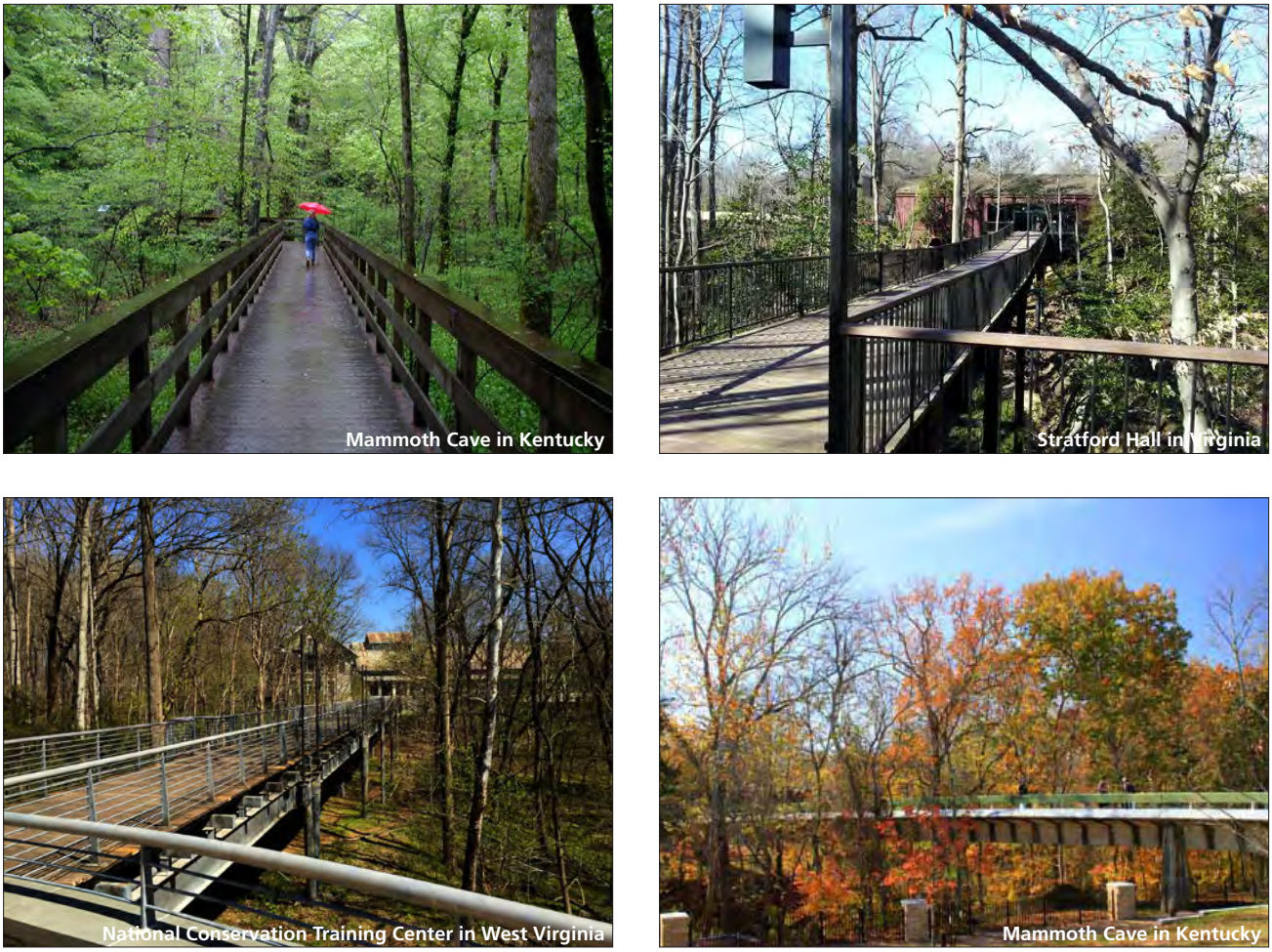


Figure 4.7. Relocate visitor parking and re-sequence visitor circulation. Pedestrian bridges comparable to that proposed for the North or South Ravine to bring visitors from the relocated parking area to the river side of Chatham (NPS).

sequence will provide visitors with exposure to the property's agricultural past and allows them to explore the North Ravine from above before reaching Chatham.

Alternative 2, relocated visitor parking to the southeast of Chatham, relies on access from Chatham Lane, but moves parking to the southeast, where it will be better screened from landscape's historic core. Implementation of this alternative relies on acquisition of an additional 2.99-acre parcel within the park's legislative boundary (tract 01-169). This alternative also relies on a new pedestrian bridge across the South Ravine to deliver visitors to the river side of Chatham, along with a new universally accessible ramp to the river side entrance of the house. This new visitor arrival sequence offers opportunities to introduce visitors to the site's agricultural history through archeological remnants from the plantation's blacksmith's shop and barns, as well as the site's history of enslavement through archeological remnants from the overseer's house and quarters for the plantation's enslaved population (see task BS-1). This arrival sequence also reinforces the site's chronology by introducing visitors to the Chatham's colonial and Civil War history before the twentieth century Walled Garden. Similar effect

could be achieved by relocating visitor parking immediately to the southeast of the Caretaker's Cottage, on existing National Park Service property. In this location, however, parking may remain a visual intrusion on the historic core of the property.

SUPPORT CONTINUED AGRICULTURAL USE OF THE PROPERTY

The park should continue partnerships that support agricultural use of the property, perpetuating its historic use. With transfer from private to public ownership, many former farms lose the rural and domestic qualities that once characterized the properties and contributed to their historic character. At Chatham, the National Park Service has maintained approximately twenty-four acres in cultivation through agricultural permits. As a consequence, Chatham retains the lived-in quality that active farming imparts (Figure 4.8). This character is critical to understanding Chatham as a plantation/farm and should be perpetuated through continued agricultural permits. As successional vegetation is cleared from Chatham's historic fields (see tasks VG-5 and VG-6), these permits might appropriately be expanded following archeological review. Active agriculture will also help to keep successional vegetation at bay.



Figure 4.8. Support agricultural use of the property. North Field at Chatham, planted with corn, demonstrating the desirable character that farming imparts. View looking north, 2014 (OCLP).

UNDERTAKE A SITE-WIDE PROGRAM OF GEOPHYSICAL INVESTIGATION

A site-wide program of geophysical investigation is needed to advance understanding of the site's historic uses and development. Chatham is a complex overlay of resources that may date back as far as native settlement. Baseline archeological data for Chatham is limited to targeted excavations associated with utility improvements. A comprehensive geophysical survey is needed to direct future investigation and potential ground truthing of below-grade resources, and help provide baseline data for the compliance reviews of preferred treatments.

This Cultural Landscape Report establishes a twenty-meter square survey grid from the western-most corner of Chatham Manor that was used to initiate targeted geophysical investigation in April 2015 (Figures 4.9 and 4.10). Seven survey grids (2,800 square meters) to the northwest of the Walled Garden were surveyed with both Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) and a Resistivity Meter (Geoscan RM-15). This investigation was conducted to identify early landscape features, including roads, walkways, building foundations, and planting designs (Figure 4.11). Survey grid corners were marked with iron pins, which are discoverable with a metal detector. These grid coordinates should be extended to all future archeological investigations at Chatham.

A site-wide program of geophysical investigation presents opportunities to expand partnerships with local academic archeology programs, such as the University of Mary Washington (Fredericksburg) or William & Mary (Williamsburg). Additionally, the National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program offers "Site Identification and Documentation" grants that can be used to advance historical research and surveys of battlefield landscapes.

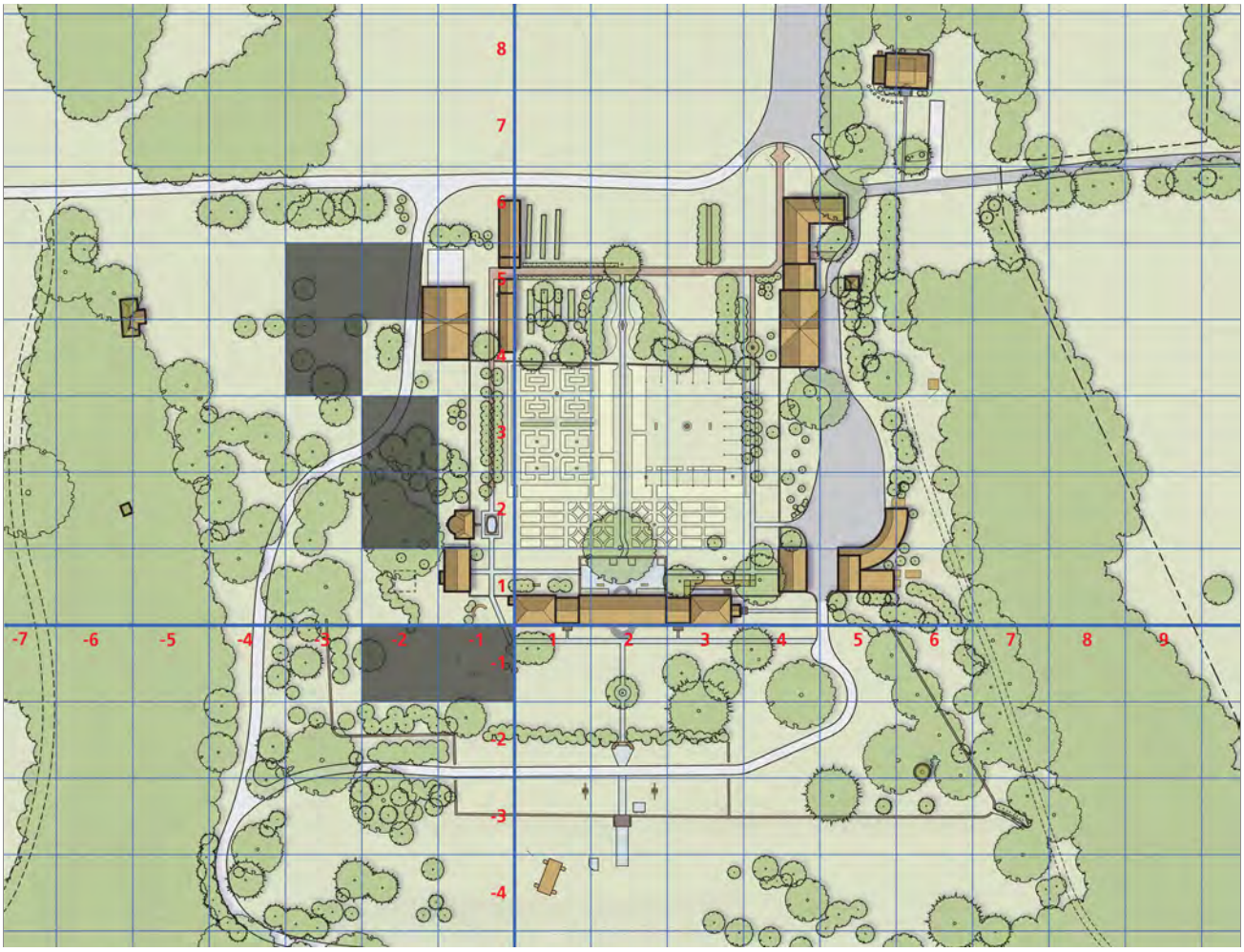


Figure 4.9. Undertake a site-wide program of geophysical investigation. Twenty-meter archeological survey grid showing location of targeted geophysical investigation in spring 2015 (gray). Plan view, 2018 (OCLP).



Figure 4.10. Undertake a site-wide program of geophysical investigation. Ground penetrating radar (GPR) investigation underway in the orchard to the northwest of the Dairy Barn. View looking northwest, 2015 (OCLP).



Figure 4.11. Undertake a site-wide program of geophysical investigation. Results of targeted geophysical survey at Chatham. Plan view, 2015 (NPS Northeast Region Archeology Program).



Figure 4.12. Support partnerships that maintain and improve the Walled Garden. The Walled Garden in spring flower, following replacement of boxwood edging. View looking southwest, 2015 (OCLP).

SUPPORT PARTNERSHIPS THAT MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THE WALLED GARDEN

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park should cultivate partnerships that support long-term maintenance of and improvements to the Walled Garden (Figure 4.12). The Walled Garden is a twentieth century resource. Accordingly, it is secondary to the park's primary purpose, to preserve and interpret the American Civil War. As a result, National Park Service funding to support physical work in the Walled Garden is limited. Partnerships offer opportunities to engage the public and non-profit organizations in caring for and rehabilitating this treasured historic landscape. The Walled Garden is historically significant as the work of landscape designer Ellen Shipman and as a place of labor in the Chatham landscape. Today, the garden is prized by members of the visiting public. Considerations in executing partnerships include understanding the benefits of the partnership, its relationship to park priorities and planning efforts, the work needed to advance the partnership, the nature and types of agreements required, the park and partner's prior partnership experience, and the long-term sustainability of built improvements (operation/maintenance).

REDESIGN UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO THE MANOR HOUSE

A new universally accessible route is needed to bring visitors into the central block of Chatham Manor. Presently, visitors are directed into the eastern wing of the house, then through the butler's pantry to the central block, which contains the park exhibits. Entrances at the center of both the south and north façades present opportunities to accommodate universal access (Figure 4.13). Following implementation, the existing wooden universal access ramp and associated screen planting, which also obscures the building, should be removed from the Walled Garden.

The first alternative, on the south (river side) of the house, relies on reconstructing the wood porches that served as the southern entrances to the house at the time of the Civil War. A universally accessible ramp at 1:12 slope, with handrails, might appropriately be integrated into the southeastern end of the reconstructed porches (nearest to the universally accessible parking) to navigate approximately 3 ½ feet of grade change from the adjacent walk to the building's threshold. Advantages of this alternative include integration with the park's broad goal to re-orient visitor arrival to the river side of the house (see general treatment recommendation above) and expanded interpretation of the Civil War era character of the house. However, this alternative will eliminate access to the doorway in the south hypen. Additional research and design is needed to reconstruct the porches and accommodate a universally accessible entrance.

The second alternative, on the north (garden side) of the house, involves constructing new inclined walks along the alignment of the crescent-shaped drive that provided access to the north side of the house at the time of the Civil War. Each of the inclines will be required to navigate approximately 3 ½ feet of grade change from the garden to the building's threshold. At an accessible 1:20 slope, the inclined walks will each need to be at least seventy feet long (without handrails). Implementation of this alternative also requires raising the elevation of

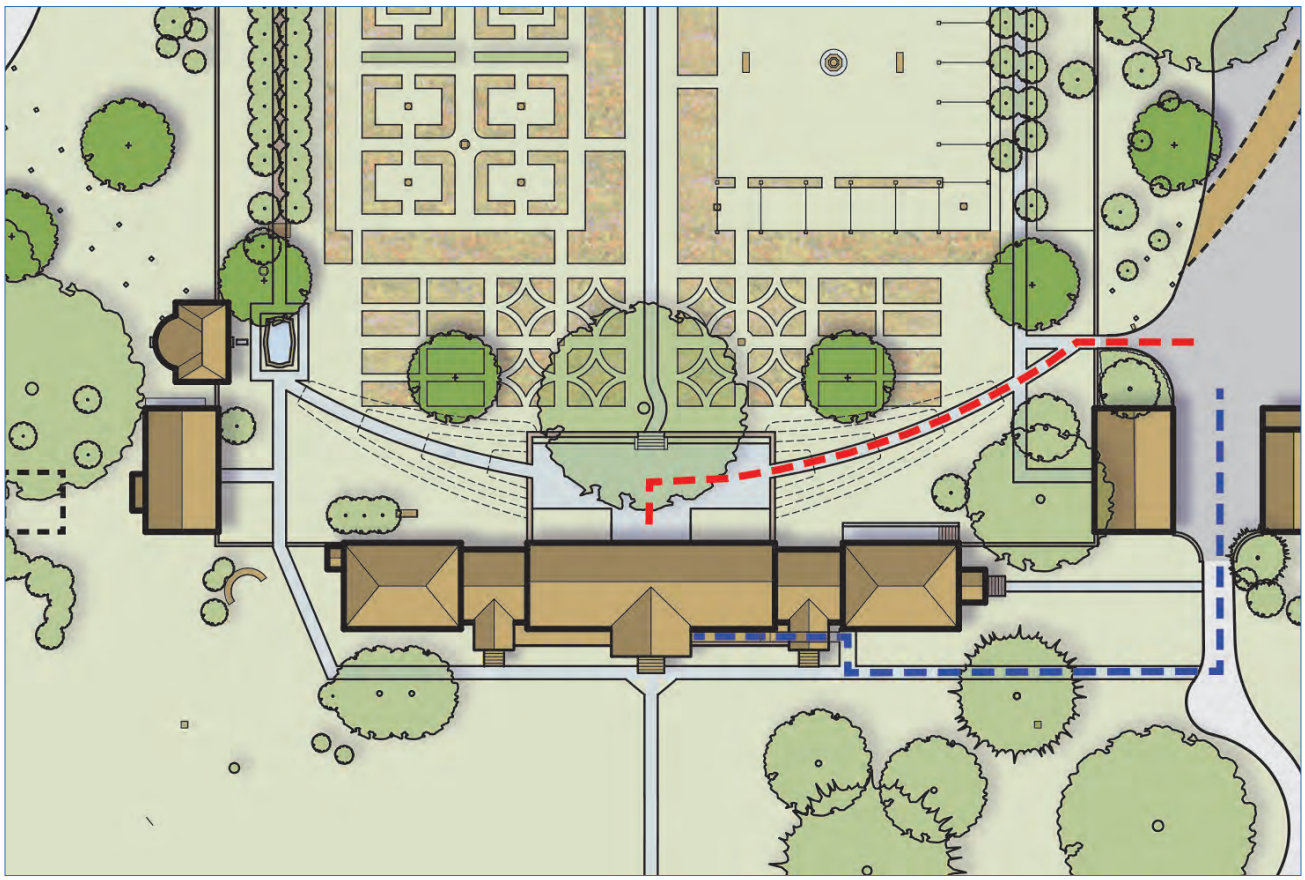


Figure 4.13. Redesign universal access to the Manor House. Alternative 1 (blue) relies on a universally accessible ramp, with handrails, incorporated into the reconstructed porches on the river side of the house. Alternative 2 (red) relies on new sloped walks, without handrails, along the historic alignment of the crescent-shaped drive in the Walled Garden. Plan view, 2018 (OCLP).



