LAND USE HISTORY
FOR
MARSH-BILLINGS
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK



PREPARED FOR THE
DIVISION OF PLANNING

BY THE
DIVISION OF CULTURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE PROGRAM
OLMSTED CENTER FOR LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION



NORTH ATLANTIC REGION
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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North Atlantic Region
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LAND USE HISTORY

MARSH-BILLINGS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Introduction

This report, and the maps and photographs which accompany it, has been prepared for the Planning Division, North Atlantic Region, National Park Service. It is intended to provide information on the land use history of the new Marsh-Billings National Historical Park necessary for the preparation of the park's General Management Plan. Established in 1992, Marsh-Billings NHP is the first National Park in the State of Vermont. As stated in the enabling legislation, the purpose of the park is to "interpret the history and evolution of conservation stewardship in the United States and to recognize and interpret the contributions of George Perkins Marsh, Frederick Billings, and Laurance Rockefeller." The goal of this report is to document the changing land use at this site during its ownership by these three unique individuals and their families. For the purposes of this report the history of the site has been broken into four periods: Pre-Marsh (antiquity to 1789); Marsh period (1789-1869); Billings period (1869-1914); and the Billings Heirs/Rockefeller period (1914-1992).

This report consists of three primary sections. **Part One** highlights the conservation philosophies of three men: George Perkins Marsh, Frederick Billings, and Laurance Rockefeller. This summary is drawn in large part from the work of David Donath, Director of the Billings Farm & Museum. It is intended to provide some historical context for the development of the property. **Part Two** contains a brief history of the landscape, divided into the four historic periods described above. The narrative text is accompanied by a selection of historic photographs, plans, and drawings. Three "period plans" have been developed and included at the scale of 1" ≡ 800' to illustrate changes in ownership, property boundaries and overall organization. **Part Three,** is a small section which analyzes the apparent integrity of the landscape for the Marsh, Billings and Rockefeller periods and discusses the potential significance of the landscape. Recommendations for further landscape research, inventory, and analysis are also included here to assist the planning team with future work.

Sources Consulted

In an effort to provide the General Management Plan team with information in a timely fashion, the preparation of this report has made use of secondary source material, especially with regard to the tenure of the Marsh family. This report is not intended to provide a comprehensive site history, as is found in a Cultural Landscape Report, but instead represents a distillation of the information currently available, aimed at providing the planning team with sufficient site information to effectively plan for the future of Vermont's first National Park unit.

The best source for information on land use, up to the time of acquisition by Frederick Billings, is Henry Swan Dana's *History of Woodstock, Vermont.* This book was commissioned and published by Frederick Billings in 1889. Dana was a native of the Woodstock area, born in 1823. While the *History of Woodstock* should be clearly recognized as the work of a local historian drawing on the resources available to him in the nineteenth century, Dana provides a remarkably comprehensive picture of Woodstock over several generations in this one massive volume.

The Billings Library at the University of Vermont in Burlington houses the papers of George Perkins Marsh, purchased and donated to the University by Frederick Billings in 1882. Due to the abbreviated schedule of this project, the Marsh papers were not consulted. However, research librarians familiar with this collection were consulted over the telephone. Through this consultation a diagram of farm buildings during the Marsh tenure, c.1855 was obtained for use in this report. This large collection contains much of Marsh's correspondence, and may in the course of future research provide greater insight into the character and management of the park property during its ownership by the Marsh family.

The Billings Family Archives located in the Billings Mansion and the Billings Farm & Museum in Woodstock provides a great deal of primary source material pertaining to both the Billings period of ownership (1869-1914) and the Billings Heirs/Rockefeller period of ownership (1814-1992). This material includes survey maps, landscape design drawings, and historic photographs. The most notable of these materials is a comprehensive set of survey maps executed by Hosea Doton and others between 1887-1894. This set of maps documents the acquisition and modification of land and structures from 1887-94, with notations referring to the transfer of property as late as 1951. The Billings Family Archives also includes an extensive quantity of written primary source materials, including personal correspondence, and farm and forestry journals. Unfortunately, much of this material remains uncataloged at this time. Robin Wink's 1991 biography, *Frederick Billings: A Life,* provides the best available scholarly summary and analysis of the material included in this collection.

The Billings Family Archive is also the primary source for information concerning the property during its ownership by the descendants of Frederick Billings, including Mary and Laurance Rockefeller. Unfortunately, during the past thirty years, changes to the landscape are not well documented. Presently, there is no accurate map available showing existing conditions and character defining features. A survey of the mansion grounds was conducted in 1956, providing two-foot contour intervals and the locations of many trees and structures. A landscape irrigation plan also exists from 1976 which shows the locations of drives and the configuration of the pool and garden terraces. From these materials it appears that, apart from the maturing of trees, relatively modest changes have occurred in the landscape since the 1950's.

Janet Houghton, Curator of Decorative Arts for the Billings Farm & Museum, has written an excellent "Gazetteer" which provides dates of various structures, giving their historic and contemporary names. This document, as well as her expert knowledge of the property, was a great resource in the preparation of this land use history. Houghton's Gazetteer has been included as an appendix to this report.

David Donath, the Director of the Billings Farm & Museum, also knowledgeable about the history of the

property has recently assembled a chronology of its development and the individuals associated with it. This chronology was of great value, as was the background material prepared on George Perkins Marsh, Frederick Billings, and Laurance Rockefeller.

John Wiggin, forester for the Mount Tom property since 1972, has provided excellent documentation and analysis of the forest cover. Wiggin's mapping and dating of the various stands provides the necessary information to reconstruct forest cover maps for the various periods of ownership.

Changes which have occurred on the grounds during the past thirty years were documented through interviews. The mansion grounds are presently maintained by the staff of the Woodstock Resort Corporation. Carl Bergstrom, a long-term groundskeeper for the Rockefellers has been contacted. Bergstrom, now in retirement, has prepared a sketch map of projects and changes occurring during his employment.

PART ONE: CONSERVATION PHILOSOPHIES OF MARSH, BILLINGS AND ROCKEFELLER[1]

Introduction

The Marsh-Billings National Historical Park has national significance for its association with three individuals and their families, who were occupants, developers, and stewards of this land for nearly two centuries. All three of these individuals played important, though quite different, roles in the history of American conservation. George Perkins Marsh, who spent his formative years on this property, published the seminal conservation work *Man and Nature*, in 1864. Frederick Billings, purchased the property from the Marsh family and developed it as a model estate, reflecting Marsh's principals. Finally, Laurance Rockefeller, a leader and shaper of the American conservation movement in the post World-War II era, secured this property with his wife Mary for the enjoyment and education of future generations.

This cultural resource can be seen as a lens for viewing the history of conservation stewardship in America. The stories of Marsh, Billings and Rockefeller illuminate important aspects of the larger story of our changing attitudes towards nature, and the evolution of the American conservation movement.

Early American Attitudes Towards Wilderness

When the earliest English settlers arrived in North America they found a land that appeared to them as one great forest. Approximately ninety percent of the English area of settlement (from the Carolinas to the Maritimes) was covered with forest ranging from sparse to impenetrable. Woodlands in the "New World" were also remarkably complex, featuring a range of species that impressed the new settlers for its breadth and diversity.

Early settlers recognized the forests as an invaluable resource, providing material for building, heating and cooking, and as a valuable export commodity. At the same time, the dense forest that surrounded the sparsely populated new settlements were perceived as wild and threatening. The forest was seen as a potential home of hostile natives, or worse, other yet unknown threats. The perception that forests in the new-found colonies were inherently evil had developed in Europe long before the arrival of the first colonial settlers.[2] In short, throughout the colonial period and well into the nineteenth century, there was little of the admiration for the natural beauty of the forest that is prevalent today. Instead, the forest was viewed as a foe to be conquered.[3] Many European travelers expressed shock at the wasteful and unmethodical manner in which the colonial forests were being cleared. Indeed in 1831 Alexis de Tocqueville, in his *Journey to America*, remarked that:

> In Europe, people talk about the wilds of America, but the Americans never think about them, they are insensitive to the wonders of inanimate nature, and they may be said not to perceive the mighty forests that surround them 'till they fall beneath the hatchet.[4]

Early Conservation Efforts

Simultaneous with the rapid depletion of old growth forest in the United States was a growing appreciation of American wilderness, fueled in part by Romanticism, and compounded by Nationalism. Through an appreciation of the sublime and picturesque, and the association of nature with religion, the Romantic movement fostered a growing popular appreciation for wilderness, starting first in Europe and gradually spreading to the New World.[5] By the first decades of the nineteenth century, while pioneers still battled the realities of the wilderness, a Romantic appreciation of nature had taken a firm hold among American city dwellers and intellectuals. This new interest in the natural aspects of the United States was boosted by a swelling of patriotism:

> Realizing that natural environment was one of the few bases on which a favorable comparison could be made with other nations, Americans were quick to defend nature in their country against the aspersions of Europe.[6]

Having little true culture to offer, Americans could, instead, boast about their endlessly fascinating natural environment. In particular, the vast array of trees and plants in North America was seen as a unique natural phenomena that set this land apart. It is important to note that the new interest in nature did little to slow the ongoing destruction of American forests. Indeed, the conquest of wild country continued to be a matter of great pride. However, by the middle decades of the nineteenth century wilderness was recognized as a basis for national self esteem.[7]

Appreciation of America's great wilderness led to a small but vocal movement concerned with its rapid destruction. Even among the most concerned, however, there was little or no understanding that a resource as seemingly great as the American forests could be ever be exhausted. Early calls for the protection of American forests were led by a small group of prominent easterners of "literary and artistic bent," including James Audubon, Thomas Cole, William Cullen Bryant, Washington Irving and, most notably, Henry David Thoreau. Drawing on both the Romantic and Nationalist interpretations of American wilderness, this group largely focused on the aesthetic and spiritual justifications for its preservation. Even Thoreau, who went as far as to propose that the survival of civilization depended on the preservation of wilderness, based his argument on a belief in nature's positive influence on man's spirit and intellect.

The Boyhood Landscape of George Perkins Marsh

In Vermont, as throughout New England, deforestation of the seemingly boundless supply of spruce, white pine and hardwoods was well underway by the end of the eighteenth century.[8] By the time that George Perkins Marsh was born in 1801, the largely unbroken forest that had blanketed northern New England was in retreat on all fronts. Around Woodstock, the forest was pushed back even earlier than in other parts of Vermont.[9] The Marsh farm itself represented a heroic feat of clearing. At that time even Mount Tom had been extensively cleared, having been transformed into an upland pasture capped by a pair of rock peaks. In 1800 a wild fire had burned the mountain leaving only a few trees which had

survived earlier clearing efforts. The forest would not be replanted there until much later in the century. Likewise the great meadow below the Marsh house, formerly a swampy intervale woodland containing a clearing that was periodically used by a band of Abenakis, was drained and enlarged in the 1790s to become some of early Vermont's best cropland.[10]

As a child, Marsh could clearly observe the effects of deforestation. Of particular concern was the dramatic transformation of the Ottauquechee River resulting from the removal of forest cover:

> Turbulent even before white men came to the valley, by George Marsh's youth the Ottauquechee had already become more erratic. When farmers cleared their fields and cut spruce, white pine and hardwoods for timber, fuel and potash, the denuded hillsides failed to absorb rain and snow. Instead of percolating through the soil, water rushed unchecked into the streams, the snows melted precipitously in the spring thaws, and floods came more frequently. And in the summer the river dried up almost entirely. Even as a youngster Marsh took note of these changes and was aware that they were man made.[11]

Uncontrolled runoff, increased erosion and the steady loss of topsoil were all consequences of the loss of forest cover. Downstream consequences were flash floods and increased siltation. Millsites alternatively silted up or were washed away in floods, fields lost their fertility, fish habitats were lost, either obstructed by dams or choked by changes in stream character. Throughout his life, Marsh would continue to observe and draw conclusions about the environment.

Through the middle of the nineteenth century Americans continued with the rapid conquest of the forest, cutting trees at a remarkable pace. The founding fathers, in their idealization of agriculture as the chosen occupation for the new nation, voiced some of the loudest support for the clearing of the new land. The great western migration required the clearing of massive tracts of land for new farmsteads. The felled timber provided an invaluable resource for the building of new houses, barns, and equipment. The growing recognition of the commercial value of timber both in the colonial and early American cities and abroad provided additional impetus to the race to cut down the forest, and by the middle of the nineteenth century lumber production ranked first among all types of manufacturing in the United States.

George Perkins Marsh's Innovative Conservation Philosophy

From the age of five until his departure for Dartmouth College, George Perkins Marsh lived with his family on the Marsh Farm. Following a brief teaching career he was admitted to the Vermont Bar in 1825 and went into practice in Burlington. Following the death of his first wife and subsequent remarriage to Caroline Crane, Marsh made a successful run for the United States Congress in 1939. While in Washington, he played an important role in the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution. In 1849 Marsh began his diplomatic career as Minister to the Court at Constantinople. He served four years, and during that time traveled extensively in the Middle East. After returning to the United States in 1853 he published a book advocating the introduction of camels in the American West. The following year he was appointed ambassador to the Kingdom of Italy, at which time he left the United States to reside in Italy. Marsh began work on *Man and Nature* in 1860.

First published in 1864, George Perkins *Marsh's Man and Nature* offered a dramatic new interpretation of the relationship between wilderness and civilization. While the Romantics stressed the importance of the "natural" in man, Marsh put forth the opposite opinion:

> Nothing is further from my belief that man is part of nature, or that his action is controlled by nature; in fact a leading spirit in my book is to enforce the opposite opinion and to illustrate the fact that man is a free moral agent working independent of nature.[12]

Rather than focusing on the spiritual benefits of nature, Marsh pointed to the inevitable link between human existence and the preservation of wilderness. In the words of writer Wallace Stegner, George Perkins Marsh was the first to "articulate the web, the connectedness of all life."[13] While earlier protectionists such as Cole and Thoreau talked of the need to *compromise* between the conflicting interests of wilderness and civilization, George Perkins Marsh contended that the active and managed protection of the forest would actually have an economic benefit for humankind.

In *Man and Nature*, Marsh warned Americans to begin practicing responsible stewardship of their resources, lest the basis for American prosperity be wasted and lost. This was a timely warning, coming as it did when some Americans had begun to worry whether the resources of the continent, particularly the forest, were truly limitless. Unlike those who simply advocated the preservation of forest as wilderness, Marsh advocated a more scientific and professional management point of view. The thesis of the book was that man was destroying the balance of nature, but that with foresight, knowledge, and technical skill he could still reverse the destructive process.[14]

Drawing on his rich and varied professional experience including posts as Vermont Fish Commissioner, United States Congressman, and United States Ambassador to Turkey and Italy, Marsh concluded that clear cutting in the watersheds of rivers resulted in drought, flood, erosion and unfavorable climatic change. According to Marsh, the sponge-like qualities of a primeval forest made it the best regulator of stream flow. The preservation or re-establishment of large areas of forest was absolutely essential to the economic and environmental being of the United States. Indeed, Marsh attributed the decline of Mediterranean empires to poor forestry conservation practices, and urged the New World to school itself in history, saying "Let us be wise in time, and profit by the errors of our older brethren."

Marsh did not merely warn of the potentially destructive actions of man, but urged them to "study and know their environment, especially the forest environment, in order to manage it more efficiently." In accordance with this philosophy was the notion that when necessary the natural environment could be modified, albeit only with an awareness of the consequences, to respond to the needs of humankind.[15] Marsh concluded that through wise husbandry, man could repair or even improve upon nature. But if man treated nature unwisely the damage could be irreparable, and ultimately a devastated nature would cease to sustain man. "The earth is fast becoming an unfit home for its noblest inhabitant, and another era of equal human crime and human improvidence would reduce it to such a condition of impoverished productiveness, of shattered surface, of climatic excess, as to threaten the depravation, barbarism, and perhaps even extinction of the species."[16]

Marsh's Legacy

Within a decade of its publication, *Man and Nature* had become a widely read and influential work. *Man and Nature* was striking in its timeliness. The book appeared at the end of the Civil War, at a time when the nation was not only readjusting politically, but re-orienting industry and taking stock of natural resources. It was also about the time that transcontinental railroads first crossed the North American continent, when the Manifest Destiny of the United States to civilize the continent and exploit its seemingly inexhaustible resources appeared self-evident.[17] The book's pragmatic optimism, and belief in the efficacy of reform was consistent with the nineteenth century view of progress, but its revolutionary exploration of the ecological relationships that governed nature would not be fully appreciated until the twentieth century. Indeed, many regard George Perkins Marsh's book, *Man and Nature*, as the fountainhead of the American conservation movement:

> In retrospect, so many forces, intellectual, social and economic, are seen to have been at work producing the reappraisal of the forest, that the influence of any one man is not easily distinguishable, but the writings of George Perkins Marsh constituted the most eloquent as well as the most scholarly expression of the new philosophy of the relation between man and nature. [18]

While the actual extent of George Perkins Marsh's influence on the forestry movement in the United States does not appear to have yet been fully explored by historians, it is known that the decades following the publication of *Man and Nature* were marked by rapid progress in the effort to manage and protect the nation's forests. The Timber Culture Act of 1873 granted western settlers plots of 160 acres each under the stipulation that they would plant trees on one fourth of the land. In 1875 the American Forestry Association, was established under the leadership of John A. Wardner. In a privately funded effort Frederick Billings (in his capacity as chairman of the Land Committee for the Northern Pacific Railroad) embarked on a program to plant trees across the Great Plains.[19] In 1886 the National Division of Forestry was established. In 1891 Congress authorized President Harrison to establish forest reserves from public land, with the first area to receive protection being the 125,0000-acre Yellowstone Timberland Reserve. Finally, the National Forest Service was organized in 1905 under the direction of Gifford Pinchot.

It has also been suggested that the writing of George Perkins Marsh influenced public opinion in favor of the reservation of large areas of land for public parks. It is not known whether Marsh followed the events leading to the initial protection of Yosemite Valley as a public reserve granted by Congress to the State of California in 1864. However, according to conservation historian Hans Huth, it is quite likely that Marsh's ideas helped to promote the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872.[20] John Brinkerhoff Jackson has noted that Marsh was also active in promoting the notion of state land reserves, such as the Adirondacks.[21] In the second edition of *Man and Nature,* published in 1874 under the title *The Earth as Modified by Human Action,* Marsh offered a foresighted discussion of the merits of preserving large areas of open land in the form of public parks. In this discussion Marsh specifically articulates a specific parks program quite similar to that adopted by the National Park Service following its establishment in 1916:

> It is desirable that some large and easily accessible region of American soil should remain as far

> as possible in its primitive condition, at once a museum for the instruction of students, a garden for the recreation of the lovers of nature, and an asylum where indigenous trees. . .,plants . . .,beasts may dwell, and perpetuate their kind.[22]

On a more general level, one can speculate that George Perkins Marsh may have partially contributed to the wave of new interest in trees and tree planting which occurred in North American cities and towns during the last half of the nineteenth century. The celebration of Arbor Day was initiated with great success in many communities in the early 1870s.[23] While trees were certainly used throughout the 18th and early 19th century to embellish the simple squares and commons of early American cities, the urban park movement of the late nineteenth century spearheaded by landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted featured the introduction of large quantities of trees planted in informal, "naturalistic" arrangements.

Furthermore, while a variety of arboreta had already been established by the middle of the nineteenth century, the decades following the end of the Civil War were marked by a resurgence in the interest in botany as an area of study, and the establishment of several new arboreta of a previously unheard of caliber. The Arnold Arboretum, which was to become one of the best known botanical research institutions of its kind, had its beginnings in 1873 through the combined efforts of Asa Gray, Frederick Law Olmsted, and Charles Sprague Sargent.[24] While the relationship has not been explored, it is known that Marsh kept up a "lively correspondence" with Sargent throughout much of his adult life.[25]

Man and Nature was first published in 1864, and revised in 1872. At the time of his death in Valombrosa Italy in 1882, Marsh was actively involved in revising a third edition of *Man and Nature.* According to biographer David Lowenthal, despite changes to each edition, its basis in a realistic and pragmatic vision of nature and human history provides Marsh's most enduring legacy:

> Marsh preached no panacea; still less did he profess despair, though he believed that selfishness motivated most human action. Deeply engaged in his own life, for all his misanthropy Marsh was more concerned with mankind than the cosmos. It was not for nature's sake that he wanted to protect it against man, but for man's. Nature was neutral, man had conscious and moral force. That Marsh always believed man's powers superior is a reflection of his own active career and a measure of his commitment to humanity.[26]

Frederick Billings

One of the individuals most visibly affected by the writings of George Perkins Marsh was Frederick Billings, who was a fellow Vermont native, and the owner of the former Marsh homestead from 1869 until his death in 1890. Born in Royalton, Vermont, in 1823 Billings moved with his family to Woodstock in 1835. Like George Perkins Marsh, Frederick Billings witnessed the ongoing deforestation of the surrounding Vermont countryside. According to biographer Robin Winks, as a child and a student Billings had shown a great interest in landscape scenery and the outdoors. However it does not appear that his interest in conservation was aroused until he set out to practice law in California in 1849.

In California, Billings entered a law partnership with Henry W. Halleck and Archibald Peachy, investing in real estate as a sideline. Through his activities and associations, he became one of California's most

important men. In 1850 he helped establish the Presidio as a Government preserve. In 1853 he and his partners completed construction of the Montgomery Block, then the most prominent commercial building west of the Mississippi. That same year he became a founder of the University of California at Berkeley. Through the 1850s and 1860s, he was an associate of John Charles Fremont, the well-known explorer and developer of the American Far West. With his partners Halleck and Peachy, Billings managed the legal and financial aspects of Fremont's Las Mariposas Estate, located at the heart of California's gold deposits in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. In this capacity he first met landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, who briefly served as the estate manager at Las Mariposas from 1863-1865.

During the time he spent in California, Frederick Billings developed an awareness of the natural environment brought out by the unique qualities of the California landscape. He took great pleasure in getting away from the raucous congestion of San Francisco to explore California's natural scenery. Within a year of his arrival he commented on the need to preserve the region's natural wonders. In 1851 the Yosemite Valley was first viewed by white explorers, and Billings would travel there in March of the following year. He would return to Yosemite many times during and after his California sojourn. By 1860 a "grand tour" of Yosemite, the giant Redwoods, Lake Tahoe, Placerville, and the Napa Valley had become so popular that key sites along the way were showing signs of overcrowding.

Frederick Billings' growing sphere of interests brought him into contact with others who valued the natural beauty of California and feared its degradation. He and his associates began advocating steps towards its conservation. Their conservation impulse was largely emotional and romantic, rooted in patriotism and a delight in the unknown and picturesque. They were also aware of the commercial potential of these natural wonders as destinations for tourists. As a businessman and reform republican, Billings maintained that commerce and conservation were not antithetical. Indeed, throughout his career he grew increasingly convinced that "commerce could serve the cause of conservation by bringing visitors to a site worthy of preservation."[27]

Billings support for the conservation of California's natural wonders arose in part because of his growing association with well-known advocates of the conservation of America's western lands, such as Horace Bushnell, John and Jesse Fremont, Thomas Starr King, Louis Agassiz, Carleton E. Watkins and Frederick Law Olmsted. Billings also played a direct, though somewhat minor role in the establishment by the Federal government of the Yosemite State Park in California. Billings' law firm had employed the photographer Carleton E. Watkins to document Las Mariposas and the New Almaden Mine. In 1863 Watkins made an album of Yosemite. Billings acquired a set and sent it to Louis Aggassiz, who was an enthusiastic supporter of the preservation of the Yosemite Valley as a Federally created state park. The next year photographs from the Watkins album appeared on the desks of key Congressmen, thus encouraging the passage of a bill which would lead to the creation of Yosemite State Park.[28] Billings was also one of several influential Californians to write Senator John Conness urging him to introduce a bill in Congress establishing Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Trees as the nation's first state park. This bill was passed and signed by President Lincoln on June 29, 1864. Governor Low of California appointed an eight-member commission to manage the area chaired by Frederick Law Olmsted. According to biographer Winks, Billings had wanted to be appointed to this commission, but did not press the issue, and soon after left California, to return to the east.[29]

Billings' sense of conservation grew as an emotional response to awesome natural wonders like Half Dome, El Capitan and the Calaveras grove of Sequoias. His response to the grand and the picturesque would also stimulate his interest in the romantic landscape art of the mid-to-late 19th century, especially the luminous scenes of the Hudson River School and the expansive paintings of Albert Bierstadt. Billings' art collection, which is preserved as part of the mansion collection, reflects these interests.

In 1862 Frederick Billings married Julia Parmly of New York, and late in the following year, the couple moved back east. In 1864 they returned to Woodstock and resided at the Maples, a large brick house on Bond Street that belonged to Frederick's sister. That year Billings read *Man and Nature* by George Perkins Marsh. He was deeply impressed with this geographical treatise by his former neighbor. The book proved a catalyst that contributed to Frederick Billings' maturing concept of conservation. Places of striking natural beauty and wonder, like Yosemite, were evidently important; they were easy to identify and people might rally to their preservation. But the general landscape, man's more ordinary home, needed protection and husbandry to assure its ability to sustain mankind. Billings marked the passages in Marsh's book that illuminated this concept.[30]

Returning to Woodstock after so many years away and having witnessed how quickly California had changed, Frederick Billings could see the damage that development had wrought in his native Vermont. By the 1860s, at least 75 percent of Vermont's forest cover had been cleared. Most of the hills between Woodstock and Royalton were bare, many areas having been overgrazed by Merino sheep. Erosion scarred the hills and choked the streams with silt. The wild game that Billings remembered from his youth was gone. Marsh's book was a persuasive synthesis, and the Vermont landscape gave Billings ample evidence to support Marsh's theories.

In 1869 Frederick and Julia Billings bought the Marsh estate and farm, and immediately set about a thorough campaign of remodelling, landscaping, and construction. Billings also focused on the development of his farm and Mount Tom forest, where he attempted to put into practice the latest scientific theories on land management.

At the same time that he was developing his Woodstock estate, Billings became involved in the Northern Pacific Railroad, and was elected to the Board of Directors in 1870. In his work with the Railroad he developed the Bonanza Farms in the Dakotas, which demonstrated the agricultural viability of the dry plains as a grain producing area, and encouraged the settlement and purchase of land holdings along the route. The Bonanza farms were progressive in their application of technology, science and industrial organization to agriculture. However, the extensive wheat culture that they encouraged eventually contributed to the environmental disaster of the Dust Bowl.[31]

When Billings left the Northern Pacific presidency in 1881 he returned to Woodstock for the remainder of his life, focusing on the development of his Woodstock estate. In the 1880s, he redoubled his efforts to perfect his mansion, farm and forest park. Through these activities he put into practice his concepts of stewardship, progress and conservation, embracing the ideas of George Perkins Marsh.

Billings was recognized for his conservation work in 1883, at which time he was appointed to Vermont's

new Forestry Commission. Billings took a special interest in the commission's work, ultimately writing most of its first report and funding its second printing. The report found that as much as 90 percent of Vermont's forest had been cleared, which had resulted in significant and widespread damage to the water supply. The report's recommendations echoed both Marsh's ideas and Billings experience and business sense:

> Timber was a commercial crop to be cultivated.
> Wetlands must not be drained needlessly.
> Trees should be planted in public places.
> Forest arson should be prevented, in part, through severe penalties.
> Migratory sawmills, lumber and timber cutting should be taxed.
> Timber farms should receive relief for fencing.
> Forestry should be studied scientifically, at a variety of levels.[32]

Though Billings did not live to see the creation of a State Forestry Department, the Forestry Commission report quickly put Vermont into a leadership position in state forestry practices:

> . . .by 1900, as a result of papers like that of 1884, wood products in Vermont were valued at ten times more than in 1850, an alliance between conservation and commerce had once again brought a significant degree of public awareness. Clearly education has achieved much: in time Vermont ranked second with respect to the quality of cutting practices, exceeded only by Maine and far ahead of neighboring New Hampshire, and it was on the way to becoming the environmental leader that it is today.[33]

Frederick Billings was a conservation practitioner rather than a shaper of American conservationist thought. Throughout his career, both in the east and the west, he promoted the belief that "an alliance between the engine of commerce and the aesthetic of conservation could be achieved to the benefit of the majority of Americans." By influence and example he demonstrated how lands could be protected, used and enhanced through informed husbandry and stewardship. Even a century after Frederick Billing's death, the mansion, forest and farm that he created largely reflect his philosophy, values and personality.

Laurance Rockefeller

Laurance Spelman Rockefeller was born in New York City in 1910, one of five sons born to John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Growing up, the Rockefeller boys were exposed to the full range of North American scenery, with frequent trips to Mount Desert Island in Maine, the Hudson River Valley and the Far West. In 1924, the Rockefeller boys accompanied their father on visits to the Grand Canyon, the Grand Tetons, Yellowstone and Yosemite. Apparently, it was at that time that Laurance Rockefeller "made his lifelong commitment to conservation, hardly knowing it at the time."[34]

Laurance Rockefeller's early conservation work included his role as a trustee of the New York Zoological Society in 1935, and his appointment to the Palisades Interstate Park Commission in 1939. In 1940, Rockefeller became the manager of the Jackson Hole Preserve, a non-profit conservation and education corporation established by his father John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Following his service in World War II Rockefeller resumed his conservation work. His efforts resulted in the establishment of the Conservation Foundation in 1948, and the expansion of the Grand Teton National Park (established by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in 1929) through the donation of over 1000 additional acres of land in Wyoming. It was at the Grand Tetons that he was first able to experiment with what would become his trademark mix of conservation and commerce, through the establishment of a full range of tourist accommodations to meet the needs of visitors to the area.

> To realize his father's dream of sharing with his fellow Americans the glory and inspiration he received from the Grand Tetons, it would be necessary to provide some kind of suitable accommodations for those flocking to the area. Laurance and his associates embraced a new advanced philosophy of conservation: Conservation and Use. The magnificent natural environment of the Grand Tetons must be preserved for future generations, but they must also be used and enjoyed by the people living now.[35]

It is interesting to note that this "new and advanced" philosophy of conservation was quite similar to the thinking of Frederick Billings and his peers, who realized the tremendous tourist potential of the west, but were unable to develop the necessary accommodations and services.

During the 1950s, Laurance Rockefeller focused his energies on the establishment of a hotel-resort at Caneel Bay on St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands. Similar to Rockefeller's efforts in the Grand Tetons, the Caneel Bay resort was designed to encourage the guests to simply take full advantage of their stunning natural surroundings. In the course of his work at Caneel Bay, Laurance became interested in the establishment of a National Park in the Virgin Islands. Largely due to donations from Laurance Rockefeller, the Virgin Islands National Park was opened to the public on December 1, 1956, a date coinciding with the formal opening of the Caneel Bay Plantation.

Along with his work as a philanthropist and entrepreneur, Laurance Rockefeller played an active role in public service, providing expertise and guidance on a variety of government commissions and panels. Working with both Republican and Democratic administrations, he framed a new vision of conservation stewardship and of the relationship of citizens, business and government in achieving its goals.

In 1958 President Eisenhower appointed Laurance Rockefeller chairman of a new Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. Non-partisan in character, the commission had a broad charge to propose a national agenda for outdoor recreation and conservation. The commission delivered its findings to the Kennedy Administration in early 1962. It proposed a new national recreation policy, and made fifty specific proposals which earned widespread acclaim and bipartisan political support. It led to the creation of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, the Land and Water Conservation Fund, the Wilderness Act, and the National System of Scenic Rivers. In subsequent years, Laurance Rockefeller continued his conservation work, serving as Chairman of the White House Conference on Natural Beauty and the Citizens Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty under the Johnson Administration, and as Chairman of the Citizen's Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality under Presidents Nixon and Ford.

During these years, conservationism matured, gaining national stature and priority. Laurance Rockefeller

played a leadership role in the national conservation movement, pressing forward and providing a broad perspective reaching back into his family's roots in conservation stewardship.[36]

Rockefeller's involvement in Woodstock began in 1934, with his marriage to the granddaughter of Frederick Billings, Mary French. Following the death of Mary French Rockefeller's mother in 1951, Mary and Laurance came to own the mansion and surrounding acreage. In time, the couple adopted Woodstock as their summer home, as Laurance focused on the Marsh-Billings property and the surrounding town as one of his major conservation interests. Like Frederick Billings nearly a century before them, the Rockefellers embarked on an ambitious remodelling program, making a wide variety of improvements to the house, grounds, and outbuildings. However, in sharp contrast with Billings, the Rockefellers took made an effort to retain much of the historic character of the property.

Throughout the 1960s Laurance focused his attention on the surrounding town of Woodstock. He saw the dangers that unwise development could pose for Woodstock and, drawing on his experience in conservation and preservation elsewhere, worked to guide the town in environmentally sound directions. He firmly believed that landscape and townscape must be considered together, and that one could not be preserved without the other. With this philosophy in mind, he purchased and replaced the aging Woodstock Inn, greatly improving the country club and ski areas as well, under the organizational umbrella of the Woodstock Resort Corporation.

As a unit, the Woodstock Resort Corporation has become a mainstay of the economic health of the community, while helping to preserve the ambiance of the small New England town. Rockefeller funded construction of underground electric and telephone service throughout the village, greatly enhancing Woodstock's visual and historical appearance. At the same time, he protected the setting around the village by acquiring many acres of surrounding open space.

