AN EVOLVED UNDERSTANDING: AN EXAMINATION OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE'S APPROACH TO THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AT CHATHAM MANOR, FREDERICKSBURG AND SPOTSYLVANIA NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

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by

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ABSTRACT

Chatham Manor became part of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park in December 1975 after the death of its last private owner, John Lee Pratt. Constructed between 1768 and 1771, Chatham Manor has always been intertwined with the landscape and has gained significance throughout its 250-year lifespan. With each subsequent owner and period of time Chatham Manor has gained significance as a cultural landscape. Since its acquisition in 1975, the National Park Service has grappled with the significance and interpretation of Chatham Manor as a cultural landscape.

This thesis provides an analysis of the National Park Service's ideas of significance and interpretation of the cultural landscape at Chatham Manor. This is done through a discussion of several interpretive planning documents and correspondences from the staff of the National Park Service, including interpretive prospectuses, a general management plan, and long-range interpretive plan. In addition, the influence of both superintendents and staff is taken into consideration. Through the analysis of these documents, it was realized that the understanding of cultural landscapes is continuing to evolve within the National Park Service.

In the 1960s and 1970s Chatham Manor was considered significant and interpreted almost solely for its association with the Civil War. That changed for a time in the 1980s as the cultural landscape was defined by the National Park Service in 1982, and the 1920s Colonial Revival Garden was restored at Chatham Manor, headed by Superintendent James Zinck. A shift to refocus on the Civil War occurred in the mid- to late-1990s when the staff of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National

Military Park developed a long-term goal to restore Chatham Manor to its 1860s appearance to better interpret its Civil War history.

Today, there has been a growing understanding of the cultural landscape at Chatham Manor with the execution of the *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham* and the draft for the National Register of Historic Places nomination update. Additionally, the significance of the property has been broadened as the 1920s Colonial Revival gardens and associated buildings have been deemed significant. Although the National Park Service has been slow to approach Chatham Manor as a cultural landscape, steps are being taken to consider the property's evolved significance and interpret its layered history.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Olivia Heckendorf was born and raised in Jackson, Wisconsin and graduated from Kettle Moraine Lutheran High School in 2012. She pursued her undergraduate degree at the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater. Olivia's time at the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater led her to develop an interest in historic preservation through a public history course and an internship with the Washington County Historical Society in West Bend, Wisconsin. In December 2015, Olivia earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in History with an emphasis in Public History and a minor in Spanish.

Upon realizing that historic preservation was a career she wished to pursue, Olivia relocated to Ithaca, New York in August 2017 to pursue a master's degree in historic preservation planning at Cornell University. While at Cornell, she served as president of the Preservation Studies Student Organization. Olivia also had the opportunity to intern as an assistant cultural resource specialist with Environmental Design & Research, D.P.C. in Syracuse, New York and was also an intern with Historic Ithaca, Inc. in the summer of 2018. She continued her work for Historic Ithaca, Inc. through the spring of 2019 as she completed a survey for the expansion of the East Hill Historic District in Ithaca. She will graduate from Cornell University's College of Architecture, Art, and Planning with a Master of Arts in Historic Preservation Planning on May 26, 2019. Olivia's thesis was sparked by an interest in the lengthy history of Chatham Manor, which she visited for the first time in 2016.

To my parents,
because without your love and support over the years this would not have been possible. Thank you for always believing in me.

To God be the glory,
"I can do everything through Him who gives me strength." Philippians 4:13.

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This thesis would not have been possible without the encouragement and support of so many people in my life. I would first like to thank my advisor, Michael Tomlan, for all the time he spent with me discussing Chatham Manor, the National Park Service, and cultural landscapes. Not only did he guide our discussions, but he also provided both encouragement and criticism to better this work. I would also like to thank Sherene Baugher for her support and expertise. She has encouraged me to further understand the field of archaeology and its relation to historic preservation. I now see preservation in a way I never would have before. I am forever indebted to both of these individuals for all the time and care they have put into my education.