Figure 4.14. Redesign universal access to the Manor House. Existing conditions of location for Alternative 2 (shown as red line in Fig. 4.13) relies on new sloped walks, without handrails, along the former alignment of the crescent-shaped drive in the Walled Garden. 2015 (OCLP).



Figure 4.15. Redesign universal access to the Manor House. This conceptual model approximates the three dimensional qualities of the accessibility design indicated in Figure 4.13. Model courtesy Jack Glassman, AIA, NER Historical Architecture Conservation and Engineering Center, and John W. Hammond, OCLP.

the patio by an additional 2 ½ feet, making use of salvaged bluestone from former garden walks. When elevated 3 ½ feet above the adjacent grade of the garden, this patio will require new handrails along the northeast side, adjoining the garden, or a new minimum 3-foot wide densely planted bed along the length of the patio to limit access to the drop-off. The patio will also need to be repaved with new pavers to accommodate universal access. Advantages of this alternative include expanded interpretation of Civil War era circulation patterns and relatively little maintenance. However, implementation of this alternative will further diminish the integrity of the twentieth century Walled Garden.

PERPETUATE HISTORIC VEGETATION

Chatham's diverse and extensive plant collection contributes to the significance of the cultural landscape. However, vegetation has changed since the end of the period of significance through natural growth and decline, onset of diseases and pests, and limits of maintenance. Because the plant collection was developed over time, vegetation varies in age and condition. Preservation maintenance can provide techniques to improve the condition of plants and prolong plant life. However, because all vegetation is living material, plant replacement is inevitable.

Understanding the origin of each plant specimen is essential identifying a replacement strategy to perpetuating its historical significance. A specimen may be significant for its function in the cultural landscape; for its association with an event, person, or trend; or for its unique genetic make-up, rarity, or threatened/endangered status. Depending upon the significance of the specimen and other environmental factors, replacement may necessitate propagation, replacement in-kind, replacement with a substitute species, or removal.

Key historic vegetation specimens recommended for propagation include:

- Southern catalpa (*Catalpa bignonioides*) on the upper terrace adjacent to the north wing of the house (2 specimens)
- White ash (*Fraxinus americana*) adjacent to the Rotunda
- Ginkgo (*Ginkgo biloba*) on the upper terrace adjacent to the Kitchen (1 specimen) and adjacent to the Caretaker's Cottage (1 specimen)
- Kentucky coffeetree (*Gymnocladus dioicus*) behind the Caretaker's Cottage
- Eastern black walnut (*Juglans nigra*) along the South Ravine Path (3 specimens near the Carriage House and 1 specimen near the Rotunda)
- Tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*) adjacent to the North Ravine (1 specimen), adjacent to the Carriage House (1 specimen), and lining the South Ravine Path (3 specimens)

- Norway spruce (*Picea abies*) on the upper terrace adjacent to the south wing of the house
- American sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*) within the Walled Garden
- Chestnut oak (*Quercus prinus*) adjacent to the Laundry
- Black locust (*Robinia pseudoacacia*) on the upper terrace adjacent to the south wing of the house (2 specimens)

Preservation Maintenance

Preservation maintenance refers to "the act of caring for a specific features, area or landscape by protecting, stabilizing, and repairing it on a routine or cyclic basis so that the historic character is not compromised or lost."[9] As it relates to vegetation, preservation maintenance entails identifying deficiencies and working to correct them. The plant collection at Chatham requires constant attention to perpetuate the character and vigor of specimen plants. Protection and maintenance of the plant collection is a high priority given the historical significance of the landscape.

Preservation maintenance actions include irrigating, fertilizing, pruning, thinning, dividing, transplanting, managing pests, and/or cabling to improve condition and prolong the life of a particular specimen plant. Preparation of a more comprehensive preservation maintenance plan that directs routine and cyclical maintenance, from annual plantings through tree pruning techniques, would be a valuable tool in managing the historic character of Chatham's plant collection.

Replacement

When vegetation is damaged or diseased, or it is overgrown and pruning will not rejuvenate the plant, replacement is necessary. The decision to remove and replace vegetation should consider the following factors:

- Whether the vegetation still conveys its association with the significance of the landscape in its current state[10]
- The health, vitality, longevity, growth rate, and size of the plant to be removed[11]
- The functional role of the plant in the landscape
- Characteristics unique to the individual plant specimen

A replacement strategy should be identified for each plant specimen based on the origin and horticultural significance of the plant. For Chatham, general replacement strategies include the following:

- **Original historic plantings** will be maintained and propagated for replacement with genetically identical clones. Propagation involves taking cuttings or grafts from live, healthy tissue and the use of special growing facilities to raise the young propagule.[12]

- **Historic replacement plantings** will be maintained and replaced by the same replacement method that was employed previously (either through propagation; in-kind replacement with same species/cultivar nursery stock; or replacement with a substitute species, cultivar, or variety, if necessary due to disease or pests).

- **Compatible contemporary plantings** will be maintained, but will not be replaced unless necessary to perpetuate the historic character of the landscape.[13]

- **Incompatible contemporary plantings** will be removed and will not be replaced.

Contemporary plantings should not be added to the historic landscape unless necessary screen incompatible views. Memorial and commemorative plantings should not be installed.

In some cases, replacement of the original plant species may not be possible. This may be due to changes in growing condition, diseases, pests, or availability of replacement. Compatible substitutions may be necessary. According to the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* for preservation, "new material[s] will match the old in composition, design, color, and texture."[14] As it relates to vegetation, this means matching the size, form, texture, and seasonal character of plantings, including bloom time and color, fruit, and fall foliage.[15] Where a specimen plant was known to have existed, but the exact species cannot be determined, it is appropriate to use a species found elsewhere on the site or a substitute species that has a similar character.

Vegetation features may include individual plants, which function as specimens in the landscape, as well as groupings of plants, such as allées, borders, hedgerows, hedges, and orchards. Vegetation specimens (features) and groupings (aggregate features) serve different functions in the landscape and, accordingly, require different replacement strategies to perpetuate those qualities that distinguish the vegetation. Specimens, identified as individual features, should be treated independently. Single species groupings, identified as aggregate features, should be treated consistently. In instances where balance, symmetry, or uniformity is the intent of the planting, all plants that comprise an aggregate feature should be replaced at the same time.

TREATMENT TASKS

This section includes treatment tasks for the entire Chatham landscape, organized by two geographic areas: the Broader Estate Area and the Formal Garden Area. For each landscape area, an overview articulates the treatment philosophy. The narrative for each treatment task includes a brief description of the issue that warrants treatment, the desired future condition, actions necessary to achieve the desired condition, additional factors for consideration, and a brief statement that relates each task to current park planning initiatives.

All known deferred maintenance needs for the landscape are addressed below. Some recurring maintenance needs (one to ten years in frequency) are also addressed below, in cases in which those needs are imminent. Capital improvements are also identified below, as they relate to landscape rehabilitation tasks necessary to accommodate contemporary use. Preventative maintenance needs (less than one year in frequency) are not addressed by this report. The Chatham landscape would benefit from a landscape preservation maintenance plan that addresses these needs.

Where no specific tasks are identified, preservation is recommended as the default treatment of existing features. Preservation, "the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and material of an historic property," will prevent the loss of historic materials and/or spatial relationships, and ensure that historic features are protected in place.[16]

BROADER ESTATE AREA

Overview

Across the broader estate, the landscape will be rehabilitated to convey its historic relationships with adjacent communities that explain the development and evolution of the property through the Civil War. The fundamental physiographic features of the site will reveal the strategic advantages of the manor house's siting, as well as its physical integration with the larger historic plantation. Within this zone: modifications that have obscured broad landscape patterns, including spatial organization and circulation, will be remedied, features that postdate the Civil War will be preserved and retained where they do not detract or interfere with understanding of these broad patterns, rehabilitation will balance historic character with contemporary park uses, including visitor services and maintenance, compatible new circulation routes will be accommodated so that visitors of all physical abilities might experience the landscape, new park furnishings and signage necessary for public use will be inconspicuous and compatible with the historic setting, and landscape improvements will be achievable and sustainable.

Tasks

VG-1. Manage vegetation along the margins of the vista to the southwest of Chatham

Description: Mature vegetation on the Center Embankment obscures views from the river side of the house both to and from the south, including views to and from Chatham Bridge. This vegetation should be managed to reestablish the visual connection between Chatham and Chatham Bridge. However, reestablishing the visual connection between Chatham and Chatham Bridge requires additional tree removal on the southern side of the Center Embankment and at the southern end of the Riverside Field (Figure 4.16).

Considerations: The National Park Service undertook an ambitious program of vegetation management on the Center Embankment in 2014 to reestablish views between Chatham and the city of Fredericksburg. This project began the process of viewshed restoration, with the added benefit of enhancing the ecological value of the area by creating additional grassland habitat. Further vegetation management must take into account the need to quickly overseed the slope to reestablish groundcover to reduce the risk of erosion. Seed mixes might appropriately include concentrated drifts of predominantly single-species wildflowers for visual impact at a distance.

Relationship to Park Planning: The *General Management Plan* cites the natural succession of vegetation, leading to reforestation, as a key factor that makes interpretation and understanding the battles in and around Fredericksburg difficult. Vegetation management on the Center Embankment and in the Riverside Field also supports the *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* recommendation to restore the landscape on the river side of the house to its Civil War era appearance.



Figure 4.16. Manage vegetation along the margins of the vista to the southwest of Chatham. Center Embankment during vegetation management showing obstructed views toward Chatham Bridge. Vegetation at the center of the image is recommended for removal to reestablish the visual connection between Chatham and the bridge. View looking southeast, 2014 (OCLP).

VG-2. Remove the central linden and replace tulip poplars on the riverside terraces

Description: The low canopy of the littleleaf linden (*Tilia cordata*) at the center of the uppermost riverside terrace obscures views to and from Chatham, making understanding the importance of the estate's prospect, overlooking the Rappahannock River and City of Fredericksburg, difficult. This tree should be removed (Figure 4.17).

Tulip poplars (*Liriodendron tulipifera*) that grew on the terraces from at least 1818 to the Civil War (possibly longer) should be replaced along the margins of the viewshed. These architectural trees, with columnar trunks and high canopies, provided architectural definition to the carefully crafted earthen terraces that mirrored the Georgian symmetry of the house.

Considerations: The historic configuration of tulip poplars is best evidenced by an 1856 survey of the Virginia coast by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (see Figure 1.37). This drawing shows a single row of trees at the precipice of each of the three earthen terraces. While it is not feasible to replace trees in the center portion of each of these terraces due to concerns about obstructing views, trees should be replaced along the margins of the terraces to evoke the historic planting configuration. The replacement trees will require moderate maintenance and limbing up over time.

Relationship to Park Planning: Implementation of this recommendation supports the *General Management Plan* goal of facilitating interpretation of Civil War battle strategies by making the visual connection between Chatham and the City of Fredericksburg more evident in the landscape. It also supports the park's *Long Range Interpretive Plan* goal of restoring the river side of the house and



Figure 4.17. Remove the central linden and replace tulip poplars on the riverside terraces. Littleleaf linden that obstructs view to and from Chatham recommended for removal. View looking southwest, 2014 (OCLP).

landscape to its 1860 appearance. Removal of the linden that obstructs the view to Fredericksburg was also identified as a desirable task by the National Preservation Institute Case Study Workshop.

VG-3. Manage vegetation in the North Ravine and on the embankments between the Northwest Field and Rappahannock River

Description: Vegetation in the North Ravine and on the embankment between the Northwest Field and Rappahannock River is overgrown, making understanding of the historic batteries that lined the precipice of the embankment difficult. This vegetation should be managed to reestablish the historic visual connections between Chatham and the fields, and between the batteries and the pontoon bridge crossing site. This entails complete removal of vegetation in the area between the North Field and Northwest Field, selective removal of young, non-historic trees in the North Ravine, as well as selective clearing on the North Embankment (Figure 4.18). This work is comparable to selective clearing on the Center Embankment completed in 2014 (Figure 4.19).

Considerations: Where selective removal is required in the North Ravine and on the North Embankment, the park should work with a historical landscape architect who is familiar with the site to flag trees for removal. Following vegetation management, the park might appropriately relocate the cannons on reproduction carriages and the reproduction pontoon bridge section from the earthen terraces to the batteries beyond the North Ravine that overlooked the city. This task is directly related to task CR-1. Rehabilitate the North Embankment Road Trace and task VG-4. Reestablish orchard to the northeast of the Northwest Field.



Figure 4.18. Manage vegetation in the North Ravine and on the embankments between the Northwest Field and Rappahannock River. Dense vegetation on the North Embankment between the Riverside Fields and Northwest Field recommended for removal. View looking west, 2015 (OCLP).



Figure 4.19. Manage vegetation in the North Ravine and on the embankments between the Northwest Field and Rappahannock River. Vegetation management underway on the Center Embankment, comparable to that recommended on the North Embankment. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

Relationship to Park Planning: Vegetation management to the north of Chatham's core directly supports the *General Management Plan* goal of removing brush and trees from earthworks and restoring open fields in areas that are now forested. Implementation of this recommendation is also essential to establishing a trail to the river crossing site, restoring the river side of the house and landscape to its 1860s appearance, and installing new exhibits on the riverside of the house, all specific goals of the *Long-Range Interpretive Plan*.

VG-4. Reestablish an orchard to the northeast of the Northwest Field

Description: Fruit trees that grew in the area to the northeast of the Northwest Field have been replaced by successional woodland vegetation since the Civil War. The existing vegetation should be removed and replaced with a fruit planting that evokes the historic appearance of the orchard (Figure 4.20).

Considerations: Although a complete replanting is not feasible, fruit trees should be replanted to provide visitors with a sense of how this landscape area was used historically. Trees should be replanted as they appear to have grown historically, in a square pattern, thirty feet on center, and parallel to the site's topography. Prior to planting, soil should be tested and amended if necessary to accommodate the trees. Replanted trees will require individual fencing to discourage deer browse and vole damage.

Although the historic form of fruit trees is not known, many early orchards were standard, or grown on rootstock that allowed each tree to reach its natural height, and pruned into an open bowl form. This form might appropriately be perpetuated in the new orchard through active management and pruning.



Figure 4.20. Reestablish an orchard to the northeast of the Northwest Field. The historic location of the orchard in the Northwest Field recommended for replanting. View looking northwest, 2014 (OCLP).

Because the historic varieties are not documented, rehabilitation plantings might appropriately employ historic varieties known to grow in the Fredericksburg area about the time of the Civil War or contemporary, disease-resistant varieties that will reduce ongoing maintenance requirements. Final selection of fruit tree varieties should take into account vigor, cropping, pollination characteristics (flowering group, fertility), and disease-resistance. Following selection of appropriate varieties, rootstocks should be selected that will enable trees to be grown as standards.

Implementation of this task is directly related to task VG-3. Manage vegetation in the North Ravine and on the embankments between the Northwest Field and Rappahannock River.

Relationship to Park Planning: The park *General Management Plan* calls for vegetation management to more closely evoke the historic appearance of the landscape in the vicinity of Civil War earthworks, including batteries near the Northwest Field. Implementation of this recommendation also relates directly to the *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* guidance to restore the landscape on the river side of the house to its 1860s appearance and to install new exhibits on the river side of the house.

VG-5. Manage vegetation adjacent to the Caretaker's Cottage

Description: Throughout Chatham's history, the area adjacent to the Caretaker's Cottage was cultivated, either as agricultural fields or as a kitchen garden (see Figure 1.122). Since the 1970s, successional vegetation revegetated this area as a woodland (Figure 4.21). The area to the northeast and southeast of the Caretaker's Cottage should be cleared of woodland vegetation and planted with grass or crops to evoke the historic agricultural use of the land and setting for the cottage.

Considerations: During clearing work, several specimen trees in the vicinity of the cottage should be protected and retained, including the large Kentucky coffeetree (*Gymnocladus dioicus*), ginkgo (*Ginkgo biloba*), and Norway maple (*Acer platanoides*), along with a vegetated border between the cottage and the visitor parking lot. Use of the area for agriculture following clearing will require stump removal, necessitating archeological oversight.

Relationship to Park Planning: Removal of non-historic vegetation adjacent to the Caretaker's Cottage is consistent with the *General Management Plan* guidance to restore formerly open fields in areas that have since reforested. Furthermore, expanding the footprint of the Northeast Field will enhance the park's agricultural permitting program.