In 1968, Mary and Laurance Rockefeller created the Woodstock Foundation, a philanthropic vehicle for furthering the civic betterment of Woodstock. The foundation's activities were intended to "add to the balance of Woodstock and have a beneficial effect on the long-term economic vitality and stability of the community." Primary objectives included the preservation of open space, the preservation of traditional values of rural Vermont, the expansion of the outdoor recreational opportunities, the encouragement of the best practices of forest management, and the creation of broad educational values of benefit to Vermonters as well as visitors to the area.

In 1971 the Woodstock Foundation established the Vermont Folklife Project, with the goal of studying and preserving the rapidly vanishing remnants of traditional farm life in the region of east central Vermont. This vision resonated with Laurance Rockefeller's perception of the special human qualities of Vermont's culture and values that included a self-reliant work ethic, a close human relationship with the land, and a family-farm base of husbandry. The folklife project also led to the idea for a new farm museum that would interpret rural Vermont farm culture circa 1890 as well as the Billings Farm itself. In fulfillment of this concept, in June 1983 Mary and Laurance Rockefeller formally opened the Billings Farm & Museum.

In August 1992, the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park was created by legislation signed by President George Bush. The creation of the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park fulfills an essential part of Laurance and Mary Rockefeller's vision for Woodstock. The park, in combination with their other Woodstock interests, will enhance and help to assure Woodstock's integrity for decades to come, reflecting Rockefeller's ideals for the role of conservation in American society.

Recently, Laurance Rockefeller commented that, for him, the impulse for conservation was rooted in a humanistic desire to help fellow humans find and do those things that would enhance a healthy relationship with the environment. This concept, he believes, differs somewhat from the view of his father, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who thought that humans had a moral or religious obligation to conserve and protect nature, that stewardship implied personal duty. For Laurance Rockefeller, conservation was meant to bring humans and nature together harmoniously. His concept of "Conservation for People" offers ways both of preserving precious natural resources and of using them as retreats for renewal of the human spirit.[37]

Endnotes to Part One

1. Much of the material in this essay is adapted from the background material prepared by David A. Donath, Director of the Billings Farm and Museum, for the Conservation Stewardship Workshop held at the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park, November 19-21, 1993.

2. See Hans Huth, *Nature and the American* (University of California Press, 1957), chapter 2 and Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), chapters 1-2.

3. Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 26.

4. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journey to America*, ed. George Lawrence (New Haven: 1960), From Nash, 26.

5. See Huth, chapter 3, and Nash, chapter 3.

6. Nash, 68.

7. Nash, 67.

8. Lowenthal, David. *George Perkins Marsh: Versatile Vermonter* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 14.

9. Donath, David. "George Perkins Marsh," 1993.

10. Ibid.

11. Lowenthal, 14.

12. J.B. Jackson, *American Space* (New York: W.W. Norton and Sons, 1972), 98.

13. Stegner, Wallace. "A Capsule History of Conservation." From *Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs* (New York: Penguin Books, 1992), 122.

14. Jackson, 96-97.

15. Ibid., 98.

16. George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature, Or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* (Harvard Edition, Cambridge: 1965), 43.

17. Huth, 168.

18. Jackson, 97.

19. Robin W. Winks, *Frederick Billings: A Life* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1991), 282.

20. Huth, 169.

21. Ibid.

22. Marsh, from Huth, 169.

23. Huth, 171.

24. Ibid., 171.

25. Lowenthal, 337.

26. Lowenthal, 340.

27. Winks, 280.

28. In 1890 Congress provided additional protection to the Yosemite Valley through the creation of Yosemite National Park, in the form of a two-million acre reserve surrounding Yosemite State Park. In 1906 the two areas were merged to form a single Yosemite National Park under the jurisdiction of the federal government. For More information on the early history of the National Parks, see Norman Newton, *Design on the Land* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1971) chapters 35-36.

29. Winks, 281.

30. Winks, 275.

31. Donath, "Frederick Billings," 1993.

32. *Journal of the Vermont House of Representatives of the State of Vermont, Biennial Session, 1884* (Montpelier, 1885), From Winks, 295-297 and Donath.

33. Winks, 297.

34. Moscow, Alvin. *The Rockefeller Inheritance* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1977), 190-196.

35. Moscow, 193.

36. Donath, 1993.

37. From Donath, 1993.

PRE-MARSH PERIOD (Antiquity to 1789)

Documentation

While no graphic materials document land-use prior to the Marsh period, Colin Calloway's recent book *The Abenaki* provides some insight into how indigenous peoples occupied and made use of the land. Dana's *History of Woodstock* provides local Woodstock lore concerning interaction of white settlers with the native population. Dana also provides sketches into the lives and activities of those first settlers and the changes that they made to the land. General information on the patterns of pre-European land use can be found in the book *Changes in the Land* by William Cronon.

The Indigenous Landscape

Prior to European settlement, the site that would later become the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park was occupied by members of an indigenous tribe of northern New England commonly called the Abenaki. The "Sokoki" and the "Cowasuck" tribes of the loosely formed Abenaki confederation, were indigenous to the eastern slopes of Vermont's Green Mountains, and migrated north and south along the Connecticut River valley. The Cowasuck tribe of the Woodstock area may have taken its tribal name from the root word "Cowass," which means, "place of pine trees."[1] The first European settlers to the Woodstock area found a grove of pines in the lowlands along the Ottauquechee River. Within this pine grove is thought to have been a clearing traditionally used by the Abenaki as a place of encampment. There has been very little archeological investigation of this site to date.

The Abenaki belong to the large Algonquian linguistic family of the North American native population. A population of approximately 20,000 individuals was originally supported by hunting, fishing and agriculture. Traditional hunting and gathering were supplemented with small scale agriculture, cultivating corn, beans, squash and tobacco in the fertile bottomlands of the region's rivers (figure 1). Meats and grains were preserved and stored for use during the winter months.[2] Communal dwellings were simply constructed of saplings and bark. The Abenaki built wigwams, a small conical dwelling that provided shelter for a few individuals. Larger "longhouses" were constructed where encampments were more settled, with room for up to thirty inside.[3]

The first Abenaki tribes to make contact with Europeans were probably the tribes of Maine and Newfoundland. These tribes would have been present to witness the arrival of the Norse expeditions over one thousand years ago. This early and brief contact with the outside world had limited effect.[4] However, as greater knowledge of the "New World" became available in the early sixteenth century, it led eventually to greater European contact with the native peoples. This resulted in the introduction of new materials, religion and diseases which initiated the decline of the Abenaki culture and population.

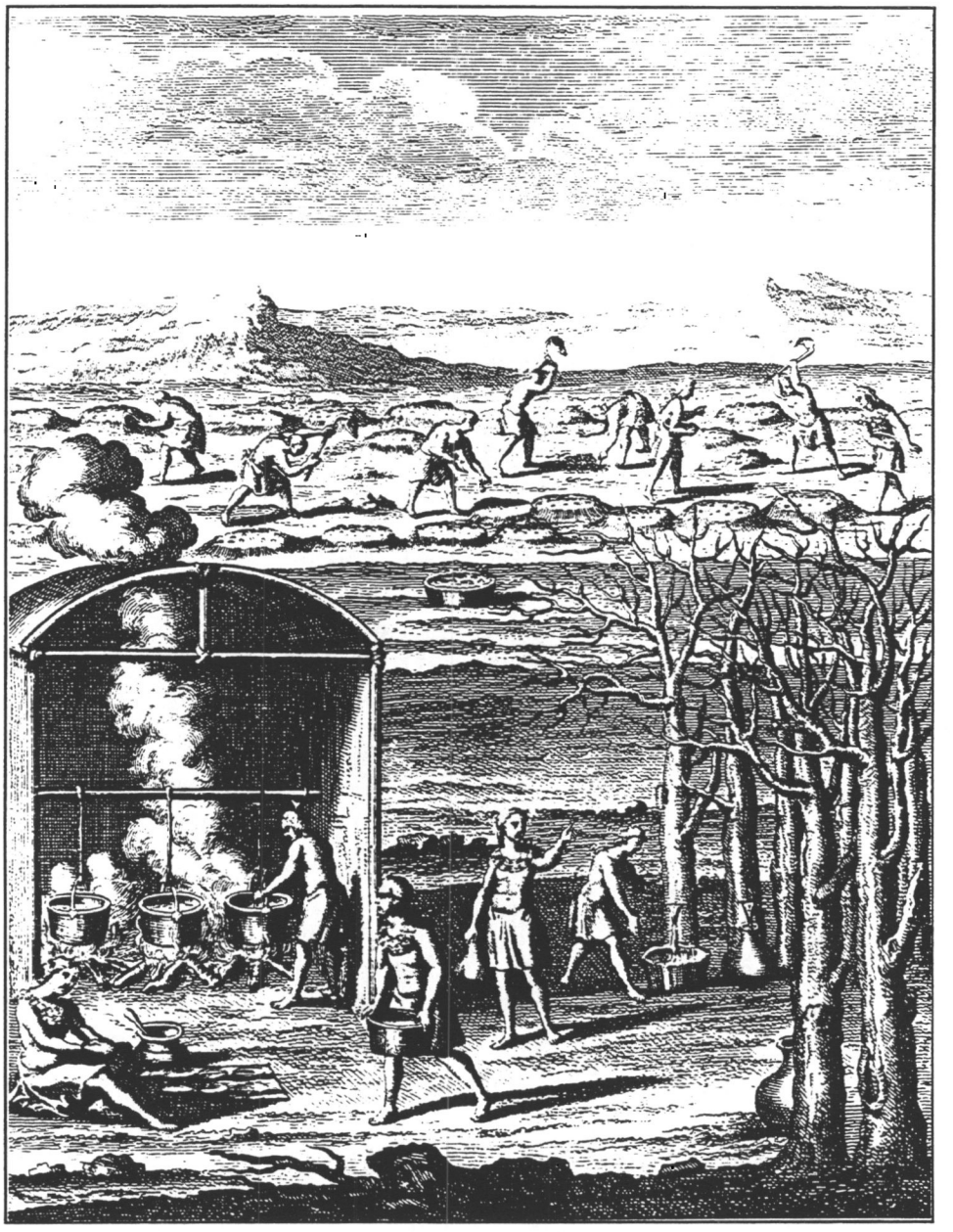


Figure 1: A representation of the ways the Abenaki used the New England land. Drawing from *The Abenaki* by Colin Calloway.

In 1634, one particularly virulent epidemic of smallpox spread down the Connecticut River valley. This single epidemic's effect on one village of the Abenaki is said to have killed 950 of its 1,000 inhabitants. Recurrent outbreaks of disease resulted in a decline of the native peoples of Vermont and New Hampshire from a population estimated at 10,000 to 500 individuals. By the time that greater numbers of Europeans came to settle the lands of the Abenaki, the native tribes were too weak to resist. [5]

Historian Henry Swan Dana described contact between the indigenous population and European settlers from a decidedly nineteenth century, European point of view:

> ...In the midst of scenes like these the infant colony [of Woodstock] started during the years 1769 and 1770...the colony suffered most annoyance and mischief from the attacks of wild beasts of various kinds, which swarmed in the woods; but the great terror of the forest was the red man. For though he was never known to invade this valley after it was settled, yet the inhabitants were always on the lookout for him, as he might be upon them at any moment. Indeed for several years the few settlers of the neighborhood were accustomed to withdraw at nightfall to a "great island," formed by the arms of the Quechee, and situated in the lowland a little above Mr. Cushing's house. In this way they reckoned themselves less exposed to surprises, and better able to defend themselves, if attacked unawares at any time. But they were never disturbed in their retreat, and the valley continued free at all times from the in-roads of the savages. In fact, it probably never was much of a thoroughfare for the Indians at any time. In passing through this section of the wilderness from the westward, after going up the valley of the Otter Creek, they crossed the mountain at the headwaters of either White River or Black River, and then followed down the beds of these streams to the Connecticut. Possibly one reason why they neglected this valley was that the river furnished no supplies of salmon or shad.[6]

Early Settlement

The early history of the Marsh-Billings property and that of Woodstock is tied to the complex shifting of provincial boundaries during colonial rule. The Township of Woodstock was officially chartered in 1761 within the "Province of New Hampshire," but soon fell under the jurisdiction of the colony of New York. In 1768, Oliver Willard, one of a small group of landowners who jointly held title to the land comprising the Township of Woodstock, petitioned the colony of New York for an official land patent. This patent was intended to resolve all disputes concerning ownership of the township's lands.[7] The Willard patent references John Rogers of New York City, Doctor of Divinity and one of the original grantees of the Township of Woodstock, as the owner of tract of land which would later comprise a large portion of the Marsh-Billings property (figure 2). Stone boundary markers from the Rogers' ownership survive on the Marsh-Billings property today (figure 3).

In 1772 Woodstock was officially re-chartered within the jurisdiction of the Province of New York; at that time an official census counted a population of 42.[8] Henry Swan Dana's *History of Woodstock* provides the following description of the landscape as it was reported to have appeared to Woodstock's first white settlers.

> The aspect of the country at the time must have been singularly wild, yet remarkable attractive. Wherever the eye turned to survey the prospect, there appeared an unbroken forest, stretching far

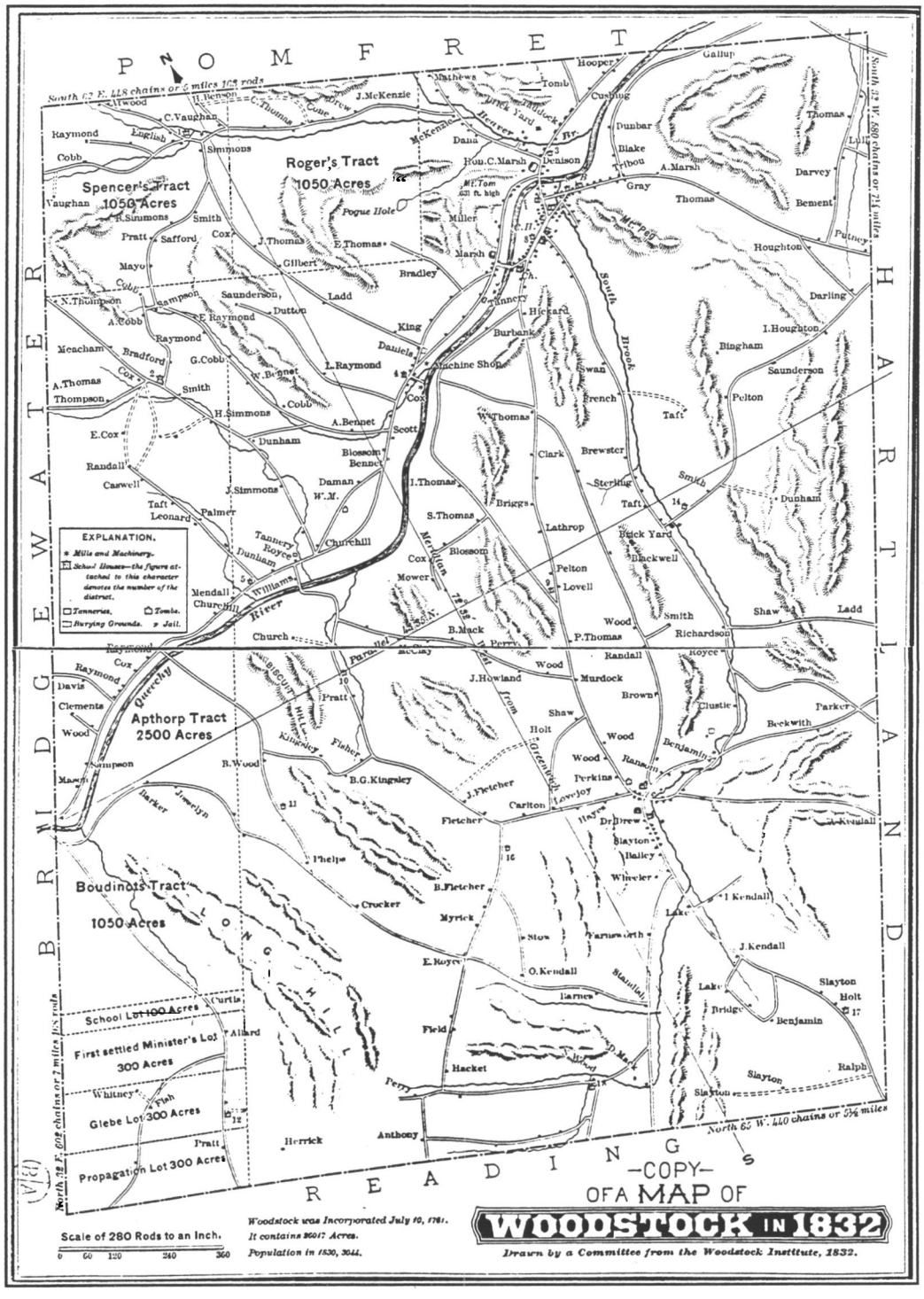


Figure 2: Map of Woodstock, Vermont, 1832. *From The History of Woodstock*, by Henry Swan Dana.

and wide till it was lost in the distance. Every valley was filled, and every hill and mountain covered to the top with a dense growth of trees, made chiefly of maples and beech, sprinkled with evergreen and a few oaks...At the foot of Mount Tom was a swamp grown up chiefly with evergreen, but the white pine, a comparatively scarce tree in this part of the valley, grew with remarkable luxuriance on the lowlands at the confluence of North Branch and Quechee River. On these same lowlands was a cleared space, occupied some time in the history of this valley as an Indian camping ground. This cleared space was a short distance below Mr. Billings's present farm-house.

Along with the dense forest that spread thus luxuriantly over every portion of the valley of the Quechee, there went also an abundant supply of water. Every hillside was laced with rivulets, and every meadow refreshed with copious streams, while the traveler never toiled far to find a perennial spring. The sight of these full streams and rivulets, enlivened as there were by an abundance of mountain trout, made the hearts of the early settlers glad, but now dry and stony beds mark for the most part the courses of even the larger ones, which, before the forests were so wasted, furnished an ample supply of water-power for grist-mills, saw-mills and tanneries.[9]

According to Dana, the clearing which would later make up the richest farmlands on the Marsh-Billings property was enlarged and drained c. 1776 by "Nathan Howland, with the help of Major Hoisington."[10]



Figure 3: Stone boundary marker which reads "Rogers Tract." Photograph by Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

Dana's account of Woodstock's early history also identifies various settlers and squatters who occupied small holdings near the site of the Marsh-Billings homestead from 1772-1789:

> One early occupant of the hillside overlooking the meadow, where the elm-trees now cast their shadow, was a Mr. Perkins, who occupied a log hut a few rods east of the spot where stood the first house built by Mr. Marsh. This must have been all of twenty years before that house was built [1781]. Mr. Perkins was a squatter by trade, and very likely a shoemaker besides.
>
> ...On the brow of the meadow, where stood in 1868 Mr. Marsh's lower barn, was a log cabin partly in ruins when Mr. Marsh came to Woodstock to live. This is supposed to have been the house in which James Cady lived, of whom Mr. Marsh made his first purchase of land. Cady was a wheelwright, and after getting through in Woodstock moved to Royalton and died there.
>
> ...Taylor's house stood just above Elm Street bridge, on the right hand, and a few rods up the hill. This was before the building of the bridge, but a tree was felled and thrown across the river, perhaps near the big rocks, on which people crossed sometimes, and a canoe hollowed out of a log was fastened near by, to be used when the tree did not afford a safe crossing.[11]

MARSH PERIOD (1789-1869)

Documentation

Documentation of the Marsh period relies greatly on the narrative account of Henry Swan Dana's *History of Woodstock*. This comprehensive volume is well illustrated and thorough in its documentation. Dana was a native son of Woodstock and as an historian benefited from hearing the oral history of his elders. The *History of Woodstock* makes use of a historic map as its frontispiece which locates the Marsh farm in relation to the Rogers Tract (figure 2). Rogers was one the original grantees in the land patent for the area. A portion of the original Rogers tract was later incorporated into the holdings of the Marsh farm.

A map of Woodstock c.1855 was obtained from the collection of Marsh papers housed at the University of Vermont in Burlington. This map was drawn by Hosea Doton, a local surveyor, who would later begin detailed surveys of the Billings holdings. Doton's map of Woodstock c.1855 provides a clear diagram of the layout of the mansion and dependencies of the Marsh farmstead (figure 4).

The Billings Family Archives is the most valuable primary source of information yet consulted. These archives include historic photographs of the mansion and farmstead just prior to Frederick Billings purchase and subsequent changes. The survey drawings begun by Hosea Doton c.1887-1888 also contain data which informs the landscape of the Marsh period.

Landscape Setting

The great forests of the Green Mountains had been fully exploited within fifty years of European settlement. By the early nineteenth century the lumber industry had moved on to the forests of the midwest, leaving behind the ravaged remains of the eastern forests.[12] At the time of the publication of *Man and Nature* virtually all virgin timber in the region below 2,000 feet above sea level had been logged.[13] The forest lands that were not cut during the Marsh family tenure on the property were probably grazed by livestock, resulting in the destruction of the forest understory, compacting the soil and leading to a decline in forest health.

Henry Swan Dana, in *The History of Woodstock*, verifies that indiscriminate logging had a detrimental effect on the Woodstock landscape and its watersheds:

> . . . a notable example is found in the brook which crosses the road to Bridgewater about three miles above the village, and near C. F. Lincoln's. One of the first saw-mills in town was erected on this brook by Phinehas Williams and Jabez Bennett, and was in successful operation for years. Here also Elisha Royce carried on, for a still longer period, large and flourishing tannery works. The brook is now nearly dried up.[14]

Despite the general devastation of Woodstock's native forests, the use of Sugar Maples for the production of maple syrup and sugar remained an important part of local farm and forest operations. During the Civil War and the years which followed it, the difficulty in obtaining cane sugar from the southern states

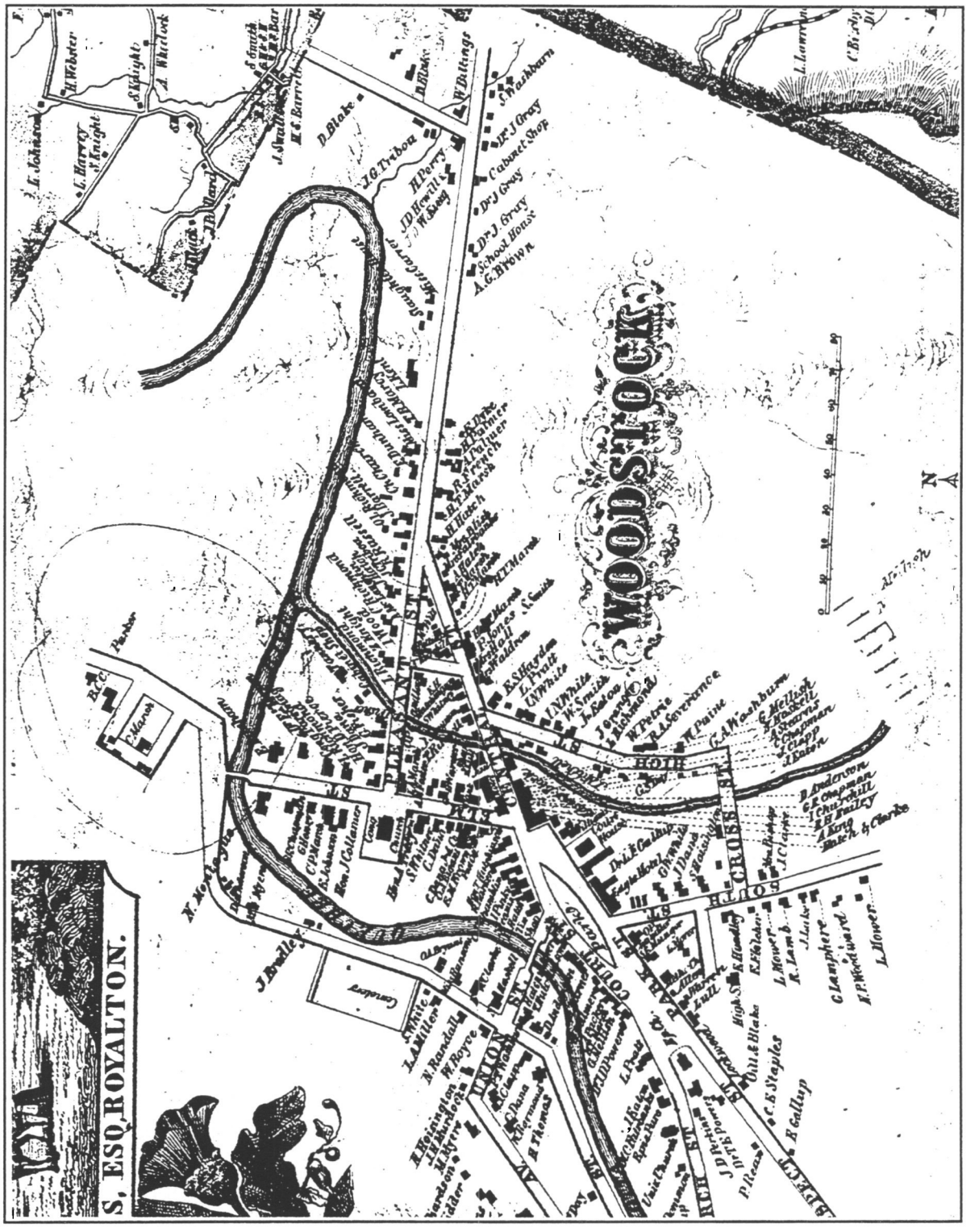


Figure 4: Map of Woodstock by Hosea Doton, 1855. Courtesy of the University of Vermont, Papers of George Perkins Marsh.

made maple sugaring economically lucrative. *Man and Nature* contains lengthy footnotes concerning the facts of maple sugaring, citing correspondence from George Perkins Marsh's brother Charles Jr. who managed the family's Woodstock farm.[15] Marsh referred to his brother as "an intelligent correspondent of much experience in the manufacture of maple sugar." By the middle of the nineteenth century the management of the little remaining woodland on the Marsh farm most probably focused on Sugar Maples. Meanwhile, all other remaining species would typically have been be cut down to provide the fuel to boil down the sap, further reducing the native diversity of the remaining woodland.

During his lifetime, George Perkins Marsh's influence on the management of the Marsh-Billings property was never extensive. The Marsh farm's landscape is significant largely because of *its* impact on the thinking of George Perkins Marsh rather than *his* direct impact on the evolution of the property. The responsibility of implementing Marsh's progressive ideas would fall to Frederick Billings. After 1825 Marsh became only an occasional visitor to his boyhood home, and never played an extensive role in the management of the property. Marsh made his last visit to Woodstock in 1861, when he was 60 years old.[16]

Evolution of the Marsh Landscape

In January of 1789, Joseph Marsh purchased wheelwright James Cady's fifty acre farm for his twenty-three year old son Charles.[17] Joseph Marsh, a lawyer and respected citizen, would later serve as Vermont's first lieutenant governor from 1778 to 1789. His son Charles lived in the village of Woodstock and worked his small farm across the river until 1790 when he moved into his new wood frame home, which was located approximately on the present site of the tennis court. George Perkins Marsh was born in this house in 1801.

Charles followed his father into the practice of law and politics, and his fortunes and land holdings grew. In 1797, he had the eastern slopes of Mount Tom cleared for use as pasture.[18] In 1800 Charles Marsh enlarged his estate with the purchase of a portion of the Rogers tract. In 1803 he added still more lands to his farm.[19] Among the early improvements to the homestead made by Charles Marsh was the installation of an aqueduct constructed of hollow logs to bring water to the house from a nearby mill pond.[20] Although the location of this mill pond is presently undetermined, the source of water currently feeding the lily pond and waterfall gardens north of the mansion may have originated as this utilitarian feature. Another site improvement undertaken by Charles Marsh included the construction of a massive stone wall around the pasture facing Elm Street in 1814.[21] Along with his law practice and farming, Charles Marsh was also involved in the construction of the Royalton/Woodstock turnpike (later Route 12), chartered in 1800, which provided a toll road from Woodstock, past the Marsh farm, and north to the villages of Pomfret and Royalton.[22]

As his family outgrew the original farm house, Marsh began construction of a large brick home in 1805, and moved his family in during 1807 (figure 5).[23] George Perkins Marsh was six years old at the time. The original frame home occupied by the Marsh family (later referred to as the George Perkins Marsh Birthplace) was let to a succession of tenants and later sold. This building was for some time used as

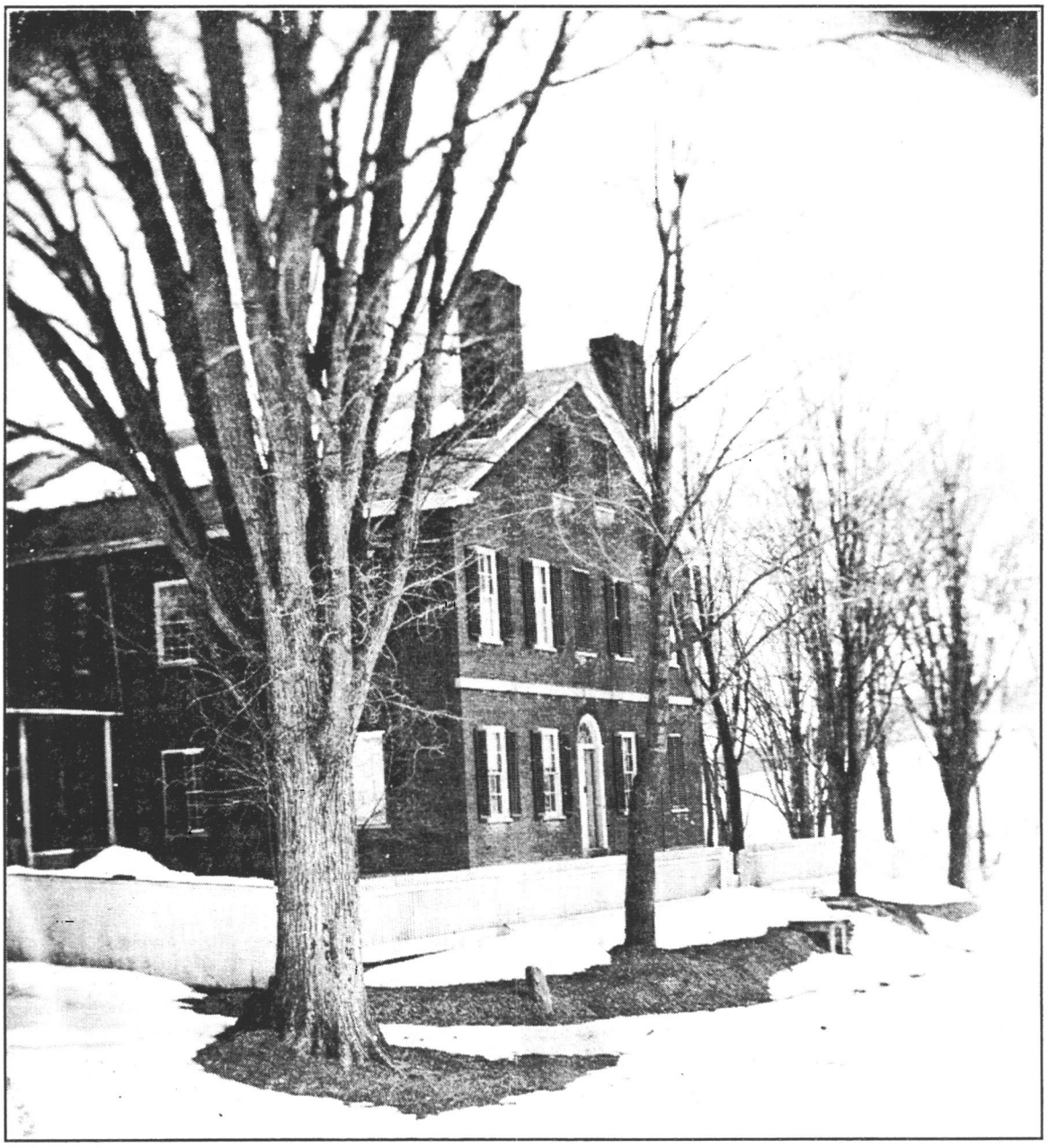


Figure 5: Charles Marsh house, Woodstock, Vermont. From a stereograph by Henry Cushing, c.1860's. Photograph courtesy Woodstock Historical Society.

a high school for young women under the direction of Reverend B.C.C. Parker. An advertisement for this school made around 1839 features a woodcut documenting the appearance of the school at the time (figure 6). This building (George Perkins Marsh Birthplace) was re-acquired by Charles Marsh Jr. in 1859, and eventually moved by Frederick Billings to its current location across Route 12.[24]

Following the death of Charles Marsh, Sr. in 1849, the management of the farm passed to George's younger brother, Charles Jr. Between the time of Charles Marsh, Sr.'s death and the eventual purchase of the property by Frederick Billings, the size of the Marsh holdings were reduced as Charles Jr. sold portions of his father's farm. This included the northern half of the floodplain meadow adjacent to the Ottauquechee (figure 7).[25] This meadow was sold to the Windsor County Agricultural Society in 1855, and not re-assembled into the Marsh-Billings property until 1932.[26]

Description of Marsh Landscape c. 1869

Combining the information from the Marsh farmstead diagram (figure 4) with an historic photograph c.1864-69 (figure 8) provides clear documentation of the landscape associated with the Marsh farmstead near the end of the Marsh tenure. From the diagram provided by figure 4 it can be seen that the organization of the Marsh farmstead was similar to the layout of buildings on the adjacent Dana and McKenzie farms (see period plan, figure 9). These vernacular farms were characterized by a tight arrangement of central dwelling and dependencies, closely combining domestic and agricultural functions.