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Finally, I want to thank my parents. Their unconditional love and support are remarkable. Their hard work has inspired me, and the opportunity to study at Cornell University would not have been possible without them. I also want to thank my sisters, Victoria and Sophia. All our FaceTime calls put a smile on my face and afforded me a respite from the stress of school and the thesis process. And to all the others who have provided me with love, support, and reassurance along the way, thank you.

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INTRODUCTION

In downtown Fredericksburg, Virginia there is a magnificent view. When standing at the intersection of Sophia and Hawke Streets, one can look to the east across the banks of the Rappahannock River and high atop the bluff sits Chatham Manor, at the center of a plantation begun around 1768 by wealthy Virginian, William Fitzhugh.[1] Supported by slave labor, Chatham Manor grew to become quite prosperous while changing ownership several times. At the outbreak of the Civil War, the Lacy family fled their Chatham Manor home. The Union army utilized Chatham Manor in a number of ways, including as a headquarters and field hospital during the Battle of Fredericksburg. The Civil War laid waste to Chatham Manor but did not completely destroy the property. In the wake of the Civil War, Chatham Manor and its owners struggled to make the once prosperous plantation a productive farmstead.

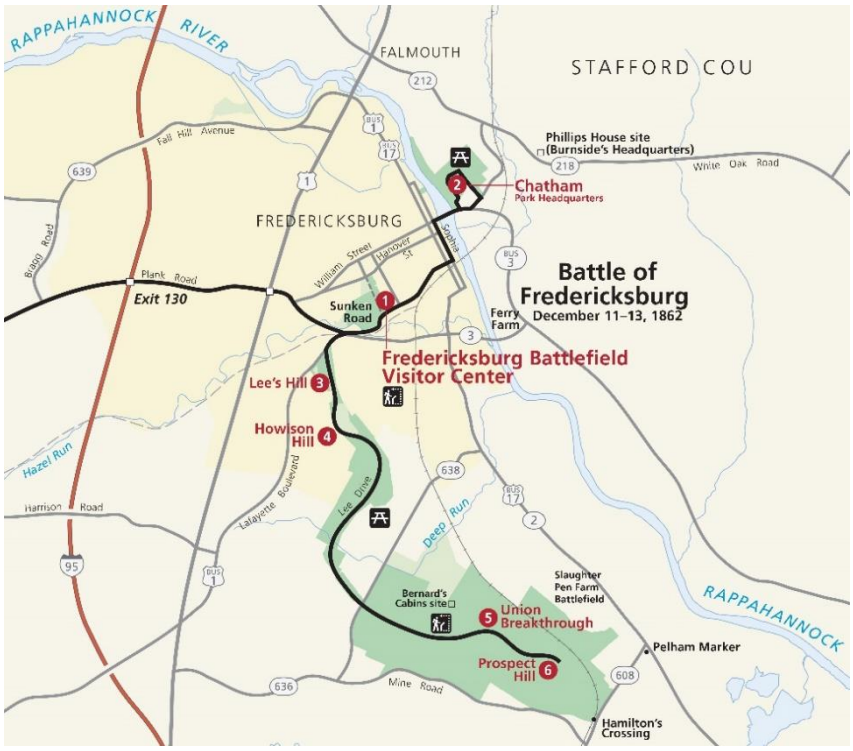
The 1920s ushered in a renewed interest in Chatham Manor under the ownership of the Devores, who brought with them ideas of the Colonial Revival style.[2] The work commissioned by the Devores included the design and construction of a new formal garden and landscaping with the help of famed landscape architect Ellen Biddle Shipman. The design focused on symmetry influenced by European Beaux-Arts design styles. In addition, the house was renovated, and outbuildings were

[1] This viewshed was restored by the National Park Service (NPS) from 2014 to 2015. In the years following the Civil War, trees were left to take root on the eastern bank of the Rappahannock River as subsequent owners preferred privacy over publicity.