Figure 4.21. Manage vegetation adjacent to the Caretaker's Cottage. Caretaker's Cottage showing vegetation beyond recommended for removal to reestablish visual connections with the surrounding fields. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

VG-6. Manage vegetation and clean-up debris at the southern corner of the North Field

Description: Throughout Chatham's history, the area at the southernmost end of the North Field was cultivated as part of the North Field. Since the 1970s, successional vegetation revegetated this area as a woodland (Figure 4.22). Additionally, the National Park Service has used this area as a debris pile, placing disused masonry fragments in the area (Figure 4.23). The area at the southern corner of the North Field should be cleared of woodland vegetation and the historic paving, garden ornaments, and archeological fragments relocated to a new service area at the northeastern end of the Farm Road Trace (see task BS-2. Locate and design a new landscape maintenance/service yard at the northeast end of the Farm Road Trace).

Considerations: Much of the debris in the area is architectural remnants from the Walled Garden and possibly from the building façade. The cleanup effort should

include archeological oversight. Use of the area for agriculture following clearing will require stump removal will also require archeological oversight. Eastern redcedar (*Juniperus virginiana*) on the southeastern side of the area that once lined the Farm Road Trace should be retained as part of this historic landscape feature (see task CR-2. Rehabilitate the Farm Road Trace).

Relationship to Park Planning: Removal of non-historic vegetation at the southern end of the North Field is consistent with the *General Management Plan* guidance to restore formerly open fields in areas that have since reforested. Furthermore, expanding the footprint of the North Field will enhance the park's agricultural permitting program.



Figure 4.22. Manage vegetation and clean-up debris at the southern corner of the North Field. Successional vegetation at the southern corner of the North Field recommended for removal. View looking east, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 4.23. Manage vegetation and clean-up debris at the southern corner of the North Field. Landscape debris in the southern corner of the North Field recommended for relocation to a new landscape service yard, including historic bluestone pavers from the Walled Garden. View direction unknown, 2014 (OCLP).

CR-1. Rehabilitate the North Embankment Road Trace

Description: The North Embankment Road Trace was likely used during the Civil War to move the pontoon bridge sections from the railroad crossing to the east of Chatham to the Rappahannock River. Since that time, the embankment that supports and abuts the roadbed has eroded and successional vegetation grown on the roadbed itself (Figures 4.24–4.26). Trees should be cleared, the earthwork stabilized, and a new road surface installed to accommodate a new pedestrian connection from Chatham to the Stafford County Riverfront Trail.

Considerations: While the slope of the road trace is not universally accessible (at an approximate 16% slope), surface material selection should take into account the need for a stable, slip-resistant surface, while ensuring that the contemporary character of the roadbed is consistent with its historic rustic appearance. Appropriate surface treatment options include dense-graded loose aggregate or loose aggregate with a binder. Adequate erosion controls, such as water bars, should be built-in to the road trace. Regrading should be limited to retain the integrity of this historic feature. As a largely unexplored area of the Chatham

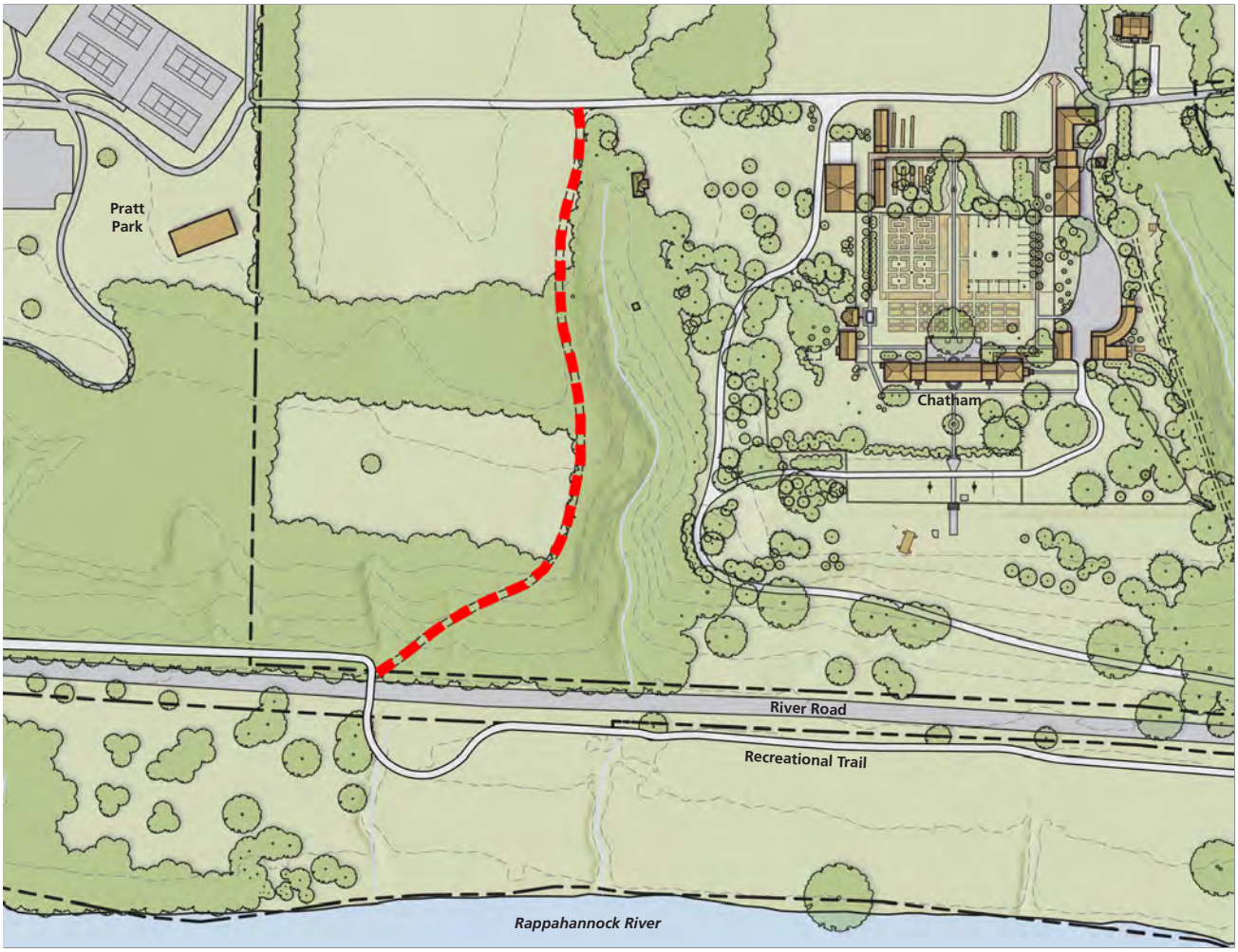


Figure 4.24. Rehabilitate the North Embankment Road Trace. Diagram showing the historic alignment of the North Embankment Road Trace recommended for rehabilitation to accommodate recreational use. Plan view, 2018 (OCLP).

landscape, any physical work on the North Embankment Road Trace should include archeological oversight. This task is directly related to task VG-3. Manage vegetation in the North Ravine and on the embankments between the Northwest Field and Rappahannock River.

Relationship to Park Planning: Implementation of this recommendation is directly related to the *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* goal of establishing a trail to the river crossing, as well as restoring the river side of the landscape to its 1860s appearance. This includes relocating the cannons on reproduction carriages and the reproduction pontoon bridge section to the batteries that overlook the North Embankment Road Trace (as detailed in task VG-3).



Figure 4.25. Rehabilitate the North Embankment Road Trace. Upper portion of the North Embankment Road Trace, adjacent to the North Field, recommended for rehabilitation. View looking southwest, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 4.26. Rehabilitate the North Embankment Road Trace. Lower portion of the North Embankment Road trace recommended for rehabilitation. View looking west, 2014 (OCLP).



Figure 4.27. Rehabilitate the Farm Road Trace. View of the Farm Road Trace, which is recommended for rehabilitation to accommodate service use. View looking northeast, 2014 (OCLP).

CR-2. Rehabilitate the Farm Road Trace

Description: The Farm Road Trace has been in disuse for approximately forty years, leading to deterioration of the roadbed, growth of invasive vegetation in the roadbed, and decline/loss of historic eastern redcedars (*Juniperus virginiana*) that lined the road from after the Civil War, if not before (Figure 4.27). The Farm Road Trace should be rehabilitated, with an improved road surface, removal of overhead obstructions caused by downed limbs and dead trees.

Considerations: The Farm Road Trace should be rehabilitated with a dense-graded loose aggregate surface or with loose aggregate with a binder. Following relocation of maintenance activities (see task BS-2. Locate and design a new landscape maintenance/service yard at the northeast end of the Farm Road Trace), this road will serve as the primary maintenance facility access for park staff and a shaded, scenic walk for park visitors.

Relationship to Park Planning: Rehabilitation of the Farm Road Trace is related to the park *General Management Plan* and *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* goals of interpreting the Civil War era landscape at Chatham. Implementation of this recommendation also advances the National Preservation Institute Case Study Workshop goals to enhance the visitor experience by allowing choice in visit sequence.

CR-3. Rehabilitate the South Ravine Path

Description: The South Ravine Path is eroded due to a combination of pedestrian use and poor drainage (Figure 1.28). The steep path might appropriately be treated with an improved walking surface, modified drainage, and removal of overhead obstructions caused by downed limbs and dead trees.

Considerations: The South Ravine Path is believed to date to before the Civil War. The rustic stone steps were installed by the Devores. The South Ravine Path surface should be rehabilitated with a dense-graded loose aggregate. Drainage should be controlled with open culverts, side drains, or waterbars. Following improvement, this path will provide direct access to the Chatham Entrance Gate. However, regular use of this path by visitors should not be promoted, since there is no safe pedestrian connection between the Carriage Drive and Chatham Bridge at present.

Relationship to Park Planning: Rehabilitation of the South Ravine Path is related to the *General Management Plan* goal of maintaining the park landscape in good condition. Rehabilitation of the South Ravine Path also creates additional visit sequence options for visitors and may present future opportunities to connect to the Stafford County Riverfront Trail.



Figure 4.28. Rehabilitate the South Ravine Path. View of eroded walking surface on the South Ravine Path. View looking north, 2015 (OCLP).

BS-1. Mark locations of missing Civil War era outbuildings and structures

Description: The Chatham landscape included many outbuildings and structures over its long history that illustrate the historic use and function of the property. Many of these buildings and structures were lost prior to National Park Service acquisition of the property. The locations of these buildings and structures should be marked to enable more comprehensive interpretation of the property's history, particularly around the time of the Civil War (Figure 4.29). These include:

- **In the immediate vicinity of the manor house:** Store house, ice house, wash house, and outhouse/privy
- **Adjacent to the Northwest Field:** Civil War era batteries

Considerations: Prior to marking the location of missing buildings and structures, a program of geophysical investigation is needed to confirm the locations of missing buildings and structures (see general treatment recommendations for greater detail). Following identification of the historic locations of buildings and structures, their corners might appropriately be marked with three-foot wood posts and interpretive signs comparable to those currently used to mark the historic location of the smoke house to the northwest of Chatham (Figure 4.30).

Buildings and structures along Chatham Lane might also appropriately be marked and interpreted if the property that encompasses them is acquired by the National Park Service. Buildings and structures in the area to the southwest of Chatham Lane potentially include **an o**verseer's house, blacksmith shop, slave quarters, and batteries.

Relationship to Park Planning: Implementation of this recommendation relates directly to the *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* goal of restoring the landscape to reflect its Civil War era appearance and installing new exhibits within the landscape. This task also relates directly to the National Preservation Case Study Institute workshop goal of interpreting slave quarters on site.

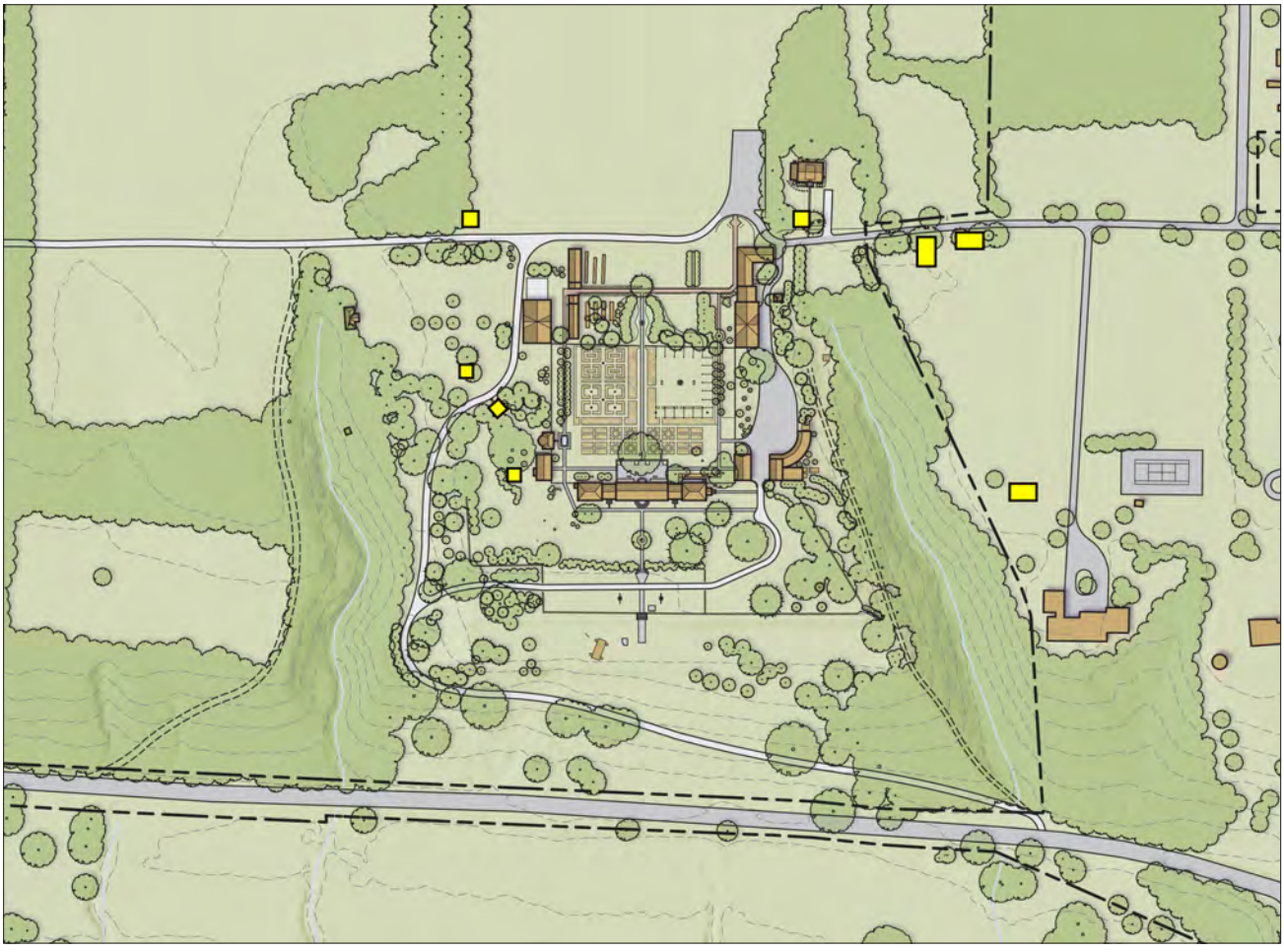


Figure 4.29. Mark locations of missing Civil War era outbuildings and structures. Diagram showing locations of known missing Civil War era outbuildings and structures (yellow). Plan view, 2018 (OCLP).



Figure 4.30. Mark locations of missing Civil War era outbuildings and structures. Wood post and interpretive signs that mark the historic location of the Smokehouse. Comparable treatment is recommended for other missing Civil War era outbuildings and structures. View looking south, 2014 (OCLP).

BS-2. Locate and design a new landscape maintenance/service yard at the northeast end of the Farm Road Trace

Description: Contemporary park grounds maintenance operations are concentrated around the Dairy Barn, within the historic core of the Chatham landscape. This operation should be relocated outside of the historic core to the area at the northeast end of the Farm Road trace, where it will be screened from public view. In addition, this area served as the center of farm operations from the 1930s through the 1970s.

Considerations: Implementation of this recommendation will require significant design and planning, depending on the scope of the desired maintenance facility. A simple pole barn or storage facility that makes use of shipping containers is considerably lower cost than a custom-designed building. The relocated service yard should be sited for minimal impact on agricultural use of the North Field. Access to the relocated maintenance yard may be desirable from the northern park boundary. Implementation of this recommendation depends on implementation of task CR-1. Rehabilitate the Farm Road Trace. It is also related to task VG-6. Clean-up debris at the southern corner of the North Field.

Relationship to Park Planning: This recommendation relates to the park's ability to achieve maintenance goals articulated in the *General Management Plan*.

FORMAL GARDEN AREA

Overview

In the Formal Garden area, the Chatham landscape will be rehabilitated to reflect its character following implementation of Ellen Shipman's design in the 1920s. This garden will reflect Ellen Shipman's signature style, with the walled enclosure surrounding carefully articulated flower borders reinforced by axial circulation and punctuated with statuary and structural plantings of evergreens and small flowering trees. Within this zone: alterations and diminutions since the 1920s will be remedied by replacing lost plant materials with species that perpetuate the historic size, form, texture, and seasonal character of the original plantings; traces of circulation patterns present prior to the garden will be reintroduced to unify the garden with the primary interpretive theme; the garden will continue to receive a high level of skilled care to present the horticultural and ornamental qualities that make it one of Ellen Shipman's most significant designs, and treatment will take into account the perennial constraints of maintenance, as well as opportunities to enhance stewardship partnerships.