The documentation of this period records an entry drive leading to the 1807 Federal-style brick mansion, paralleling its southern facade. A set of white stairs ascend an embankment at a right angle to the entry drive providing access to the mansion yard, which is surrounded by a white picket fence. The entry drive terminates at a carriage shed. South of the front entry drive is a pasture surrounded by the large stone wall constructed in 1814. The white outline of a roof appears from behind the mansion, indicating that a building existed on the site of the laundry present during the Billings ownership. The original wood-frame Marsh home built in 1790 appears on the site currently occupied by a tennis court. The roof of another building, a cottage or small barn appears in the view located down the hill from the original Marsh house. No other structures on the Marsh property appear in the figure 8.

This photographic documentation also records a large, triangular traffic island located just before the Elm Street bridge. The highway which passes by the farm appears to be lined with a stone wall on both sides. The front entry drive mentioned above intersects the highway at right angles. The embankment which falls off to the south east from the public highway appears to have a geometric arrangement of earthen mounds on its surface, which may indicate a young plantation of orchard trees.

A second entrance is shown joining the highway further up the hill, making use of a triangular traffic island for that junction. This entrance currently serves as a rarely used formal entrance to the mansion. Another road is shown climbing the hill in back of the mansion and leading to an upper meadow. This road is lined with a combination of stone walls and split rail fencing.

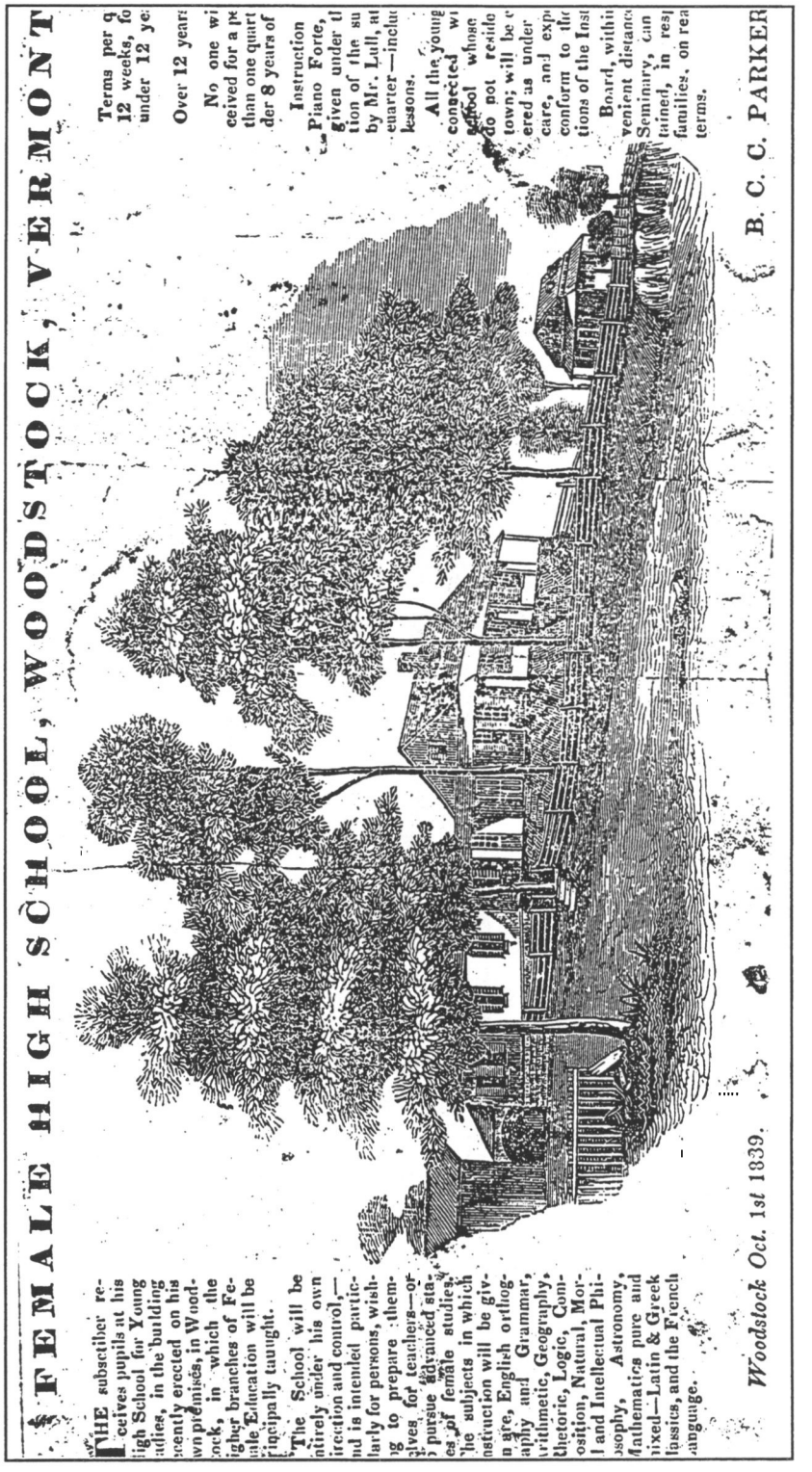


Figure 6: Advertisement: Female High School, Rev. B.C.C. Parker schoolmaster, 1839. Courtesy Billings Family Archives.

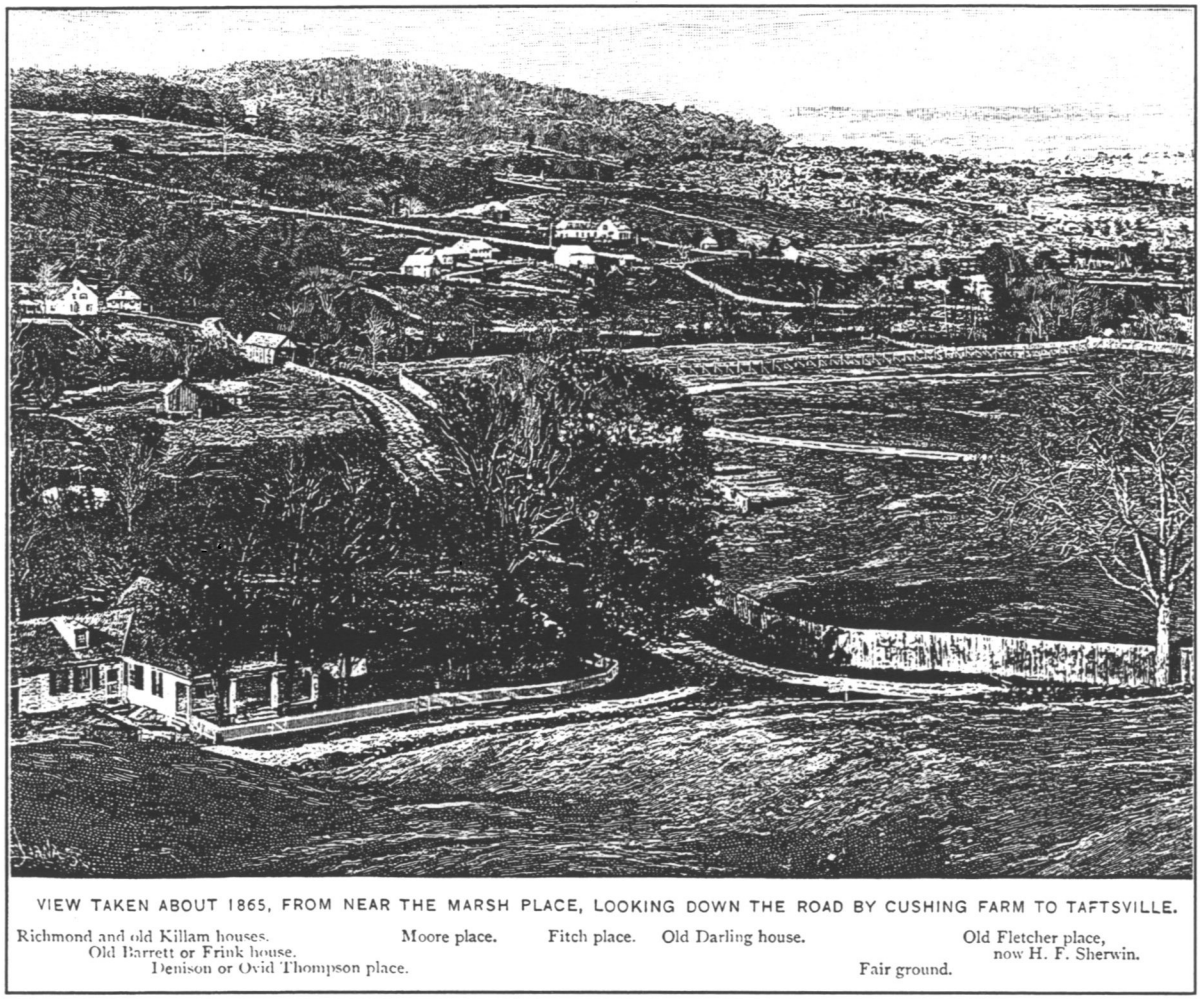


Figure 7: View of Ottauquechee floodplain occupied by the Windsor County Fairgrounds. Engraving from *The History of Woodstock*, by Henry Swan Dana.

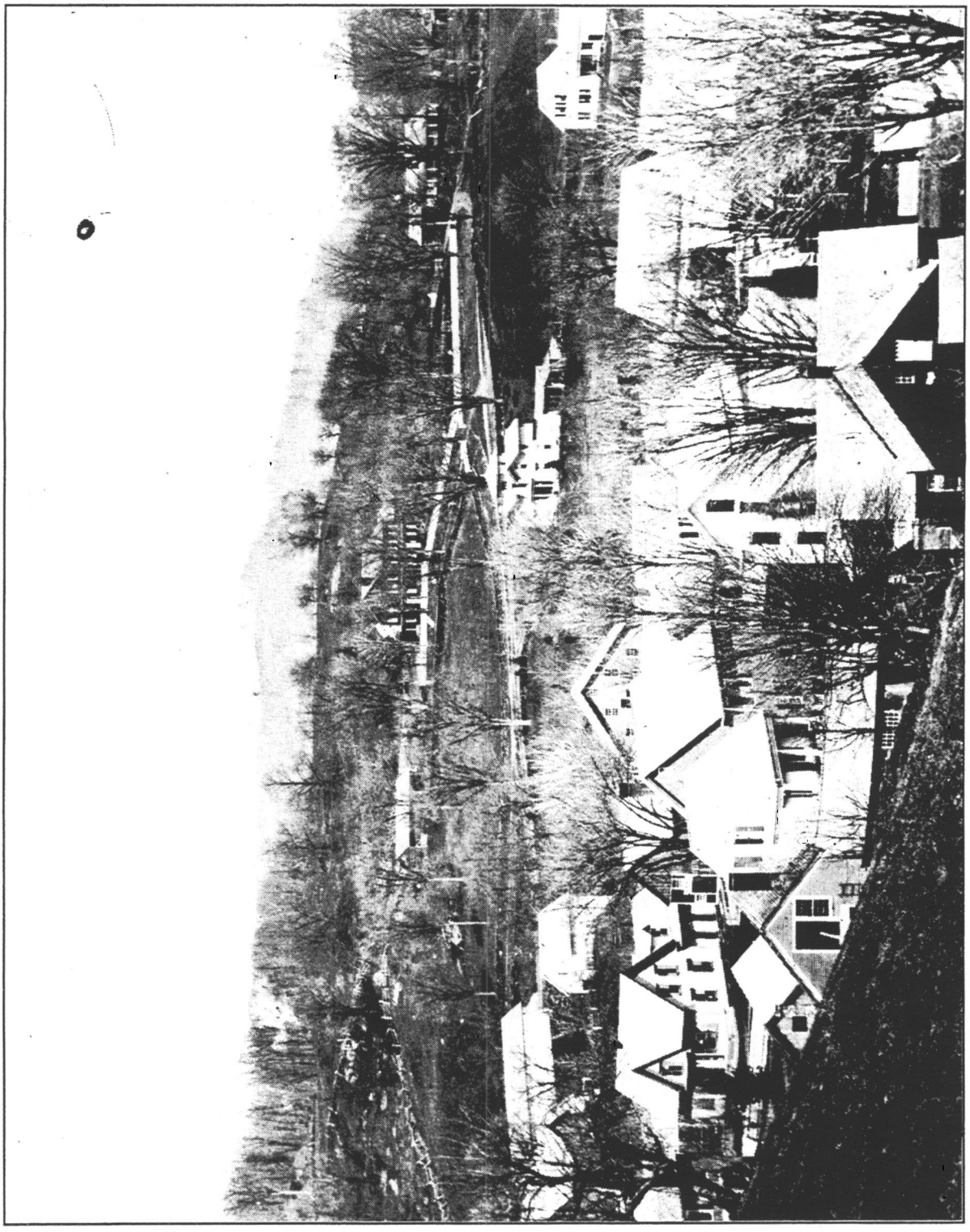


Figure 8: The Marsh Federal style house and hillside grounds c.1864-69. Photograph courtesy Woodstock Historical Society.

Notes:

- This is not a legal survey. Boundaries, locations, and limits are approximate.
- The village of Woodstock is shown for scale and reference only. It is not drawn to represent any historical period.
- Maps are intended to accompany *Land-Use History: Marsh Billings National Historical Park*, 1994. NPS North Atlantic Region, Division of Cultural Resources.
- 1992 NPS boundary is shown for reference

LEGEND

Structures

Road: undated on Doton surveys (1887-88)

Road: documented by multiple sources

Boundary of Marsh Holdings c.1869

NPS Boundary (1992)

SELECTED FEATURES

1 Original Marsh Homestead and Dependencies: (1790)
2 Federal-Style Brick Mansion (1807), bounded by picket fence
3 Carriage Shed
4 Front Meadow, bounded by stone wall (1814)
5 "Lower Barn" referred to in Dana's *History of Woodstock*
6 Upper Barn and Dependencies
7 Split Rail Fencing
8 Covered Bridge

Stone marker reads: NW Corner Rogers to Marsh 1800

Stone marker reads: NE Corner Rogers to Marsh 1800

Stone marker reads: NW Corner Burch to Marsh 1803

Stone marker reads: SE Corner Rogers Tract

The McKenzie Farm

The Pogue

Mixed Woodland and Pasture

NPS Boundary (1992)

Mount Tom

North Peak

South Peak

The Dana Farm

NPS Boundary (1992)

Windsor County Agricultural Society Fairgrounds

Meadow

Cemetery

WOODSTOCK (for scale only)

OTTAUQUECHEE RIVER

NORTH

Sources
- US Geological Survey, quad maps
- Doton Surveys (1887-1894), from Billings Family Archives
- Woodstock Map (1855), University of Vermont Library
- Survey, Bruno & Associates (1992), from NPS files

SCALE 1 Inch = 800 Feet

200 800 0 400 1200

MARSH•BILLINGS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

MARSH PERIOD

1789 -1869

(shown c. 1869)

OLMSTED CENTER FOR LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION

MARCH 1994

Figure 9

The photographic record available offers little information about the plantings immediately surrounding the Marsh mansion. The mansion's yard appears to have been surrounded by a white picket fence, and featured a simple front lawn planted with trees. Ornamental plantings are not in evidence, as would have been typical for a working farm of this period. Between the brick mansion and the Mount Tom hillside pastures, the land is shown containing a sparse growth of trees and subdivided by wooden split rail fences. A tract of woodland appears to the west of the upper meadow. However, one cannot assume that this glimpse of woodland represents the edge of a large unbroken forest. A view of the distant hills reveals the patchy quality of the region's forests at the time, broken by the bald tops of mountains.

The forest cover of the Mount Tom holdings of the Marsh farm was likely to have been thin and discontinuous. Wildfire is known to have burned the mountain in 1800 and again in 1845.[27] The result of these fires would translate into forest cover of early successional stages during the Marsh tenure. Portions of Mount Tom however may have been spared from fire and some patches of more mature woodland were indeed present. Evidence of this exists in the presence today of a few specimens up to 400 years old.[28] Woodland on Mount Tom which did escape both fires, is likely to have been located on the moist north facing slope of the mountain. From letters written from Charles Marsh, Jr. to his brother George Perkins Marsh, it can be assumed that the mature woodland extant on the property was managed for production of maple sugar. The burned portions of the mountain were most likely used as upland pasture for sheep and cattle.

The Doton surveys commissioned during a later period by Frederick Billings also provide a great deal of information about the Marsh farm prior to its purchase by Billings. Using these drawings it is possible to work backwards from the 1887 survey date to gain an understanding of the farm which lay outside of the frame of the camera (see period plan, figure 9).

From an examination of the Doton surveys it is clear that the Marsh farm at one time included far more acreage than the 246.6 acres that Billings was to purchase in 1869. Stone boundary markers which are outside of Billings' 1869 purchase are noted on the Doton surveys referencing lands owned by Marsh. These markers are inscribed with the words "Rogers to Marsh 1800" and "Burch to Marsh 1803" and remain as artifacts on the site. The larger Marsh farm described by these markers and by Dana's narrative account, was eventually reduced by 1869 to the size of the parcel purchased by Billings.

The roads which served the property are not well documented for the Marsh period. However, once again, the later Doton surveys are helpful, including some features which predate the Billings period. Because all roads constructed by Billings are prominently dated on this set of drawings, it seems likely that roads shown without dates existed in some form or condition prior to Billings' initial purchase. For example, the main farm road leading from the Marsh farmstead up the north side of Mount Tom to the Pogue is not dated on the Doton drawings, suggesting that it may date from the Marsh period. One can be less sure of the roads closer to the Marsh farmstead itself. Even though these routes are not dated on the Doton maps, it is known that Billings undertook a great program of change around the mansion between his acquisition of the property and the commencement of the Doton surveys. Consequently, while the roads around the grounds may have originally dated from the Marsh period, their alignment may have been significantly altered by Billings.

BILLINGS PERIOD (1869-1914)

Documentation

The historian Robin Winks and Henry Swan Dana provide excellent secondary documentation regarding the Billings period. During the preparation of the biography, *Frederick Billings: A Life*, Winks made exhaustive use of the Billings Family Archives. The focus however was on the multifaceted life and activities of Frederick Billings, rather than an in depth examination of the archives related to the Woodstock property. While Winks' work is of great value, the discussion of the Woodstock property is superficial. Later research into these archives will certainly uncover additional information regarding land-use during this period.

Although a majority of the Billings Family Archives is uncataloged, a number of valuable sources were made available through Janet Houghton, Curator of Decorative Arts for the Billings Farm & Museum. Houghton's familiarity with the collection allowed her to pull a number of pertinent historic plans and photographs for duplication. Some of the images in the collection are made available courtesy of the Woodstock Historical Society. Houghton's *Local Gazetteer* was written to provide information to researchers concerning names and dates of various structures on the property. Her work was of great value, as was the chronology assembled by David Donath, Director of the Billings Farm & Museum.

The ability to map the forest cover during the Billings period was made possible due to the detailed Forest Management & Ecological Inventory prepared by John Wiggin, Director of Land Use, Woodstock Resort Corporation. Wiggin has been responsible for the management of the Mount Tom forest lands since 1972. His report was extremely valuable in reconstructing the existence and location of forest plantations during the different periods of ownership.

Landscape Setting

Henry Swan Dana reports that Frederick Billings first saw the Marsh farm and mansion in 1835 when his family was forced by a debtor judgement to move to from Royalton to Woodstock. The twelve year old Frederick was alleged to have been shepherding the family pig down the Royalton-Woodstock turnpike during this relocation when he paused in front of the Marsh mansion and resolved never again to be poor.[29] Whether or not this quaint story is true, Frederick Billings did in fact go on to make a great fortune in the practice of law during the California gold rush, and the through subsequent wise investment of his earnings.

When Frederick Billings and his wife Julia returned to the east in 1864, they resided both in New York City and Woodstock. Eventually Woodstock became the family's primary home, and all but one of the Billings children were born there. It was during this time that Billings became familiar with Marsh's *Man and Nature*.[30] In 1869, Frederick Billings purchased the 246.6 acre Marsh farm from Charles Jr., who by that time had taken charge of the family estate. Immediately upon the purchase of the property, Billings embarked on an ambitious program of rural improvement and acquisition of real estate which

would continue, under the direction of his heirs, into the next century (figure 10).

Of great interest are the changes during this period which occurred on portions of the Billings farm located well beyond the limits of the immediate mansion grounds. With the acquisition of the Marsh farm, Billings began the development of a model farm which would demonstrate the best scientifically based agricultural and forestry management practices. The Morrill Act, creating the nation's system of land grant universities with the special charge of promoting a study of scientific agriculture, had been signed by President Abraham Lincoln in 1862. Billings' desire to create a model farm reflects in part the spirit of the times, as well as his appreciation of the published works of George Perkins Marsh.

The Billings Domestic Landscape

Billings began his transformation of the Marsh farm to a country estate, by engaging the Boston architect William Ralph Emerson to remodel the existing Federal-style mansion to the Stick Style, which was fashionable at the time. Simultaneous with the remodelling of the house, Robert Morris Copeland, also of Boston, was hired to provide a conceptual site plan for the layout of the grounds immediately surrounding the house (figure 11).

Robert Morris Copeland (1830-1874) had established himself in practice as a "landscape gardener" following his graduation from Harvard in 1853, at which time he began a partnership with Horace Cleveland which lasted until 1860. By the time of his death in 1874, Copeland was noted as one of a handful of leaders in the field. Besides the laying out of country places for the wealthy, his work included public parks, cemeteries, and town planning throughout New England. [31]

The 1869 Copeland plan provided Billings with a design scheme which would later be realized in a somewhat modified form. A notable element of this scheme was the reconfiguration of the driveways approaching the mansion. Copeland's re-design of the entry drive obliterated the orthagonal circulation pattern which defined the earlier Marsh domestic/agricultural compound. Copeland's entry drive approached the mansion on the diagonal, in keeping with the best tenets of English landscape tradition. Leaving the public highway, Copeland led the traveler up the hill following a gentle arc, through plantings of evergreen trees. The drive bisected at the acute point of a teardrop shaped planting island allowing the drive to make a loop through a formal porte cochere which had been added to the mansion's north facade.

With the obliteration of the original driveways which had served to divide the mansion's front yard from the adjacent front pasture, a sweeping front lawn was created, giving the front lawn an expansive, pastoral quality. Also associated with the reconfiguration of the driveway was the removal of a portion of the c. 1814 stone wall which edged the previous front drive on its south side. It appears that these stones may have been re-used in the construction of the wall which currently extends to the present front entrance. This single design move within the Copeland plan transformed the basic character of the area around the Billings mansion from that of a simple New England farmhouse yard and partitioned outlying fields, to that of a stylish country seat laid out in the English landscape gardening tradition (figure 12).

SMALL PARCELS			
A	Calfin and O'Grady to Billings	4/1/1869	0.94 Acres
B	Anderson to Billings	11/8/1869	1.50 Acres
C	Royce to Billings	8/20/1870	5.30 Acres
D	Washburn to Billings	9/12/1872	0.75 Acres
E	Emerson to Billings	10/14/1878	0.38 Acres
F	Dana to Billings	8/18/1879	0.08 Acres
G	Windsor County Agri. Society to Billings	10/28/1884	6.60 Acres
H	Cox to Billings	7/1/1885	3.60 Acres
I	Blossom to Billings	5/9/1887	3.00 Acres
J	Atwood to Billings	9/8/1887	6.90 Acres
K	Moore to Billings	6/15/1888	6.00 Acres
L	Nutting to Billings	11/21/1889	0.86 Acres

Sammuel W. Cox
M. W. Richmond
D. F. Pingry
H. Thompson
A. M. Foster
Stone marker reads: NW Corner Rogers to Marsh 1800
Montague
"H" 1885
Thompson
Geo. E. Thompson
Dana to Billings 10/28/1884 104.6 Acres
Stone marker reads: NE Corner Rogers to Marsh 1800
Stone marker reads: NW Corner Burch to Marsh 1803
Thompson to Billings 6/28/1890 11.9 Acres
Dana to Billings 8/16/1890 4.71 Acres
Dana to Billings 7/30/1890 7.9 Acres
Dana
Line of Fence in 1991
"F" 1878
"M" Sold 1951
McKenzie to Billings 1/4/1894 118.4 Acres
McKenzie to Billings 8/27/1887 33.6 Acres
"J" 1887
Stone marker reads: SE Corner Rogers Tract
Marsh to Billings 3/16/1869 246.6 Acres
Billings Farm Inc.
Mary French Rockefeller
Howe Farm Dana to Billings 10/28/1884 122.3 Acres
NPS Boundary (1992)
Mount Tom
North Peak
Ladd
King
Kidder
Pierce
South Peak
Pierce to Billings 7/12/1870 19.9 Acres
Kellogg to Billings
Marble
Meyers to Billings 7/19/1887 12.9 Acres
Kennedy and Wheeler to Billings 7/19/1887 12.5 Acres
"A" 1869
"B" 1869
"D" 1889
Randall
Cemetery
McKenzie to Billings 11/23/1898 68.6 Acres
Fence Line in 1961
Moore to Billings 4/24/1873 77.8 Acres
Fitch Pasture Williams to Billings 11/18/1889 27.2 Acres
Blossom to Billings 5/19/1887 49.7 Acres
Buck to Billings 1/31/1889 62.8 Acres
Williams
"K" 1888
Thompson to Billings 9/20/1877 87.5 Acres
"I" 1870
Moore to Billings 6/15/1888 11.2 Acres
"C" 1870
"G" 1884
Windsor County Agricultural Society Acquired 1932
Marsh to Billings 3/16/1869 246.6 Acres
Merrill to Billings 9/24/1870 11.8 Acres
WOODSTOCK (for scale only)

NORTH

Sources
- US Geological Survey, quad maps
- Doton Surveys (1887-1894), from Billings Family Archives
- Survey, Bruno & Associates (1992), from NPS files

SCALE 1 Inch = 800 Feet

200 800
0 400 1200

MARSH-BILLINGS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
BILLINGS PROPERTY ACQUISITIONS
1869-1894
(with other dates as noted)

OLMSTED CENTER FOR LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION
MARCH 1994

Figure 10

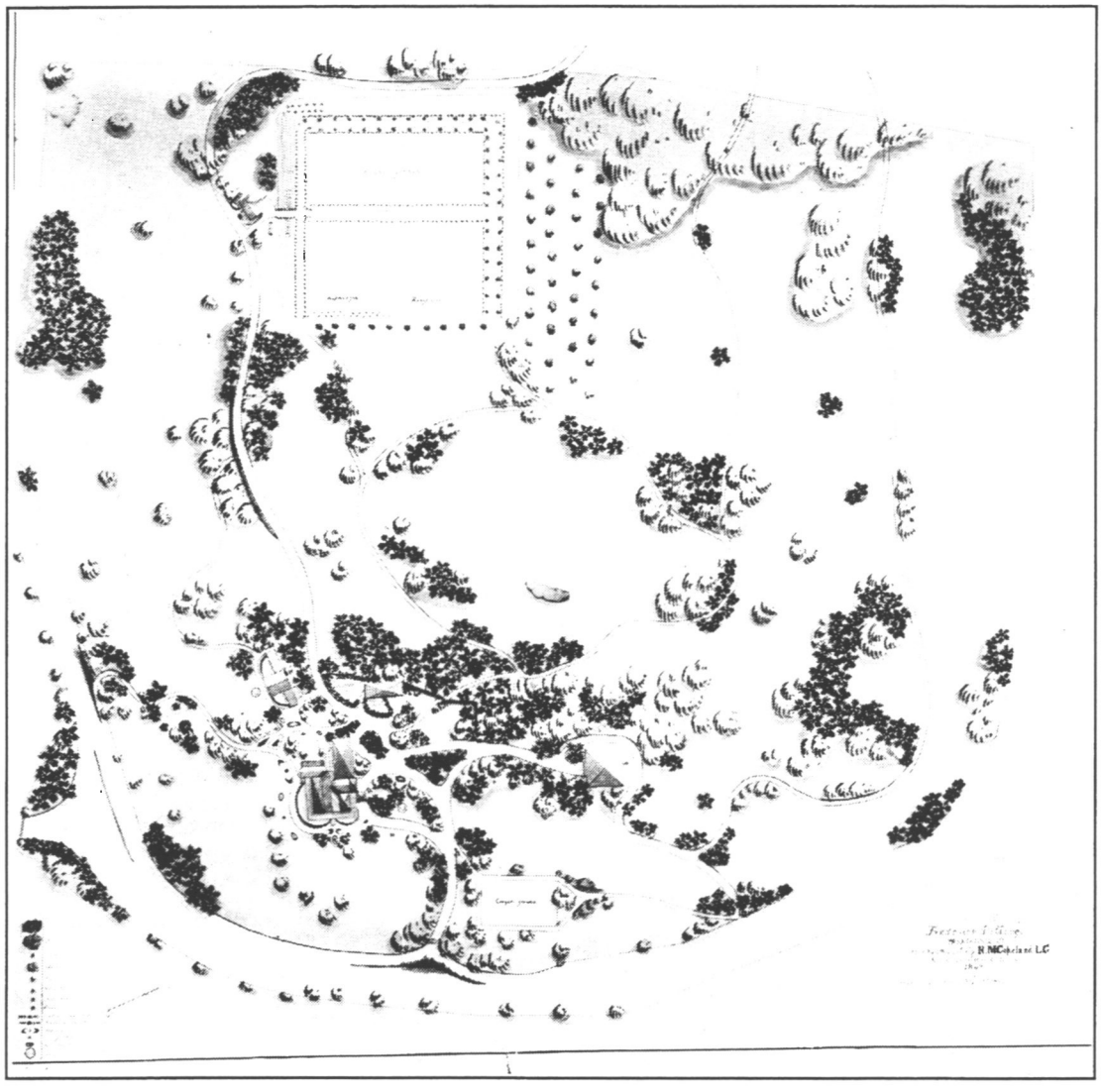


Figure 11: Billings landscape plan, by Robert Morris Copeland, 1869. Drawing courtesy Billings Family Archives.

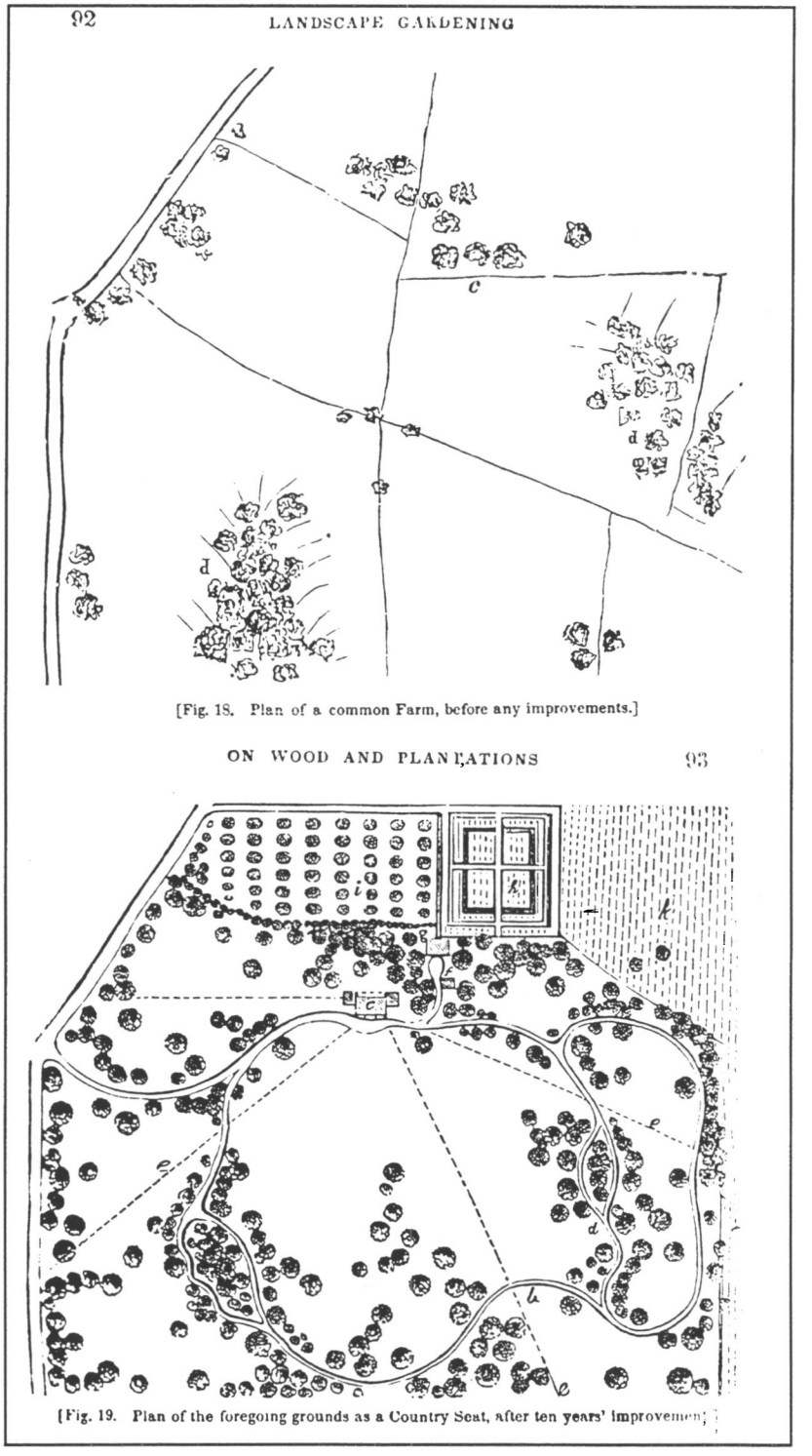


Figure 12: Typical American landscape design of the mid-nineteenth century. From A.J. Downing's *Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, 1841.