[2] "Country Place Era Garden," The Cultural Landscape Foundation, accessed March 27, 2019, https://tclf.org/category/designed-landscape-types/garden-and-estate/country-place-era-garden. The *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, written by Christopher M. Beagan and H. Eliot Foulds of the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, identified the Colonial Revival gardens as part of the "Country Place Era" in landscape architecture. For the purposes of this work, Colonial Revival will be used to describe the gardens, alterations, and additions made to the property throughout the 1920s.

constructed based on a set of plans from architect Oliver H. Clarke. The restoration work undertaken by the Devores with the help of Shipman and Clarke was executed with the belief that they were returning the house to its colonial appearance. The Devores later sold the property to John Lee and Lillian Pratt, Chatham Manor's last private owners. With the encouragement of National Park Service (NPS) staff, John Lee Pratt donated Chatham Manor to the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP) through a deed of gift upon his death.

After John Lee Pratt's death in December 1975, Chatham Manor was acquired by the NPS. Since the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP's acquisition of Chatham Manor, the staff have grappled with the interpretation of this historic resource. As Chatham Manor is becoming a more prominent historic resource within the Park, it is time the NPS recognize its historic approach to interpretation on the site and how that has evolved in order to better future interpretation. This thesis sets out to demonstrate how the NPS has had changing ideas of significance and preservation of cultural landscapes, which in turn, has shaped how interpretation is executed. The discussion identifies Chatham Manor as an evolved cultural landscape that is ripe for interpretation. In addition, this thesis will argue that Chatham Manor must be recognized for its significance as a continuum of history so as not to create a false sense of history that is frozen in time.



Map 1. A map of Fredericksburg Battlefield, one of the four battlefields preserved at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. (National Park Service)

The history of Chatham Manor can be confusing if not presented in a way the visitor can understand. For those with an interest in interpretation, Chatham Manor provides an opportunity to demonstrate how the NPS has or has not interpreted the cultural landscape. The administrative history of the Park, written and published in 2011 by Joan M. Zenzen, proved to be a great resource. Although it focuses on the development threats, it includes interviews with the staff of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP, headquartered at Chatham Manor. Both Erick Mink, cultural resource manager, and John Hennessy, chief historian and chief of interpretation, assisted this thesis by providing countless documents regarding Chatham Manor's interpretation. This included the *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, which is yet unpublished. The archives at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP are truly a gold mine and have so much to offer.

The Central Rappahannock Heritage Center was another important repository. There, an early book written about Chatham Manor by Ralph Happel came to light, along with documents pertaining to the treatment of Chatham Manor's gardens and notes from a site visit conducted in the late 1990s by NPS historical landscape architect Shaun Eyring and NPS landscape architect Dorothy Geyer of the Northwest Regional Office.

Secondary sources were discovered through the Cornell University Library system. Michael Tomlan's *Preservation Of What, For Whom?*(1998) was an eye-opening collection of essays with regards to understanding and determining significance. In addition, Barry Mackintosh's *Interpretation in the National Park Service* (1986) helped to ground my understanding of how the NPS has approached interpretation in the earlier years and how that has been reflected at Chatham Manor. Finally, the two-volume set by Charles Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, was also useful in developing a sense of the NPS's approach to the treatment of historic resources.

This thesis is organized into three main sections with one concluding chapter. Chapter One lays the ground work for the understanding of cultural landscapes. It touches on the development of cultural landscapes as well as the role that the NPS has played in their development. Here also, within the context of cultural landscapes, the idea of significance is explored, and the challenges associated with determining significance of historic resources. Chapter One concludes with a discussion on the interpretation of cultural landscapes and why it is vital.

Chapter Two looks at the history of Chatham Manor and follows the development of the landscape with each subsequent owner from William Fitzhugh to the acquisition of the property by the NPS. It is important to note the property's expansive history as so little of the entire record has been interpreted by the NPS, which has narrowly focused on the Civil War. By better understanding the history of a place like Chatham Manor, only then can the interpretation of the cultural landscape be enhanced.

Chapter Three tracks and analyzes the interpretation of Chatham Manor in detail. Through planning documents, General Management Plans, interpretive prospectuses, a long-range interpretive plan, and correspondences, Chatham Manor's forty-year interpretive history comes to life. The documents are analyzed chronologically so as to paint a picture of Chatham Manor's interpretive development. Chapter Three not only includes documents to support the interpretive development, but also the effects the various superintendents and staff have had in interpreting this historic resource.