Tasks

VG-7. Rehabilitate plantings for sustainable consistency with Shipman's design intent

Description: Removal of vegetation within the Walled Garden late in John Lee Pratt's ownership of Chatham and further attrition of vegetation under National Park Service ownership has compromised the integrity of the Walled Garden. These plantings should be rehabilitated to reflect their character in the mid-1920s, following implementation of Ellen Shipman's design for the garden (Figure 4.31). This rehabilitation should accommodate substitutions in the palette of historic plant material for species that are more sustainable, taking into account the park's limited maintenance capacity. The park might also appropriately capitalize on volunteer efforts and partnerships to advance garden rehabilitation.

Considerations: Resources for selecting appropriate plantings and their placement include Ellen Shipman's 1921-22 planting plans, Frances Benjamin Johnston's 1927 photographs, Walled Garden Plant List Analysis provided in Appendix A, and the Walled Garden Vegetation Inventory provided in Appendix C. As a component of this work, the park should also consider replacement of the eastern redcedars (*Juniperus virginiana*) to the northeast of the garden wall. As feasible, the garden rehabilitation might also make use of the two rehabilitated greenhouses and the historic service area between the northeast garden wall and Farm Lane.



Figure 4.31. Rehabilitate plantings for sustainable consistency with Ellen Shipman's design intent. Walled Garden plantings following extensive work by the Friends of Chatham and volunteers. View looking west, 2014 (OCLP).

Relationship to Park Planning: Rehabilitation of plantings within in the Walled Garden provides the best opportunity to interpret the twentieth century significance of the landscape. This objective is consistent with the park's *Long-Range Interpretive Plan*.

CR-4. Introduce a trace of the historic crescent-shaped driveway as a memorial feature

Description: Removal of the crescent-shaped driveway in 1920s resulted in a significant change to the circulation system that long defined Chatham's grounds for 150 years (Figure 4.32). Wholesale replacement of this feature is not feasible due to the presence of the Walled Garden. However, a trace of the historic crescent-shaped drive may appropriately be introduced to convey to visitors the organization of the site prior to and during the American Civil War. Within the Walled Garden, this involves replanting deciduous canopy trees that historically lined the curved driveway to evoke the former alignment of the drive. Beyond the Walled Garden, replacement trees will be less visible in the landscape. Accordingly, the historic alignment of the driveway should be marked with both new trees and vertical wood posts in the lawn or paint/formed concrete on paved surfaces.

Considerations: Within the Walled Garden, paving stones might also appropriately be set to trace the historic alignment of the drive from the Summer House to the entrance and from the gate in the southeastern Garden Wall to the entrance. Should removal of the Walled Garden occur in the future, the crescent-shaped drive should be reintroduced to the land side of the house in full, with a loose aggregate that evokes the driveway's historic earthen surface.

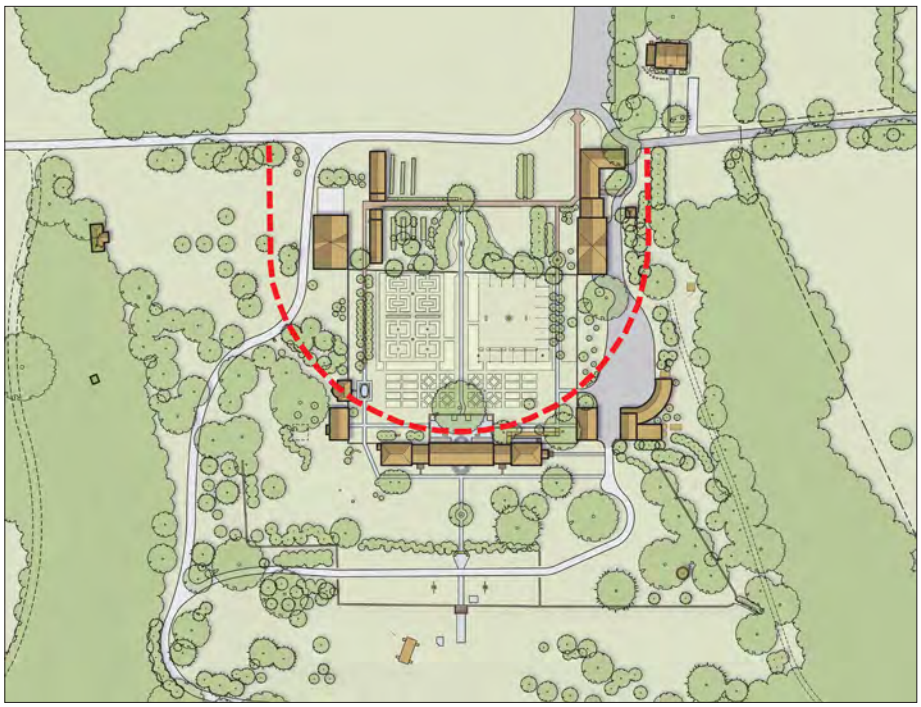


Figure 4.32. Introduce a trace of the historic crescent-shaped driveway as a memorial feature. Diagram showing the historic alignment of the crescent-shaped drive over an existing conditions plan. Plan view, 2018 (OCLP).

Relationship to Park Planning: Introducing a trace of the historic crescent-shaped driveway provides visitors the opportunity to understand the historic configuration of the land side of the house during the Civil War, until the 1920s. This objective is consistent with the park's *General Management Plan* and *Long-Range Interpretive Plan*, both of which call for preservation and interpretation of the Civil War era landscape.

CR-5. Reset shifted paving stones for universal accessibility

Description: Slate paving stones within the Walled Garden have shifted as a result of weak wood edging causing large joints between many of the paving stones that exceed the commonly accepted ½" threshold for universal accessibility. Paving stones should be re-laid with steel edging along all edges to hold the reset stones in place. In some areas, the slate paving stones may necessitate replacement with larger and thicker paving stones that will better resist shifting. The National Park Service installed the four-foot-wide sawcut slate walks within the Walled Garden in the early 2000s to replace the garden's original, 1920s flagstone paving and sections that were reset in the 1950s (Figures 4.33 and 4.34).

Considerations: Improvements are particularly critical along path sections that lead from universally accessible parking spaces adjacent to the Kitchen and Garage to the universal accessibility ramp in the southernmost corner of the garden. Many of the original 1920s paving stones remain on site in the debris pile at the southernmost corner of the North Field. While few of these paving stones meet contemporary accessibility standards, they might be used elsewhere in the

garden to replace stepping stones that were originally set in lawn. Implementation of this task is directly related to the general treatment recommendation to redesign universal access to the manor house.

Relationship to Park Planning: Universal accessibility is a cornerstone of providing public access to Chatham and meeting the requirements of the American with Disabilities Act of 1990.



Figure 4.33. Reset shifted paving stones for universal accessibility. Slate walkway installed in the 1990s to replace original, irregular flagstone paving. View looking southwest, 2015 (OCLP).



Figure 4.34. Reset shifted paving stones for universal accessibility. Slate pavers within the Walled Garden recommended for resetting with thicker materials and steel or stone edging to keep paving stones from moving over time. View direction unknown, 2018 (OCLP).

TREATMENT IMPLEMENTATION

This section summarizes treatment tasks included in the preceding section, with the objective of translating recommendations into project funding requests through the National Park Service Facility Management Software System (FMSS). For descriptions of work, refer to treatment task narratives in the preceding section.

IMPLEMENTATION PRIORITIES

Treatment tasks from the preceding chapter are summarized the tables below and have been categorized into essential and desirable tasks. This prioritization recognizes that opportunities for collaboration, funding availability, interpretive and programmatic goals, project review and compliance, and other factors may impact implementation sequence. Beyond lumping into essential and desirable tasks, the order of tasks does not reflect priority.

Essential tasks are defined as those that:

- Address life-safety issues
- Substantially improve universal access
- Considerably enhance the visitor experience, with new interpretive potential

Desirable tasks are defined as those that:

- Address features that, while contributing to the historic character of the landscape, are not character-defining
- Improve the overall landscape condition, with only minimal enhancements to the visitor experience

Table 4.1. Essential Landscape Treatment Tasks

Task ID	Task	Page
Broader Estate Area		
VG-3	Manage vegetation in the North Ravine and on the embankments between the Northwest Field and Rappahannock River	448
VG-4	Reestablish an orchard to the northeast of the Northwest Field	449
CR-1	Rehabilitate the North Embankment Road Trace	453
CR-2	Rehabilitate the Farm Road Trace	455
CR-3	Rehabilitate the South Ravine Path	455
BS-1	Mark locations of missing Civil War era outbuildings and structures	456
Formal Garden Area		
VG-7	Rehabilitate plantings for sustainable consistency with Shipman's design intent	459
CR-4	Introduce a trace of the historic crescent-shaped driveway as a memorial feature	460
CR-5	Reset shifted paving stones for universal accessibility	461

Table 4.2. Desirable Landscape Treatment Tasks

Task ID	Task	Page
Broader Estate Area		
VG-1	Manage vegetation along the margins of the vista to the southwest of Chatham	446
VG-2	Remove the central linden and replace tulip poplars on the riverside terraces	447
VG-5	Manage vegetation adjacent to the Caretaker's Cottage	450
VG-6	Manage vegetation and clean-up debris at the southern corner of the North Field	451
BS-2	Locate and design a new landscape maintenance/service yard at the northeast end of the Farm Road Trace	458

INTEGRATING TREATMENT RECOMMENDATIONS WITH FMSS

Chatham's cultural landscape is managed through the National Park Service Faculty Management Software System (FMSS). This system is structured to track costs associated with asset management, as well as asset condition. FMSS is also fundamental in generating funding requests for all rehabilitation, restoration, repair, and capital improvements projects through Project Management Information System (PMIS). Integration with FMSS is essential to implementation of the treatment recommendations in this chapter.

Physical features or "assets" of the cultural landscape are tracked in FMSS through a variety of "Asset Types," including roads, parking areas, maintained landscapes, buildings, outdoor sculptures, and maintained archeological sites. However, the majority of Chatham's landscape-related assets are tracked under the maintained landscape Asset Type.

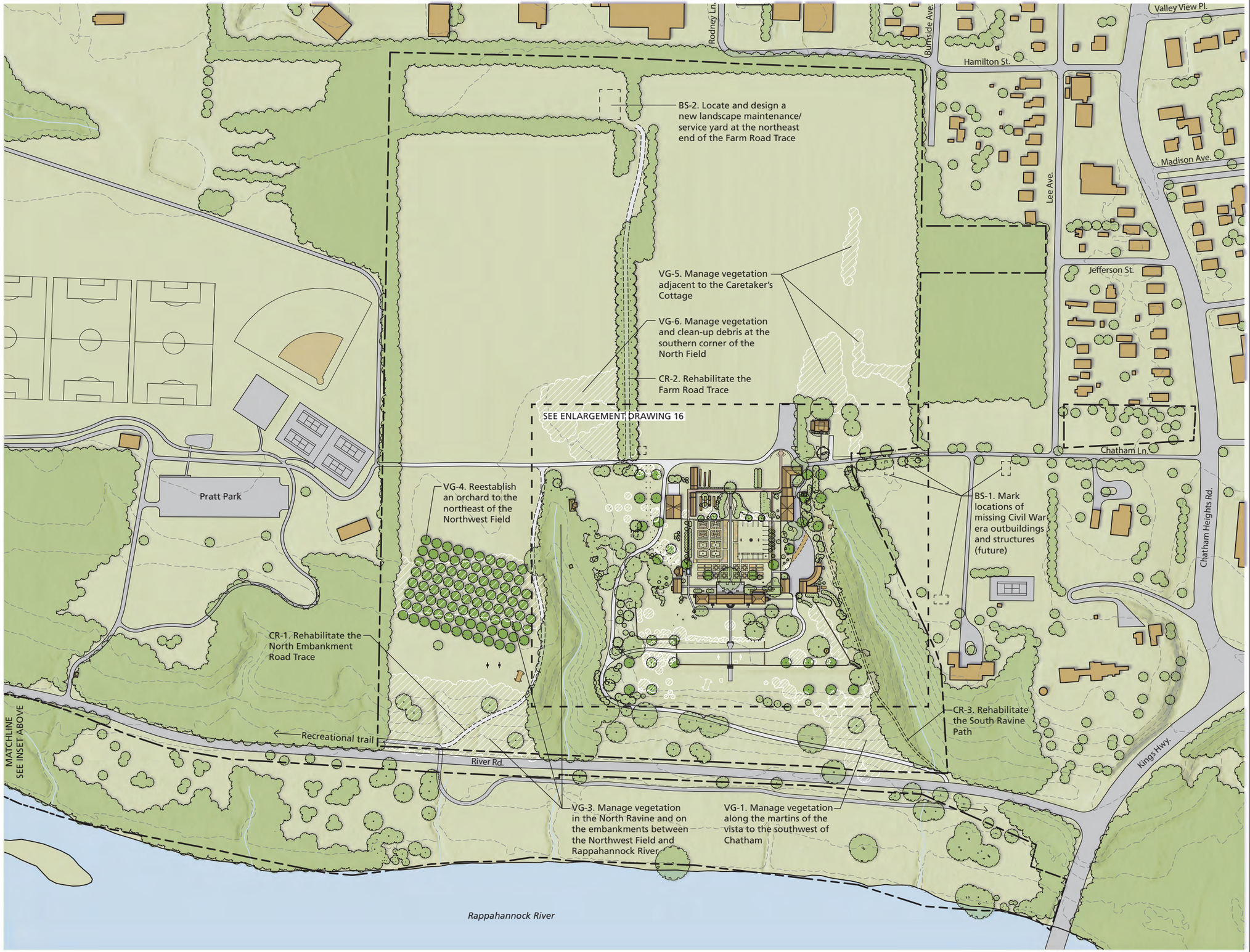
Table 4.3 below summarizes the landscape treatment tasks included in this chapter according to FMSS Asset Type, Location, and asset as a first step in translating cultural landscape treatment recommendations into project funding requests. Additional professional services, such as design or construction oversight, may be required to implement treatment recommendations. Relevant FMSS work types and sub-types are summarized and defined in Table 4.4.

Table 4.3. Landscape Treatment Tasks and the Chatham FMSS Hierarchy

CLR Treatment Task/ FMSS Work Order	FMSS Asset Type/ Location/ Asset	FMSS Work Type/ Sub-type	Recurring Maintenance Needed
Broader Estate Area			
VG-1. Manage vegetation along the margins of the vista to the southwest of Chatham	3100/ 23635/ 1327298	Facility Maintenance/ Deferred Maintenance	Regular ongoing grounds care
VG-2. Remove the central linden and replace tulip poplars on the riverside terraces	3100/ 23635/ 1327306	Facility Maintenance/ Deferred Maintenance	Minimal beyond initial establishment period
VG-3. Manage vegetation in the North Ravine and on the embankments between the Northwest Field and Rappahannock River	3100/ 23635/ TBD	Facility Maintenance/ Deferred Maintenance	Regular ongoing grounds care
VG-4. Reestablish an orchard to the northeast of the Northwest Field	3100/ 23635/ 1326970	Facility Maintenance/ Deferred Maintenance	Regular ongoing grounds care, with potential for pests or disease
VG-5. Manage vegetation adjacent to the Caretaker's Cottage	3100/ 23635/ multiple	Facility Maintenance/ Deferred Maintenance	Regular ongoing grounds care
VG-6. Manage vegetation and clean-up debris at the southern corner of the North Field	3100/ 23635/ multiple	Facility Maintenance/ Deferred Maintenance	Regular ongoing grounds care
CR-1. Rehabilitate the North Embankment Road Trace	2100/ TBD/ TBD	Facility Maintenance/ Deferred Maintenance	Regular ongoing grounds care, with periodic resurfacing
CR-2. Rehabilitate the Farm Road Trace	2100/ TBD/ TBD	Facility Maintenance/ Deferred Maintenance	Regular ongoing grounds care, with periodic resurfacing
CR-3. Rehabilitate the South Ravine Path	1300/ 23797/ multiple	Facility Maintenance/ Deferred Maintenance	Regular ongoing grounds care, with periodic resurfacing
BS-1. Mark locations of missing Civil War era outbuildings and structures	7200/ TBD/ TBD	Capital Improvement/ New Construction	Minimal
BS-2. Locate and design a new landscape maintenance/service yard at the northeast end of the Farm Road Trace	4100/ TBD/ TBD	Capital Improvement/ New Construction	Minimal
Formal Garden Area			
VG-7. Rehabilitate plantings for sustainable consistency with Shipman's design intent	3100/ 23763/ 1327321	Facility Maintenance/ Deferred Maintenance	Intensive ongoing grounds care
CR-4. Introduce a trace of the historic crescent-shaped driveway as a memorial feature	2100/ 23796/ TBD	Capital Improvement/ New Construction	Minimal
CR-5. Reset shifted paving stones for universal accessibility	2100/ 23796/ 1322574	Facility Maintenance/ Legis. Mandate Accessibility	Minimal

Table 4.4. Glossary of Relevant FMSS Work Types and Sub-types

Work Type/Sub-type	Definition
Facility Maintenance Work Type	
Facility Maintenance	Day-to-day activities, as well as the planned work required to preserve an asset in such a condition that it may be used for its designated purpose over its expected life cycle. Examples include routine replacement of HVAC filters, repairing a roof that was damaged in a storm, and building a ramp to meet accessibility laws.
Relevant Facility Maintenance Sub-types	
Deferred Maintenance	Maintenance that was not performed when it should have been, or was scheduled and was put off or delayed. Continued deferment of maintenance will result in deficiencies.
Legis. Mandate Accessibility	Deficiencies that must be corrected in response to regulatory requirements. These activities include retrofitting for accessibility.
Capital Improvement Work Type	
Capital Improvements	Alterations or new construction that helps an asset better meet its intended purpose. Examples include paving an unpaved parking area and replacing portable restrooms with a permanent facility in a frequently visited area.
Relevant Capital Improvement Sub-type	
New Construction	Construction that adds to the existing footprint of an asset, or creates a new asset.



Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

Treatment Tasks

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Features inside park boundary: Orthophotograph, USGS, May 2011 and field notes, OCLP, April, July & Sept. 2014
2. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
3. Hydrology, roads, parcels, and buildings outside park boundary: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan, 2018
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

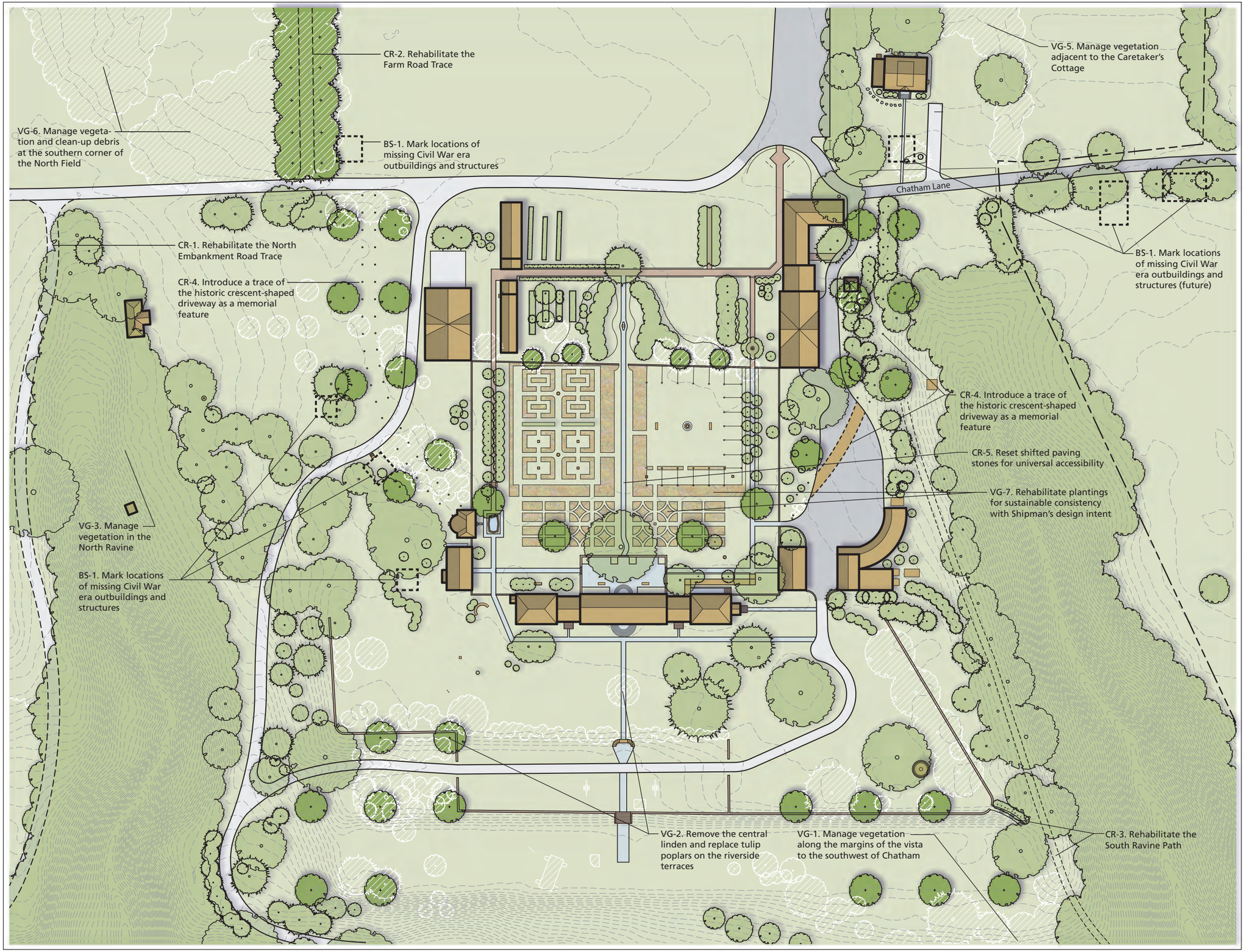
- Park fee boundary
- Topographic contours (10′ interval)
- Bituminous concrete road / drive
- Crushed stone road / drive
- Trees
- Lawn / field
- Building / structure
- Feature to be removed
- Proposed planting

NOTE

All features shown in approximate scale and location.

0′ 125′ 250′ 500′

Drawing 15



Cultural Landscape Report

Chatham

Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park

Fredericksburg, Virginia

Treatment Tasks
Core Area

National Park Service

Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

www.nps.gov/oclp

SOURCES

1. Features inside park boundary: Orthophotograph, USGS, May 2011 and field notes, OCLP, April, July & Sept. 2014
2. Contours: LiDAR data, FEMA/USGS, October 2001
3. Hydrology, roads, parcels, and buildings outside park boundary: Stafford County GIS Office data

DRAWN BY

Christopher Beagan, 2018
AutoCAD Map 3D, Adobe Photoshop and Illustrator CS3

LEGEND

- Park fee boundary
- Topographic contours (1' interval)
- Bituminous concrete road / drive
- Crushed stone road / drive
- Slate walk
- Brick walk
- Trees
- Planting beds
- Lawn / field
- Building / structure
- Feature to be removed
- Proposed planting

NOTE

All features shown in approximate scale and location.

0' 20' 40' 80' 160'

Drawing 16

Endnotes

1. An Act to Establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes (National Park Service Organic Act, August 25, 1916), 39 Stat. 535.

2. General Management Plan, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1986), 40.

3. General Management Plan, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1986), 9–10.

4. National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center, Interpretive Planning, Long-Range Interpretive Plan, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, July 2001), 26.

5. Charles A. Birnbaum and Christine Capella Peters, eds., The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1996), 48.

6. Charles A. Birnbaum and Christine Capella Peters, eds., The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1996), 49.

7. Robert R. Page, Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan, A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1998, second printing 2005), 134.

8. National Park Service, Denver Service Center, "Environmental Assessment, Interim Development Concept Plan for Visitor Access and Parking, Chatham Unit," October 1982.

9. Margaret Coffin Brown and Regina M. Bellavia, Guide to Developing a Preservation Maintenance Plan for a Historic Landscape (National Park Service, Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, 1998 rev. ed.), 9–10.

10. Landscape Lines 12: Treatment of Plant Features (National Park Service, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes), 11.

11. Landscape Lines 12: Treatment of Plant Features (National Park Service, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes), 11.

12. The spectrum of genetic authenticity associated with plant propagation ranges from clonal (highest level), to subclonial grafting and seedlings (intermediate level), to non-clonal nursery stock (lowest level). Further detail is provided in Landscape Lines 12: Treatment of Plant Features (National Park Service, Park Historic Structures & Cultural Landscapes), 13.

13. Compatible features are non-contributing features that are distinguishable from the historic character of the landscape but related to historic materials, size, scale, proportion, and massing.

14. Charles A. Birnbaum and Christine Capella Peters, eds., The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1996), 19.

15. Lauren Meier and Nora Mitchell, "Principles for Preserving Historic Plant Material" Preservation Technology Update 6 (1990), 20.

16. Charles A. Birnbaum and Christine Capella Peters, eds., The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1996), 18-19.

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Appendix A. Walled Garden Plant List Analysis

This plant list documents species proposed for the Walled Garden by Ellen Shipman between 1921 and 1922, compared with those species planted by the National Park Service during the 1984–85 "adaptive restoration" of the garden, and those species growing in the garden in 2014. The field inventory portion of this analysis was completed by Leslie Bird and Joe Reudi in summer 2014, with subsequent analysis of historic planting plans by Shanasia Sylman and Christopher Beagan.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Shipman Planting Plan of Flower Border	Shipman Planting Plan of Flower Garden	Shipman Planting Plan of Long Flower Border	Shipman Planting Plan of Chrysanthemum Garden	Shipman Vine and Shrub Plan (March 1922)	1985 Restoration Plans	2014 Existing Conditions Inventory	Bloom Color	Notes
Abelia x *grandiflora*	glossy abelia						X	X	white	
Abelia x *grandiflora* 'Ed. Goucher'	Edward Goucher glossy abelia						X		lavender, pink	
Acer rubrum	red maple (tree)							X	red	
Aconitum autumnale	monkshood		X						purple	Also known as *Aconitum tauricum*
Ajuga reptans 'Bronze Beauty'	Bronze Beauty bugle						X		blue	
Ajuga reptans 'Pink Beauty'	Pink Beauty bugle						X		pink	
Alcea rosea	hollyhock							X	pale yellow	
Alcea sp.	hollyhock species	X							pink	Species unknown
Alcea sp.	hollyhock species	X							yellow	Species unknown
Alcea sp.	hollyhock species		X	X						Species unknown
Alyssum saxatile	gold alyssum	X	X						yellow	
Anchusa azurea 'Dropmore'	bugloss			X			X	X	deep blue	Also known as *Anchusa italica* 'Dropmore'
Anchusa sp.	bugloss species	X	X							Species unknown
Anemone 'Fuigens'	Fuigens anemone	X	X							Details of cultivar unknown
Anemone hupehensis	Japanese anemone	X							magenta	
Anemone hupehensis var. *japonica*	Japanese anemone		X	X					pink, white	

Scientific Name	Common Name	Shipman Planting Plan of Flower Border	Shipman Planting Plan of Flower Garden	Shipman Planting Plan of Long Flower Border	Shipman Planting Plan of Chrysanthemum Garden	Shipman Vine and Shrub Plan (March 1922)	1985 Restoration Plans	2014 Existing Conditions Inventory	Bloom Color	Notes
Anemone japonica 'Queen Charlotte'	Queen Charlotte Japanese windflower			X					pink	Also known as *Anemone* 'Queen Charolette'
Anemone japonica 'September Charm'	September Charm windflower						X		pink	
Anemone japonica 'Whirlwind'	Whirlwind Japanese anemone			X					white	Also known as *Anemone* x 'Whirlwind'
Anemone ranunculoides	yellow wood anemone	X	X						yellow	
Anemone 'Roman'	Roman anemone	X	X							Details of cultivar unknown
Anemone sp.	anemone species							X		Species unknown
Anemone 'St. Bridgets'	St. Bridgets anemone	X	X							Details of cultivar unknown
Anemone x *hybrida* 'Honorine Jobert'	Honorine Jobert windflower						X		white	
Anenome 'Honorine Jobert'	Honorine Jobert windflower							X	white	
Anenome x *hybrida* 'September Charm'	windflower							X	creamy pink	
Antirrhinum 'Golden Queen'	snapdragon	X							yellow, orange	
Antirrhinum majus	common snapdragon			X					pink	
Antirrhinum majus	snapdragon	X								Variety unknown
Antirrhinum 'Melrose'	snapdragon	X							pink	
Antirrhinum sp.	snapdragon species	X	X							Species unknown
Aquilegia chrysantha	yellow columbine	X							yellow	
Aquilegia sp.	columbine species	X		X						Species unknown
Aquilegia vulgaris	columbine		X					X	purple	
Aquilegia x *hybrida*	hybrid columbine	X								Variety unknown
Arabis alpina	alpine rock cress	X	X						pink, white	
Aster amellus 'Chorister'	Chorister aster						X		white	Also known as *Symphyotrichum novi-belgii*
Aster amellus 'Cr. Brocade'	Cr. Brocade aster						X		purple, red	Also known as *Symphyotrichum novi-belgii*

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Aster amellus 'Eventide'	Eventide aster						X		lavender, blue	Also known as *Symphyotrichum novi-belgii*
Aster 'Amos Perry'	New England Aster, Hardy Aster, Michaelmas Daisy			X					pink	
Aster 'Beauty'	Beauty hardy aster	X								Species and details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Beauty Colwall'	Beauty of Colwall hardy aster	X							blue	
Aster 'Beauty of Ransdale'	Beauty of Ransdale hardy aster	X								Species and details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Bertha Cobett'	Bertha Cobbett hardy aster	X								Species and details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Candida'	Candida hardy aster		X						white	Also known as *Aster novi-belgii* 'Candida'
Aster 'Climax'	Climax hardy aster	X	X	X					blue, lavender, purple	Also known as *Symphyotrichum novi-belgii* 'Climax'
Aster 'Collarette Rose'	Collarette Rose hardy aster	X	X	X					pink	*Aster novi-belgii* cultivar
Aster 'Colwall Pink'	Cornwall Pink hardy aster	X							pink	
Aster 'Delight'	Delight hardy aster	X							white	Also known as *Aster vimineus* 'Delight'
Aster 'Edna Mercie'	Edna Mercie hardy aster		X						red	*Aster novi-belgii* cultivar
Aster 'Elsie Perry'	Elise Perry hardy aster		X						pink	
Aster 'Enda Mercia'	Edna Mercia hardy aster	X							red	Species unknown, possibly *Aster novi-belgii*
Aster ericoides 'Lovely'	Lovely Michaelma's daisy	X							pink	
Aster 'Esther'	Esther hardy aster	X	X						pink	Also known as *Aster ericoides* 'Esther'
Aster 'Feltham Blue'	Feltham Blue hardy aster	X	X	X					blue, lavender, purple	Hardy asters also known as *Symphyotrichum novae-angliae*

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Aster 'Francis Sands'	Francis Sands hardy aster	X								Species and details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'George Arends'	George Arends hardy aster		X							Details of cultivar unknown
Aster giganteus	Siberian aster	X	X	X					violet, lavender	Also known as *Eurybia sibirica*, *Aster richardsonii* var. *giganteus*, and *Aster sibiricus* var. *giganteus*
Aster 'Glory of Colwall'	Glory of Colwall hardy aster	X							pink	
Aster 'Grace Darling'	Grace Darling hardy aster		X							Details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'H. C. Merrix'	H.C. Merrix hardy aster	X								Species and details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Hilda Morris'	Hilda Morris hardy aster	X	X						blue	Species unknown
Aster 'Ideal'	Ideal hardy aster	X	X							Detials of cultivar unknown
Aster 'King of Belguim'	King of Belgium hardy aster	X							gray blue	
Aster laevis 'Collarette'	Collarette smooth aster			X						Details of cultivar unknown
Aster laevis 'Harvardi'	smooth aster		X	X					lavender, purple	Also known as *Symphyotrichum laeve*, *Aster steelorum*, and *Aster falcidens*
Aster laevis var. *pulcherrimus*	Pulcherrimus smooth aster			X					lavender	
Aster 'Luster'	Luster hardy aster	X	X	X						Also known as 'Lustre', details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Madame Gonaschault'	Madame Gonschault hardy aster	X	X							Details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Mensa'	Mensa hardy aster	X								Species and details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Mesa Grande'	Mesa Grande hardy aster		X						blue, purple	Also known as *Aster* Mesa Grande *speciosa grandiflora*
Aster 'Mons'	Mons hardy aster	X							lavender	
Aster 'Mrs. D. Mitchell'	Mrs. D. Mitchell hardy aster	X								Species and details of cultivar unknown

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Aster 'Mrs. Frank Penn'	Mrs. Frank Penn hardy aster	X							pink	
Aster 'Mrs. Twimham'	Mrs. Twimham hardy aster		X							Details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Mrs. Walkind'	Mrs. Walkind hardy aster	X								Species and details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Mrs. Willmott'	Mrs. Willmott aster	X		X						Details of cultivar unknown
Aster multiflorus	white prairie aster		X						white	
Aster 'Nana'	Nana hardy aster	X	X							Details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Nana Coma'	Nana Coma hardy aster		X							Details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Nancy'	Nancy aster	X	X							Species and details of cultivar unknown
Aster novae-angliae	New England aster	X		X					lavender, purple	Many varieties exist
Aster pauciflorus 'Gracillimus'	Gracillimus alkali marsh aster	X	X	X					purple, violet	Also known as *Almutaster pauciflorus*
Aster 'Peggy Ballad'	Peggy Ballard hardy aster	X	X						lilac	
Aster 'Perry's Fav.'	Perry's Favorite hardy aster	X							pink	Species unknown
Aster 'Perry's Pink'	Perry's Pink hardy aster		X						pink	
Aster 'Pezioja'	Pezioja hardy aster		X							Details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Roycroft Purple'	Roycroft Purple hardy aster	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Saturn'	Saturn hardy aster	X	X	X					lavender, purple	
Aster sp.	aster species							X	pink	Species unknown
Aster 'St. Egwin'	St. Egwin aster	X	X	X					pink	
Aster 'Thomp. Nana'	Thomp. Nana hardy aster		X							Details of cultivar unknown
Aster 'Thompson'	Thompsons hardy aster	X	X						lavender, purple	Also known as *Aster thompsonii*
Aster vimineus var. *perfectus*	willowy starwort		X						white	
Aster 'W. Marshall'	W. Marshall hardy aster	X							mauve/ pink	Species unknown