Copeland's planting scheme for the Billings site specified "picturesque" groupings of evergreen and deciduous trees intended to direct vistas outward from various points on the grounds and in the mansion. This artful arrangement of plant material also visually and spatially separated the mansion from the service areas of the landscape. The plan specified that a croquet ground be installed on the site of the original Marsh home (the building was moved across Route 12 and down an embankment to its present location). Copeland proposed a greenhouse be constructed on the site of the former carriage shed. A large kitchen garden and orchard was proposed for the upper meadow to the west, served by a small stone service building (figure 13).

The circulation system for carriages and pedestrians as drawn by Copeland studiously avoids anything approaching the pure geometry of straight lines or true curves. One walkway meanders down the slope to the Elm Street bridge, and features a rustic "summer house" or wayside shelter (figure 14). Copeland also proposed a great number of flower beds strategically located so as to provide points of interest from the veranda of the mansion and at key points along the walks. Fountains and urns were suggested as accents for many of these beds.

Comparing the Copeland plan with the detailed Doton surveys conducted in 1887-1888, it is clear that what was actually built on the property follows Copeland's proposal quite closely (figure 15). Variations between the Copeland plan and the later survey show that discrepancies between the two drawings appear as refinements of Copeland's overall concept. Using Copeland's drawing and historic photographs from this period one can get a fairly clear image of the Billings estate in the 1870s.

A view taken from the croquet court shows the northeast side of the Stick-Style mansion (figure 16). Mount Tom is visible in the background, covered with patchy tree cover. A large Elm is evident to the southwest of the mansion. The foreground shows the drive laid out with the teardrop shapes drawn in Copeland's 1869 plan and embellished with young plantings.

Another view taken from the Elm Street Bridge looks to the south west of the mansion (figure 17). This view documents the existence of the front pedestrian gate house and the wayside summerhouse. The triangular traffic island in the foreground appears to be enclosed with combination of fencing made of planks and peeled poles. The background reveals the belvedere and the greenhouse, designed by Faulkner, Clarke and Dorr, on the top of the hill.

A third view showing the mansion and grounds was taken from the vicinity of the iron Elm Street bridge (figure 18). This view documents the large Elm trees which were formerly enclosed within the stone walled front pasture. The picket fence which defined the mansion yard prior to its renovation has been removed, along with the front southern drive. The mansard roof of the laundry is visible behind and to the left of the mansion. It is interesting to note the imposing presence of the mansion over the village prior to the introduction and growth of evergreen trees.

In 1885-1886 Billings undertook a second remodeling of the mansion. At this time he engaged the architect Henry Hudson Holly to strip away the mansard roof and other Stick-Style details and remake the mansion in the Queen Anne Style which had become popular (figure 19). Apparently, simultaneous

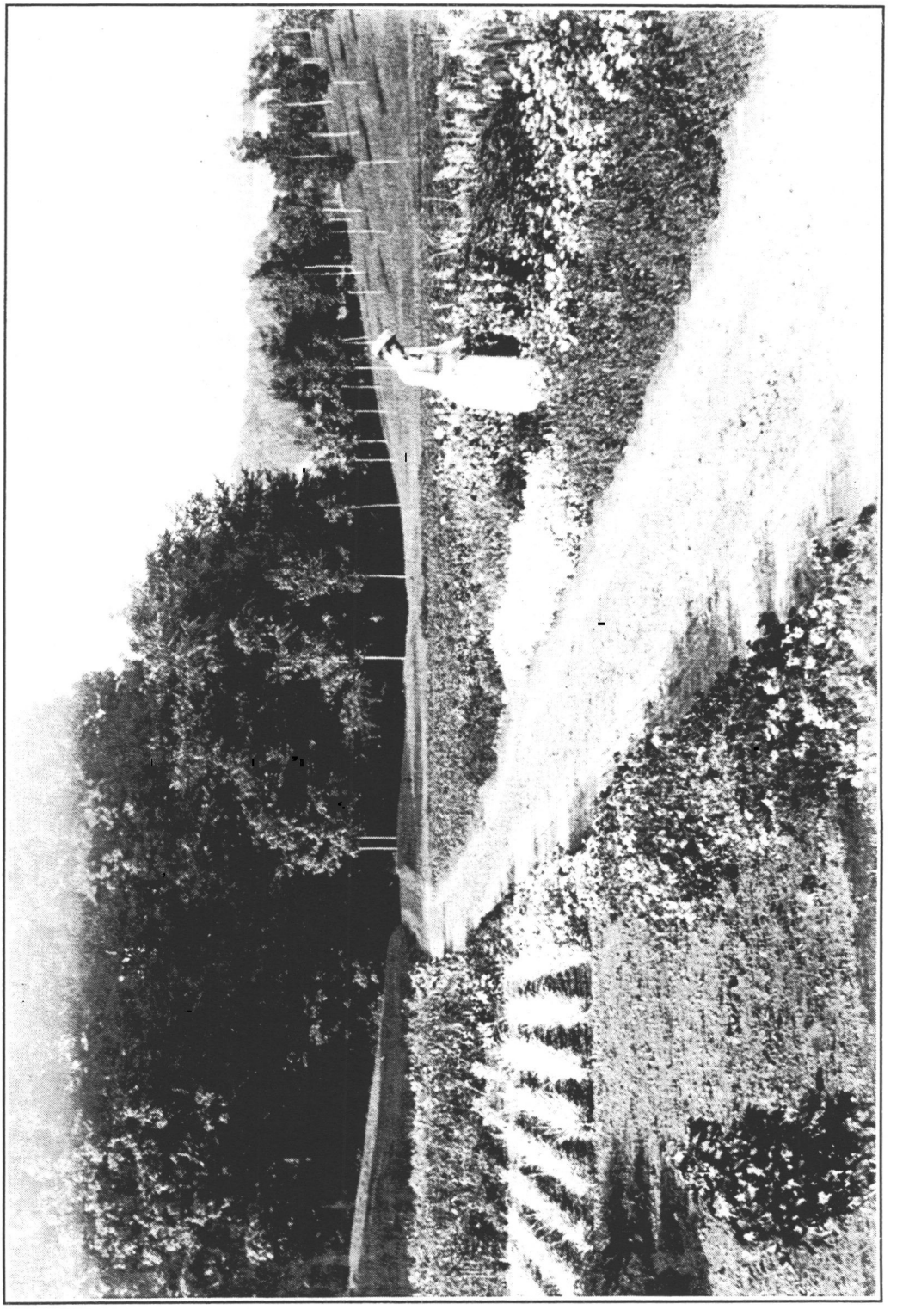
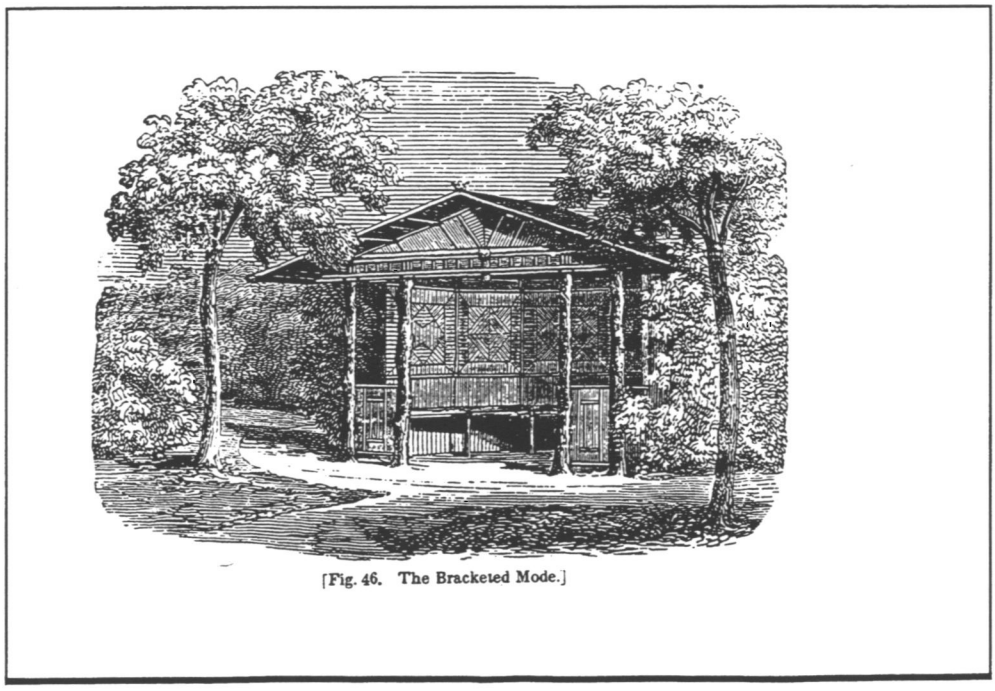


Figure 13: Kitchen garden in Billings upper meadow, c. 1887-90. This garden was proposed in Copeland's 1869 landscape plan. Photograph courtesy Billings Family Archives.



[Fig. 46. The Bracketed Mode.]

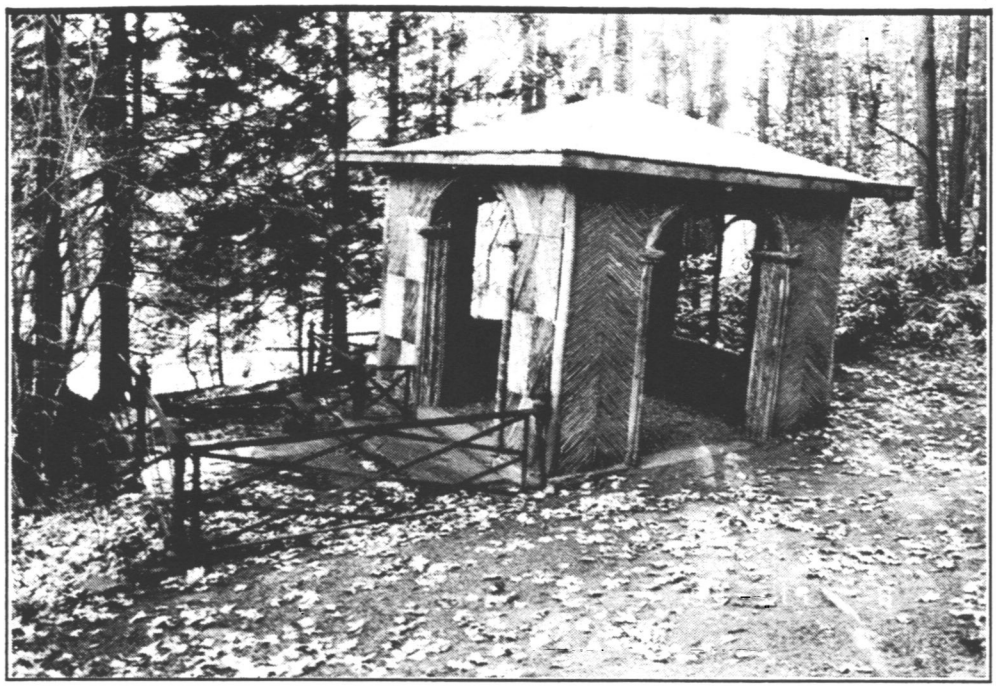


Figure 14: Comparison of a prototypical rustic shelter appearing in Downing (1841), with wayside "summerhouse" at Marsh-Billings NHP. NPS, NARO, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Architecture.

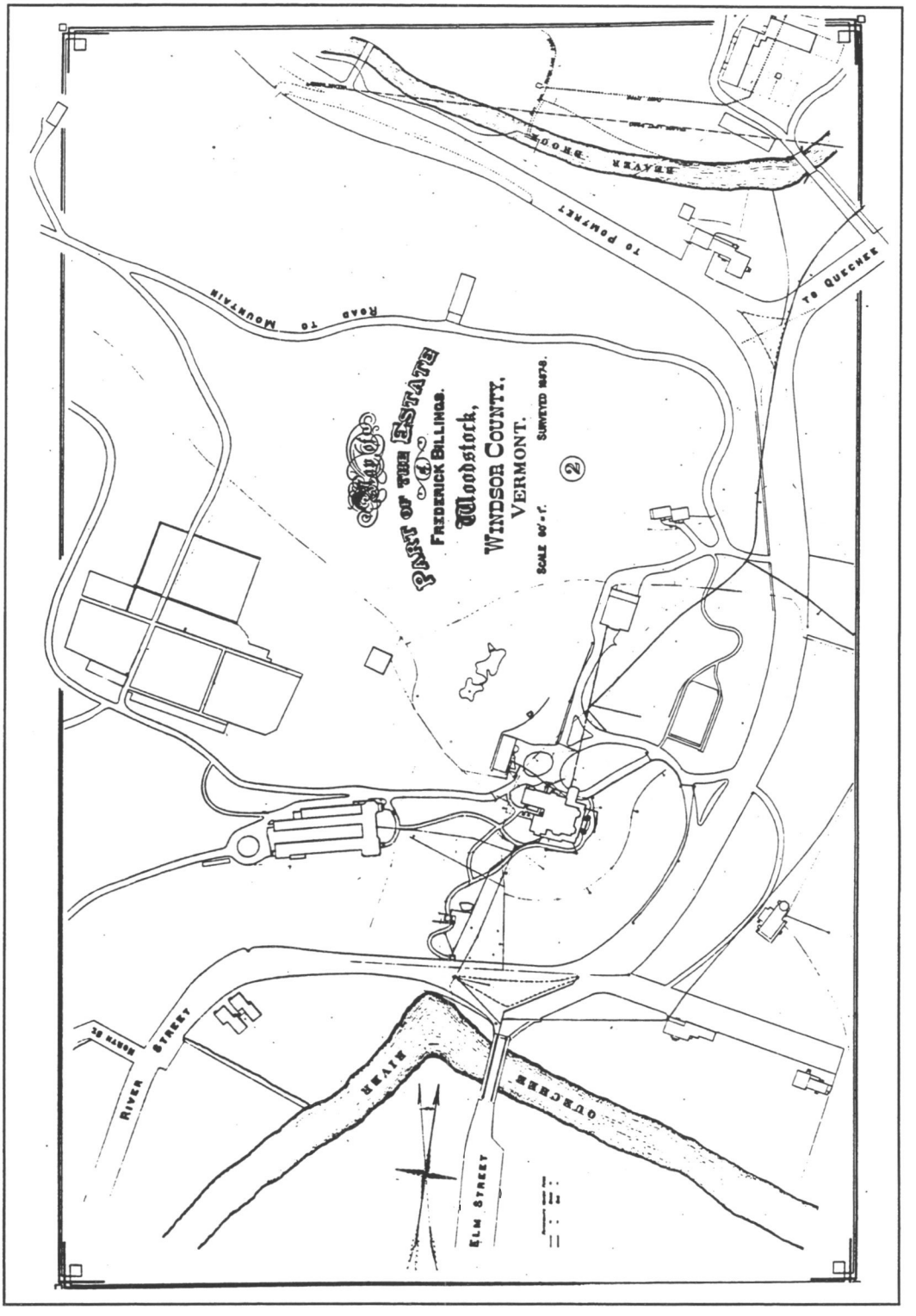


Figure 15: Billings Estate Map No. 2, by Doton and others, 1887-88. Drawing courtesy Billings Family Archives.



Figure 16: Northeast side of Billings mansion and grounds, c. 1870. View shows main entry drive young plantings. Photograph courtesy Billings Family Archives.

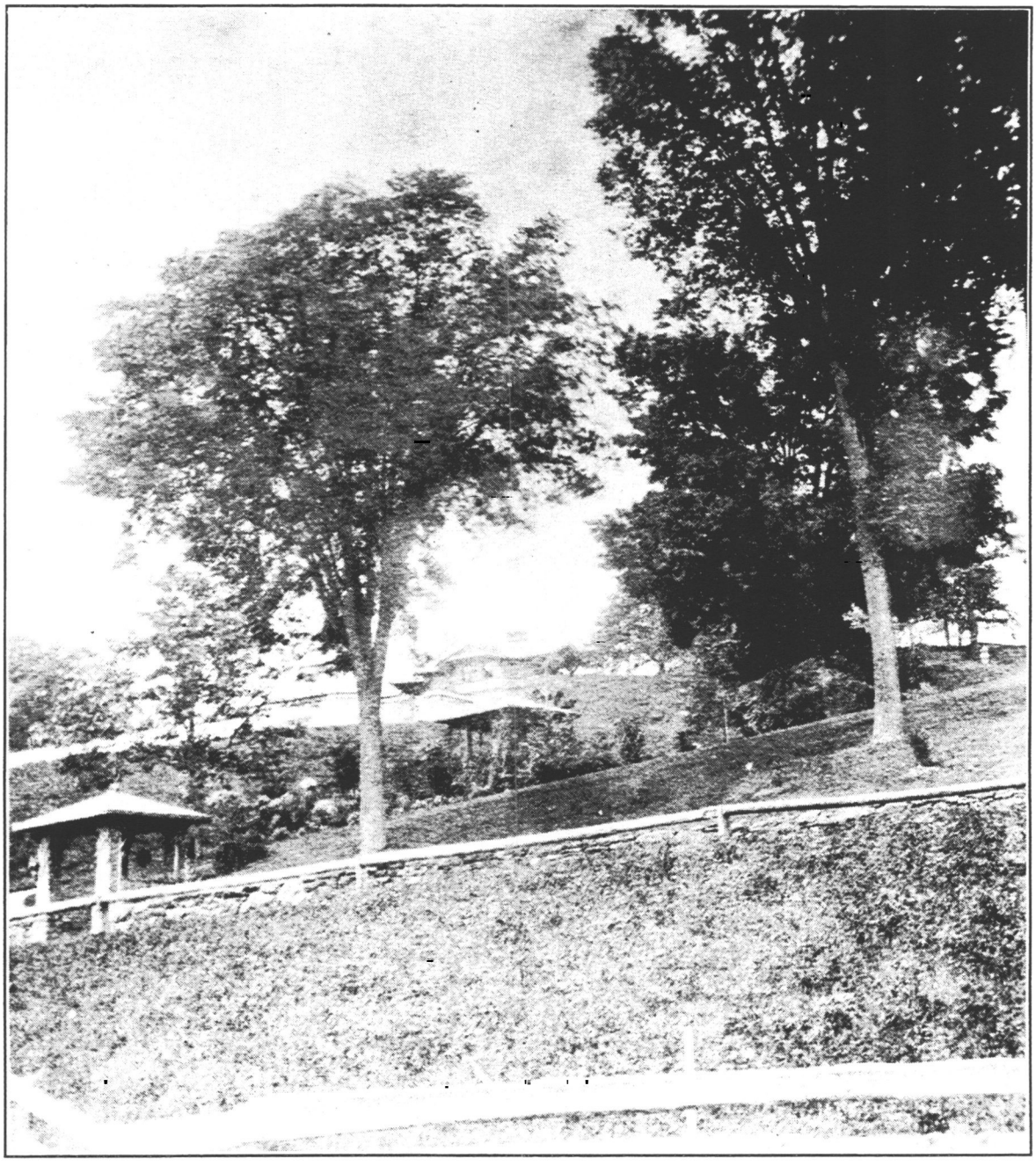


Figure 17: Billings gatehouse, summerhouse and greenhouse, no date. From a stereograph by Henry Cushing. Photograph courtesy Billings Family Archives.

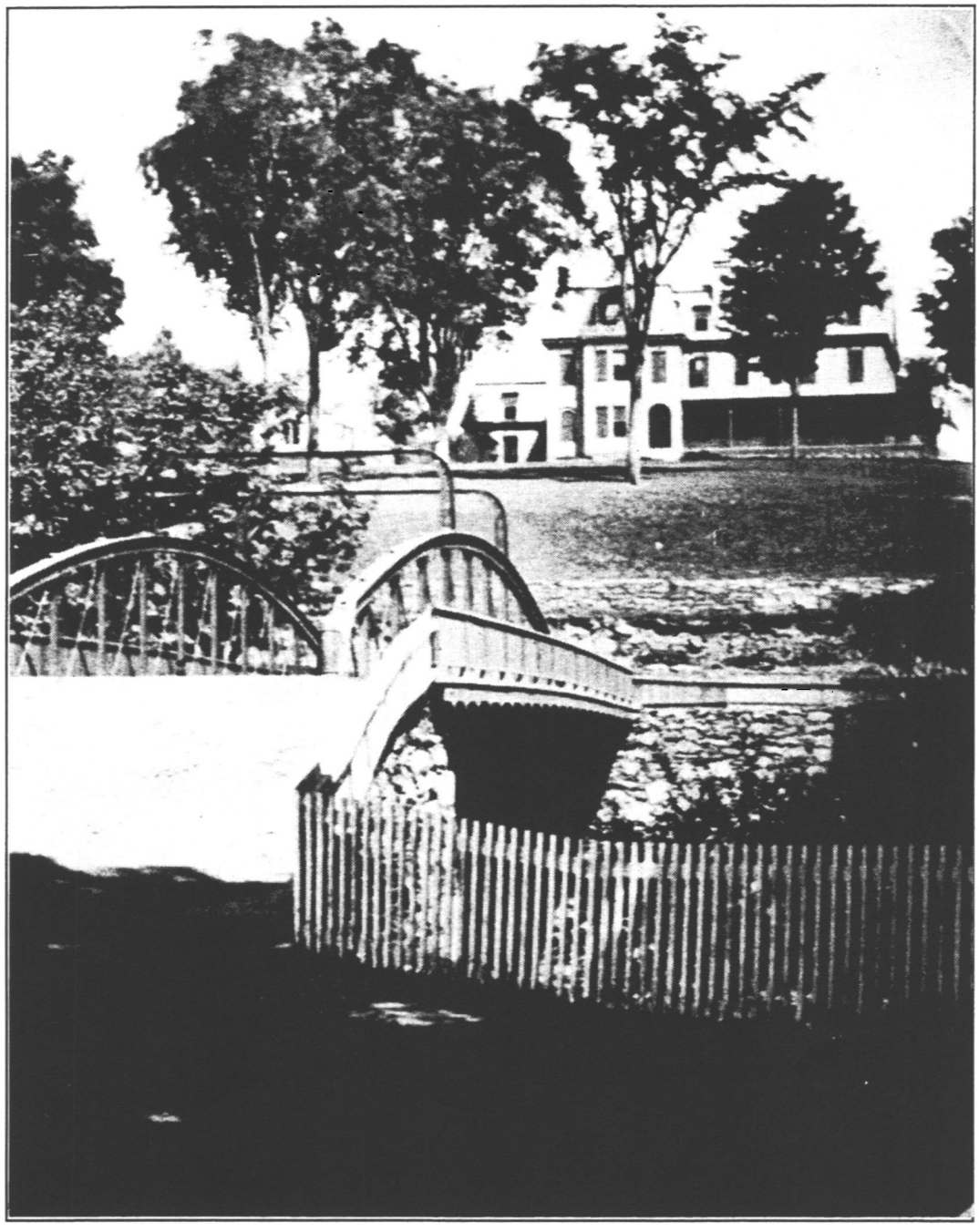


Figure 18: Billings mansion and grounds from iron bridge, c. 1870. Note imposing presence of mansion prior to evergreen plantings. Photograph courtesy Billings Family Archives.



Figure 19: Billings mansion after remodeling by architect H.H. Holly, c. 1886. Photograph courtesy Billings Family Archives.

with the H. H. Holly renovations, the grounds around the mansion were partially re-landscaped, but little is known about the extent or character of these changes. However, the record of the 1887-1888 Doton surveys incorporates these last Billings renovations to the mansion. These remarkably detailed drawings provide property acquisition dates, grantors and acreages. Buildings are located on the drawings along with the water, waste, and gas pipes that served them. The location of water hydrants offer clues as to the historic location of flower beds. The plan of the gas pipes offers probable locations of original gas light fixtures.

A photograph taken from the heights of Mount Tom documents the use and character of the land c.1886 (figure 20). This view shows the meadow of the Billings farm featuring only the most westerly range of barn structures, those closest to the public highway. This would indicate that between 1886 and 1888, the size or extent of the agricultural buildings associated with the Billings farm increased dramatically. This growth in the amount of barn space is understandable given that Billings had recently hired George Aitken, an experienced and capable farm manager to expand the enterprise of the farm. The view also shows the clean tilled fields of the floodplain meadow, and the young plantations of evergreens which are known to have been planted in 1880. Other structures and landscape features in this view include the greenhouses designed by Faulkner, Clark and Dorr, the wayside summerhouse and gatehouse. Another view from across the river in Woodstock documents the same view a few years later (figure 21).

In the years following Frederick Billings' death in 1890, the property was managed by the trustees of his legal estate. However, several garden projects were commissioned by his widow Julia and his daughters Laura and Elizabeth. The grounds immediately surrounding the Billings mansion were gradually redesigned through the separate efforts of three well-know figures in American landscape architecture: Charles Platt, Martha Brookes Hutcheson, and Ellen Shipman. In 1899 painter, architect and landscape architect Charles A. Platt was paid for his design of garden seats and a fountain for the formal garden at the mansion.[32] The four-square fountain terrace garden had been laid out at the direction of Laura Billings earlier in 1895 (figure 22).[33] Platt (1861-1933) was one of the members of the renowned Cornish artist's colony, which flourished at the turn of the twentieth century in nearby Cornish New Hampshire.[34] The connection with Platt most likely came about through Laura Billings Lee, who had established social connections with the members of the artist's colony, and went on to rent a residence there in 1901.[35]

The Billings Archives lists a payment from Laura Billings to Charles Platt in 1899 for the design of a fountain and benches for the pre-existing formal garden (figures 23-24). It is probable that the four-square formal garden and the long terraces were also designed by Platt. Although, no documentation has been found that proves that Platt had a hand in the initial layout of the garden, it is unlikely that Platt, the well-known architect and landscape architect would be commissioned to merely design the ornament of another artist's garden design. It is known that Laura Billings Lee and her husband would later engage Platt to design a home for them nearby on River Road which was constructed in 1906-1907, as well as another home in New York City. [36]

Another landscape architect, Martha Brookes Brown, later to take the married name Hutcheson, was also involved with aspects of the redesign of the Billings estate in the years following Frederick Billings death.

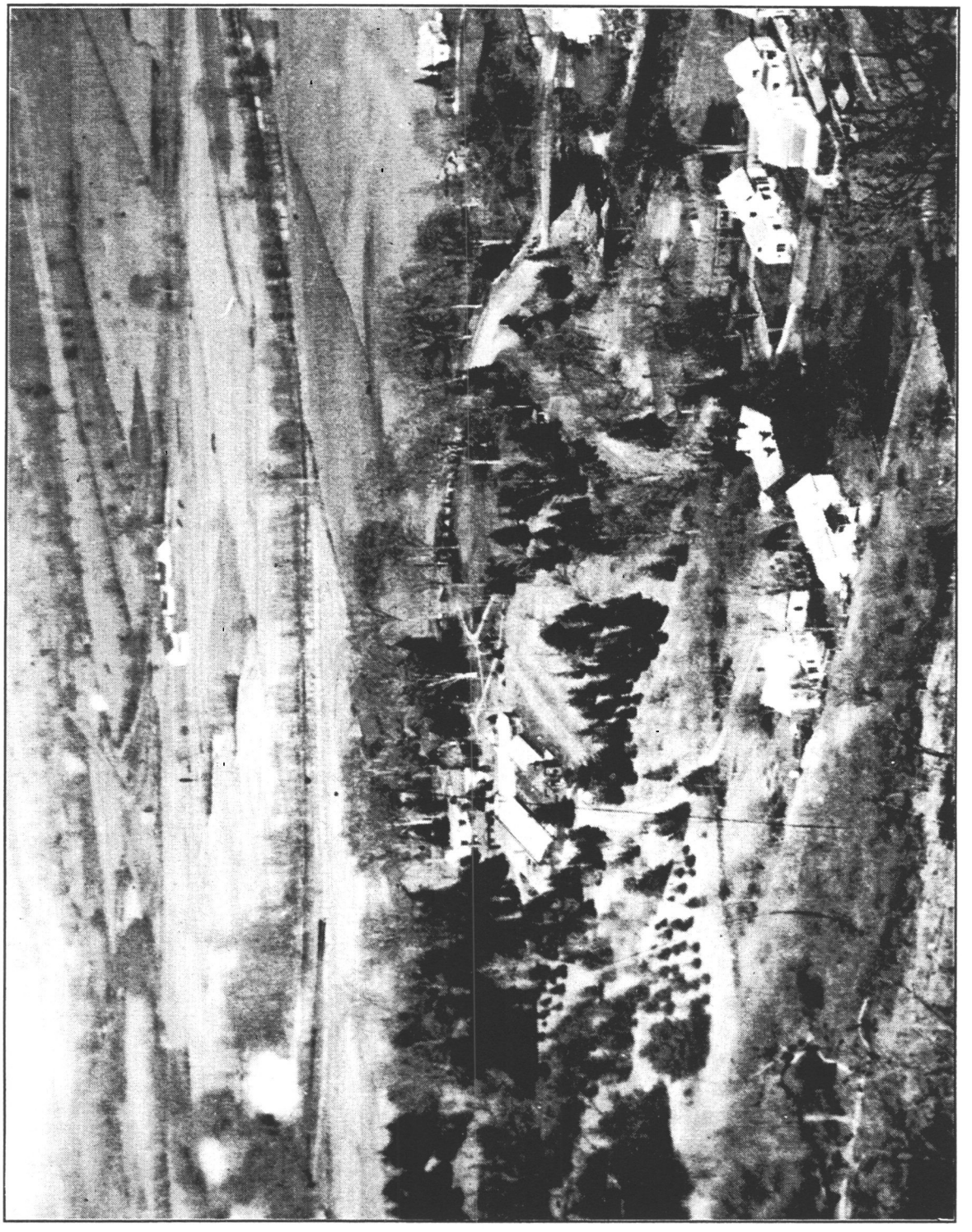


Figure 20: Billings mansion, grounds and floodplain meadow from the heights of Mount Tom, c. 1886. Photograph courtesy Woodstock Historical Society.

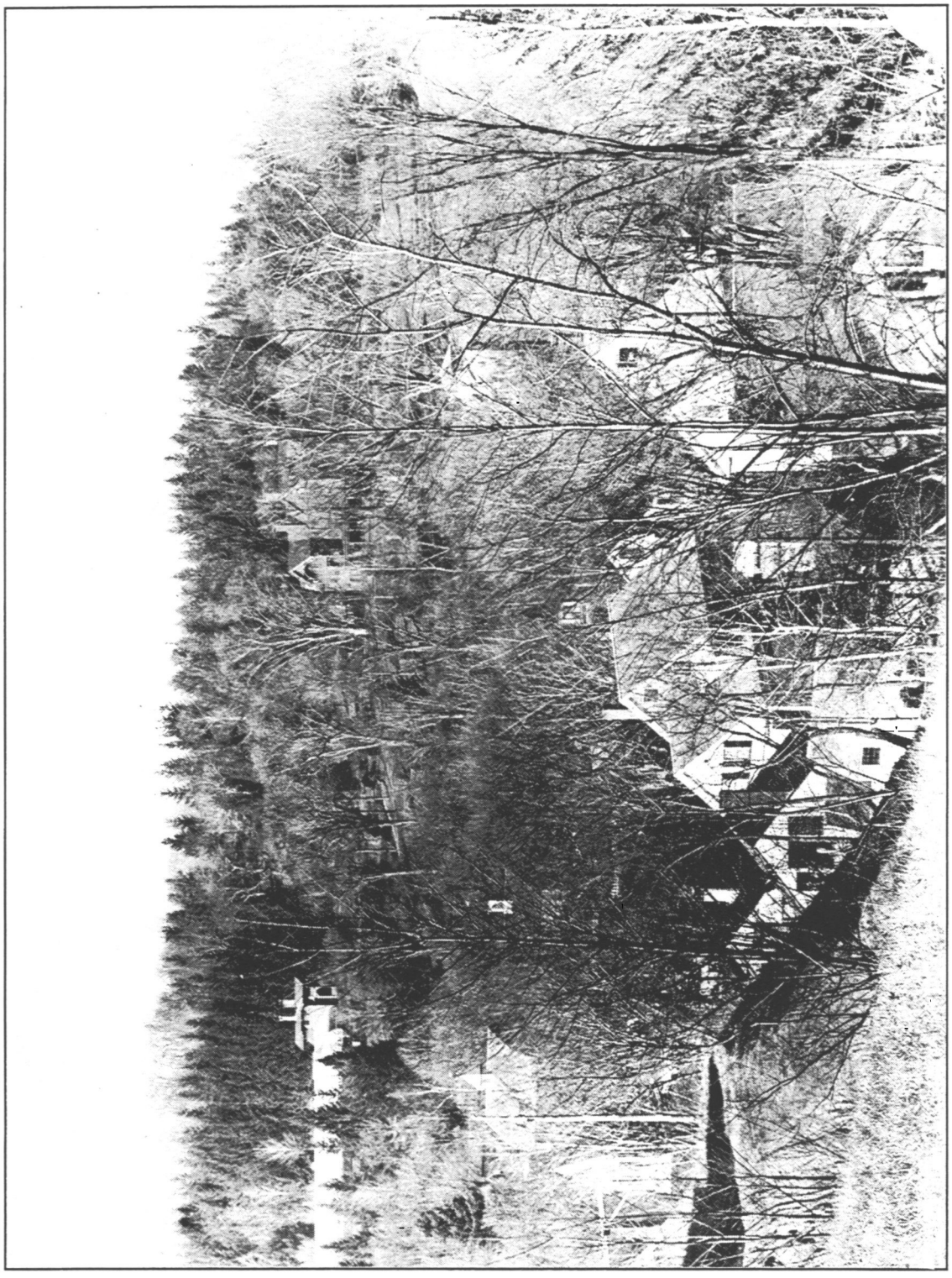


Figure 21: Billings mansion and grounds as seen from Mount Peg, c. 1890. Photograph courtesy Billings Family Archives.