Finally, the Conclusion argues that Chatham Manor has come a long way in its interpretation, though there is a long way to go. Chatham Manor should be interpreted for its varied significance as an evolved cultural landscape and not one that is solely dependent on its role during the Civil War. The Conclusion recognizes that Chatham Manor is an excellent opportunity for the NPS to exercise best preservation and interpretation practices with relation to the cultural landscape. The Conclusion closes with a brief discussion of opportunities for further research, suggestions for improvements to the interpretation of Chatham Manor, and limitations of this work.

CHAPTER ONE

PRESERVATION, SIGNIFICANCE AND INTERPRETATION OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

This chapter serves as a tool for understanding what a cultural landscape is and the role that significance and interpretation play in creating an understanding of cultural landscapes. The study of cultural landscapes is a fairly new concept within the twentieth century that has proven to greatly expand knowledge of historic resources. The field is continually evolving and has presented many challenges for professionals. This chapter will provide a discussion of the historical development of cultural landscape preservation, significance, and interpretation. By combining cultural landscapes with interpretation, a clearer and deeper understanding of history can be presented. First, the development of cultural landscapes throughout the twentieth century will be explored. This history of development will transition to an analysis of the National Park Service (NPS), its involvement with cultural landscapes, and the four categories of cultural landscapes recognized by the organization. As cultural landscapes are a difficult concept, the challenges will be briefly spelled out. In addition to cultural landscapes, this chapter will take into consideration significance, the criteria for significance as determined by the National Register of Historic Places, and the challenges associated with determining significance. Lastly, this chapter will answer the question as to why it is important to interpret cultural landscapes.

The Development of Cultural Landscapes

Before delving into the concept of cultural landscapes, it is important to briefly define what the terms "culture" and "landscape" are individually. In his book, *Historic Preservation: Caring for Our Expanding Legacy*, Michael A. Tomlan states culture "is composed of the patterned manners of thinking, feeling, reacting, and acquiring associations," which include "beliefs, attitudes, and values."[1] He later writes that "culture is learned through interaction with the environment and other people."[2] This definition of culture can be expanded when looking at it from a cultural anthropology point of view, which reinforces that culture is acquired through a learning process. In turn, this means that people living in different locations will have different culture. Because cultures are social systems, organization is defined by social classes developed by the people within the culture. This includes economic status, social status, and political power of the individuals within. Each role within a culture relates to and is derived from status.[3] The variety of social systems in relation to economic status, social status, and political power provide the basis for diverse cultures which are reflected in the cultural landscape.

While culture can be a challenging concept to grasp, landscape can be defined much more easily as the features of an area of land, including the buildings, trees, terrain, and topography. The natural landscape is one that has not been touched or modified by human activity, such as Glacier Bay National Park in Alaska. On the

[1] Michael A. Tomlan, *Historic Preservation: Caring for Our Expanding Legacy* (New York: Springer, 2015), 266.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Carol R. Ember, *Cultural Anthropology,* 10th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002), 15.

other hand, a cultural landscape is one that has been modified by humans. Cultural landscapes are comprised of a wide variety of human activity, including building construction, agriculture, and even recreation.

The idea and understanding of the cultural landscape is a relatively new field. The term "cultural landscape" was coined by Carl Sauer in his essay *The Morphology of Landscape* in 1925. According to Sauer, cultural landscapes are "fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result."[4] In other words, people bring with them culture and by doing so, transform the landscape through activities, such as agriculture like at Chatham Manor. The idea of the cultural landscape was furthered by J.B. Jackson, a landscape designer, when he argued that landscape is complex and contains more than just the built environment.[5] Jackson emphasized the importance of the everyday landscape as well as the value of reading symbolic clues of the landscape, which could provide more insight into culture.[6]

While the idea of the cultural landscape was evolving and considering more than just the built environment, the historic preservation movement was growing simultaneously throughout the twentieth century. Prior to the realization that cultural landscapes were worth preserving, the preservation movement focused largely on the

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[4] Carl O. Sauer, *Land and Life: A Selection from the Writings of Carl Ortwin Sauer*, ed. John Leightly (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1963), 343.
[5] Manish Chalana, "With Heritage So Wild: Cultural Landscape Management in the U.S. National Parks," (PhD. thesis, Denver: University of Colorado at Denver, 2005), 23.
[6] J.B. Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984) as quoted in Bryne D. Riley, "Valuing Change: Cultural Landscape Preservation and Ascribed Significance: A Case Study at the Thomas Nelson Jr., William Nelson, Smith and Ballard Properties, Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown, Virginia," (Master's thesis, Syracuse, NY: State University of New York, 2010), 10.

built environment and failed to consider the value and significance of the landscape. This would change as the twentieth century progressed.