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Aster 'White Queen'	White Queen hardy aster			X					white	Hardy asters also known as *Symphyotrichum novae-angliae*
Aster 'William Marshall'	William Marshall Michaelmas daisy		X						mauve	
Aster'Miss Willmott'	Miss Willmott hardy aster		X							Details of cultivar unknown
Astilbe 'Brunhilde'	Brunhide astilbe			X					pink	
Astilbe chinensis 'Pumila'	Pumila meadowsweet						X		pink	
Astilbe 'Salmon Queen'	Salmon Queen astilbe	X	X	X						Also known as *Astilbe* x *arendsii*
Astilbe sp.	astilbe species	X								Species unknown
Astilbe x *arendsii* 'Deutschland'	Deutschland meadowsweet						X		white	
Astilbe x *arendsii* 'Fanal'	Fanal meadowsweet						X		red	
Astilbe x *arendsii* 'Rhineland'	Rhineland meadowsweet						X		pink	
Athyrium filix-femina	lady fern							X		
Azalea mucronatum	azalea						X		pink, red, white	Also known as *Rhododendron mucronatum*
Baptisia australis	false indigo							X	purple	
Baptisia sp.	false indigo	X	X							Species unknown
Begonia grandis subsp. *evansiana*	hardy begonia							X	white/ pink	
Berberis thunbergii	Japanese barberry			X					yellow	
Bignonia radicans	trumpet creeper					X			red, orange, yellow	Also known as *Campsis radicans*
Boltonia asteriodes	false aster	X	X	X				X	white	
Boltonia latisquama	false aster	X	X	X					purple	Also known as *Boltonia asteriodes* var. *latisquama*
Buddleia asiatica	Asian butterfly bush			X					white	
Buddleia davidii	butterfly bush (standard)	X	X				X	X	purple	
Buddleja alternifolia	alternate-leaved butterfly-bush (shrub)							X	purple	

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Buxus microphyla var. *japonica* 'Morris Dwarf'	Morris Dwarf boxwood (shrub)							X		
Buxus sempervirens	American boxwood (shrub)						X	X		
Buxus sp.	boxwood species	X	X	X			X			Species unknown
Calendula sp.	marigold species	X	X							Species unknown
Campanula carpatica	Carpathian harebell	X	X						purple	
Campanula garganica 'Major'	Adriatic bellflower						X		blue	
Campanula medium	Canterbury bells	X	X	X					blue, white	
Campanula persicifolia	peach-leaf bellflower	X							blue, violet, lavender, purple, white	
Campanula rotundifolia 'Olympica'	Olympica bluebell						X		blue	
Canna x *generalis*	canna lily							X	red	
Caryopteris × *clandonensis*	bluebeard							X	blue	
Cedrus sp.	cedar	X								Species unknown
Centaurea montana	centaurea							X	blue	
Centaurea sp.	centaurea species	X								Species unknown, *Centaurea* is in the Aster Family
Cerastium tomentosum	snow-in-summer	X	X				X		white	
Ceratostigma plumbaginoides	Plumbago, Leadwort, Hardy Blue Plumbago						X		blue	Also known as *Plumbago larpentae*
Chrysanthemum 'A. Barham'	A. Barham chrysanthemum				X				bronze	
Chrysanthemum 'Anna L. Moran'	Anna L. Moran chrysanthemum				X				scarlet	
Chrysanthemum 'Artemis'	Artemis chrysanthemum				X				rosy lilac	
Chrysanthemum 'Beatrice'	Beatrice chrysanthemum				X					Possibly 'Beatrice May'
Chrysanthemum 'Bronze Buckingham'	Bronze Buckingham chrysanthemum		X		X				bronze	
Chrysanthemum 'Charolette Ware'	Charlotte Ware chrysanthemum				X					Details of cultivar unknown

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Chrysanthemum 'Chas. Jolly'	Charles Jolly chrysanthemum				X				pink	
Chrysanthemum 'Connie Dick'	Connie Dick chrysanthemum				X				yellow	
Chrysanthemum 'Crawfordia'	Crawfordia chrysanthemum				X					Details of cultivar unknown
Chrysanthemum 'Debutante'	Debutante chrysanthemum		X							Details of cultivar unknown
Chrysanthemum 'Firelight'	Firelight chrysanthemum				X				bronze	
Chrysanthemum 'Helois'	Helois chrysanthemum				X					Details of cultivar unknown
Chrysanthemum 'Hortense Malgat'	Hortense Malgat chrysanthemum				X				pink	
Chrysanthemum 'Klondyke'	Klondyke chrysanthemum				X				yellow	
Chrysanthemum 'Lilian Betty'	Lilian Betty chrysanthemum		X							Details of cultivar unknown
Chrysanthemum 'Lilian Doty'	Lilian Doty chrysanthemum	X			X				white, gray	
Chrysanthemum 'Marie Totty'	Marie Totty chrysanthemum	X			X				red	
Chrysanthemum 'Minty'	Minty chrysanthemum	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Chrysanthemum 'Mrs. Buckingham'	Mrs. Buckingham chrysanthemum	X	X		X				pink	
Chrysanthemum 'Mrs. Chester Robinson'	Mrs. Chester Robinson chrysanthemum				X				pink	
Chrysanthemum 'Mrs. Dean Emery'	Mrs. Dean Emery chrysanthemum				X				pink	
Chrysanthemum 'Mrs. Harrison Craig'	Mrs. Harrison Craig chrysanthemum				X				yellow	
Chrysanthemum 'Mrs. Vincent'	Mrs. Vincent chrysanthemum				X				maroon	
Chrysanthemum 'Nellie Blake'	Nellie Blake chrysanthemum				X				red	
Chrysanthemum 'Nellie Kleris'	Nellie Kleris chrysanthemum				X				white, gray	Improved version of Lilian Doty

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Chrysanthemum 'Nelma Putnam'	Nelma Putnam chrysanthemum				X				pink	
Chrysanthemum 'Portia'	Portia chrysanthemum				X				red	
Chrysanthemum 'Rena'	Rena chrysanthemum				X					Details of cultivar unknown
Chrysanthemum 'Source d'Or'	Source d'Or chrysanthemum				X				yellow ("Old Gold"), orange, red	
Chrysanthemum 'Susquehanna'	Susquehanna chrysanthemum				X					Details of cultivar unknown
Chrysanthemum 'Thelma'	Thelma chrysanthemum				X					Details of cultivar unknown
Chrysanthemum 'Tints of Gold'	Tints of Gold chrysanthemum				X				yellow	
Chrysanthemum 'Wiginga'	Wiginga chrysanthemum	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Chrysanthemum 'William Westlake'	William Westlake chrysanthemum				X				yellow, red	
Chrysanthemum x *rubellum* 'C. Curtis'	Clara Curtis daisy						X		pink	Also known as *Dendranthema x rubellum*
Chrysanthemum x *rubellum* 'Clara Curtis'	Sheffield daisy							X	pink	
Chrysanthemum 'Yellow Advance'	Yellow Advance chrysanthemum				X				yellow	
Chrysanthemum 'Yellow Pompom'	Yellow Pompom chrysanthemum				X				yellow	
Clematis cearulea	solitary clematis	X	X						blue, violet	Also known as *Clematis integrifolia*
Clematis 'Henry'	Henry clematis					X			white	
Clematis 'Jackmanii'	Jackmanii clematis					X			purple	
Clematis 'Ramona'	Ramona clematis					X			blue, violet, lavender	
Clematis terniflora	sweet autumn clematis					X			white	Particularly fragrant, also known as *Clematis paniculata*
Cleome x *hybrida*	hybrid spiderflower							X	pink	
Clethra alnifolia	sweet pepperbush							X	white	

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Convallaria majalis	lily-of-the-valley	X	X				X	X	pink, white	
Cornus florida	flowering dogwood (tree)						X	X	white, pink	
Cornus sp.	dogwood species (tree or shrub)						X			Species unknown
Cosmos sp.	cosmos	X	X	X					white	Species unknown
Cynara cardunculus	cardoon							X	purple	
Dahlia sp.	dahlia species	X	X	X						Species unknown
Daphne sp.	daphne species	X	X							Species unknown
Delairea odorata	German ivy	X	X						bright yellow	
Delphinium belladonna	Belladonna delphinium			X					blue, violet, white	
Delphinium belladonna 'Cliveden Beauty'	Cliveden Beauty larkspur						X		blue	
Delphinium 'Newport'	Newport larkspur	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Delphinium sp.	larkspur species	X	X					X	purple	
Delphinium x *hybrida*	hybrid delphinium			X						Variety unknown
Dianthus barbatus	sweet William	X	X	X					pink, red, white	
Dianthus deltoides	maiden pink	X	X						pink, red, white	
Dianthus 'Miss Simpkins'	Miss Simpkins pink	X	X							Details of cultivar unknown
Dianthus plumarius	cottage pink	X	X						pink, rose, magenta, fuchsia, red, white	
Dianthus plumarius 'Sp. Beaut.'	garden pink						X		pink	Likely 'Spring Beauty'
Dicentra sp.	bleeding heart							X		Species unknown
Dictamnus alba	gasplant			X			X		pink, white	Also known as *Dictamnus fraxinella*
Dictamnus sp.	burning bush	X	X							Species unknown
Dictimus alba 'Rubra'	Rubra gasplant						X		pink, white	
Dielytra eximea	fringed bleeding heart	X	X						pink, red	Now known as *Dicentra eximia*

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Dielytra spectabilis	bleeding heart		X						pink, white	Also known as *Dicentra spectabilis* and *Lamprocapnos spectabilis*
Digitalis grandiflora (*ambigua*)	foxglove						X	X	yellow	
Digitalis sp.	foxglove species			X					white	Species unknown
Digitalis sp.	foxglove species	X	X							Species unknown
Echinops humilis	globe thistle							X	blue	
Eremurus sp.	foxtail lily	X								Species unknown
Euonymus fortunei var. *radicans*	wintercreeper					X			white	
Eupatorium asteroides	snakeroot		X							
Eupatorium coelestinum	hardy ageratum	X	X						blue-violet	Also known as *Conoclinium coelestinum*
Evolvulus glomeratus 'Blue Daze'	Blue Daze evolvutus							X	blue	
Ficus sp.	sugar fig	X								Species unknown
Forsythia suspensa	weeping forsythia					X			yellow	Trained
Funkia grandiflora	fragrant plantain lily	X								Also known as *Hosta plantaginea*
Funkia sp.	hosta species		X							Species unknonwn, now known as *Hosta* sp.
Galax sp.	wandplant	X	X							Species unknown
Gardenia florida	gardenia		X						white, cream	Now known as *Gardenia jasminoides*
Gelsemium sempervirens	Yellow Jasmine					X			yellow	
Gladiolus 'America'	America gladiolus	X	X	X					pink	
Gladiolus 'Halley'	Halley gladiolus			X					yellow, white	
Gladiolus hybrida	hybrid gladiolus						X			
Gladiolus 'Loveliness'	Lovliness gladiolus	X		X					pink	
Gladiolus 'Niagara'	Niagara gladiolus	X							yellow	
Gladiolus oppositiflorus	gladiolus							X	red	
Gladiolus oppositiflorus 'White Prosperity'	White Prosperity gladiola							X	white	

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Gladiolus 'Panama'	Panama gladiolus	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Gladiolus 'Peace'	Peace gladiolus			X						Details of cultivar unknown
Gladiolus 'Pink Perfection'	Pink Perfection gladiolus	X		X					pink	
Gladiolus sp.	gladiolus							X	white/ pink	Species unknown
Gladiolus 'Yellow Hammer'	Yellow Hammer gladiolus			X					yellow	
Gymnocladus dioicus	Kentucky coffee tree						X			
Gypsophila paniculata 'Perfecta'	Perfecta baby's breath						X	X	white	
Gypsophila paniculata 'Pink Fairy'	Pink Fairy baby's breath						X	X	light pink	
Hedera helix	English ivy	X	X			X	X	X		
Heliotropium sp.	royal heliotrope		X							Species unknown
Hemerocallis 'Beautiful Morning'	Beautiful Morning daylily						X	X	cream/ orchid	
Hemerocallis 'Catherine Woodbury'	Catherine Woodbury daylily						X		pink	Also known as 'Catherine Woodbery'
Hemerocallis 'Chicago Cameo'	Chicago Cameo daylily						X		pink	
Hemerocallis flava	daylily			X					yellow	Also known as *Hemerocallis lilioasphodelus*
Hemerocallis 'Hyperion'	Hyperion daylily						X	X	canary yellow	
Hemerocallis 'Mary Todd'	Mary Todd daylily						X	X	yellow	
Hemerocallis 'Meadow Mist'	Meadow Mist daylily						X	X	soft pink/ orange	
Hemerocallis sp.	daylily species							X	peach with yellow throat	Species unknown
Hemerocallis sp.	daylily species							X	soft yellow with ruffled petal	Species unknown
Hemerocallis sp.	daylily species							X	yellow/ char-treuse throat	Species unknown
Hemerocallis sp.	daylily species	X	X				X	X		Species unknown

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Hemerocallis 'Stella de Oro'	Stella de Oro daylily							X	yellow-gold	
Hemerocallis thunbergii	Thunberg's daylily		X						yellow	
Heterotheca subaxillaris	camphorweed							X	gold	
Heuchera 'Melting Fire'	Melting Fire coral bells							X	red	
Heuchera sanguinea	coral bells	X	X					X	pink, red, white	
Hibiscus syriacus / Althaea elegans	Rose of Sharon (standard)	X	X				X	X	pink, purple, white	
Hibiscus syriacus 'Admiral Dewey'	Admiral Dewey Rose of Sharon		X						white	
Hosta 'Albo Marginata'	Albo Marginata plantain lily						X		lavender	Also known as *Hosta fortune*i 'Albomarginata'
Hosta clausa 'Normalis'	hosta							X	purple	
Hosta lancifolia	narrow-leaved hosta	X		X						
Hosta minor/ Funkia minor	small hosta	X	X							
Hosta plantaginea 'Grandiflora'	fragrant plantain lily		X						white	Also known as *Funkia grandiflora*
Hosta sieboldiana	plantain lily							X	white	
Hosta sieboldiana 'Big John'	Big John hosta							X	lavender	
Hosta sieboldiana 'Green Fountain'	Green Fountain hosta							X	lavender	
Hosta sp.	plantain lily species						X			Species unknown
Hyacinthoides hispanica	wood hyacinth							X	blue/ purple	
Hydrangea anomala subsp. *petiolaris*	climbing hydrangea					X			white	
Hylotelephium spectabile 'Autumn Joy'	Autumn Joy sedum							X	pink	
Iberis sempervirens	candytuft	X	X				X		white	Also known as *Iberis commutata*
Ilex glabra 'Compacta'	inkberry holly							X		
Ilex sp.	holly species (tree)	X	X							Species unknown
Ilex verticillata	winterberry holly							X	red berries	

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Iris ensata	Japanese iris	X	X						purple, blue	
Iris 'German'	German iris	X	X							Details of cultivar unknown, possibly *Iris germanica*
Iris germanica	German iris	X							blue, violet, white	
Iris kaempferi	Japanese Iris						X		blue, purple	Also known as *Iris ensata*
Iris orientalis	golden iris		X						white	Also known as *Iris ochroleuca*
Iris pallida var. *dalmatica*	Dalmatian iris	X	X	X					blue	
Iris pumila	pygmy iris	X	X						yellow, blue, violet, white	
Iris sibirica	Siberian iris		X				X	X	blue	
Iris sibirica 'Snow Queen'	Snow Queen Siberian iris						X		white	
Iris sp.	iris species	X	X	X						Species unknown
Iris tectorum	Japanese root iris						X		blue, violet, lavender, white	
Iris tectorum 'Alba'	Japanese root iris						X		white	Also known as 'Album'
Iris x *germanica* 'New Moon'	New Moon German iris						X		yellow	
Iris x *hybrida*	bearded iris							X		Variety unknown
Jasmine nudiflora [sic, n*udiflorum*]	winter jasmine	X							yellow	
Jasminum officinale	common jasmine					X			white	
Juniperus sp.	juniper species	X								Species unknown
Juniperus virginiana	eastern red-cedar (tree)							X		
Juniperus virginiana var. *pseudocupressus*	red cedar (tree)						X			
Lantana camara	lantana							X	pink/ orange	
Lantana camara	lantana							X	white	
Lantana camara	lantana							X	yellow	

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Lavendula angustifolia	lavender							X	lavender	
Lavendula officinalis	lavender						X			Also known as *Lavandula angustifolia*
Leucothoe sp.	leucothoe species	X	X							Species unknown, likely *Leucothoe fontanesiana*
Ligustrum amurense	privet (shrub)							X		
Lilium candidum	Madonna lily	X	X	X			X		white	
Lilium 'Candlelight'	Candlelight lily						X			May refer to *Hemerocallis* 'Candleight and Cabernet'
Lilium 'Casa Blanca'	oriental lily							X	white	
Lilium 'Hyperion'	Hyperion lily						X			May refer to *Hemerocallis* 'Hyperion'
Lilium 'My Hope'	My Hope lily						X			May refer to *Hemerocallis* 'My Hope'
Lilium regalis [sic, *regale*]	regal lily	X	X						white, pink	
Lilium regalis [sic, *regale*] var. *album*	white regal lily	X							white	Details of cultivar unknown, may be *Lilium speciosum* var. *album* (oriental lily)
Lilium sp.	lily species	X	X							Species unknown
Lilium speciosum	Japanese lily	X							pink, white	
Lilium speciosum var. *album*	white Japanese lily	X							white	
Lilium speciosum var. *rubrum*	red Japanese show lily	X							pink, purple, white	
Linum usitatissimum	flax	X	X							
Lonicera japonica 'Halliana'	Hall's honeysuckle					X			yellow	
Lonicera sempervirens	trumpet honeysuckle					X			red, yellow	
Lupinus sp.	lupine species	X	X					X		Species unknown
Lychnis coronaria 'Alba'	catchfly							X	white	
Lycoris sp.	lycoris							X	pink	Species unknown
Magnolia sp.	magnolia species (tree)	X	X							Species unknown