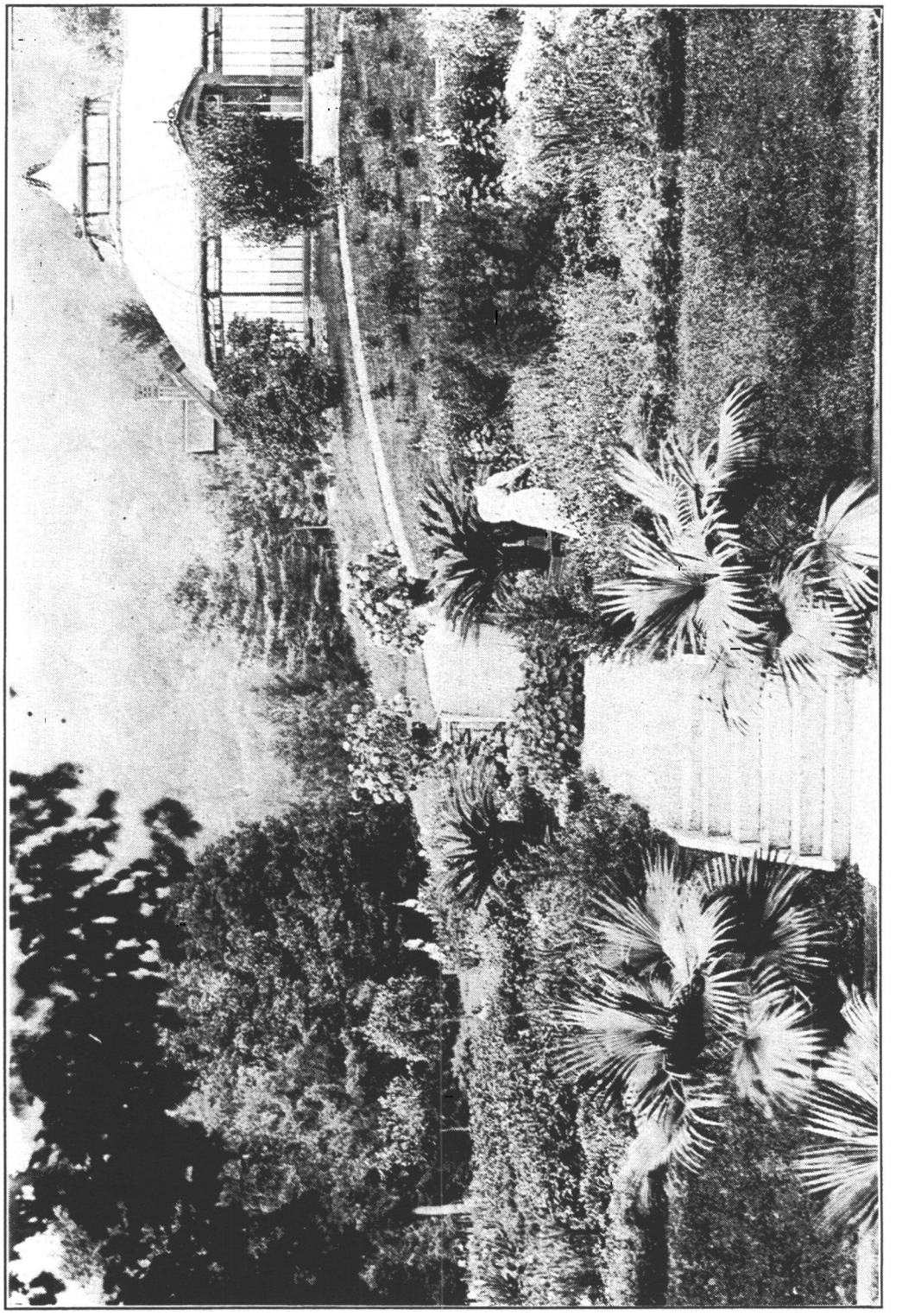


Figure 22: Four-square garden and Palm house before installation of the fountain designed by Platt, c. 1895. Photograph courtesy Billings Family Archives.



Figure 23: Four-square garden after installation of fountain designed by Platt, c. 1899. Photograph courtesy Billings Family Archives.

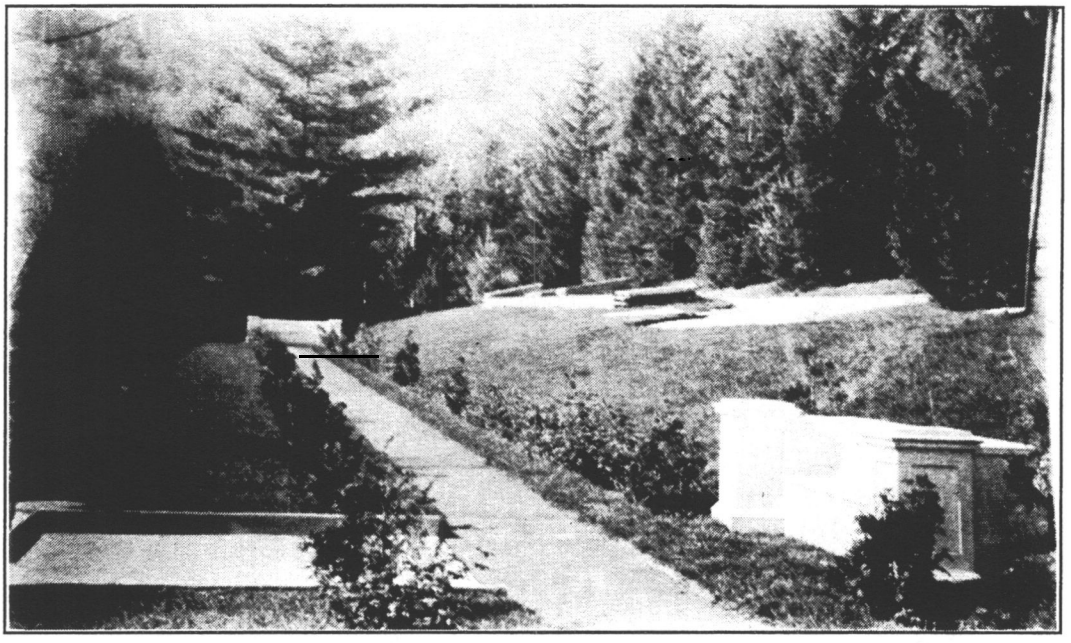


Figure 24: Benches designed by Platt installed on long terraces below greenhouse galleries, c. 1899. Photograph courtesy Billings Family Archives.

Hutcheson's first project on the property in 1902 was commissioned by Frederick's widow, Julia Billings, to redesign the stylized Victorian entry drive designed earlier by Copeland (figure 25). Hutcheson's driveway re-design swept away the victorian teardrop shaped planting islands of Copeland's plan and unified the drive into a formal circle which passes under the porte coche re.[37]

Hutcheson did not list the Billings property among her principal works in her correspondence with the ASLA, nor does it appear in her book *Spirit of the Garden*.[38] Although her work on the Billings property is of a limited scope, it represents a substantial re-ordering of the arrival sequence which was first laid out by Copeland. Hutcheson's design reflected the growing influence of Beaux-Arts themes into the field of landscape design which was a trend in the later half of the "Country Place Era" of American landscape architecture. In 1904, Hutcheson would stake out a wooded drive through the grounds for Julia Billings' garden minded-daughter, Elizabeth.[39] The location or dates of actual construction of this second drive is not yet determined.

In 1912 and 1913, landscape architect Ellen Shipman, a frequent collaborator with Charles Platt and another distinguished member of the Cornish artist's colony, was commissioned to re-design the plantings for the formal gardens near the mansion (figure 26).[40] Shipman's detailed planting designs benefitted from her extensive horticultural knowledge. She designed herbaceous plantings for the effect of continuous bloom, borrowing from the color principles espoused in the writings of English landscape designer Gertrude Jekyll. Shipman adapted Jekyll's ideas about color to propose plantings for the long terrace which progressed from predominantly warm colors, through cool tones, and back to warm hues.

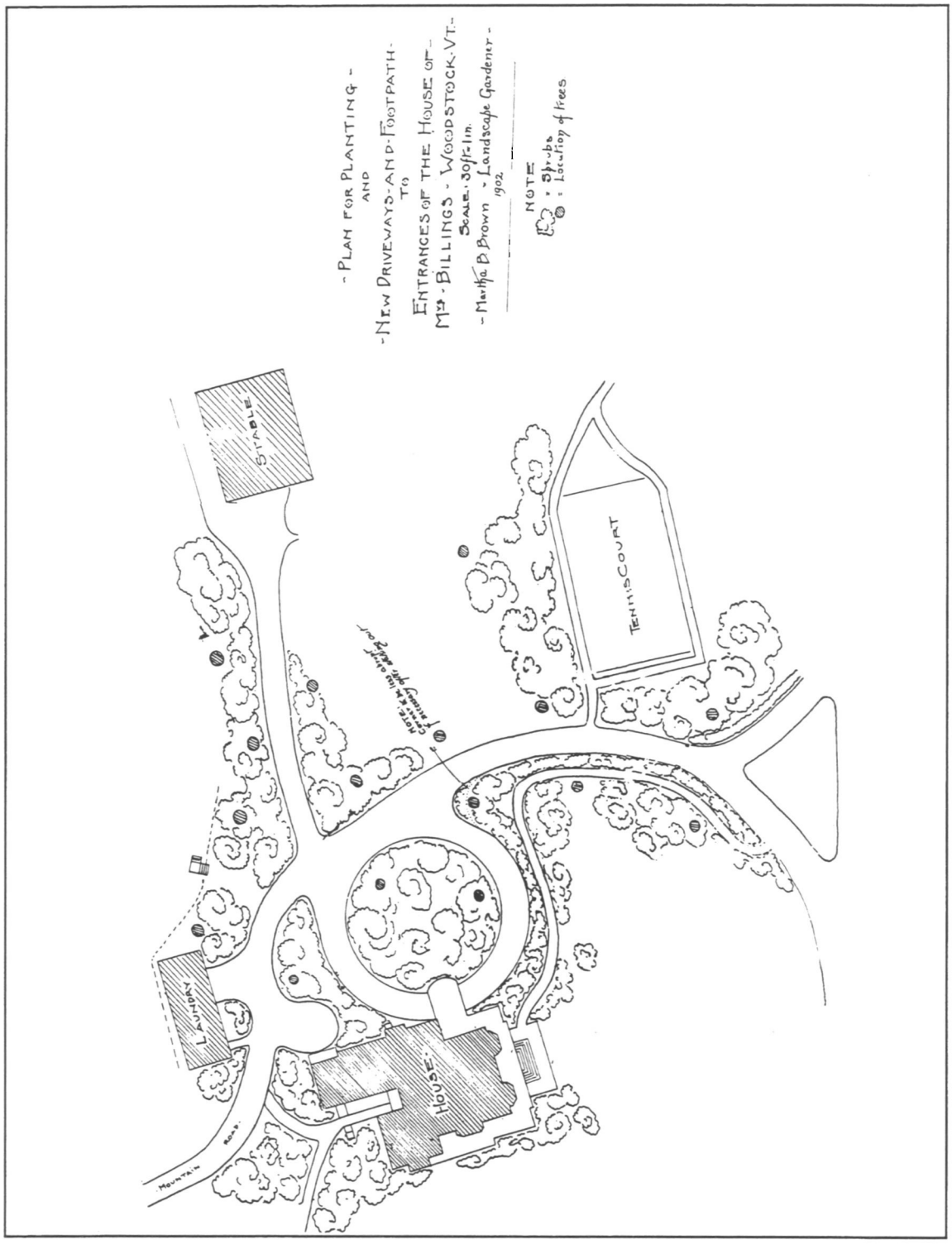


Figure 25: Mansion driveway as redesigned by Martha B. (Brown) Hutcheson, 1902. Drawing courtesy Billings Family Archives.

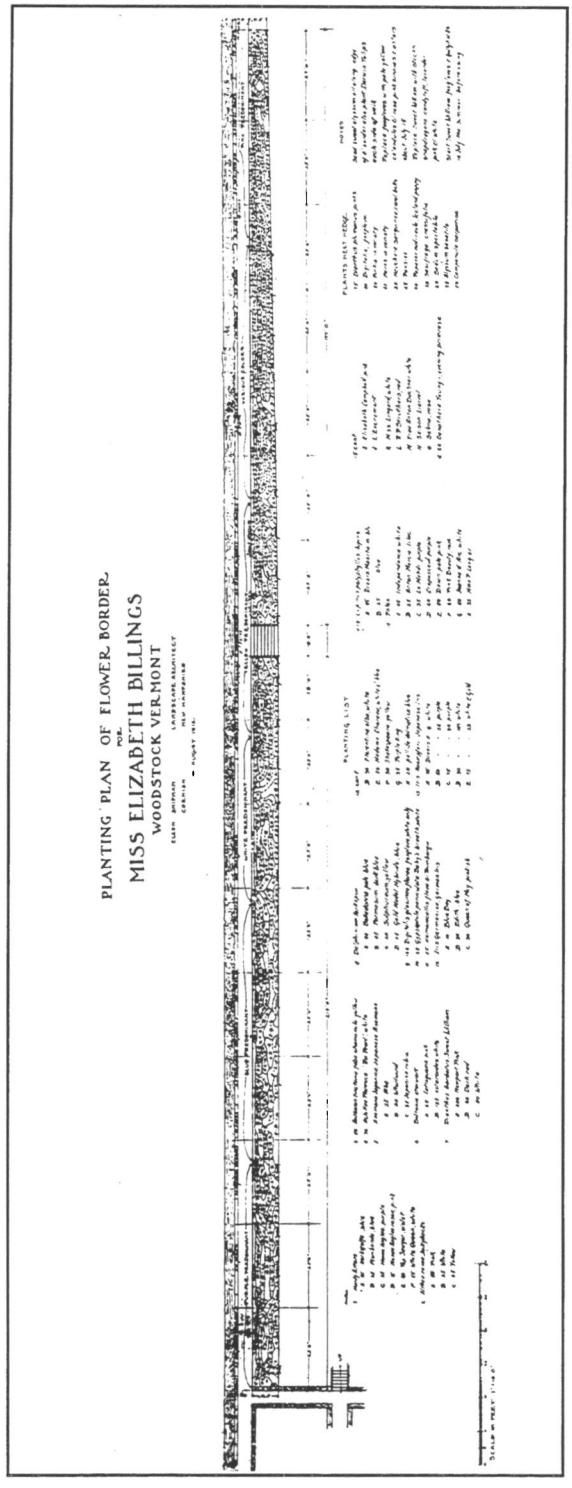


Figure 26: Herbaceous border designed for terraces below greenhouse by Shipman, 1913. Drawing courtesy Billings Family Archives.

The Billings Farm and Forest

Frederick Billing's vast fortune permitted him, perhaps more than his neighbors, to pursue ambitious innovations on his Woodstock farm and forest. He began by importing high quality Jersey dairy cattle. At the time, much of the acreage in Vermont that had previously been dedicated to the production of Merino sheep was being converted to dairy operations. Billings allowed his neighbors free access to his sires to breed their own cows, permitting them to improve their own herd's bloodlines.[41]

Billings also experimented with a variety of tree plantations in the area around Mount Tom. Billings' plantings were scientifically planned and somewhat experimental. In addition to native species, such as white pine, Billings planted exotic European varieties, including Norway spruce, Austrian larch, European birch and mountain ash. The Norway spruce did so well that the International Paper Company was encouraged to establish a nursery for its propagation.[42] The ash and birch did not do well and have since disappeared from the mountain.[43]

Through his experimentation with forestry and farming in Woodstock, Frederick Billings hoped to provide a clear example of how to follow the direction set forth in his report as Vermont's Forestry Commissioner. To better implement his progressive plans, Billings sought more able management for his farm and forest lands. In 1884, Billings hired George Aitken, a thirty-four year old Scotsman who was experienced with the management of a Jersey herd on Long Island. Aitken had a profound impact on the Marsh-Billings property, remaining in the position of farm manager for twenty-six years, until his death. Billings was so pleased with his manager that he built a very fine "model farm house", designed by the architect Frederick Stickney, in 1890 as an enticement for Aitken to stay (figure 27).



Figure 27: Restored 1890 "model farm house". 1993. Photograph courtesy NPS, NARO, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Architecture.

Aitken practiced scientific farm and forest management and introduced a greater diversity to the farm operations. The farm began raising Berkshire hogs, Southdown sheep, as well as attempting to breed improvements into Vermont's own Morgan horse. The front meadow bordering on the river was planted with corn and oats. The greenhouses of the estate were utilized for the production of bananas, grapes and other tender fruits. The forestry work on Mount Tom was also successful, with Aitken managing and expanding upon the reforestation work which Billings had begun. In 1911, Vermont's Forestry Commissioner recognized Aitken's work, making the pronouncement to a meeting assembled at the property that the Billings forest was the "most interesting example of forestry in the state" (figure 28).[44] The Jersey herd however, continued to be the mainstay of the farm, and under Aitken's management the herd flourished. Three years after Frederick Billings' death in 1890 the herd won top honors at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[45]

In the last decade of his life Frederick Billings made plans for the creation of the carriage road network through his Mount Tom Forest and for the enlargement of the Pogue. He reportedly said that the system of roads through the forest was to "be his monument."[46] Billings' acquired the 227-acre Dana farm in 1884, and a 34-acre parcel from the McKenzie farm in 1887. These properties featured existing farm roads of unknown condition. Billings' efforts resulted in the creation of a road system from the existing farm service roads by linking the pieces together, creating loops and spurs designed to highlight his innovative forest management and provide breathtaking views of the outlying Vermont countryside. Before construction was even complete, the public was given free access to Billings' carriage road system and the enjoyment of his Mount Tom forest.

There is an apparent inconsistency in the construction of the carriage roads that has not been resolved. Newsclippings as early as 1880 report of a carriage road which ascends to the summit of Mount Tom's "North Peak." However, no record of a road to the north peak appears in the otherwise comprehensive Doton survey maps. The following news clippings chronicle the evolution of the carriage road system.

> **St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press, September 19, 1880.**
> ...It is acknowledged that there is not in Vermont an estate which, in magnitude and beauty, at all compared with this extensive and elegant country seat, and in fact there are but few on the continent. The entire domain covers upwards of 700 acres...Mount Tom, fully 1,600 feet above the sea, and 500 feet above the village. Mr. Billing's magnificent park occupies the whole of one side of the mountain, reaching for the summit. It is covered with a grove of stately maples, which now are putting on the autumn garb of scarlet and gold. A winding carriage drive extends to the apex of the mount, and the journey to the top is beautiful and exhilarating. From the summit the view is simply entrancing.

In 1880, Billings did not own the Dana farm, and any road to the north summit of Mount Tom would have to switch back across the north or east side of the mountain. A road taking this route would have to be quite steep and uncomfortable. In 1884, with the purchase of the Dana farm, Billings was able to begin construction of a more gracious approach to the mountain. From the newsclippings which give

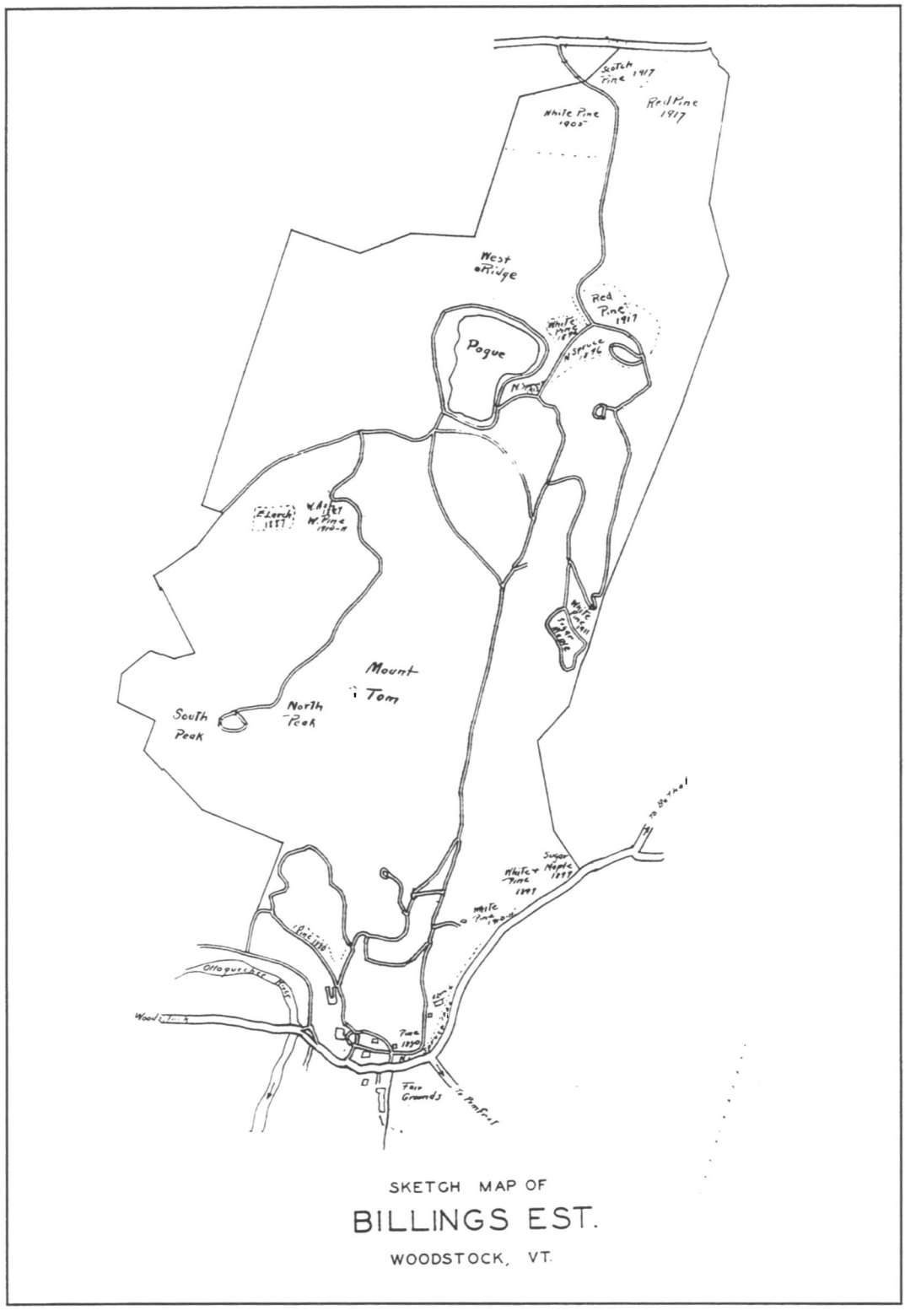


Figure 28: Sketch map of Billings estate, showing locations and dates of forest plantations, c. 1917. Drawing courtesy Billings Family Archives.

accounts of Billings' road building activities, it is apparent that he had originally intended to build his new road to the higher north peak, yet when the road was completed in 1887, the road instead was routed to reach the lower south peak.

> **Vermont Standard, November 27, 1884.**
> Hon. Frederick Billings has been engaged this fall in opening a drive to the north summit of Mt. Tom, and since his purchase of the Dana farm is extending the carriage way to that place and thus completely encircles the mountain. It will be a charming drive and a great addition to his place, making it, in its entirety, something that cannot be excelled in the country. Mr. Billings came up from his New York residence on Thursday and spent a few days in town with Mrs. Allen.

> **Vermont Standard, August 4, 1887.**
> Mr. Billings starts a large force of men and teams on Monday next to build his long projected carriage drive to the southerly summit of Mt. Tom. This will be the climax to his magnificent place.

> **Vermont Standard, September 1, 1887.**
> Mr. Billings' drive to the summit of Mt. Tom is nearly completed, and is a surprise to everybody by reason of its easy grade. From the point where it leaves the 'Pogue Hole' road, in the field a little way above the woods, to the summit a team may trot every rod, and a portion of the way one passing over it seems almost suspended in air. The outlook is grand. The road is so broad that teams may pass each other at any point and it is to be graveled and made first-class. Only think what an attraction this is to be to Woodstock! Though a private enterprise, the public are permitted to enjoy it freely.

During the next three years, as Billing's health began to fail, he became aware that he was approaching the end of his life. Many of his activities during these years may be interpreted as an effort to in effect tie up loose ends before his death. These activities included the sponsorship of Dana's *History of Woodstock*, the patronage of the remodeling of the Woodstock Congregational Church, and even the documentation of his Woodstock property acquisitions for the benefit of his heirs with the Doton survey maps. However, it was the forests of Mount Tom and its network of carriage roads which Billings hoped to serve as "his monument." Again the Vermont Standard newspaper chronicles Billings road building and conservation efforts even while he lay dying.

> **Vermont Standard, August, 14 1890.**
> Mr. Billings, though so seriously ill as to be confined to his bed almost all the time, has planned two new roads on his estate. One will pass around Pogue Hole, the waters of which he hopes to raise two or three feet by a concrete dam at its outlet. This work is already under way. The other is an extension of the North Ridge road east through the woods and the east end of the Ridge, where there is a beautiful grove of maple trees, a fine spring of water and a most picturesque view. From this point the road will be brought down to join the present road a little above the lily-pond. We regret to learn that Mr. Billings has been failing steadily for the past three or four weeks.

Frederick Billings died six weeks later on September 30, 1890. Four days before his death he left specific instructions with his secretary Samuel Kilner regarding the management of the Woodstock properties. These instructions appear to provide for a general contraction of the farm operations while at the same time instructing an expansion of forestry activities.

Woodstock Vermont, September 26, 1890.
SE Kilner

Notes of conversations with Mr. Billings at various times during his sickness with reference to the management of his Estate.

... I have not sufficiently emphasized in my will my wishes about the future management of the Woodstock property. During my life time a great deal of extra work has been done, road making, fortifying river bank etc. This miscellaneous work is about completed and the farm work can be brought down to bed-rock. My expenditures must be reduced and the receipts increased. I should think 15 or 20 men in Summer and 8 or 10 in Winter would be sufficient and with the regular staff decided upon, no additional labor should be employed without the consent of the Trustees. I believe seven pairs of cattle [oxen] and three horse teams are now employed on the farm and it may be found that four or five pairs of cattle and two horse teams with perhaps a single horse will be sufficient to do the work. An estimate both in quantity and price, should be made in the Fall of the manure ashes and fertilizers that may be required for the year and in the Spring a requisition made of tools etc. required. Requisitions and estimates should be carefully overhauled by the Trustees and no expenditures of any kind incurred without their approval. A strict account must be kept of all produce and the surplus after meeting the requirements of the household, sold. My Trustees will have no authority to give away milk butter, eggs or any produce of the garden or farm.

Proper books should be kept and balanced periodically showing what money the farm has made.

The rules adopted for the Farm should be applied as far as possible to the Gardener's Department. In the Spring, an extra force will be needed, as I want the old tree plantations looked after year by year and new ones made, and that work with the general routine work of the Avenues, garden, etc. will make things lively for a time each Spring. Small trees must be purchased in the Fall of the year to be set out in the Spring. North & West of Pogue Hole, a great many trees can be set out. There should be an understanding with regard to the regular staff of the garden and hot house, and no extra labor employed, or expenditures incurred without the consent of the Trustees. All produce, grapes, flowers, vegetables etc not required for the family's use should be sold and the proceeds accounted for...

Regardless of Billings' final instructions, by 1900 the Woodstock holdings of the estate had grown to over 2000 acres, including lands on Mount Peg not contiguous to the original farm. These real estate acquisitions on behalf of the Frederick Billings estate included the 1894 purchase of the remaining portion of the McKenzie farm. The McKenzie property was folded into the properties of the Mount Tom forest and planted with various species of evergreen trees (see period plan, figure 29).

Billings instructions for the reduction of farm operations do not appear to have been followed closely. By the turn of the century, over fifty men were employed in the operation of the farm, and by 1948, almost every male resident of Woodstock had at one time been employed on the farm.[47] The apparent lack of compliance with Billings' last wishes with regard to the size of the farm operations may very well reflect a decision on a part of the trustees that due to the able management and recognized success of the farm, financial resources were best directed toward the Woodstock farm as an income producing asset.

Notes:

- This is not a legal survey. Boundaries, locations, and limits are approximate.
- The village of Woodstock is shown for scale and reference only. It is not drawn to represent any historical period.
- Maps are intended to accompany *Land-Use History: Marsh Billings National Historical Park*, 1994. NPS North Atlantic Region, Division of Cultural Resources.
- 1992 NPS boundary is shown for reference

LEGEND

- Natural Forest Stands
- Forest Plantation
- Carriage Road
- Structures
- NPS Boundary (1992)
- Boundary of Billings Holdings

SELECTED FEATURES

1 Relocated 1790 Marsh Frame House	**11** Reservoir
2 Mansion	**12** Kitchen Garden
3 Croquet Court	**13** Stone Shed
4 Laundry	**14** Woodshed
5 Carriage Barn	**15** Barns and Dependencies
6 Double Cottage	**16** "Model" Farmhouse: (1890)
7 Belvedere/Greenhouse/Palm House	**17** Sugar House
8 Four-square Garden/Terraces	**18** Boat House
9 Summer house	**19** McKenzie Farm Buildings
10 Lily Pond	**20** Dana Farm "Hilltop" Buildings

Meadow
Orchard
The Pogue
Enlarged 1890
Drainage Tiles
Meadow
NPS Boundary (1992)
Mount Tom
North Peak
South Peak
"New Barns"
Windsor County Agricultural Society Fairgrounds
Corn and Oats
Cemetery
WOODSTOCK
(for scale only)
OTTAUQUECHEE

NORTH

Sources
- US Geological Survey, quad maps
- Doton Surveys (1887-1894), from Billings Family Archives
- Misc. site plans, from Billings Family Archives
- Historic photographs, from Billings Family Archives
- Forest Management and Ecological Inventory (1993), Wiggin
- Survey, Bruno & Associates (1992), from NPS files

SCALE 1 Inch = 800 Feet

0 400 800 1200

MARSH•BILLINGS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
BILLINGS PERIOD
1869-1914
(shown c. 1914)

OLMSTED CENTER FOR LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION
MARCH 1994

Figure 29

BILLINGS HEIRS/ROCKEFELLER PERIOD (1914-1992)

Documentation

The documentation for the most recent period of stewardship of the Marsh-Billings property lacks the perspective of historians such as Dana and Winks. An extensive project is currently underway through the Billings Farm & Museum to catalog the voluminous records of the Billings agricultural enterprise so that the information can be made more easily available to researchers. This final period relies on the knowledge of long term employees of both the Billings Farm & Museum and the Woodstock Resort Corporation. Donath and Houghton's work provides the chronological sequence of events involving the property, including dates of construction and milestones in the lives of the individuals associated with it. John Wiggin's forest management report maps the changes to the forest cover occurring during this period. The Doton surveys of the 1880's continue to be helpful in that they contain notations referring to sales of property as late as 1951.

A limited number of graphic materials which document landscape change during this period have been made available from the files of the Woodstock Inn, grounds maintenance department. These are supplemented with a recent aerial photograph from the Vermont Mapping Program.

The recent survey by Bruno Associates provides locations of trail easements to be retained by the Woodstock Resort Corporation and also provides a footprint of the museum addition and parking lot designed by Sasaki and Associates for the Billings Farm & Museum, as well as the park boundary.

Transfer and control of the property following Frederick Billings' death

In 1890, with the death of Frederick Billings, the Billings' Woodstock properties fell under the direction of the trustees of his legal estate. Farm Manager George Aitken died in 1910, and at that time the day to day management of the farm fell to his brother James Aitken. This arrangement continued until Julia Billings' death in 1914. At this time, the ownership of the property, which had been held in trust, was divided among the Billings' four surviving children. Mary Montagu Billings French and Elizabeth Billings received joint ownership of the mansion property and the Mount Tom lands. Richard Billings received ownership of the Billings Farm, including the land holdings along the Ottauquechee and Beaver Brook. Laura Billings Lee received ownership of the home recently designed by Platt on River Road and the lands adjoining it.[48] With Julia Billings's death, the Billings property entered a new period, shaped both by the end of Frederick and Julia's direct influence, and with the outside events of two World Wars and the Great Depression.