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Malus sp.	crabapple (tree)		X							Species unknown
Malus x *domestica* 'Winesap'	Winesap crabapple (tree)						X	X		
Malva sp.	mallow							X	pink	Species unknown
Mertensia virginica	Virgina bluebell		X	X			X	X	pink, blue, violet/ lavender	Also known as *Mertensia pulmonarioides*
Mirabilis jalapa	four-o'clock							X	white, pink	
Muscari armeniacum	grape hyacinth							X	purple	
Myosotis palustris / scorpioides	forget-me-not						X		blue	Also known as *Myosotis scorpioides* and *Myosotis palustris*
Myriophyllum aquaticum	parrot feather							X		
Narcissus 'Mrs. Langtry'	Mrs. Langtry daffodil	X							yellow, white	
Narcissus pseudonarcissus	daffodil							X	yellow	
Narcissus sp.	daylily species	X	X				X			Species unknown
Nepeta mussinii	catmint						X		blue, violet, white	Also known as *Nepeta* x *faassenii* and *Nepeta racemosa*
Nymphaea 'Charlene Strawn'	Charlene Strawn hardy water lily							X	yellow	
Nymphaea 'Helvola'	Helvola hardy water lily							X	yellow	
Nymphaea 'Rose Arey'	Rose Arey hardy water lily							X	red	
Oenothera macrocarpa	evening primrose							X	canary yellow	
Oenothera missouriensis	evening primrose						X		yellow	
Oenothera sp.	evening primrose	X	X	X						Species unknown
Oxalis sp.	shamrock species							X		Species unknown
Pachysandra terminalis	Japanese spurge						X			
Paeonia lactiflora	common garden peony							X	pale yellow	
Paeonia lactiflora 'Krinkled White'	Krinkled White peony						X		white	
Paeonia lactiflora 'Minnie Shaylor'	Minnie Shaylor peony						X		white	

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Paeonia lactiflora 'Mrs. F.D. Roosevelt'	Mrs. F.D. Roosevelt peony						X		pink	
Paeonia lactiflora 'Sarah Bernhardt'	Sarah Bernhardt peony						X		pink	
Paeonia officinalis 'Age of Gold'	Age of Gold tree peony						X			
Paeonia officinalis 'Harvest'	Harvest tree peony						X			
Paeonia officinalis 'Honeygold'	Honeygold tree peony						X			Details of cultivar unknown
Paeonia suffruticosa	tree peony							X	pale yellow	
Paeonia suffruticosa	tree peony	X	X	X						
Papaver alpinum	alpine poppies	X	X						white, yellow	
Papaver nudicaule	Iceland poppy	X	X						orange, yellow, white	
Papaver orientale	Oriental poppy	X	X						orange, red	
Papaver sp.	poppy	X								Species unknown
Petunia sp.	petunia (annual)						X			Species unknown
Petunia x *hybrida*	wave petunia (spreading)							X	purple	
Petunia x *hybrida*	wave petunia (spreading)							X	white	
Philadelphus coronarius	mockorange							X	white	
Philadelphus x *virginalis*	mock orange (tree or shrub)						X		white	
Phlox 'Crepuscule'	Crepuscle phlox			X						Details of cultivar unknown
Phlox 'Evanamant'	Evanament phlox			X						Details of cultivar unknown
Phlox 'Ezarina'	Ezarina phloz			X						Details of cultivar unknown
Phlox 'La Solier'	La Solier phlox			X						Details of cultivar unknown
Phlox 'Merrill'	Merrill phlox			X						Details of cultivar unknown
Phlox paniculata	phlox							X		
Phlox paniculata 'B. Symons-Jeune'	B. Symons-Jeune garden phlox						X	X	rose pink	
Phlox paniculata 'Bright Eyes'	Bright Eyes garden phlox						X	X	soft pink	

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Phlox paniculata 'Fairy's Petticoat'	Fairy's Petticoat garden phlox						X	X	soft pink	
Phlox paniculata 'Mount Fujiyama'	Mount Fujiyama garden phlox							X	clear white	
Phlox paniculata 'Mt. Fujiyama'	Mt. Fujiyama garden phlox						X		white	
Phlox paniculata 'White Admiral'	White Admiral garden phlox						X	X	white	
Phlox 'Pink Beauty'	Pink Beauty phlox			X					pink	
Phlox 'Saison Lierrel'	Saison Lierrel phlox			X						Details of cultivar unknown
Phlox sp.	phlox							X	pink eye	Species unknown
Phlox sp.	phlox							X	white and pink	Species unknown
Phlox subulata	creeping phlox	X	X						magenta, fuchsia, violet/ lavender, white	
Physostegia virginiana	obedient plant							X	blue	
Picea sp.	spruce species (tree)						X			Species unknown
Pieris sp.	andromeda species	X	X							Species unknown
Platanus occidentalis	American sycamore (tree)							X		
Plumbago auriculata	cape leadwort							X	white	
Polemonium reptans 'Stairway to Heaven'	Stairway to Heaven Jacob's ladder							X	purple	
Portulaca grandiflora	moss rose	X	X						pink, red, orange, pale yellow, white	
Primula sp.	primrose	X								Species unknown
Primula vulgaris	primrose	X	X							Cultivar unknown
Prunus 'Abundance'	Abundance plum	X								Species unknown
Prunus armeniaca 'Moorpark'	Moorpark apricot (tree)	X							pink, white	
Prunus glandulosa 'Rosea Plena'	pink flowering almond			X					pink	
Prunus lusitanica	Portugal laurel		X						white	
Prunus persica 'Mayflower'	Mayflower peach	X							pink	
Prunus serrulata 'Kwanzan'	Kwanzan cherry (tree)						X	X	pink	

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Prunus sp.	flowering cherry (tree)		X							Species unknown
Pulmonaria saccharata	lungwort							X	pink to blue	
Pulmonaria sp.	lungwort species	X	X							Species unknown
Pyrethrum hybridum	hybrid chrysanthemum	X								Now known as *Chrysanthemum* x
Pyrethrum roseum 'Roseum'	pyrethrum daisy		X						pink, red, white	Also known as *Chrysanthemum coccineum*
Pyrethrum uliginosum	giant daisy			X					white	Pyrethrum now classified as *Chrysanthemum.* Also known as *Leucanthemella serotina*, *Chrysanthemum uliginosum*, and *Chrysanthemum serotinum*
Pyrus japonica [sic, *Pieris japonica*]	Japanese andromeda	X							white	
Rhododendron hybridum	hybrid rhododendron	X	X							Variety unknown
Rhododendron sp.	rhododendron species	X								Species unknown
Rhododendron x	hybrid azalea (shrub)							X	pink	
Robinia sp.	locust species (tree)	X	X							Species unknown, likely *Robinia pseudoacacia*
Rosa 'Agnes'	Agnes rose						X	X	yellow	Hybrid rugosa, shrub rose
Rosa 'Alchemist'	Alchemist rose						X	X	apricot	Rambler
Rosa 'Alfred de Dalmas'	Alfred de Dalmas rose						X	X	soft pink	Also known as 'Alfred de Dalmas', Moss Rose
Rosa 'Aviateur Blériot'	Aviateur Blériot rose					X		X	apricot/ yellow	Hybrid wichuriana
Rosa 'Christine Wright'	Christine Wright rose	X	X			X			pink	Hybrid wichuriana
Rosa 'Danty Bess'	Danty Bess rose						X		pink	Hybrid tea
Rosa 'Dorothy Perkins'	Dorothy Perkins rose	X	X			X			pink	Hybrid wichuriana
Rosa 'Dr. Van Fleete'	Dr. Van Fleete rose	X	X			X	X	X	pink	Also known as 'Dr. W. Van Fleet', Hybrid wichuriana

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Rosa 'Duchess d'Anerstardt'	Duchess d'Anerstardt rose					X			yellow	
Rosa 'Emily Gray'	Emily Gray rose	X				X			yellow	Hybrid wichuriana
Rosa 'Evangeline'	Evangeline rose					X			pink	Hybrid wichuriana
Rosa foetida	Persian yellow rose	X	X	X					yellow	
Rosa foetida var. *harrisonii*	Harrison's rose	X	X	X					yellow	
Rosa 'Gloire de Dijon'	Glorie de Dijon rose					X	X		pink	Noisette tea
Rosa 'Gruss Anaachen'	Gruss Anaachen rose						X		pink	Hybrid tea
Rosa 'Harrison's Yellow'	Harrison's Yellow rose							X	deep yellow	
Rosa 'Hugonis'	Father Hugo's Rose, Golden Rose of China			X		X	X		yellow	
Rosa 'Kaiserine Augusta Victoria'	Rosa 'Kaiserine Auguste Victoria'					X			pink	Hybrid tea
Rosa 'Lady Ashtown'	Lady Ashtown rose					X			pink	Hybrid tea
Rosa 'Lady Gay'	Lady Gay rose					X			pink	Hybrid wichuriana
Rosa laevigata	Cherokee rose					X			white	
Rosa 'Longwood'	Longwood rose					X			pink	
Rosa 'Los Angeles'	Los Angeles rose	X	X						pink	Hybrid tea
Rosa 'Lucile'	Lucile rose					X			pink	Also known as *Rosa luciae*
Rosa 'Maman Cochet'	Maman Cochet rose					X	X		pink	Tea
Rosa 'Marchal Neil'	Marchal Neil rose					X	X		yellow	Noisette tea
Rosa 'Miss Edith Cavell'	Miss Edith Cavell rose							X	scarlet/ crimson	
Rosa 'Musk'	Musk rose						X			Details of cultivar unknown
Rosa 'Pink Radiance'	Pink Radiance rose							X	soft pink	
Rosa 'Red Radiance'	Red Radiance rose							X	red	
Rosa 'Reine Marie Henrette'	Reine Marie Henriette rose					X			crimson	Hybrid tea
Rosa 'Shower of Gold'	Shower of Gold rose					X			yellow	Hybrid wichuriana
Rosa 'Silver Moon'	Silver Moon rose	X	X			X		X	white	Hybrid wichuriana
Rosa sp.	climbing rose species							X	varies	Species unknown
Rosa 'Tausendschone' [sic, Rosa 'Tausendschön']	Tausendschön rose	X	X			X			pink	Hybrid multiflora
Rosa 'The Fairy'	The Fairy rose							X	pink	

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Rosa 'Thousand Beauties'	Thousand Beauties rose							X	white/ pink	
Rosa 'William Allen Richardson'	William Allen Richardson rose					X			yellow	Noisette tea
Rosa 'Yellow Rambler'	Yellow Rambler rose	X	X						yellow	Hybrid multiflora
Salpiglossis sp.	painted tongue	X							purple, gold	Species unknown, likely *Salpiglossis sinuata*
Salvia azurea	prairie sage			X					blue	
Salvia farinacea	mealy blue sage	X		X				X	blue/ purple	
Salvia farinacea 'Victoria Blue'	Victoria Blue salvia							X	blue/ purple	
Saponaria ocymoides	soapwort						X		pink	
Saponaria officinalis	soapwort							X	pink/ white	
Saxifraga cordifolia	heartleaf bergenia			X						Also known as *Bergenia cordifolia* and *Megasea cordifolia*
Saxifraga sp.	saxifrage species	X	X							Species unknown
Schizanthus sp.	butterfly flower species	X								Species unknown
Sedum sp.	sedum species	X	X							Species unknown
Shortia sp.	Oconee bells species	X	X							Species unknown, likely *Shortia galacifolia*
Solanum lycopersicum	tomato							X	yellow	
Solidago asteraceae	goldenrod							X	bright yellow	
Spiraea "WalMere" [illegible]	spirea species	X								Species illegible
Spiraea elegantissima	spirea		X							Details of species unknown
Spiraea gigantea 'Carnea'	spirea	X	X	X						Details of cultivar unknown, *Spiraea gigantea* typically has white flowers
Spiraea gigantea 'Elegan'	Elegan spirea	X								Details of cultivar unknown, *Spiraea gigantea* typically has white flowers

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Spiraea 'Salland'	spirea or astilbe species	X								Species and details of cultivar unknown, may refer to *Astilbe* 'Salland' since *Astilbe* is also known as false spirea
Spiraea x *vanhouttei*	Vanhoutte spirea						X		white	
Stachys lantana	lamb's ear						X		pink, white, violet, lavender	Also known as *Stachys byzantina* and *Stachys olympia*
Stachys officianalis	lamb's ear							X	purple	
Statice sinuata	statice	X								Also known as *Limonium sinuatum*
Stephanandra flexuosa	laceshrub	X							white, red	
Stephanandra incisa	cutleaf stephanandra						X		white	
Stokesia laevis	Stokes aster							X	purple	
Symphyotrichum laeve 'Bluebird'	Bluebird smooth aster							X	violet blue	
Symphyotrichum novii belgii 'Chorister'	Chorister aster							X	white	
Symphyotrichum sp.	aster species (big leaf)							X	blue	Species unknown
Syringa josikaea	Hungarian lilac		X						blue, purple	
Syringa sp.	lilac species (standard)		X						white	Species unknown
Syringa vulgaris	common lilac (standard)						X	X	violet, lavender	
Syringa vulgaris 'Charles X'	Charles X lilac			X					purple	
Syringa x *hybrida*	hybrid lilac	X								
Taxus baccata	English yew (shrub)		X							
Taxus baccata 'Fastigiata'	upright English yew (shrub)	X								
Taxus sp.	yew species (shrub)	X								Species unknown
Thalictrum dipterocarpum	meadow rue		X						purple	
Thalictrum polygamum	meadow rue	X	X						white	
Thalictrum sp.	meadow rue species			X						Species unknown

Scientific Name	Common Name	Shipman Planting Plan of Flower Border	Shipman Planting Plan of Flower Garden	Shipman Planting Plan of Long Flower Border	Shipman Planting Plan of Chrysanthemum Garden	Shipman Vine and Shrub Plan (March 1922)	1985 Restoration Plans	2014 Existing Conditions Inventory	Bloom Color	Notes
Thermopsis caroliniana	Carolina bushpea	X	X				X		yellow, cream	Also know as *Thermopsis villosa*, *Baptisia villosa*, and *Sophora villosa*
Thermopsis sp.	false lupine			X						Species unknown
Tradescantia virginiana	spiderwort							X	blue/ violet	
Trollious europaeus 'Superbus'	globeflower						X		yellow	
Trollius sp.	globeflower species	X	X	X						Species unknown
Tulipa 'Clara Butt'	Clara Butt tulip	X							pink	
Tulipa 'Darry'	Darry tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Tulipa 'Doris'	Doris tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Tulipa 'Dream'	Dream tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Tulipa 'Ellen Willmott'	Ellen Willmott tulip	X							yellow	
Tulipa 'Inglescom Pink'	Inglescom Pink tulip	X							pink	
Tulipa 'Inglescomb Yellow'	Inglescomb Yellow tulip	X							yellow	
Tulipa 'John Ruskin'	John Ruskin tulip	X							pink	
Tulipa 'La Marreille'	La Marreille tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Tulipa 'La Nere'	La Nere tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Tulipa 'La Roja'	La Roja tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Tulipa 'La Tristesse'	La Tristesse tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Tulipa 'Loveliness'	Lovliness tulip	X							rose	
Tulipa 'Madame Krelage'	Madame Krelage tulip	X							violet	
Tulipa 'May Queen'	May Queen tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Tulipa 'Murillo'	Murillo tulip			X					pink, white	
Tulipa 'Nora Ware'	Nora Ware tulip	X							lavender	
Tulipa 'Northern Beauty'	Northern Beauty tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Tulipa 'Pansy Fairy Queen'	Pansy Fairy Queen tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Tulipa 'Pride of Harlem'	Pride of Harlem tulip	X							Red	

Scientific Name	Common Name	Shipman Planting Plan of Flower Border	Shipman Planting Plan of Flower Garden	Shipman Planting Plan of Long Flower Border	Shipman Planting Plan of Chrysanthemum Garden	Shipman Vine and Shrub Plan (March 1922)	1985 Restoration Plans	2014 Existing Conditions Inventory	Bloom Color	Notes
Tulipa 'Psyche'	Psyche tulip	X							pink	
Tulipa 'Rev. Ewbank'	Rev. Ewbank tulip	X							lavender	
Tulipa sp.	tulip species						X			Species unknown
Tulipa 'Suzon'	Suzon tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
Tulipa 'The Fawn'	The Fawn tulip	X							fawn	
Tulipa 'The Sultan'	The Sultan tulip	X							maroon-black	
Tulipa 'White Queen'	White Queen tulip	X							white	
Tulipa 'William Copeland'	William Copeland tulip	X							blue	
Tulipa 'Yellow Pansies Dream'	Yellow Pansies Dream tulip	X								Details of cultivar unknown
unknown	"Eupatorium aster"	X								Species unknown, *Eupatorium* is in the Aster Family
unknown	"Lilac Jasinea"	X								Species unidentifiable
unknown	"Paria rojea (standard)"		X							Species unknown
unknown	"Standard Parvia"	X								Species unknown
unknown	fern species	X	X							Species unknown
unknown	laurel	X	X							Species unknown, possibly *Prunus lustanica* (Portugal laurel)
unknown	unidentified bulbs	X	X							Species unknown
Veronica 'Icicle'	speedwell						X		white	
Veronica incana	silver speedwell	X	X						violet/ lavender	
Veronica 'Red Fox'	speedwell						X		pink	Possibly Veronica spicata
Veronica repens	speedwell	X	X						blue	
Viburnum dentatum	arrowwood viburnum (shrub)							X	white	
Vinca major	greater periwinkle							X	purple	
Vinca minor	lesser periwinkle						X	X	blue, lavender, white	
Viola sp.	viola species	X	X							Species unknown
Viola tricolor	pansy (annual)						X		yellow, blue, white	

Scientific Name	Common Name	Shipman Planting Plan of Flower Border	Shipman Planting Plan of Flower Garden	Shipman Planting Plan of Long Flower Border	Shipman Planting Plan of Chrysanthemum Garden	Shipman Vine and Shrub Plan (March 1922)	1985 Restoration Plans	2014 Existing Conditions Inventory	Bloom Color	Notes
Virburnum carlesi	Koreanspice virburnum						X		white	
Vitis sp.	grape species							X		Species unknown
Weigela florida 'Alexandra' Wine and Roses™	Wine and Roses weigela (shrub)							X	redish pink	
Weigela sp.	weigela species	X	X				X			Species unknown
Wisteria chinensis	Chinese wisteria						X		violet, lavender	
Wisteria sinensis	wisteria (standard)					X		X	purple	
Wisteria sp.	wisteria (standard)	X	X							Species unknown
Zinnia sp.	zinnia species		X							Species unknown

Appendix B. Core Area Vegetation Inventory

This vegetation inventory documents vegetation growing throughout the core of the Chatham landscape in 2014, excluding vegetation within the Walled Garden Area, which is inventoried in Appendix C. This field inventory was completed by Christopher Beagan, Leslie Bird, and Joe Reudi in summer 2014. Species are keyed to Drawings 9–14.