The Domestic Landscape

The period immediately following the passage of the property to the Billings Heirs was marked by a small flurry of building activity. In 1917, soon after the division of the Billings real estate holdings, both

Richard Billings and Mary M.B. French undertook building projects. Mary constructed "The Bungalow," a retreat on the hilltop above the mansion, while Richard constructed a brick mansion of his own in the meadow beside the Beaver Brook (figure 30). The Richard Billings mansion presently houses the administrative offices of the Billings Farm & Museum.

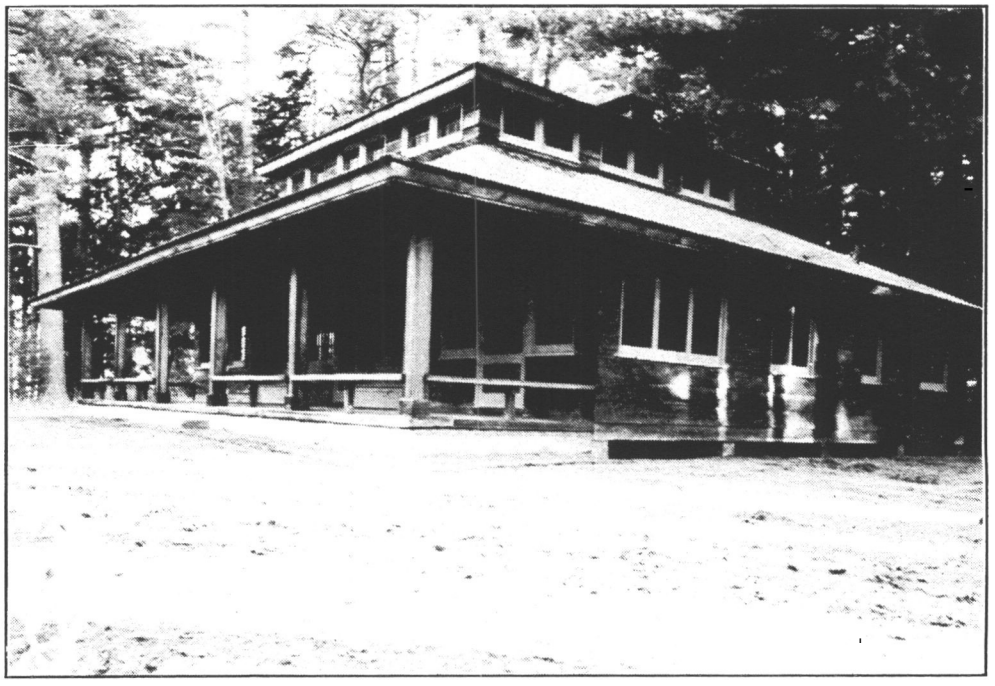


Figure 30: The Bungalow, constructed 1917, northwest of the mansion, 1993. Photograph courtesy NPS, NARO, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Architecture.

The Great Depression and new priorities brought on by World War II contributed to the loss of some of the structures on the mansion grounds. The Palm House and long glass greenhouse galleries constructed in the 1870's were demolished c. 1935, and a swimming pool was constructed on the flat terrace left behind after their removal (figure 31). The laundry building which had stood behind the mansion was also destroyed around 1940. Another structure lost during this time was the former Dana farmhouse. This house, which had been incorporated into the Mount Tom holdings in 1884, and renamed "Hilltop" burned to the ground c.1935. The adjacent outbuildings were pulled down in the 1940's.[49]

Mary French and Laurance Rockefeller were married in Woodstock's Congregational Church in 1934. [50] During their summers, the couple spent much of their time visiting the Rockefeller family's estate in Seal Harbor, Maine. With the death of Mary M.B. French in 1951, Mary French Rockefeller came to own

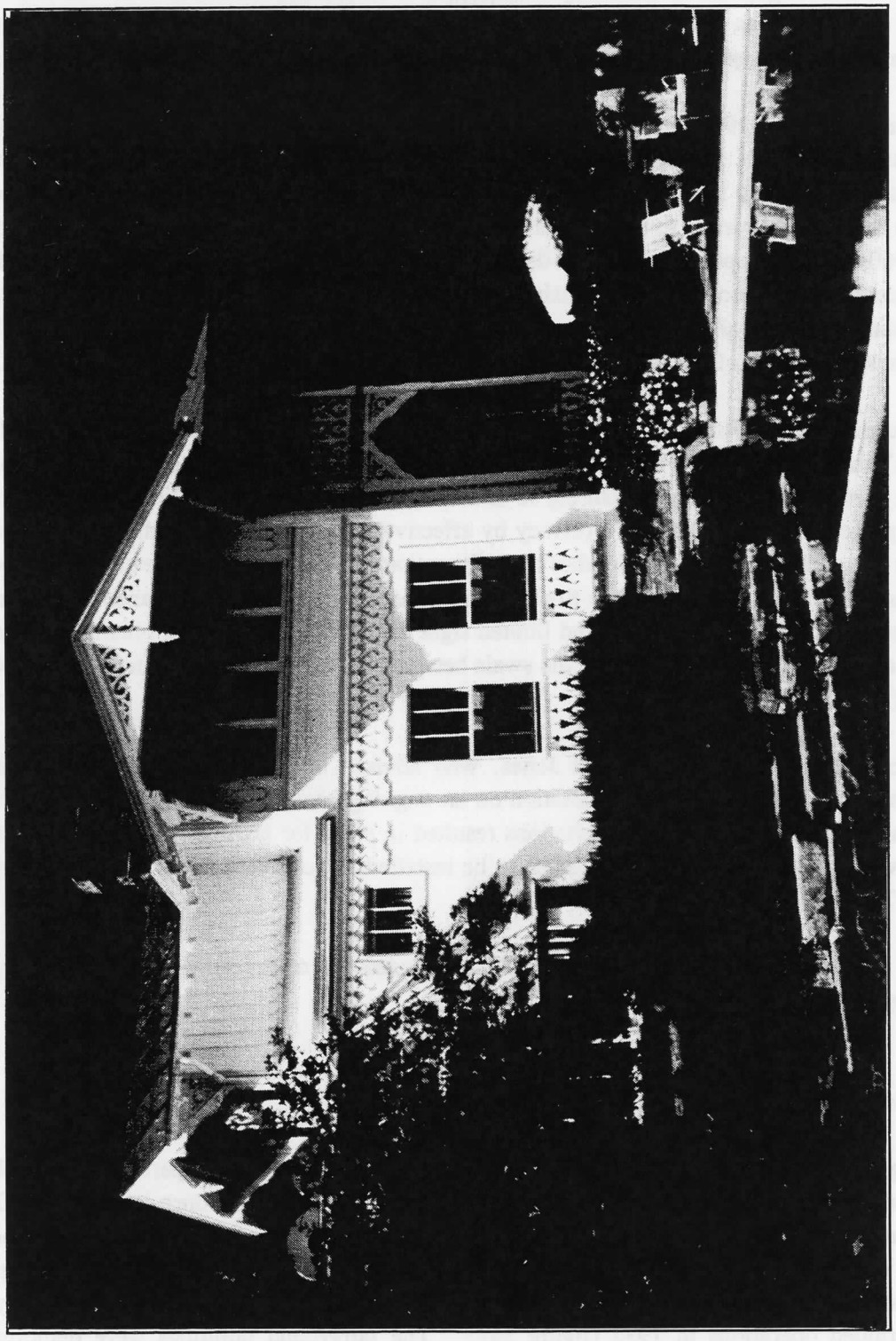


Figure 31: The swimming pool which replaced the Palm house, c. 1935. View shows the work of Zenon Schrieber, c. 1960's. Photograph courtesy Billings Family Archives.

the mansion and grounds immediately surrounding it. With this, the Rockefellers would make increased use of the property as their summer home, and would themselves make changes to it which reflected their personality and values.

Between 1955 and 1965 the Rockefellers undertook a program of renovations to the mansion and its surrounding grounds. A civil engineer was employed to map the contours of the mansion grounds and to locate the existing trees and features (figure 32). Landscape architects Zenon Schreiber, and Brian Lynch advised on changes to the grounds. Schreiber appears to have been most active on the site during the 1960s. He is responsible for a re-design of the swimming pool area which featured the installation of a great deal of stone work for retaining walls, and modifications to the planting design around the swimming pool. He also designed the picturesque waterfall garden which meanders down hillside above the mansion. Many of the mature paper birches on the grounds were also sited by Schreiber.[51]

Landscape architect Brian Lynch appears to have been most active in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Lynch's work included the installation of plantings along the edge of the property abutting Route 12. Lynch carefully sited the new planting so as to preserve views of the Billings Farm from the mansion, while protecting the Rockefeller's privacy by effectively blocking views of the mansion from Route 12. Lynch was also involved in yet another reconfiguration of the mansion's driveway. The Rockefellers had become concerned that pulling onto Route 12 from the mansion's formal entrance had become dangerous because of increasing auto speeds and limited sight distances due to mature plantings. Lynch's solution was a design for a third driveway in the swale between the existing formal entry and the existing service entry (figure 33).[52]

Golf course architect Robert Trent Jones, who advised on the redesign of the golf course at the Woodstock Inn also provided consultation on an ongoing basis with the Rockefellers with reference to the mansion grounds. These consultations resulted in plans for lawn irrigation and landscape lighting. Plans were also made for a putting green to be installed adjacent to the mansion swimming pool during the 1970's.

Other changes taking place during the 1970's included the construction of a small garage where the Billings laundry building once stood.

The Farm and Forest

During the years between Julia Billing's death and World War II, the operations of the Billings Farm witnessed a marked decline. The large diverse agricultural enterprise once managed by George Aitken was pared down greatly during the Great Depression.[53] The herd of Jersey cattle, once the pride of the farm, was sold in 1936.[54] As an indication of a general decline of local Vermont agriculture, the Windsor County Agricultural Society which had neighbored the Marsh-Billings property since 1855, discontinued operations in 1932 (figure 34).[55] The fairground buildings were demolished, and the property offered to the Billings Farm. The reduction in agricultural operations which occurred during the Depression and World War II also had an effect on the Mount Tom forests, as many of the abandoned

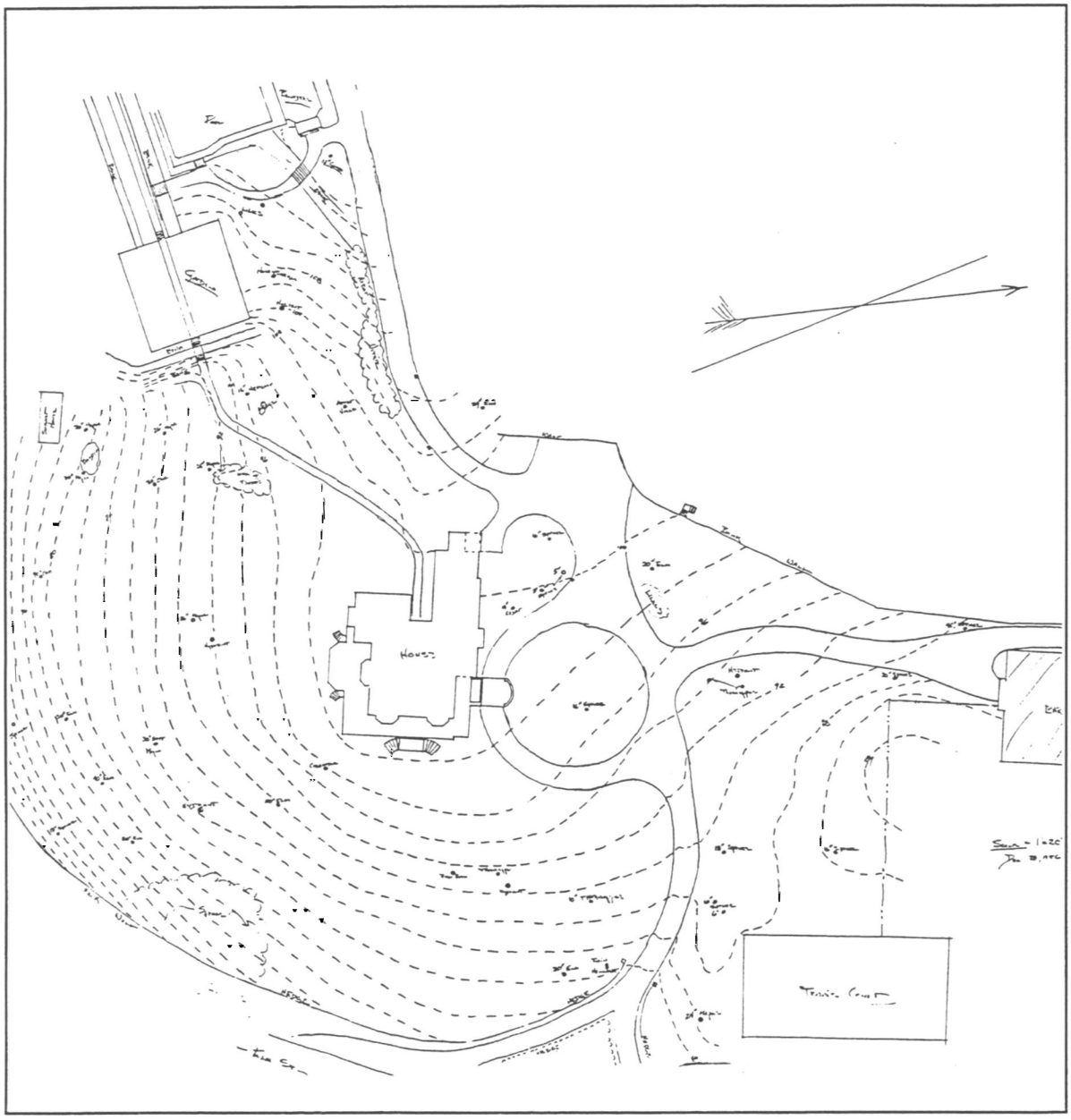


Figure 32: Tracing of contour map of mansion grounds, c. 1956. Tracing courtesy Billings Family Archives.



Figure 33: Secondary entrance drive, Bryan J. Lynch, landscape architect, 1978. Drawing courtesy Billings Family Archives.

meadows were allowed to overgrow with natural forest stands or were actively planted with pines.[56]

In 1943, during the scarcity of agricultural products brought about by World War II, Elizabeth Billings and Mary Montagu Billings French, the only living children of Frederick Billings, made plans to return the farm to a productive agricultural concern.[57] Within five years, the farm buildings had been modernized to accommodate a new herd of Jersey cattle. The barns were expanded, and included a facility for milk processing and bottling. The new Billings dairy marketed its produce through its own fleet of delivery trucks. Processing and packaging of milk products continued on the farm until 1960.[58] While this latest episode of construction of agricultural buildings is not well documented at this time, the extent of the alterations can be determined by the comparison of period plans (figures 29 and 36). With the re-assembly of the Windsor County Fairgrounds into the farm holdings, additions to the barn structures were allowed to grow northward over the former boundary line.

When Mary Montagu Billings French died in 1951, the Billings real estate holdings descended to a new generation of Billings heirs. In 1953, to honor the memory of their mother, her children collectively donated the north and south peaks of Mount Tom to the town of Woodstock for use as a public park.[59] The remaining land was then divided, with Mary French Rockefeller receiving title to the mansion and its surrounding grounds. John French, Jr. received the "Hilltop" property, and Elizabeth French Hitchcock received the Octagon Cottage, the core of which (greatly altered) is understood to include the original 1790 Marsh farmhouse.[60] The farm land and its associated buildings, as well as most of the Mount Tom forest property, was transferred to Billings Farm, Inc., the stock of which was privately held in common by the heirs.

In 1954, the Billings Farm was incorporated as an active commercial dairy operation. The farm held title to both the farmland in the Ottauquechee intervale and much of the Mount Tom forest. Under Farm Manager Harold Corkum, the farm prospered and expanded, installing a modern bottling works and operating a small fleet of delivery trucks serving the community. Later, in 1960, the farm joined with Starlake Dairy in the construction of a new processing plant in Wilder, Vermont., and products under the name "Billings Dairy" appeared throughout the region.

In 1974, Billings Farm Inc., including the commercial dairy operation, the farmland along the Ottauquechee and most of the Mount Tom forest property, was purchased by Laurance Rockefeller from the remaining Billings and French heirs. With this purchase, Mary and Laurance Rockefeller reassembled a large portion of Frederick Billings' farm. The lands of the Billings Farm were folded into the mission of the Vermont Folklife Project, part of the Rockefeller's Woodstock Foundation. The goal of the Folklife project was to "study and preserve the vanishing remnants of traditional farm life in East Central Vermont." In 1983, as a result of the Vermont Folklife Project, the Rockefellers opened the Billings Farm & Museum.[61] The museum building and the site improvements necessary to accommodate a seasonal visitation of over 43,000 were designed by the landscape architectural planning and design firm of Sasaki and Associates of Watertown Massachusetts (figure 35). These improvements included the construction of both the museum visitor center and the restoration of Aitken's 1890 farm house.

Along with these changes to the area immediately surrounding the mansion, Laurance Rockefeller, like

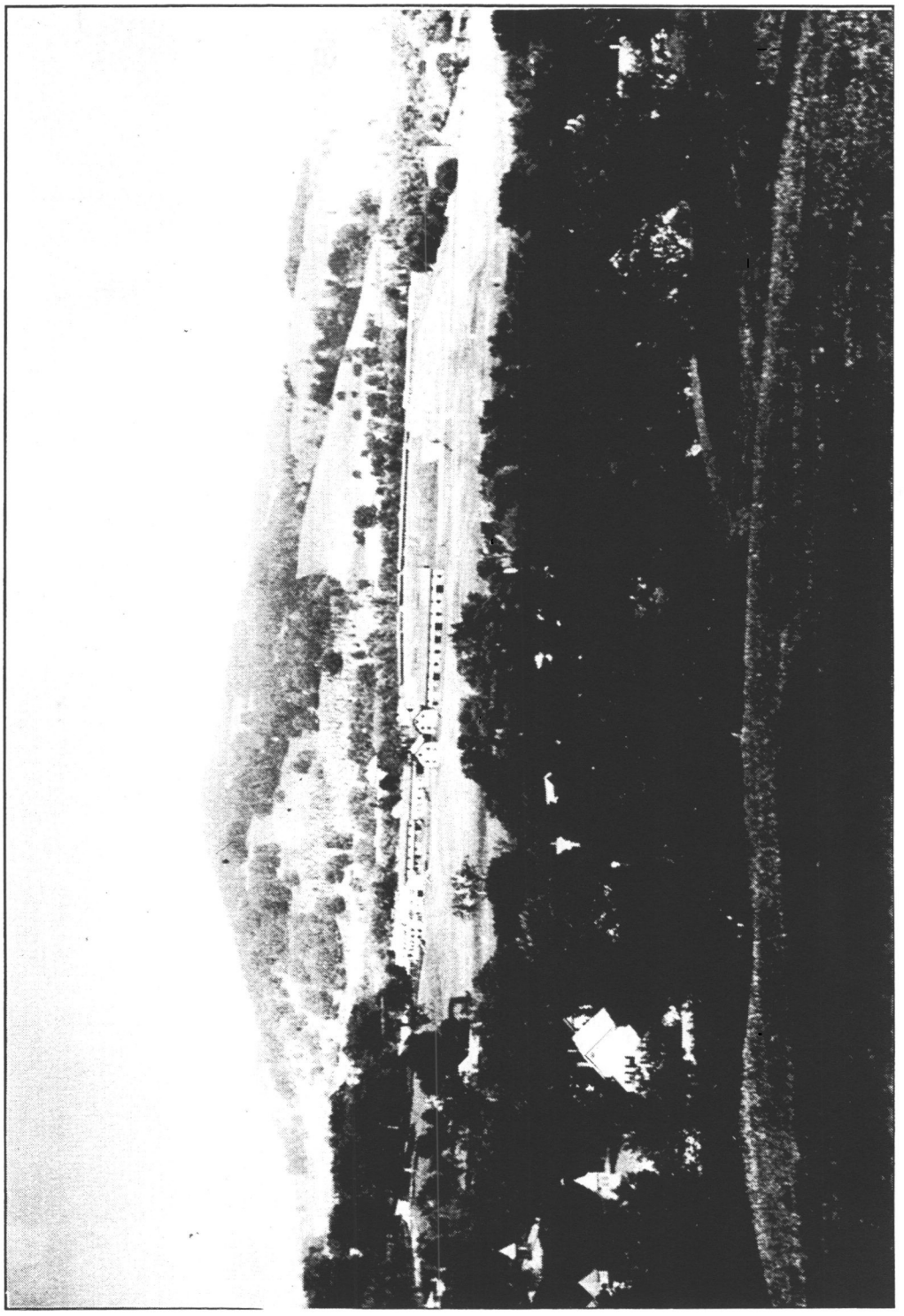


Figure 34: Billings Farm and Windsor County Fairgrounds c. 1890. The Windsor County Fairgrounds were abandoned and reassembled into the Billings Farm c. 1932. Photogragh courtesy Billings Family Archives.

Billings and Marsh before him, focused a good deal of energy on the maintenance of the forest and woodlands on his property. In 1972, John Wiggin, a professional forester was hired to manage the woodlands on Mount Tom. Wiggin's management strategy has maximized the scenic beauty of the woodlands. Instead of focusing on ideas about efficiency in forest production, Wiggin's management has permitted the aging forest plantations to remain viable and avoid stagnation through selective thinning. This permits the maturing forest to obtain light and air important to the health of the forest, and thereby continue to serve as a valuable aesthetic feature. Wildlife has also benefitted from the sparing of hollow den trees which would normally have been culled in a commercial forest.

The economic value of the timber harvested has been of less concern than the management of the forest for aesthetic appeal.[62] The beauty of the forest lands and the views outward have become a valuable economic asset with the growth of tourism in Woodstock.

Since 1977, The Woodstock Resort Corporation has maintained the historic carriage roads and established new trails for the use of its cross-country ski operations on the Marsh-Billings property. While the Woodstock Resort Corporation's grooming of the trails is fairly recent, and coincides with the new popularity of cross-country skiing, the public has long used the property for cross-country skiing in a less formal way. Winter sports have been popular in the area for a considerable time. Two of the region's earliest documented ski lifts were built near the property in the 1930s. The Woodstock Inn will continue to operate its ski touring business on the property as provided for by legal easement.

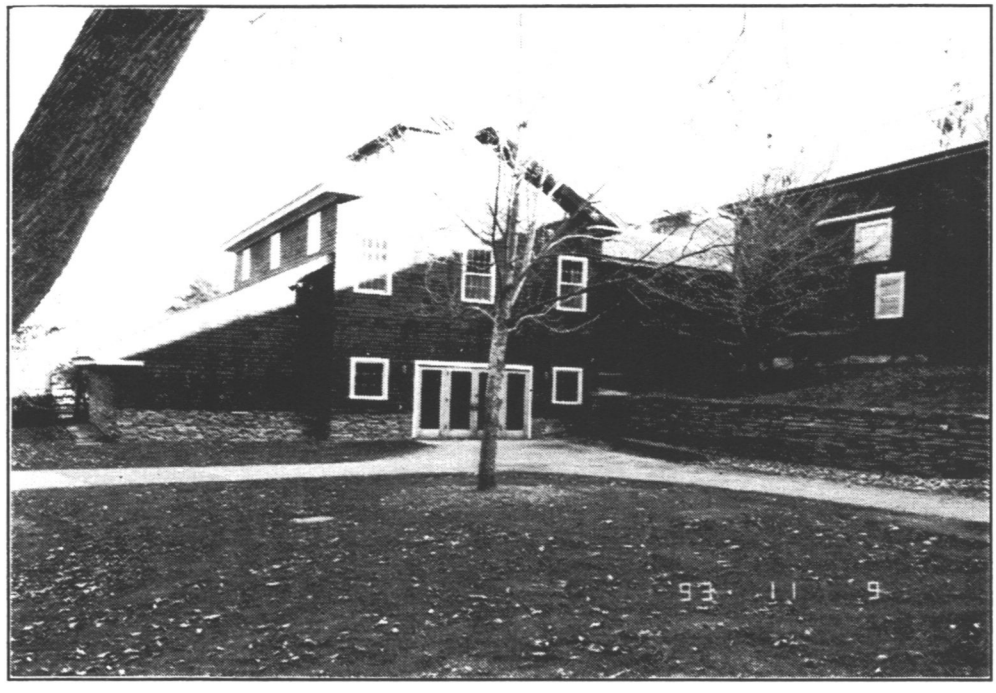


Figure 35: Visitor's center, Billings Farm & Museum, designed by Sasaki and Associates. Photograph courtesy NPS, NARO, Cultural Resources, Park Historic Architecture.

The Establishment of the Marsh-Billings National Historic Park

In 1967, the mansion, was designated as a National Historic Landmark, in recognition of its significance as the boyhood home of George Perkins Marsh.

In January of 1993, legislation was signed by President George Bush establishing Vermont's first national park unit, Marsh-Billings National Historical Park. The park consists of three management zones: historic, protection and scenic. The 555-acre historic zone consists of the Billings mansion complex, its gardens, Mount Tom forest, foot paths and carriage roads. The 88-acre protection zone, including the Billings Farm & Museum, will continue to remain in the ownership of the Rockefeller family. The scenic zone includes approximately 300-acres of scenic easements, still owned by the Rockefellers, which protect the viewshed from the Billings mansion.

The enabling legislation creating Marsh-Billings National Historical Park specifies that the purpose of the park is to interpret the history and evolution of conservation stewardship in the United States, and to recognize and interpret the contributions of George Perkins Marsh, Frederick Billings, and Laurance Rockefeller. The sense of land stewardship exhibited by these individuals, as well as by their families in intervening generations, is revealed in the ways in which the property has been shaped and preserved. The Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller property is a living artifact of the values of those who shaped and husbanded it = individuals and families active in the mainstream of American conservation thought and in the practice of land stewardship since the early nineteenth century.[63]

Notes:

- This is not a legal survey. Boundaries, locations, and limits are approximate.
- The village of Woodstock is shown for scale and reference only. It is not drawn to represent any historical period.
- Maps are intended to accompany *Land-Use History: Marsh Billings National Historical Park*, 1994. NPS North Atlantic Region, Division of Cultural Resources.
- 1992 NPS boundary is shown for reference

LEGEND

- Natural Forest Stands
- Carriage Road
- Structures
- Forest Plantation
- Contemporary Ski Trail
- NPS Boundary
- Other Boundary

SELECTED FEATURES

1 Hitchcock House: (1790)	11 Reservoir	21 French House: (1951)
2 Mansion	12 Upper Meadow	22 Parking Lot
3 Tennis Court	13 Horse Shed	23 Ski Shelter/Cabin: (1989)
4 Garage: (1970's)	14 Woodshed	24 Well
5 Carriage Barn	15 Barns and Dependencies	25 Well
6 Double Cottage	16 "Model" Farmhouse: 1890	26 Well
7 Belvedere/Greenhouse/Pool	17 Entrance to Farm/Museum	27 Well
8 Four-square Garden	18 Bungalow	28 Abandoned Dump Site
9 Summer house	19 Garage	29 Road Section w/Brick Fill
10 Lily Pond/Waterfalls	20 Foundation Offices	30 Unusual Stone Marker

Woodstock Resort Corporation

Abandoned downhill ski run

Taylor

McDill

Seagle

"New Barns"

The Pogue

NPS "Historic Zone"

Billings Park
Donated by the French Family
to Woodstock, 1953

Mount Tom

North Peak

Billings Farm and Museum

NPS "Protection Zone"

Corn and Oats

Bean

Barlow

South Peak

French

King Farm
Vermont Land Trust

Cemetery

WOODSTOCK
(for scale only)

NORTH

Sources
- US Geological Survey, quad maps
- Doton Surveys (1887-1894), from Billings Family Archives
- Misc. site plans, from Billings Family Archives
- Historic photographs, from Billings Family Archives
- Aerial photograph (1975), Vermont Mapping Program
- Forest Management and Ecological Inventory (1993), Wiggin
- Survey, Bruno & Associates (1992), from NPS files

SCALE 1 Inch = 800 Feet

200 800 0 400 1200

MARSH•BILLINGS NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
BILLINGS HEIRS / ROCKEFELLER PERIOD
1914-1992
(shown c. 1992)

OLMSTED CENTER FOR LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION
MARCH 1994

Figure 36

Endnotes to Part Two

1. Calloway, Colin. *The Abenaki* (New York and Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), 17.
2. Calloway, 18.
3. Calloway, 21.
4. Calloway, 41.
5. Calloway, 45.
6. Henry Swan Dana. *History of Woodstock, Vermont* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1889), 15.
7. Dana, 25.
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9. Dana, 13-14.
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11. Dana, 192-193.
12. Winks, 293.
13. Robin W. Winks, *Frederick Billings: A Life* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1991), 295.
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15. George Perkins Marsh, *Man and Nature* (Harvard Edition, Cambridge, MA, 1965), 43.
16. From an interview with Janet Houghton, Woodstock, Vermont. January, 1994.
17. Dana, 193.
18. Dana, 553.
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21. Dana, 194.
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23. Dana, 193.
24. Dana, 194-195.

25. Dana, 195.

26. Peter Jennison, *The History of Woodstock, Vermont, 1890-1983* (Woodstock, The Countryman Press, 1985), 29.

27. Dana, 552.

28. Interview with John Wiggin, February, 1994.

29. Winks, 8.

30. Winks, 275.

31. Metropolitan District Commission. Cultural Resource Inventory, Evaluation of Significance, Copeland House. Commonwealth of Massachusetts. 5.

32. Billings Family Archives, property records. For a brief discussion of Charles Platt, see part three of this report, "Analysis and Recommendations."

33. Janet Houghton. "Chronology" (From The Proceeding of the Conservation Stewardship Workshop, Marsh-Billings National Historical Park). November 19-21, 1993.

34. John A. Dryfhout. "The Cornish Colony," in *A Circle of Friends: Art Colonies of Cornish and Dublin.* Durham: University Art Galleries, University of New Hampshire, 34.

35. Houghton Interview, 1994.

36. Houghton Interview, 1994.

37. For a brief discussion of Martha Brookes (Brown) Hutcheson, see "Part Three: Analysis and Recommendations," in this report.

38. Martha Brookes Hutcheson, *Spirit of the Garden* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1923).

39. Professional Papers of Martha Brookes Hutcheson, located in the archives of the Morris County Park Department, Freylinghusen Arboretum, Morristown, NJ.

40. For a brief discussion of Ellen Shipman, see "Part Three: Analysis and Recommendations," in this report.

41. Winks, 300.

42. Winks, 299.

43. Donath, "Historical Description," 1993.

44. Winks, 299.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Houghton, "Chronology."

49. Houghton, "Gazetteer."

50. Laurance Spelman Rockefeller. Biography. Unpublished essay, 1991. From Donath, "Laurance Rockefeller," 1993.

51. Interview with James Sawyer, Woodstock, Vermont, Marsh, 1994.

52. From an interview with James Sawyer, Woostock, February, 1994.

53. Jennison, 32-33.

54. Jennison, 260.

55. Jennison, 29.

56. John P. Wiggin, Director of Land Use, Woodstock Report Corporation. *Forest Management & Ecological Inventory Report,* October 15, 1993.

57. Jennison, 32.

58. Jennison, 33.

59. Thomas M. Debevoise, *Outline of Involvement in Woodstock Since the 1950s (n.p.,1992),* 1-3.

60. Debevoise, 7.

61. Jennison, 34.

62. Wiggin, *Forest Report*.

63. Donath, "Significance," 1993.

PRELIMINARY EVALUATION OF SIGNIFICANCE

Significance in American history is determined through a process of identification and evaluation defined by the National Register Program. Historic significance may by present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling and association and which meet at least one of the following National Register criteria:

> A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history; or
>
> B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
>
> C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
>
> D. That have yielded or may be likely to yield information in prehistory or history.[1]

Current National Register Status

The Marsh-Billings House was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in 1967, and simultaneously listed as a National Historic Landmark.[2] The nomination form identifies the property's significance under criterion B for its association with George Perkins Marsh and Frederick Billings. Though the nomination is for the mansion as an individual building, the property boundaries appear to include approximately 40 acres of surrounding land. However, little mention is made of associated outbuildings or landscape in the nomination form. The following discussion is intended to provide a more in-depth understanding of the potential National Register significance of the landscape of the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park.

Criterion A: Association with Events, Activities or Trends

Based on this preliminary evaluation, the Marsh-Billings National Historic Park appears to have local significance in the area of agriculture.[3] During the property's ownership by the Marsh family traditional farming was practiced. However, Frederick Billings was able to pursue ambitious innovations on his Woodstock farm. Under the direction of farm manager George Aitken, the property was developed as a model farm, to exhibit the most sophisticated and advanced methods of livestock and crop production. Billing's innovations, in turn, influenced the agricultural practices of the Woodstock community. Local

farm owners were allowed free access to the Billings sires to breed their own cows, permitting them to improve their own herd's bloodlines. Billings' experimentation with livestock breeding received limited national attention three years after his death, when his herd won top honors at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1890.

In a similar fashion, the Marsh-Billings property may have state and/or local significance in the area of natural resource conservation. Marsh's work, in particular *Man and Nature*, along with his collaboration with Charles Sprague Sargent helped to lay the intellectual foundation for the eventual establishment of the U.S. Forest Service. On the state and local level, Billings was an innovator in forestry practices, introducing and planting a wide variety of new tree species. In addition to native species, such as White Pine, Billings planted exotic European varieties, including Norway Spruce, Austrian Larch, European Birch, and Mountain Ash. His Norway Spruce did so well that the International Paper Company was encouraged to establish a nursery for its propagation. Following Billing's appointment to the Vermont Forestry Commission in 1893 he used his Mount Tom forest as a laboratory in which to experiment with the latest ideas regarding scientific forestry.

The agricultural and forestry operations associated with the Billings Farm (and later Rockefeller) have had a significant economic impact on the residents of Woodstock by providing a steady source of employment for a significant percentage of local residents. By the turn of the century over fifty men were employed in the operation of the farm, and by 1948, almost every male resident of Woodstock had, at one time, been employed on the farm.

The Marsh-Billings property also has local significance in the area of recreation for its established tradition of public access. Since the 1880s, local residents were encouraged to enjoy Billings' carriage road system and the area around Mount Tom. The tradition of public use has continued under the stewardship of Laurance and Mary Rockefeller, who have permitted continued public use of the property for passive recreation such as walking and cross-country skiing.

Criterion B: Association with an Important Individual

The Marsh-Billings National Historical Park has significance for its association with the lives of two persons significant in our past: George Perkins Marsh and Frederick Billings. It is likely that the association with Laurance Rockefeller will also prove to be historically significant in the future. These men and their families were occupants, developers and stewards of this land for nearly two centuries. Each of these men is significant in his own right for his own achievements, and for the collective role that they have played in the American conservation movement.

George Perkins Marsh, (1801-1888) best known as the author of the seminal conservation work, *Man and Nature, Or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action (1864)* was born in Woodstock, Vermont. From the age of five until his departure for Dartmouth College he lived with his family on the Marsh Farm. Following a brief teaching career he was admitted to the Vermont Bar in 1825 and went into private law practice in Burlington. Following the death of his first wife and subsequent

remarriage to Caroline Crane, Marsh made a successful run for the United States Senate in 1939. While in Washington, he played an important role in the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution.

Highlights of Marsh's foreign service career include posts as Minister to the Court at Constantinople and ambassador to the Kingdom of Italy. In fact, Marsh began work on *Man and Nature* in 1860, after having left the United States to reside in Italy. The work was published in 1864, and revised in 1872. At the time of his death in Valombrosa Italy in 1882, Marsh was actively involved in revising a third edition of *Man and Nature.*

The historical significance of Marsh is most clearly tied to the publication of *Man and Nature* and the role this work has played in shaping American conservation thought. Within a decade of its publication, *Man and Nature* had become a widely read and influential work. In 1873, it inspired a report which prompted Congress to establish a national forestry commission and government forest reserves. The book's pragmatic optimism, and belief in the efficacy of reform was consistent with the nineteenth century view of progress, but its revolutionary exploration of the ecological relationships that governed nature would not be fully appreciated until the 20th century.

Frederick Billings, born in Royalton, Vermont, in 1823, moved with his family to Woodstock in 1835. Frederick Billings was a conservation practitioner rather than a shaper of American conservation thought. His work both in California and Vermont has contributed to the appreciation of natural resources, and noteworthy developments in land conservation and scientific forestry management. His work in California included alliances with some of the most important historic figures in land conservation, including John Fremont, Thomas Starr-King, Carlton Watkins and Frederick Law Olmsted, who together successfully lobbied for the protection of Yosemite Valley as a Federally-established state reserve in 1864. Billings also served as President of the Board of Directors of the Northern Pacific Railroad from 1870-1881.

At his farm in Woodstock, Frederick Billings read and embraced the ideas of George Perkins Marsh, putting into practice his concepts of stewardship, progress and conservation. Billings was recognized for his conservation work in 1883, at which time he was appointed to Vermont's newly created Forestry Commission. Billings took a special interest in the commission's work, ultimately writing most of its first report and funding its second printing.

Throughout his career Frederick Billings promoted the belief that "an alliance between the engine of commerce and the aesthetic of conservation could be achieved to the benefit of the majority of Americans." By influence and example he demonstrated how lands could be protected, used and enhanced through informed husbandry and stewardship. Even a century after Frederick Billing's death, the mansion, the estate and farm that he created continue to reflect his philosophy, values and personality.

Laurance Spelman Rockefeller was born in New York City in 1910. His early conservation work included his role as a trustee of the New York Zoological Society in 1935, and his appointment to the Palisades Interstate Park Commission in 1939. He served as manager of the Jackson Hole Preserve, a non-profit conservation and education corporation established by his father John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and

was instrumental in the establishment of the Conservation Foundation in 1948. He played an instrumental role in the expansion of Grand Teton National Park and the establishment of the Virgin Islands National Park on December 1, 1956.

Along with his work as a conservation philanthropist, Laurance Rockefeller played an active role in public service, providing expertise and guidance on a variety of government commissions and panels. Working with both Republican and Democratic administrations, he framed a new vision of conservation stewardship and of the relationship of citizens, business and government in achieving its goals.

In Woodstock, Vermont, Laurance Rockefeller has contributed greatly to the preservation of the historic character of the town and to enhancing recreation opportunities there as well. His philanthropic and public-spirited efforts have included the Woodstock Foundation, the Vermont Folklife Project, and the Billings Farm & Museum. Throughout the 1960s Rockefeller focused his attention on the town of Woodstock. He purchased and replaced the aging Woodstock Inn, greatly improving the country club and ski areas as well. In 1968 Mary and Laurance Rockefeller created the Woodstock Foundation, as a philanthropic vehicle for furthering the betterment of Woodstock. In 1971, the Woodstock Foundation established the Vermont Folklife Project, with the goal of studying and preserving the rapidly vanishing remnants of traditional farm life in the region of East Central Vermont. In June 1983 Mary and Laurance Rockefeller formally opened the Billings Farm & Museum. The creation of the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park in August 1992 fulfills an essential part of Laurance Rockefeller's vision for Woodstock, and represents the third National Park in which he has played a fundamental role. Throughout his life, Laurance Rockefeller's philosophy of "Conservation for People" has offered ways both of preserving precious natural resources and of using them as retreats for renewal of the human spirit.[4]

Criterion C: Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represents the work of a master

The Marsh-Billings National Historical Park appears to have multiple significance under National Register criterion C in the area of Landscape Architecture. With its formal garden, winding carriage roads and broad pastoral vistas, the Marsh-Billings estate embodies nearly all of the distinctive characteristics of a residential estate from the Country Place Era in American Landscape Architecture (1880-1930).[5] The mansion grounds represent the work of four significant designers in the field of landscape architecture- Robert Morris Copeland, Charles Platt, Martha Brookes Hutcheson and Ellen Shipman, all of whom worked on the property at some time during its ownership by Frederick Billings and his immediate heirs.

More importantly, the estate as a whole, including farm, forest and gardens should be seen as the masterwork of owner Frederick Billings, who carefully guided the development of this property from his purchase of the Marsh Farm in 1869 until his death in 1890 and even beyond, through instructions carried out posthumously. He is responsible for the direction of the design work in the vicinity of the mansion, as well as the improvements to the outlying areas of the estate, where he cleared land for crop production, planted trees, extended the carriage road system, and enlarged the Pogue. With these modifications to the larger estate, Billings effectively completed the last pieces of a typical, late

nineteenth-century country estate as dictated by Repton, Downing and Olmsted, where "straight lines gave way to more natural shapes, with entrance drives curving toward the house, providing changes of scenery and glimpses of structure or landscape beyond." [6]

Robert Morris Copeland (1830-1874) was one of a handful of practitioners in the emerging field of American landscape architecture, practicing around the mid-nineteenth century. After his graduation from Harvard he began a partnership with Horace Cleveland in 1853 which lasted until 1860. This partnership is credited with assisting architect Arthur Gilman in the lay-out of Boston's Back Bay in 1856 and with developing the boulevard concept for Commonwealth Avenue. In 1858 Copeland and Cleveland submitted an entry into the design competition for New York's Central Park, but lost the commission to the entry by Olmsted and Vaux. In 1859 he published an 800-page treatise on rural matters entitled, *Country Life: A Handbook of Agriculture, Horticulture, and Landscape Gardening*, a copy of which was owned by Frederick Billings. By 1866, this popular month-by month guide for farmers and estate managers had been through five editions. After his service in the Civil War, Copeland returned to the practice of landscape design, and by the time of his death in 1874 had attained a reputation as a pre-eminent practitioner in the field. Besides the laying out of country places for the wealthy, Copeland's work included public parks, cemeteries, and town planning throughout New England. He is recognized in several publications on the history of landscape architecture in the United States.[7]

Copeland's landscape design provided Billings with a classic centerpiece for his pastoral country estate, featuring picturesque groupings of trees and broad sweeping vistas out towards the adjacent farmland. The Copeland plan appears to have been implemented gradually. Despite numerous subsequent modifications to the grounds the overall design framework created by Copeland is still clearly visible on the grounds today.

In the years following Frederick Billing's death in 1890, the grounds immediately surrounding the Billings mansion were further refined through the work of designers Charles Platt, Ellen Shipman and Martha Brookes Hutcheson.[8] Each one of these designers is recognized as a talented and influential figure in the field of landscape architecture. Though the contributions of each of these designers was fairly limited, their combined effort resulted in a clear and classical example of a Beaux-Arts style garden, which is still clearly visible today.

Charles A. Platt (1861-1933) a gifted painter, architect and landscape architect, was also the author of *Italian Gardens* (1894), a collection of photographs, drawing, paintings, and notes. This was the first book written in English on the subject of Italian Renaissance gardens. The publication of Platt's book led his career in the direction of architecture and landscape architecture. While his first clients, such as Laura Billings Lee, were among the residents and friends of the colony of artists located in Cornish, New Hampshire, his later commissions included country estates all over the eastern United States. By 1904, when a major review of his work was published in *Architectural Record*, he had a leading designer of country houses and gardens. His work also included a small number of residential subdivisions and campus plans. He frequently collaborated with other landscape architects such as the Olmsted Brothers on large-scale site planning and with landscape designer Ellen Biddle Shipman on detailed planting plans. While he was not a member of any professional landscape organizations, Platt exerted a dominant

influence on the development of American residential landscape design through his distinctive integration of house and garden.[9]

Ellen Shipman (1870-1950) was a pioneering women in the field of landscape architecture. Born to a wealthy Philadelphia family and educated at Radcliffe, Shipman met with great resistance in the male dominated field of landscape architecture. Her association with Charles Platt through the Cornish Art Colony provided her with the mentor she needed to gain her first important commissions. Through their collaborative success, Shipman rapidly gained acceptance in the field. Shipman's collaboration with Platt was not unlike the collaboration of Edwin Lutyens and Gertrude Jekyll in England. Platt would design the architectural ensemble or structure of the house and garden and Shipman added lavish herbaceous plantings based on her comprehensive horticultural knowledge. Due to the ephemeral nature of planting design, many of Shipman's designs have not survived to the present. However, she is recognized as one of the most important women in the early history of landscape architectural practice in the United States.

Martha Brookes Hutcheson (1871-1959), was one of the first American women professionals in the field of landscape architecture. She attended MIT from 1900 to 1903 as well as Harvard's Bussey Institution. She also made use of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University for a program of self-study in botany and horticulture. Hutcheson designed country estates in New England, New York and New Jersey for over 150 clients until she closed her Newton, Massachusetts office in 1912 and moved to Manhattan and Gladstone, New Jersey. After that time she worked as a prolific garden writer, lecturer, consultant, and active member of the Garden Club of America until her death in 1959. She was the author of the 1923 volume *The Spirit of the Garden,* and became the third women admitted to the American Society of Landscape Architects. She was named a Fellow of the ASLA in 1935.[10] Hutcheson's home, Merchison Farm, in Gladstone, NJ is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Criterion D: Potential to yield information important to history or prehistory.

At this point an archeological survey has not yet been conducted at the Marsh-Billings site. However, based on this preliminary land use history it appears that the property may hold archeological information related to both prehistoric and historic activities. Potentially significant archeological features may include the remains of indigenous settlements, the McKenzie farmstead, early road traces, and several missing historic structures.

PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF INTEGRITY

As defined by the National Register Program, integrity is the authenticity of a property's historic identity, enhanced by the survival of physical characteristics that existed during the property's prehistoric or historic period(s). Historic integrity is the composite of seven qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.[11] Integrity enables a property to illustrate significant aspects of its past. For this reason, it is an important qualification for National Register listing. Not only must a property resemble its historic appearance, but it must also retain physical materials, design features, and aspects of construction dating from the period when it attained significance. The integrity of archeological resources is generally based on the degree to which remaining evidence can provide important information. All seven qualities do not need to be present for eligibility as long as the overall sense of past time and place is evident.

Overall, the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park appears to have minimal integrity from the Marsh period of ownership (1789-1869). Only qualities of association and location are present today. Both Billings and Rockefeller maintained a strong respect for the property's association with the life of George Perkins Marsh. Likewise, though extensively remodeled and enlarged, the Marsh home (1807) still stands in the same location. Integrity of setting and feeling have most likely been completely reduced through the dramatic modifications to the property made by Billings, the gradual reforestation of the area since the nineteenth century and the introduction of modern land uses, including new residential and commercial development. Finally, the property has virtually no integrity of workmanship and design from the Marsh period. Indeed, according to Marsh biographer David Lowenthal, the property changed so dramatically following Marsh's last visit to the site c. 1860 that it was "fortunate" that Marsh never saw the result of Billing's improvements to the property.[12]

The Marsh-Billings property appears to retain a high level of integrity from the Billings period (1869-1914). Integrity of location, association, and feeling are all intact. The setting around the farm has changed modestly due to new land uses and residential/commercial development. The Windsor County Fairgrounds, once a prominent feature visible to the northeast of the mansion, are now occupied by grazing and crop land managed by the Billings Farm & Museum. Open farmland located on the outlying areas west of the mansion (the area historically occupied by the Dana Farm) is now heavily forested. However, the careful protection of views throughout the twentieth century have prevented a dramatic change in the property's setting. The design work of Copeland, and to a lesser extent Shipman, Platt and Hutcheson is still visible on the grounds. The most noticeable modifications to the mansion grounds include the replacement of one of the greenhouses with a swimming pool, and the creation of the waterfall garden on the hill west of the house. New cross country ski-trails have increased the circulation system in the western portions of the estate. Overall, however, the layout and appearance of the entire estate, including fields, forest and carriage roads still clearly reflect Frederick Billings vision for his country estate.

Due to Mary Rockefeller's links to the property, and the Rockefeller's shared interest in historic preservation, relatively modest changes have occurred on the property during the past thirty years. However, changes occurring during the entire span of the Billings Heirs/Rockefeller period (1914-1992)

include the demolition of the Palm House and long glass greenhouse galleries which were constructed during the 1870s, and the construction of a swimming pool in their place. Between 1955 and 1965 minor modifications were made to the mansion grounds under the direction of landscape architects Zenon Schreiber and Bryan Lynch, and have include the installation of modern lighting and irrigation systems. In outlying areas of the property the north and south peaks of Mount Tom were donated to the Town of Woodstock for use as a public park, and the Windsor County Fairgrounds were incorporated into the estate and later developed as a part of the Billings Farm & Museum. However, despite these and numerous other minor changes to the property, the overall impression appears to be largely unchanged from when Mary and Laurance Rockefeller inherited the property in 1954.

PRESERVATION ISSUES

Two preservation issues were identified in the course of preparing the Land Use History for the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park. The first was the need to establish priorities for cataloguing and processing existing archival materials pertaining to the landscape. Both the Billings Family Archives located in the Billings Mansion and the Billings Farm & Museum in Woodstock maintain a great deal of primary source material pertaining to the landscape during both the Billings period (1869-1914) and the Billings Heirs/Rockefeller period (1914-1992). This material includes survey maps, landscape design drawings, and historic photographs. The Billings Family Archives also includes an extensive quantity of written primary source materials, including personal correspondence and farm journals. Unfortunately much of this material is uncatalogued, presenting difficulties for potential researchers at this time. Furthermore, while the current curatorial staff is capable of processing this material, the enormity of the job presents a serious burden to the already limited staff. Once this material is catalogued for research purposes it should be closely examined for any new insights it might provide on the evolution of the historical landscape at the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park.

Another pertinent preservation issue is the potentially detrimental impact that increased public use may have on the historic landscape at the Marsh-Billings National Historic Park. The formal gardens around the mansion grounds and the carriage roads present particular preservation challenges in the face of dramatically increased visitation. A resource protection plan should be developed as soon as possible in preparation for the day that the park will be open to the public.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SUBSEQUENT WORK

The following list outlines additional work needed to fully understand the history, significance and integrity of the cultural landscape at the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park.

1. Document Character-Defining Features/Rockefeller Period

A modest amount of additional research and field work is required to produce a plan that identifies existing historic landscape features. This work should be done to facilitate the GMP and subsequent 106 compliance and must be completed before any site-specific planning and treatment decisions can be made. Additionally, further work to modify the Billings Heirs/Rockefeller Period Plan into two distinct drawings (a Billings Heirs Period Plan and a Rockefeller Plan) can be accomplished in this phase to satisfy comments from reviewers of the Land Use History. The product of this phase would include a revised Billings Heirs Period Plan (1" ≡ 400'), an annotated Rockefeller Period Plan showing existing conditions at 1"=400' or 1"=200', and a narrative discussion of character-defining features. This could be done in-house by the Cultural Landscape Program/Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation at a cost of $7500 including salaries, travel, materials, and printing. Information produced in this phase could be incorporated into a revised version of the Land Use History Report.

2. Develop Historic Contexts

Clearly, a strong need exists to define the historic contexts for the park's landscape and evaluate its significance more clearly. This work is complex, due to the nature of the historic associations and would require research by a professional historian or team of historians with expertise in conservation, landscape, and agricultural history. Following are potential contexts defined by the NPS in *History and Prehistory in the National Park System* and the *National Historic Landmarks Program (1987)*:

A. Conservation Theory and Practice in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries including the sub-themes:

i. Origin and Development of the Conservation Idea (NHL Theme XXXII.A).

ii. Formation of the Conservation Movement, 1870-1908 (NHL Theme XXXII.B) and sub-themes:

1. Origin of the National Parks Movement
2. The Forest Service and Forest Preservation

iii. The Conservation Movement Matures, 1908-1941.

B. Landscape Architecture, but limited to the sub-theme:

i. Country Place estates (1880-1930) and highlighting the works of Copeland, Platt, Shipman and Hutcheson.[13]

C. Agriculture-See NHL Themes XI. E and F or American Ways of Life-Farming Communities (NHL Theme XXX.A).

The cost of this project would be directly related to an agreed upon scope of work.

3. Prepare Oral Histories

Several individuals may have knowledge that would contribute greatly to the understanding of the Marsh-Billings landscape. They include:

a. Mary French Rockefeller
b. Laurance Rockefeller
c. Carl Bergstrom, retired groundskeeper

Interviews of these individuals should be done soon and kept as an archival record. Ideally, the interviews should be conducted by a professional oral historian with assistance from someone knowledgeable about the landscape. However, more informal interviews could be done in-house. The cost of either solution has not yet been determined.

4. Conduct additional research on the scenic zone.

This Land Use History has focused specifically on the evolution of the "Historic" and "Protection" zones of the Marsh-Billings NHP. However, the "Scenic" zone clearly contributes to the significance of the park and should be similarly evaluated.

5. Amend the National Register Form to include

a. a statement of significance for the landscape,
b. description of existing conditions
c. revisions to the National Register Boundary to include the entire Billings Estate, and
d. change the property classification from individual building to district.

This project could be easily accomplished in-house through the Cultural Landscape Program and the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation in coordination with the Regional Historian at a cost of $7,500 for research, writing, production, and coordination with the Vermont SHPO.

6. Prepare a Detailed Existing Conditions Plan

The existing base maps are not sufficiently precise, nor do they provide enough detail to accurately plan for treatment of the landscape. Therefore, a more detailed existing conditions plan should be done for the entire park at 1"=200 or 1" =100' with a more detailed (e.g. 1"=40') base map for the mansion grounds. This work should include an aerial survey with ground control and interpolation of topographic contour lines at two foot intervals in order to prepare a reliable illustrative site plan. This project could be done in-house by the Cultural Landscape Program and the Olmsted Center at an estimated cost of $15,000 for both the contracted survey work and the preparation of the site plan.

7. Prepare Cultural Landscape Report

All of the previous recommendations are components of a Cultural Landscape Report which includes four principle sections: site history, existing conditions, analysis of integrity and significance and a treatment plan. While this Land Use History does highlight the general evolution of the landscape, it does not contain sufficient information to accurately assess integrity and significance. Furthermore, a Cultural Landscape Report is required before any treatment work can be undertaken. The cost of this project is dependent on the level and detail of completion of the previous recommendations and a specific scope of work. Typically, Cultural Landscape Reports are prepared by a team of historians and landscape architects with specific expertise in historic landscape preservation.

8. Conduct a preliminary archeological survey of the landscape.

A preliminary archeological survey should be done to locate missing historic and prehistoric features prior to any site-specific actions.

9. Ethnographic Assessment

Preliminary ethnographic work associated with the Marsh-Billings NHP is currently in progress. The extent and cost of additional ethnographic studies can be more accurately determined following the completion of this preliminary effort.

Endnotes for Part Three

1. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service Interagency Resources Division. *Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form.* (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office, 1991).

2. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form.* Marsh-Billings House, 1967.

3. Areas of Significance, as defined by the National Register Program, are: Agriculture, Architecture, Archeology, Art, Commerce, Communications, Community Planning & Development, Conservation, Economics, Education, Engineering, Entertainment & Recreation, Ethnic Heritage, Exploration & Settlement, Health & Medicine, Industry, Invention, Landscape Architecture, Law, Literature, Maritime History, Military, Performing Arts, Philosophy, Politics I Government, Religion, Science, Social History, Transportation.

4. From an unpublished paper on Laurance Rockefeller prepared by David Donath, Director, Billings Farm & Museum, for the Conservation Stewardship Workshop, Woodstock, Vermont, November 19-21, 1993.

5. First introduced in the United States around in the middle of the nineteenth century by landscape architects Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted, among others, the Country Place style of estate design burgeoned in popularity around the turn of the twentieth century as part of "an unparalleled era of economic growth, resulting in unrestrained displays of wealth." Influenced by the E'cole des Beaux Arts, balance, symmetry, and spatial hierarchy in architecture were transferred directly to the garden and landscape."

For a summary of information on this period in Landscape Architecture see Bill Tishler, *ed. American Landscape Architecture, Designers and Places* (Washington: The Preservation Press of the National trust for Historic Preservation, 1989), pp 133-135 or Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land*, (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1971), Chapter XXX.

6. Ibid.

7. See Newton, Norman, *Design on the Land,* 309-311.

8. Platt, Shipman, and Hutcheson have executed design work on other properties that have subsequently become National Historic Sites. Shipman and Platt both worked on Aspet, the home of Augustus Saint Gaudens in Cornish, NH, now Saint Gaudens National Historic Site. Hutcheson and Shipman both played a role in the design of the garden for Alice Longfellow, at what is now the Longfellow National Historic Site.

9. Tishler, William. *American Landscape Architecture, Designers and Places.* (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1989), 84.

10. The professional papers of Martha Brookes (Brown) Hutcheson are contained in the archives of the Morris County (NJ) Parks Department at the Freylinghusen Arboretum in Morristown, NJ. Copies of her papers are available from Lauren Meier, who is researching the life and work of Hutcheson.

11. *National Register Bulletins 15* and *16A.*

12. Lowenthal, David. *George Perkins Marsh, Versatile Vermonter (* New York, Columbia University Press, 1958), 319.

13. Note that a theme study in the history of landscape architecture has not yet been done. However, it is likely that this context would be consistent with future work on a theme study. The *Cultural Landscape Report for Saint Gaudens NHS* does address some aspects of this historic context.

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Phil Lewis. Interview with Eliot Foulds. Woodstock, Vermont. January, 1994.

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John Wiggin. Interview with Eliot Foulds. Woodstock, Vermont. January/February 1994.

David Yates. Interview with authors. January, 1994.

Archives Consulted and Outcome

Billings Family Archives, Woodstock, Vermont

Drawings, plans and historic photographs were obtained from the Billings Family Archives for inclusion in this report. This archive also has a great deal of primary source, manuscript material in the form of correspondence, journals and business records. Only a small fraction of these manuscript materials were consulted. Additional research should include more detailed examination of these resources.

Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site Archives, Brookline, Massachusetts

No information was found regarding the work of Frederick Law Olmsted or Olmsted Brothers, Landscape Architects.

Catalog of Landscape Records, Wave Hill, Bronx, New York

A query to the Wave Hill data base revealed source material on Robert Morris Copeland. The Metropolitan District Commission report on the Robert Morris Copeland House was obtained through the Wave Hill records.

Marsh Paper, University of Vermont

The University of Vermont is the repository for the voluminous collection of papers of George Perkins Marsh. Research librarians familiar with this collection were consulted over the telephone. This consultation led to the discovery of a diagram of the Marsh farmstead c.1855. Further research of these materials is likely to reveal additional data on the history of the Marsh-Billings landscape.

Woodstock Historical Society, Woodstock, Vermont

Some of the historical photographs in the Billings Family Archives are copies from the archives of the Woodstock Historical Society.

Appendix A

LOCAL GAZETTEER

Names of Buildings Now and Formerly Located on the Billings Family Property
or Relevant to the History of the Billings Family
in Woodstock, Vermont

Original Edition c.1986
2nd Edition Revised and Enlarged 1990
3rd Edition Computer Format 1993

Janet R. Houghton

LOCAL GAZETTEER
Origin, Methods and Terminology of the Chart

This chart is a list of the many names used by local authorities and family members over the years, to refer to the various buildings located on the Billings estate property. The list also includes buildings not located on the property, but significant to the family's history, and often mentioned in surviving documents. Since owners and residents changed over time, and the buildings themselves underwent many alterations, researchers met frequent overlap and confusion in diary and letter references. The chart is an attempt to give the shifting nomenclature a conceptual frame; it also pinpoints gaps in current knowledge, and presents a reference tool for tracking unfamiliar names. It is a brief summary, and not a complete guide to the buildings concerned. Consult the companion documents for specific buildings, subtitled "Histories of Construction, Ownership, and Alteration", to see a timeline detailing the specific history of each site.

This chart format was first devised in about 1986, and revised and enlarged from 1990 on; it was transferred to computer in 1993. The underlined headings are defined as follows:

Name: the name most commonly used at present. This is the name by which the building is identified in the cataloging records, and it is usually also the name in common parlance. Some names have been selected, from a variety of current choices, to impose a uniform, conventional form.

Location: the street location of the building, in Woodstock.

Built: date of construction, if known, plus significant dates of alteration. This column will also contain the cross-reference, if necessary, directing the reader to an alternate name on the chart.

Earliest Name (Date) → Latest Name (Date): names for the building, moving left to right from the oldest citation to the newest. Most citations are followed by the source and the date in parentheses; the source usually takes the form of the initials of a family member, local resident, or modern authority.

Owner/Tenant: the initials of the current owner of the property, sometimes followed by a slash and the name(s) of the current occupant(s), if the building is rented.

Remarks: any other useful information about the building in question, briefly summarized. Architects; dates of demolition, removal, or furnishing; references to related properties.

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Name	Location	Built	Earliest Name (Date) → Latest Name (Date)	Owner/Tenant	Remarks
Belvedere	54 Elm Street	see Greenhouse			
Billings Homestead	3 Bond Street	see The Maples			
Billings House	4 Bond Street	1808	Amos Warren House (1808-52) → Warren House (JPB, 1858) → Latimer House (FSB, 1870) → Billings House (from 1863)	FSB Jr.	Purchased by FNB 1863. "Enlarged" 1909 (JPB, "Notes").
Billings House	16 The Green	see Park Mansion			
Billings House	54 Elm Street	see The Mansion			
Billings House	River Road	see Richard Billings House			
Billings Mansion	54 Elm Street	see The Mansion			
Bungalow	54 Elm Street	1916-17	Bungalow (from 1917)	NPS	Designed by the architect H. Van Buren Magonicle, for MMBF. Refurnished c.1960.
Carriage Barn	54 Elm Street	c.1870, 1895	Stable (JPB, 1880) → Stable (architects, 1895) → Horse Barn (1895) → Stable (1934) → Carriage Barn (1970's)	NPS	Built about 1870. Torn down and rebuilt by Rossiter & Wright 1895. Folklife Project offices and storage 1977-83 (GAB).
Dana Farm	Rose Hill	1884-85	Dana Farm (to 1884) → Hilltop, or Hill Top Cottage (c.1885) → Pogue Hole Farm (1890) → Hill Top Farm (c.1914-35)	-----	House and attached shed burned 1935; barn survived until the 1940's. Succeeded by the French House (see).
Double Cottage	56 Elm Street	bef. 1885	Coachman's Cottage (JPB, 1885) → Chauffeur's Cottage (from c.1920) → Coachman's House (1934) → Double Cottage (1950's)	NPS / James Sawyer, seasonal staff	Not to be confused with the Twin Cottages on River Street (see).

Name	Location	Built	Earliest Name (Date) → Latest Name (Date)	Owner/Tenant	Remarks
Echo Acre	1 Moore Place	1861	B.F. Mason House (1861-71) → Brooks House (1877-90) → "Forest Lawn" (Brooks family, 1882) → Moore House (1890-1930) → Fisk House (1930-50) → "Echo Acre" (Fisk family, 1930's) → Gale House (1950-63) → Echo Acre (from the 1960's)	LSR	Lot sold by CM Sr. to B.F. Mason 1860; house built by Marshall Mason 1861. Purchased by FB 1873; sold by FB 1877. Purchased by LSR 1963. Not Echo Acres one "Acre" only.
Entry Building	River Road	1982-83	Entry Building (from 1983)	Billings Farm / BF&M	Sasaki Associates, architects.
Fairground	River Road	see Windsor County Fairground			
Fairground Cottage	River Road	bef. 1890	Fair Ground Cottage (1890)	Billings Farm / John Perkins	Not the School House #3 site, active 1849-1902.
Farm House	Route 12	1889-90	"Farm House" and "Farm Cottage" (FB, 1889) → Aitken House (1917) → Superintendent's House (1929-34) → Tenant House (1970's) → Farm Manager's House (1986-88) → Farm House (from 1989)	Billings Farm / BF&M	Ell at rear demolished c.1980, rebuilt 1987-89. Restored 1987-89.
Farm Manager's House	Route 12	see Farm House see also Herdsman's House			
Fisher House	5 Moore Place	1866	Isaac Fisher House (1866-1900) → Nellie Fisher House (1900-1942) → Gertrude Mertens House (1942-91)	Mertens family	Built by Isaac Fisher, local cabinetmaker. Long occupied by his daughter Nellie, succeeded by Mrs. Mertens. Renovated 1960's and periodically through 1991.
French House	23 Mountain Ave.	c.1830	W.C. French House (c.1857-1901) → French House (MMBF, 1945)	Charles V.V. Hardiman	Sold out of the French family in 1945.
French House	Rose Hill	1951-52	Hill Top (from 1953)	French family	Built on the site of the Dana Farm (see).

Name	Location	Built	Earliest Name (Date) → Latest Name (Date)	Owner/Tenant	Remarks
Gale House	1 Moore Place	see Echo Acre			
Gale House Garage	3 Moore Place	by 1930	Garage (from c.1930) → Gale House Garage (1970's)	LSR / seasonal staff	Adjacent to Echo Acre (see).
Gardener's House	3 North Street	bef. 1867	Claflin House (until 1869) → Mass House (1890) → Gardener's House (1890) → Gardener's Cottage, North Street (1934) → Bergstrom House (from c.1949)	LSR or NPS / Carl Bergstrom	North Street opened and developed before 1867. House and lot sold to FB 1869. Occupancy by George Mass not confirmed.
Golf House	River Road	1901	Golf House (from 1901)	Carl Taylor Jr.	Built under George Aitken's supervision (Jaycox). Vermont Standard 11/21/1901. Had a horse shed adjacent. Renovated by Helmer & Cole, 1957.
Greenhouse	54 Elm Street	c.1870, 1882	Green House (architects, c.1870) → Greenhouse, Belvedere, Bowling Alley, Graperies and Garden Shed (1890) → Grapery and Bowling Alley (1934)	NPS	Original architects Faulkner, Clarke & Dorr. Palm House and galleries in existence by 1880. Enlargements by Lord & Burnham 1882. Large portions demolished c.1933. Swimming pool built before 1935, rebuilt 1957.
Herdsman's House	Route 12	aft. 1869?	Old Farm House (1890) → "Caretaker's Cottage where the Herdsman lives" (1929, 1934) → Herdsman's House (1940's) → Farm Manager's House (from c.1943)	Billings Farm / David Yeatts	Used as a guest house late 1930's - early 1940's.
Hill Top	Rose Hill	see Dana Farm see also French House			
Hog Barn	River Road		Hog Barn (by 1980's)	Billings Farm / BF&M	Converted to Museum program space 1989-90.
Horse Shed	54 Elm Street	c.1956-65	Horse Barn or Horse Shed (from 1950's)	NPS	Upper meadow. Built on the site of the Stone Shed (see).