Key	Scientific Name	Common Name
Woody Vegetation		
Ace ne	*Acer negundo*	box elder
Ace pa	*Acer palmatum*	Japanese maple
Ace pl	*Acer platanoides*	Norway maple
Ace ru	*Acer rubrum*	red maple
Ace sa	*Acer saccharinum*	silver maple
Aes fl	*Aesculus flava*	yellow buckeye
Aes ca	*Aesculus* x *carnea*	red horsechestnut
Ail al	*Ailanthus altissima*	tree of heaven
Alb ju	*Albizia julibrissin*	mimosa
Air sp	*Aralia spinosa*	devil's walkingstick
Bux se	*Buxus sempervirens*	common boxwood
Car ga	*Carya glabra*	pecan
Cas mo	*Castanea mollissima*	Chinese chestnut
Cat bi	*Catalpa bignonioides*	southern catalpa
Ced al	*Cedrus atlantica* 'Glauca'	Blue Atlas cedar
Cel oc	*Celtis occidentalis*	common hackberry
Cer ca	*Cercis canadensis*	eastern redbud
Cun la	*Cunninghamia lanceolata*	Chinese fir
Fag sy	*Fagus sylvatica* 'Purpurea'	purple beech
Fic sp.	*Ficus* species	fig
For in	*Forsythia* x *intermedia*	forsythia
Fra am	*Fraxinus americana*	white ash
Gin bi	*Ginkgo biloba*	ginkgo
Gym di	*Gymnocladus dioicus*	Kentucky coffeetree
Hib sy	*Hibiscus syriacus*	Rose of Sharon
Ile aq	*Ilex aquifolium*	English holly
Ile co	*Ilex cornuta* 'Rotunda'	Chinese holly
Ile op	*Ilex opaca*	American holly
Jug ni	*Juglans nigra*	eastern black walnut
Jun vi	*Juniperus virginiana*	eastern red-cedar
Kal la	*Kalmia latifolia*	mountain laurel
Lag sp.	*Lagerstroemia* species	crape myrtle
Lar sp.	*Larix* species (likely *decidua* or *kaempferi*)	larch
Lig am	*Ligustrum amurense*	privet
Lig ja	*Ligustrum japonicum* 'Recurvifolium'	curled-leaf privet

Key	Scientific Name	Common Name
Liq st	*Liquidambar styraciflua*	sweet gum
Lir tu	*Liriodendron tulipifera*	tulip poplar
Lon sp.	*Lonicera* species	honeysuckle
Mac po	*Maclura pomifera*	osage orange
Mag gr	*Magnolia grandiflora*	southern magnolia
Mal sp.	*Malus species*	apple
Nan do	*Nandina domestica*	nandina
Osm he	*Osmanthus heterophyllus*	holly osmanthus
Phi co	*Philadelphus coronarius*	sweet mockorange
Pic ab	*Picea abies*	Norway spruce
Pin st	*Pinus strobus*	white pine
Pin ta	*Pinus taeda*	loblolly pine
Pla oc	*Platanus occidentalis*	American sycamore
Pru se	*Prunus serotina*	black cherry
Pru Kw	*Prunus serrulata* 'Kwanzan'	Kwanzan cherry
Pru sp.	*Prunus* species	cherry
Pru su	*Prunus subhirtella* 'Pendula'	weeping Higan cherry
Pyr sp.	*Pyrus species*	pear
Que al	*Quercus alba*	white oak
Que pr	*Quercus prinus*	chestnut oak
Que ru	*Quercus rubra*	red oak
Rob ps	*Robinia pseudoacacia*	black locust
Syr sp.	*Syringa* species	lilac
Tax ba	*Taxus baccata*	common yew
Tax me	*Taxus* x *media* 'Hicksii'	Hicksii yew
Thu oc	*Thuja occidentalis*	eastern arborvitae
Til am	*Tilia americana*	American linden
Til co	*Tilia cordata*	small-leaved linden
Tsu ca	*Tsuga canadensis*	eastern hemlock
Wis sp.	*Wisteria* species	wisteria species
Herbaceous Vegetation		
Foe vu	*Foeniculum vulgare*	fennel
Hed he	*Hedera helix*	English ivy
Hem fl	*Hemerocallis fulva*	orange daylily
Hos sp.	*Hosta* species	plantain lily
Iri ge	*Iris germanica*	bearded iris
Pae su	*Paeonia suffruticosa*	garden peony
Sta by	*Stachys byzantina*	lamb's ear
Vin ma	*Vinca major*	greater periwinkle
Vin mi	*Vinca minor*	lesser periwinkle

Appendix C. Walled Garden Vegetation Inventory

This vegetation inventory documents woody and herbaceous vegetation growing in the Walled Garden in 2014. (Plantings outside of the Walled Garden Area are inventoried in Appendix B.) This field inventory was completed by Christopher Beagan, Leslie Bird, and Joe Reudi in summer 2014. Species are keyed to Drawings 10–14.

Key	Scientific Name	Common Name	Bloom Color
Abe gr	*Abelia grandiflora*	glossy abelia	white
Ace ru	*Acer rubrum*	red maple	
Alc ro	*Alcea rosea*	hollyhock	pale yellow
Anc az	*Anchusa azurea* 'Dropmore'	bugloss	deep blue
Ane sp.	*Anemone* sp.	Anemone species	
Ane HJ	*Anenome* 'Honorine Jobert'	Honorine Jobert windflower	white
Ane x	*Anenome* x *hybrida* 'September Charm'	windflower	creamy pink
Aqu vu	*Aquilegia vulgaris*	columbine	purple
Ast P	*Aster* sp.	aster species	pink
Ath fi	*Athyrium filix-femina*	lady fern	
Bap au	*Baptisia australis*	false indigo	purple
Beg gr	*Begonia grandis* subsp. *evansiana*	hardy begonia	white/pink
Bol as	*Boltonia asteroides*	boltonia	white
Bud da	*Buddleia davidii*	butterfly bush	purple
Bud al	*Buddleia alternifolia*	alternate-leaved butterfly-bush	purple
Bux MD	*Buxus microphyla* var. *japonica* 'Morris Dwarf'	Morris Dwarf boxwood	
Bux se	*Buxus sempervirens*	common boxwood	
Can ge	*Canna* x *generalis*	canna lily	red
Car cl	*Caryopteris* × *clandonensis*	bluebeard	blue
Cen mo	*Centaurea montana*	centaurea	blue
Chr ru	*Chrysanthemum* x *rubellum* 'Clara Curtis'	Sheffield daisy	pink
Cle x	*Cleome* x *hybrida*	hybrid spiderflower	pink
Cle al	*Clethra alnifolia*	sweet peperbush	white
Con ma	*Convallaria majalis*	lily-of-the-valley	white
Cor fl	*Cornus florida*	flowering dogwood	white, pink
Cyn ca	*Cynara cardunculus*	cardoon	purple
Del sp.	*Delphinium* sp.	larkspur species	purple
Dic sp.	*Dicentra* sp.	bleeding heart species	white and pink
Dig gr	*Digitalis grandiflora (ambigua)*	pale yellow	pale yellow
Ech hu	*Echinops humilis*	globe thistle	blue
Evo gl	*Evolvulus glomeratus* 'Blue Daze'	Blue Daze evolvutus	blue
Gla op	*Gladiolus oppositiflorus*	gladiola	red
Gla WP	*Gladiolus oppositiflorus* 'White Prosperity'	White Prosperity gladiola	white

Key	Scientific Name	Common Name	Bloom Color
Gla P	*Gladiolus* sp.	gladiola species	white/pink
Gyp P	*Gypsophila paniculata* 'Perfecta'	Perfecta baby's breath	white
Gyp PF	*Gypsophila paniculata* 'Pink Fairy'	Pink Fairy baby's breath	light pink
Hed he	*Hedera helix*	English ivy	
Hem B	*Hemerocallis* 'Beautiful Morning'	Beautiful Morning daylily	cream/orchid
Hem H	*Hemerocallis* 'Hyperion'	Hyperion daylily	canary yellow
Hem MT	*Hemerocallis* 'Mary Todd'	Mary Todd daylily	gold
Hem M	*Hemerocallis* 'Meadow Mist'	Meadow Mist daylily	soft pink/orange
Hem C	*Hemerocallis* sp.	daylily species	yellow/chartreuse throat
Hem P	*Hemerocallis* sp.	daylily species	peach with yellow throat
Hem sp.	*Hemerocallis* sp.	daylily species	
Hem Y	*Hemerocallis* sp.	daylily species	soft yellow with ruffled petal
Hem SO	*Hemerocallis* 'Stella de Oro'	Stella de Oro daylily	yellow-gold
Het su	*Heterotheca subaxillaris*	camphorweed	gold
Heu MF	*Heuchera* 'Melting Fire'	Melting Fire coral bells	red
Heu sa	*Heuchera sanguinea*	coral bells	
Hib sy	*Hibiscus syriacus*	rose of Sharon	pink, purple, white
Hos cl	*Hosta clausa* 'Normalis'	hosta	purple
Hos si	*Hosta sieboldiana*	plantain lily	white
Hos BJ	*Hosta sieboldiana* 'Big John'	Big John hosta	lavender
Hos GF	*Hosta sieboldiana* 'Green Fountain'	Green Fountain hosta	lavender
Hya hi	*Hyacinthoides hispanica*	wood hyacinth	blue/purple
Hyl sp	*Hylotelephium spectabile* 'Autumn Joy'	Autumn Joy sedum	pink
Ile gl	*Ilex glabra* 'Compacta'	inkberry holly	
Ile ve	*Ilex verticillata*	winterberry holly	red berries
Iri si	*Iris sibirica*	Siberian iris	purple
Iri x	*Iris* x *hybrida*	bearded iris	
Jun vi	*Juniperus virginiana*	eastern red-cedar	
Lan ca P	*Lantana camara*	lantana	pink/orange
Lan ca W	*Lantana camara*	lantana	white
Lan ca Y	*Lantana camara*	lantana	yellow
Lav an	*Lavendula angustifolia*	lavender	lavender
Lig am	*Ligustrum amurense*	privet	
Lil CB	*Lilium* 'Casa Blanca'	oriental lily	white
Lup sp.	*Lupinus* sp.	lupine species	
Lyc co	*Lychnis coronaria* 'Alba'	catchfly	white
Lyc sp.	*Lycoris* sp.	lycoris species	pink
Mal do	*Malus* x *domestica* 'Winesap'	Winesap crabapple	
Mal sp.	*Malva* sp.	Mallow species	pink
Mer vi	*Mertensia virginica*	Virginia bluebells	blue
Mir ja	*Mirabilis jalapa*	four-o'clock	white, pink
Mus ar	*Muscari armeniacum*	grape hyacinth	purple
Myr aq	*Myriophyllum aquaticum*	parrot feather	
Nar ps	*Narcissus pseudonarcissus*	daffodil	yellow
Nym C	*Nymphaea* 'Charlene Strawn'	Charlene Straen hardy water lily	yellow
Nym H	*Nymphaea* 'Helvola'	Helvola hardy water lily	yellow

Key	Scientific Name	Common Name	Bloom Color
Nym R	*Nymphaea* 'Rose Arey'	Rose Arey hardy water lily	red
Oen ma	*Oenothera macrocarpa*	evening primrose	canary yellow
Oxa sp.	*Oxalis* sp.	shamrock species	
Pae la	*Paeonia lactiflora*	peony	pale yellow
Pae su	*Paeonia suffruticosa*	tree peony	pale yellow
Pet x P	*Petunia* x *hybrida*	wave petunia (spreading)	purple
Pet x W	*Petunia* x *hybrida*	wave petunia (spreading)	white
Phi co	*Philadelphus coronarius*	mockorange	white
Phl pa	*Phlox paniculata*	phlox	
Phl BS	*Phlox paniculata* 'B. Symons-Jeune'	B. Symons-Jeune garden phlox	rose pink
Phl BE	*Phlox paniculata* 'Bright Eyes'	Bright Eyes garden phlox	soft pink
Phl FP	*Phlox paniculata* 'Fairy's Petticoat'	Fairy's Petticoat garden phlox	soft pink
Phl MF	*Phlox paniculata* 'Mount Fujiyama'	Mount Fujiyama garden phlox	clear white
Phl WA	*Phlox paniculata* 'White Admiral'	White Admiral garden phlox	white
Phl PE	*Phlox* sp.	phlox	pink eye
Phl WP	*Phlox* sp.	phlox	white and pink
Phy vi	*Physostegia virginiana*	obedient plant	blue
Pla oc	*Platanus occidentalis*	American sycamore	
Plu au	*Plumbago auriculata*	cape leadwort	white
Pol re	*Polemonium reptans* 'Stairway to Heaven'	Stairway to Heaven Jacob's ladder	purple
Pru Kw	*Prunus serrulata* 'Kwanzan'	Kwanzan cherry	pink
Pul sa	*Pulmonaria saccharata*	lungwort	pink to blue
Rho x	*Rhododendron* x *hybrida*	hybrid azalea	pink
Ros Ag	*Rosa* 'Agnes'	Agnes rose	pink
Ros A	*Rosa* 'Alchemist'	Alchemist rose	apricot
Ros AD	*Rosa* 'Alfred de Dalmas'	Alfred de Dalmas rose	soft pink
Ros AB	*Rosa* 'Aviateur Bleriot'	Aviateur Bleriot rose	apricot/yellow
Ros VF	*Rosa* 'Dr. W. Van Fleet'	Dr. W. Van Fleet rose	pale pink
Ros HY	*Rosa* 'Harrison's Yellow'	Harrison's Yellow rose	deep yellow
Ros EC	*Rosa* 'Miss Edith Cavell'	Miss Edith Cavell rose	scarlet/crimson
Ros PR	*Rosa* 'Pink Radiance'	Pink Radiance rose	soft pink
Ros RR	*Rosa* 'Red Radiance'	Red Radiance rose	red
Ros SM	*Rosa* 'Silver Moon'	Silver Moon rose	white
Ros cl.	*Rosa* sp.	climbing rose species	varies
Ros TF	*Rosa* 'The Fairy'	The Fairy rose	pink
Ros TB	*Rosa* 'Thousand Beauties'	Thousand Beauties rose	white/pink
Sal fa	*Salvia farinacea*	mealy blue sage	blue/purple
Sal fa V	*Salvia farinacea* 'Victoria Blue'	Victoria Blue salvia	blue/purple
Sap of	*Saponaria officinalis*	soapwort	pink/white
Sol ly	*Solanum lycopersicum*	tomato	yellow
Sol da	*Solidago asteraceae*	goldenrod	bright yellow
Sta of	*Stachys officianalis*	lamb's ear	purple
Sto la	*Stokesia laevis*	Stokes aster	purple
Sym la	*Symphyotrichum laeve* 'Bluebird'	Bluebird smooth aster	violet blue
Sym no	*Symphyotrichum novii belgii* 'Chorister'	Chorister aster	white
Sym sp.	*Symphyotrichum* sp.	aster species (big leaf)	blue

Key	Scientific Name	Common Name	Bloom Color
Syr vu	*Syringa vulgaris*	common lilac	purple
Tra vi	*Tradescantia virginiana*	spiderwort	blue/violet
Vib de	*Viburnum dentatum*	arrowwood viburnum	white
Vin ma	*Vinca major*	greater periwinkle	purple
Vin mi	*Vinca minor*	lesser periwinkle	purple
Vit sp.	*Vitis* sp.	grape species	
Wei fl	*Weigela florida* 'Alexandra' Wine and Roses™	Wine and Roses weigela	redish pink
Wis si	*Wisteria sinensis*	wisteria	purple

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