Name	Location	Built	Earliest Name (Date) → Latest Name (Date)	Owner/Tenant	Remarks
Ice House	Route 12	1889-90	Ice House (architect, 1889)	Billings Farm / BF&M	Demolished c.1980; rebuilt as part of the Farm House restoration 1987-89.
Ice House	54 Elm Street	1870?, 1886	Ice House (1890)	---	Adjoined the kitchen ell of the Mansion; demolished, date not known.
Laundry	54 Elm Street	aft. 1869	Laundry Building (1890) → Laundry (MMBF, 1945)	---	A barn stood on the site from c.1807. School-room upstairs. Demolished before 1955 (Frizzell).
Lee House	River Road	1906-07	Lee House (to c.1940) → McDill House (after c.1940)	JLMcD	Site of the old Moore farm, active c.1865 (HSD). Architect Charles Platt.
Lower Barns	River Road		Lower Barns or Dairy Barns (by 1980's)	Billings Farm / BF&M	Originally sheep barns? (JHMcD)
The Mansion	54 Elm Street	1869-70, 1885-86	Billings Mansion (from 1870) → "Marsh Hill house" (JPB, 1870) → The Hill (from 1870) → Pogue Hill (1870's) → "the mansion" (FSL, 1911) → "the big house" (LBL, 1918) → Rockefeller Mansion (from c.1956)	NPS / LSR and MFR	Architects W.R. Emerson (1869-70), H.H. Holly (1885-86), T. Muller (1956-65).
The Maples	3 Bond Street	1836	Billings Homestead (from 1837) → The Maples (1860's-1872) → McKenzie House (HSD, 1888) → Frank Mackenzie House (1873-1920)	FSB Jr. / Hefferman, Chestnut, Moore	Built by Henry Lawrence. Billings family home 1837-72. FB and JPB in residence 1864-70: sold out of the family 1872.
Marsh Homestead	54 Elm Street	1789-90	Charles Marsh House (1789-1807) → Rev. Parker House (1833-1859)	---	Tennis court site. Built by Samuel Winslow. Sold by 1829, repurchased 1859, still on site 1869. Relocated after 1870 as the Octagon Cottage (see).
Marsh House	54 Elm Street	1805-07	Charles Marsh House (1807-49) → Charles Marsh Jr. House (1849-69) → "the Marsh house" and "the Marsh place" (JPB, 1869) → "the Marsh Farm" (FB, 1869)	---	Mansion site. Built by Nathaniel Smith. Completely rebuilt 1869-70 as the Mansion (see).

Name	Location	Built	Earliest Name (Date) → Latest Name (Date)	Owner/Tenant	Remarks
McDill House	River Road	see Lee House			
Mertens House	5 Moore Place	see Fisher House			Not to be confused with the Mertens House geriatric care building (1986?) adjacent to The Homestead, Rose Hill.
Mount Tom House	Route 12	bef. 1858	Emerson House (1863-78) → "Emerson or Lazell House" (FB, 1878) → Mount Tom House (1970's)	WRC? / Tenants	Purchased by FB late 1878 or early 1879. Rebuilt? 1880's, renovated c.1958-60. The neighboring ski base lodge, now day care, was formerly the barn?
New Barn	River Road	1888-98	New Barn (1880's) → Big Barn and Sheds (1890) → Cahill Apartments (from c.1980)	WRC? / Tenants	First construction 1888. Several structures, including a horse barn. Mostly demolished c.1980.
Octagon Cottage	4 Moore Place	aft. 1870	Creamery and Farm Superintendent's Dwelling (c.1870-89) → Lillie Billings' Dwelling (1934) → "D.A.'s House" (from c.1920?) → Octagon Cottage or The Cottage (1940's) → Hitchcock Cottage (1970's)	Hitchcock family	The Marsh Homestead (see), relocated from its original site uphill c.1870. Creamery burned 1881. Remodelled by Preston Cole early 1940's, and by the Hitchcocks c.1965.
Park Mansion	16 The Green	1823	Mower House (1823-43) → Chandler House (1847-59) → Mansion House (1859) → Park Mansion (from 1859) → Bailey House (c.1905-45) → Jack Martin House (1956-82)	WRC / Tenant	Built by Lyman Mower. Billings family home 1859-71, owned and occupied by descendents to 1945.
Power House	River Road	bef. 1890	Power House (c.1898-1908) → Power House or Shop (from 1985)	LSR / BF&M	Electric power from liquid cell batteries. Renovated by the Boston Electric Co. 1908. Converted to a workshop before 1982?
Richard Billings House	River Road	1917	Richard Billings House (from 1917) → Taylor House (from c.1940) → Richard Billings House (from c.1982)	LSR / BF&M	Converted to offices 1982.
Red House	River Road	bef. 1917?	Chauffeur's cottage (from c.1917) → Taylor House (c.1980?-88) → Red House (1980's)	Carl Taylor Jr. / Bob Benz	Formerly the home of RB's chauffeur. Taylors occupied it c.1980?-88.

Name	Location	Built	Earliest Name (Date) → Latest Name (Date)	Owner/Tenant	Remarks
Stone Shed	54 Elm Street	c.1870?	Stone Shed (to 1940's)	---	Upper meadow. Stonedresser's workshop; demolished 1950's to make way for the Horse Shed (see).
Sugar House	Mount Tom	bef. 1890	Sugar House (1890)	--- ?	No longer standing? Location?
Thompson Farm	Route 12 and River Road	1801, 1881	Denison House (1808-54) → Ovid Thompson House (1854-79) → Thompson Cottage (from 1881) → "Burnside Cottage" (H.J. Van Dyke, 1885) → Kilner House (from c.1887?)	---	Original house demolished and rebuilt by FB Demolished 1950's; barns demolished 1970?
Twin Cottages	2 River Street, 4 River Street	bef. 1869	Two Anderson Houses (1879) → Two Anderson Cottages (1890) → McKain and Greene (1890)	Eldon Thompson / Mrs. Scully	Purchased by FB 1879. Deeded to RB, and later sold by his widow May to the McDills. #2 sold by them to Thompson 1990. For sale 1990.
Wagon Barn	River Road	aft. 1870?	Wagon Barn (1980's) → Sheep Barn (1990's)	Billings Farm / BF&M	Near the Hog Barn (see).
Windsor County Fairground:					
- Bandstand	Racetrack		Band Stand	---	Moved to Vail Field c.1933. Demolished c.1975?
- Carousel	Midway?		Carousel	Name not known	Repaired and maintained by Ernest Rennie 1920's. Removed c.1933; wood beam frame still stands, on the Brownsville road in Hartland.
- Floral Hall	Near Upper Barns		Floral Hall	---	Demolished c.1933.
- Grandstand	Racetrack		Grandstand	---	Moved to Vail Field c.1933. Demolished c.1975.

Name	Location	Built	Earliest Name (Date) → Latest Name (Date)	Owner/Tenant	Remarks
Windsor County Fairground (cont'd.):					
- Judges' Stand	Racetrack		Judges' Stand, or Reviewing Stand	---	Proposed (unsuccessfully) for a bandstand on the Green. Demolished c.1933?
- Ticket Office	Near Route 12; now 2 Rose Hill		Ticket Office	John J. Porter	Moved to Rose Hill and converted to a dwelling, c.1933.
- Stables	Racetrack, backstretch		Stables or Horse Sheds	---	Demolished c.1933.
Woodshed	Mount Tom	bef. 1890	Wood Shed (1890)	NPS	
Upper Barns	River Road	1880's?	Old Marsh Barn (bef. 1880) → Cow Barn or Cow Stable (n.d.) → Upper Barns (from c.1980)	Billings Farm / BF&M	Floored with stone 1880's. Converted to museum exhibit space 1982-83.

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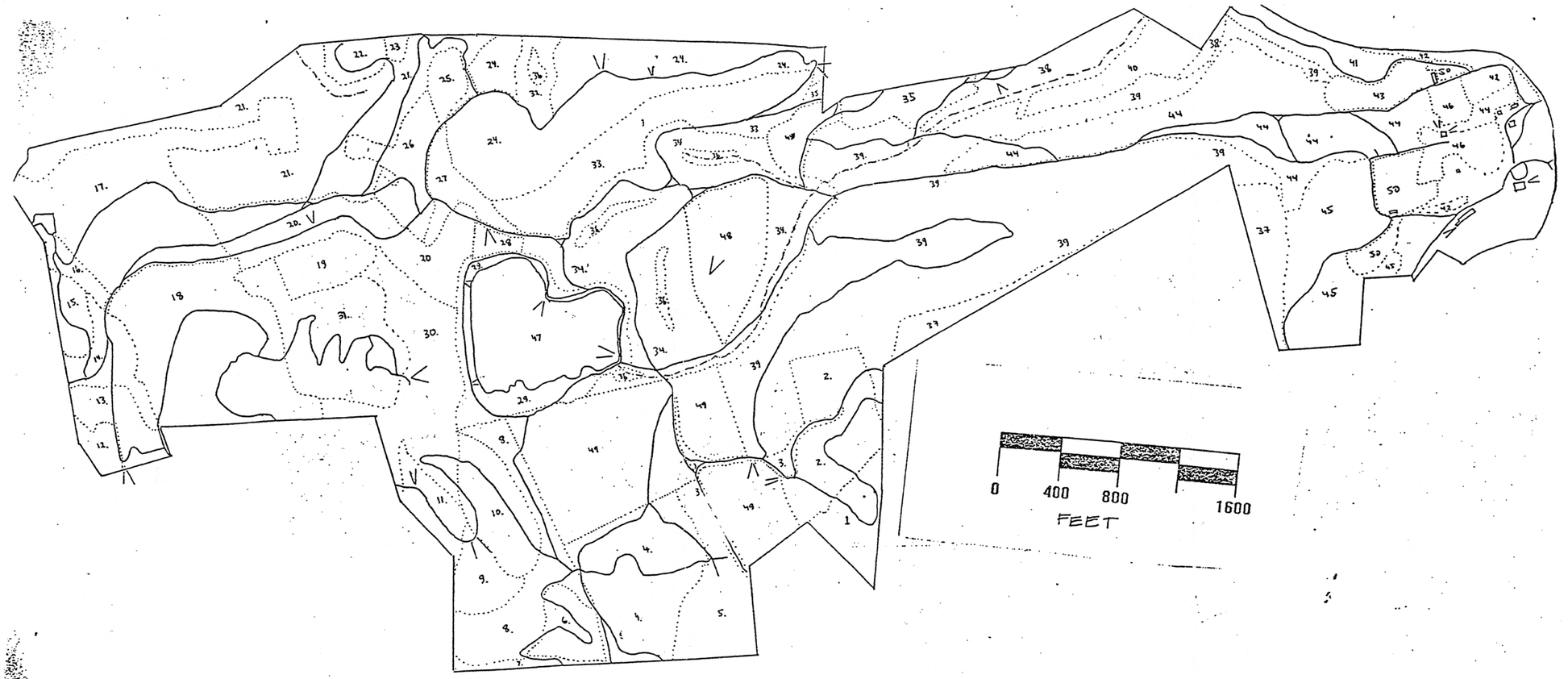
Stand	Species	Age
1	European larch with high understory of red oak, white ash, sugar maple	Larch planted in 1887
2	White pine, European ash with Norway spruce and mixed hardwood understory	Ash planted in 1887
3	Norway Spruce	Planted in 1887
4	Red Pine	Planted in 1952
5	Sugar maple and other hardwoods	Old field succession beginning in 1950s
6	White pine and mixed hardwoods	Natural stand seeded in 1940s
7	Hemlock	Boundary planting dating to 1913
8	White pine and mixed hardwoods	Natural stand seeded in 1940s
9	Sugar maple and other hardwoods	Old field succession beginning in 1940s and 1950s
10	Sugar maple, white ash, ironwood	Old field succession beginning in 1940s and 1950s
11	Ironwood and sugar maple	Maples pre-1890s, ironwood dates to 1940s
12	Apple, white pine, mixed hardwoods	Apple orchard remnants from 1890, pine and hardwood from 1940s
13	Norway spruce	Planted in 1950
14	Black locust, black cherry, white ash, white birch, aspen and sugar maple	1920
15	White pine	1930s
16	Scots pine, sugar maple understory	Planted in 1917
17	Red Pine	Planted in 1917
18	White Pine, white pine understory	1905
19	Sugar maple, mixed hardwoods	Natural stand circa 1900
20	Mixed hardwoods	Natural stand circa 1900

21	Hemlock and mixed hardwoods	Trees along brook and north border, 1800s; eastern and southern sections, 1920s
22	Scots Pine	Plantation in early 1930s
23	Big-tooth aspen	Natural stand circa 1930
24*	Sugar maple, white ash, mixed hardwoods	Mixed ages pre-1920
25	Red, scots, white pine, norway spruce understory	1917
26	Red Pine	1917
27	White pine and norway spruce, hemlock and hardwoods	White pine and norway spruce planted in 1896.
28	Norway spruce	Plantation in 1913
29	Hemlock and mixed hardwoods	Natural stand circa 1890
30	Mixed hardwoods	Mixed ages with some old growth
31*	Hemlock and mixed hardwoods	Mixed ages, some pre-1900
32*	Mixed hardwoods	Pre-1890s
33	Beech, birch, sugar maple, some old growth hemlock	Natural stand circa 1890s
34	Hemlock, mixed hardwoods	Natural stand circa 1890s
35	White pine	Planted 1911
36*	Red maple, hemlock, brown ash	All ages
37	Hemlock, northern hardwood	Pre-1890s
38	Hemlock	Pre-1890s
39*	Hemlock, northern hardwood	Pre-1910
40	White pine, sugar maple, younger hardwoods, hemlock, norway spruce	White pine and maple planted in 1897.
41	White pine and sugar maple	Plantation in 1911
42	Norway spruce	Planted in 1882
43*	Mixed wood. European larch and evergreens were planted. Natural regeneration of hardwoods	European larch and evergreens planted in the 1880s

44	Northern hardwoods	Pre-1890s
45	Mix of evergreens and hardwoods, plantations and natural stands	White pine and norway spruce planted in 1880
46	White pine plantation with additional plantings of norway spruce, european larch, scots pine, hemlock, hardwoods	White pine plantation and other plantings in 1880
47	The Pogue (14 acre pond)	Previously a bog, dammed in 1890, dam rebuilt in 1991
48	Upland pasture	----------
49	Hayland, grasses, clovers	----------
50	Open fields	----------

Stands with Billings Era plantations and plantings
* Stands with occurrences of endangered species

Wiggins Forest Hydra
Report, 1993.



Appendix C

Chronology of Events, Plans and Photographs*

**Adapted from the background materials prepared for the Conservation Stewardship Workshop by David A. Donath, October 14, 1993*

Pre-1761	Native americans (probably Abenakis) clear and use meadow at the confluence of Barnard Brook and the Ottauquechee River (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 14).
1761	*Town of Woodstock chartered by the Province of New Hampshire.*
1771	*First census of Woodstock: 42 inhabitants*
1772	*Woodstock re-chartered by the Province of New York.*
1772	John Hoisington settles on a 20 acre parcel that includes the meadow later to become the Marsh and Billings farm (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 18).
1772	A squatter named Perkins builds a cabin and makes shoes near the location of the first Marsh house, now the site of the mansion tennis court (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 192)
1776	*Declaration of American Independence*
1776	Nathan Howland and Major [Joab] Hoisington clear and drain the swampy meadow later to become the Marsh and Billings farm (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 14).
1777	*Republic of Vermont established.*
1777	James Cobb establishes a hill farm near the Pogue, at the site of the barn later built by Frederick Billings (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 58).
c.1770's	James Cady, a wheelwright, has a 50 acre farm and log house on the meadow later to become the Marsh and Billings farm (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 192-193).
1783	*End of the Revolutionary War*
1787	*Woodstock established a Windsor County seat.*
1789	Charles Marsh, at 23 purchases James Cady's 50 acre farm on the meadow later to become the Billings Farm (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 193).
1790	Charles Marsh erects a frame house on the knoll above his farm (now the site of the mansion tennis court), builder Samuel Winslow (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 193, Lowenthal, *George Perkins Marsh*, 7).
1791	*Woodstock population 1605.*
1791	*Vermont statehood.*

1797 Charles Marsh clears the easterly slope of Mount Tom for a pasture (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 553).

1797 CM builds first Elm Street bridge across the Ottauquechee River (Lowenthal, *George Perkins Marsh*, 3).

1798 *Charles Marsh marries Susan Perkins.*

1800 *Woodstock township population 2,132; village, about 250.*

1800 Mount Tom burned in a wild fire (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 549).

1800 Royalton and Woodstock Turnpike chartered, CM et at., proprietors (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 539).

1801 George Perkins Marsh born, second of five children of Susan and Charles Marsh (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 469).

1805-07 Charles Marsh contracts Nathaniel Smith to build the brick house (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 193).

1810 *Woodstock township population: 2,610.*

1820 *George Perkins Marsh graduates from Dartmouth.*

1823 Frederick Billings born in Royalton Vermont (Winks, *Frederick Billings*, 5).

1825 *GPM moves to Burlington and enters the practice of law.*

1830 *Woodstock population: 3,044.*

1832 **Figure 2: Map of Woodstock, Vermont, 1832. Shows the Roger's Tract and other features with placenames (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, frontispiece)**

c.1834 *GPM buys a Merino sheep farm south of Burlington.*

1835 *Oel Billings and family move from Royalton to Woodstock due to a debtor judgement. According to family legend, FB drives the family pig over Marsh's Royalton-Woodstock Turnpike, and pauses at Marsh mansion resolving never again to be poor.*

1839 **Figure 6. Advertisement, Female High School, Rev. B.C.C. Parker schoolmaster. Flyer shows a woodcut of the original Marsh homestead, as it later appeared under Parker's ownership. Foreground of view shows a small portion of a picket fence, which from later photographs is known to have surrounded the grounds of the brick Marsh mansion. A smaller cottage appears to the north of the 1790 Marsh wood-frame home (Billings Family Archives).**

1840 *Woodstock population 3,315*

1841-44 *Frederick Billings attends the University of Vermont.*

1845 Wildfire burns Mount Tom (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 552).

1845-48 *George Perkins Marsh an advocate for the establishment of the Smithsonian Institution.*

1849 Charles Marsh dies (*Dana, History of Woodstock*, 468)

1849 *Frederick Billings establishes a law practice in San Francisco during the gold rush.*

1850 *Frederick Billings assists in protection of the Presidio as a government preserve.*

1850 *Woodstock population: 3,041.*

1851-52 *GPM tours the Middle East and Europe.*

1850's-60's *Billings' San Francisco law firm manages Fremont's Las Mariposas, leading to the involvement of Frederick Law Olmsted with that property.*

1853 Susan Perkins Marsh (George's mother) dies (Dana, History of Woodstock, 469)

1855 **Figure 4: Map of Woodstock by Hosea Doton (University of Vermont Library).**

1855 Charles Marsh Jr. sells a portion to the meadow (later the Billings Farm) for construction of the Windsor County Fairgrounds for $3,000 (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 29).

1857 *George and Charles Marsh measure the elevations of Mt. Tom and other hills around Woodstock.*

1860 George Perkins Marsh begins work on the book, "Man and Nature" (Houghton, Marsh Family Notes, 2)

1861 GPM probably visits Woodstock Vermont for the last time (Houghton, Marsh Family Notes, 2).

1861-82 *GPM serves a Ambassador to Italy.*

1862 *Frederick Billings marries Julia Parmly of New York.*

1863 *Billings returns to Yosemite for a second visit.*

1864 Frederick and Julia Billings move back east, and reside at the Maples on Bond Street, the home of Frederick Billings's sister (Houghton, The Billings Mansion, 1869-1900 (n.p. 1977), 6).

1864 George Perkins Marsh publishes "Man and Nature".

1864 Frederick Billings reads and is deeply influenced by "Man and Nature" (Winks, *Frederick Billings*, 94).

c.1864-69 **Figure 5: Photograph, Charles Marsh house, Woodstock VT. From a stereograph by H. Cushing (Woodstock Historical Society).**

1865 **Figure 7: Engraving, View of Ottauquechee floodplain occupied by the Windsor County Fairgrounds (Dana, *History of Woodstock*).**

c.1864-69 **Figure 8: Photograph, Charles Marsh federal style house and hillside grounds (Woodstock Historical Society).**

c.1866 Charles Marsh Jr. sells two lots adjacent to the farm meadow, this is now the "Moore Place" (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 195)

1869 Frederick Billings purchases the Marsh Farm and estate, 246.6 acres total, from the Marsh family (Doton surveys, Billings Family Archives).

1869-70 Billings remodels mansion, William Ralph Emerson of Boston, probable architect. Interior decoration by William J. MacPherson and Landscape by Robert Morris Copeland. Greenhouse designed by Faulkner, Clarke and Dorr architects. (Houghton, Property Chronology)

Other projects include:

- Demolition of the Marsh carriage shed and barn.
- Construction of a carriage barn, probably designed by Emerson.
- Construction of a laundry building behind the mansion, also probably by Emerson.
- Relocation of the 1790 Marsh house to the southwest area of the farm meadow and renovation of the building as a residence for the farm manager (building is probably part of the present Hitchcock house).

1869 **Figure 11: Billings landscape plan, Robert Morris Copeland (Billings Family Archives).**

1870 **Figure 16: Photograph, north-east side of Billings mansion and grounds. View shows main entry drive and carriage turn to porte cochere. From a stereograph taken from the corner of the croquet court (Billings Family Archives).**

c.1870 **Figure 17: Photograph, view up the hill from the north side of the Elm Street Bridge showing the rustic entry gate and the rustic summer house and greenhouse in the background (Billings Family Archives)**

1870 **Figure 18: Photograph, view of mansion from the village (west) side of the Ottauquechee. Iron bridge in foreground (Billings Family Archives)**

1869-88 Billings develops forest park and carriage road network on Mount Tom..."to be my monument" (Winks, *Frederick Billings*, 300).

1871 Billings begins building a prize Jersey herd at Billings Farm (Winks, *Frederick Billings*, 299).

1872 *Billings unsuccessful run for Governor of Vermont.*

1877 Iron Elm Street bridge erected, replacing a succession of structures (Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 503).

1879 *Frederick Billings elected President of Northern Pacific Railroad.*

1880 *Woodstock population 2,815*

1880 **Photograph: Winter 1880. This view of the snow covered landscape looks toward Mount Tom. View show the cut over appearance of the trees and a total lack of evergreens in saddle between North Peak and South Peak (Billings Family Archives).**

1882 Billing's holdings in Woodstock up to 600 acres from the original 246.6 purchased from Marsh in 1869 (Winks, *Frederick Billings*, 298).

1882 *George Perkins Marsh dies in Italy.*

1883 FB named Vermont Forestry Commissioner (Winks, *Frederick Billings*, 296).

1884 Dana farm near the Pogue added to Billings land holdings (Doton surveys, Billings Family Archives).

1884 George Aitken hired as farm manager (Winks, *Frederick Billings*, 299).

pre-1885 Double cottage constructed as a coachman's residence. Billings family resides there during the remodeling of the mansion (Houghton, Property Chronology)

1885-86 FB remodels the mansion for a second time. Henry Hudson Holly is the architect (Winks, *Frederick Billings*, 302).

c. 1886 **Figure 19: Photograph of mansion after the H. H. Holly renovations (Billings Family Archives)**

c. 1886 **Figure 20: Photograph of mansion, grounds and farm beyond from the heights of Mount Tom (Woodstock Historical Society)**

1887 Carriage road to south peak of Mount Tom is completed (*Vermont Standard*, Sept. 1, 1887).

1887-94 **Figure 15: Detailed surveys, by Hosea Doton and others. (Billings Family Archives).**

c.1890 **Figure 34: Photograph of Billings farm and Windsor County fairgrounds from above the village of Woodstock. The fairgrounds race course is visible, providing the locations to some of its buildings (Billings Family Archives).**

c.1888-90 **Figure 13: Photograph of kitchen garden in upper meadow. The concept for this garden first documented in Copeland's plan. Fruit trees which were specified by Copeland appear to be young but well established (Billings Family Archives).**

1889 *FB publishes Henry Swan Dana's "History of Woodstock".*

1889-90 New farm manager's house, office and creamery constructed. Frederick Stickney is the architect (Winks, *Frederick Billings*, 300).

1890 Frederick Billings dies at Woodstock at age 67 (Winks, *Frederick Billings*, 311).

c.1890	**Figure 21: Photograph of view of Billings mansion and grounds as seen from Mount Peg (Billings Family Archives).**
1890	*Woodstock population 2,545.*
1890	Nearly 100 men are employed at the Billing's farm and estate (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 5).
1890-91	Dam is built and the Pogue thereby enlarged. Carriage drives are built around the new shoreline of the enlarged Pogue and another is built as an extension of the North Ridge Road. (Doton surveys, Billings Family Archives).
1892	*Original Woodstock Inn opens, Frederick Stickney, architect.*
1892	**Photograph: The Pogue, June 1892. View shows dead trees standing in the waters of the enlarged Pogue (Billings Family Archives).**
1893	Jersey cows from Billings herd win top honors at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 25-26).
1895	New carriage barn built on the site of the old barn, north of the mansion. Rossiter & Wright, architects (Houghton, Property Chronology).
c.1895	**Figure 22: Photographic view of four-square garden and Palm house before addition of Platt fountain. Palms are set out from greenhouse for summer display (Billings Family Archives).**
1899	Charles A. Platt is paid for drawing/designing garden seats and fountain (Billings Property Archives receipts)
c.1900	**Figure 24: Photograph of long terraces and Platt's benches before installation of Shipman's planting design (Billings Family Archives).**
1900	*Woodstock population 2,557*
1900	Holdings of the Billings estate exceeds 2,000 acres (Winks, *Frederick Billings*, 298).
1902	**Figure 25: Plan for Plantings, and New Driveways and Footpath: by landscape architect Martha [Brown] Hutcheson (Billings Family Archives)**
1904	Martha Brooks Brown lays out the "wood drive", location unknown (Hutcheson papers,)
1907	*Mary Montagu Billings marries John French in New York.*
c.1909	**Photographic winter view of main entrance to mansion grounds (Billings Family Archive).**
1910	*Woodstock population 2,545.*
1910	Mary French (MFR) born in New York City.
1910	Laurance Spelman Rockefeller (LSR) born in New York City.

1910 George Aitken, Billings farm manager dies at Woodstock, age 58. Management of farm passes to brother James Aitken (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 23).

1912 **Figure 26: Planting Plan of Flower Border by Ellen Shipman (Billings Family Archive).**

1913 **Planting Plan of Flower Garden: Ellen Shipman (Billings Family Archive).**

1914 Julia Parmly Billings wife of FB dies in New York. Elizabeth Billings and Mary Montagu Billings French inherit the mansion property (Houghton, Property Chronology)

c.1900-1914 **Figure 23: Photograph of the four-square formal flower garden featuring the Platt fountain at the center (Billings Family Archive).**

1914-17 John and Newell Wickham manage Billings Farm, unsuccessfully attempting a large-scale beef operation (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 26).

1916-17 Mary M. Billings French builds the bungalow in the forest above the mansion, H. VanBuren Magonicle, architect (Houghton, Property Chronology)

c.1917 **Figure 28: Sketch map of Billings estates showing locations of forest plantations (Billings Family Archives).**

1917-1943 Arthur Snyder manages Billings Farm, greatly reducing the operation through the Great Depression (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 26)

1920 *Woodstock population, 2,370.*

1930 *Woodstock population, 2,469.*

1930's Billings Farm greatly reduces its operations, selling its herd in 1936 (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 26)

1932 Windsor County Fair closes, giving up its location adjacent to Billings Farm (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 26).

1934 LSR and MFR married in Woodstock.

c.1935 Palm house and glass galleries of the mansion greenhouse demolished; swimming pool constructed on their site (Houghton, Property Chronology)

1936 Billings Farm herd sold to Upwey Farms in South Woodstock (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 260).

1940 *Woodstock population 2,512.*

1943 Harold Corkum takes over management of Billings Farm after retirement of Arthur Snyder. Elizabeth Billings and Mary Montagu Billings French plan the restoration of the farm to its former stature (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 32).

1940's-50's Billings Farm expands its herd and bottling capacity and has a fleet of delivery trucks. Lower barns are expanded and modernized (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 33).

1950 *Woodstock population, 2,613.*

1951 Mary Montagu Billings French dies at Hanover, N.H. last surviving child of Frederick Billings.

1953 French family gives Billings Park(south side and face of Mount Tom) to the Town of Woodstock (Debevoise, Outline of LSR's Involvement in Woodstock Since the 1950's, n.p., 1992, 1).

1954 Following the death of Mary Montagu Billings French, MFR comes to own the mansion and its surrounding acreage. The Billings Farm, Inc., acquires the farm and most of the Mount Tom property. John French receives Hilltop [now the French parcel portion of the NHP "historic zone"] (Debevoise, 7).

1954 Billings Farm incorporated. "No longer purely a family enterprise," the action was to "insure continuity in its operations and to facilitate possible expansion" (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 32).

1956 *Laurance S. Rockefeller with Jackson Hole Preserve Inc. donates 5,000 acres to the United States for creation of the Virgin Islands National Park.*

1955-65 MFR and LSR remodel the mansion and related buildings. Theodore Muller, architect and designer; Zenon Schreiber, landscape architect (Houghton, Property Chronology)

1956 **Figure 32: Tracing of drawing entitled "Contours on the Property of Mary French Rockefeller": Edward Williams III, C.E. This is a site map of the immediate vicinity of the mansion giving tree locations and other information (Billings Family Archives).**

1958-62 *President Eisenhower appoints Laurance Rockefeller chairman of the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission. The commission's work leads to the creation of a Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, the Land and Water Conservation Funds, the Wilderness Act, and the National System of Scenic Rivers.*

1960 *Woodstock population 2,786.*

1960 Billings Farm and Starlake join in building a modern milk processing and bottling plant in Wilder, Vt. Bottling facility on Billings Farm is abandoned (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 32).

1963 *Laurance S. Rockefeller succeeds Robert Moses as chairman of the New York State Council of Parks and Outdoor Recreation.*

1965-68 *President Johnson appoints LSR chairman of the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, and then appoints LSR chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty, an outgrowth of the White House Conference. LSR instrumental in furthering Lady Bird Johnson's beautification program.*

1967 Frederick W. Nilges appointed Billings Farm manager by John French following the death of Harold Corkum (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 33).

1967 Marsh-Billings mansion (George Perkins Marsh Boyhood Home") dedicated as a National Historic Landmark by Lady Bird Johnson (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 141).

1968 Woodstock Foundation, Inc., chartered (Debevoise, 2)

1969 *Laurance S. Rockefeller is awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Lyndon B. Johnson. Later, President Nixon appoints LSR chairman of the Citizen's Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality.*

1969 New Woodstock Inn opens, owned by LSR (Jennison, *The History of Woodstock*, 52).

1970 *Woodstock population 2,608.*

1972 John Wiggin hired as forester to begin management of Mount Tom forest.

1972 The Vermont Folklife Project is sponsored by the Woodstock Foundation.

1974 LSR purchases Billings Farm. J. Robert Lord hired as manager

1976 **Lawn Irrigation As Built Plan: Robt. Trent Jones Inc. (Billings Family Archives).**

1977 Woodstock Ski Touring Center expands groomed trail network to include Mount Tom.

1978 **Figure 33: Scheme 2-A, Secondary Entrance Drive: The Mansion, Woodstock, Vt., Scale: 1" ≡ 20.' Bryan J. Lynch, Landscape Architect. Reading, Vt. 28 July 1978 (Files of Woodstock Resort Corporation).**

1981 **Proposed Screen Planting: The Mansion. Property of Mr. & Mrs. Laurance S. Rockefeller. Woodstock Vermont. Scale: 1" ≡ 20' Bryan J. Lynch, Landscape Architect, 9 October 1981 (Files of Woodstock Resort Corporation).**

1983 Billings Farm & Museum, a project of the Woodstock Foundation, Inc., opens to the public. The Vermont Folklife project is sunsetted with the opening of the museum.

1984 **Site Plan, Building and Grounds Security Lighting, Rockefeller Residence Woodstock, Vermont. Wheel-Gersztoff Associates Inc. Lighting Designers (Files of Woodstock Resort Corporation).**

1985 *David Donath hired as director of the Billings Farm & Museum.*

1989 Restored 1890 Farm House at Billings Farm & Museum dedicated and opened to the public.

1991 Public forum on the proposed Marsh-Billings National Historical Park is held at Woodstock's Town Hall.

1991	*President George Bush presents Laurance Rockefeller with the Congressional Gold Medal recognizing his lifetime of conservation and humanitarian work.*
1992	President Bush signs legislation creating the Marsh-Billings National Historical Park (Public Law 102-350)
1992	Mr. and Mrs. Laurance S. Rockefeller donate the mansion and the Mount Tom forest to the United States., retaining a life estate in the property.