Between the 1920s and 1960s, efforts to preserve the landscape were focused on larger estates designed by well-known landscape architects or master gardeners. In fact, it can be argued that up until the 1970s landscape preservation almost always focused on natural landscapes and/or high-style designed landscapes, including Great Smoky Mountains National Park (1934), Kings Canyon National Park (1940), and the garden at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, which was restored throughout the 1930s.[7]

The field of cultural landscapes really emerged in the 1970s. This shift was due in part to the rapid suburban growth that exploded in the United States and consumed the landscape at an alarming rate. In addition to this damaging urban growth, the escalation of the social history movement played a crucial role in the rising interest of both cultural landscapes and historic preservation.[8] High-style historic landscapes still attracted professionals to the field. This is evident in Central Park, created by Olmsted, Vaux & Company, when a curator was hired in the 1970s.

Several organizations were founded between 1978 and 1982, which encouraged the cultural landscape movement forward. The Alliance for Historic Landscape Preservation (AHLP) was founded in 1978 by Hugh F. Miller, Thomas Kane, Susan Buggey, Robert R. Harvey, and William Tischler. The National Association for Olmsted Parks (NAOP) was founded in 1980 at a meeting hosted by

[7] Chalana, "With Heritage So Wild," 30.
[8] Renee Friedman, "For the Curator of Trees and Teacups: The Landscape as Artifact," *CRM* 17, no. 7 (1994), 5.

Joan Bozer. In addition, the American Society of Landscape Architects Historic Preservation Committee (ASLA HPC) was reconstituted in 1982.[9]

The ASLA HPC created a network of chapters throughout the United States. Once the networks were established, ASLA HPC launched a nationwide inventory and provided both guidance and formats for the inventory reports.[10] These historically-based landscape reports were carried out for several parks in the 1980s, including the Grace Hill landscape around Litchfield Villa and Prospect Park Ravine, Lake, and Perimeter, both of which established report models.[11] The work carried out by these organizations cultivated scholarship and exchanges that led to advances in university education and professional practice within the field of cultural landscapes.

The melding of historic preservation and cultural landscapes allows for a more holistic approach and awareness at historic sites. Today, cultural landscapes allow people in the present-day to study and understand relationships and activities of those in the past, much like buildings. Historical archaeologists are one group of professionals who are furthering the field. By studying cultural landscapes, historical archaeologists "bring an anthropological perspective . . . by interpreting aspects of social, political, and economic culture revealed through archaeological artifacts."[12] Understanding the landscape and make up or organization of buildings within the landscape can further one's understanding of the past. It can demonstrate how "a

[9] Patricia M. O'Donnell, "Cultural Landscape Preservation: An Evolving Field," *Landscape Journal* 35, no. 2 (2014), 205.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Sherene Baugher and Lu Ann De Cunzo, "Archaeological Perspectives On and Contributions To the Study of Colonial American Gardens," *Landscape Journal* 21, no. 1 (2002), 68-69.

particular landscape may have had social or symbolic significance."[13] It is also important to keep the built environment within its context as it is presented through the landscape. The NPS is at the forefront of working to better present and interpret cultural landscapes at their sites to better inform visitors.

Cultural Landscapes and the National Park Service

The NPS is the largest manager of identified cultural landscapes in the United States, and its understanding of cultural landscapes evolved with those external organizations such as AHLP, NAOP, and ASLA HPC. In the early years of the NPS, cultural landscapes and natural landscapes were valued as two distinct entities. The NPS showed little care for preserving cultural landscapes in areas that were seen as natural landscapes, meaning places such as Yosemite and Yellowstone National Parks. Instead of preserving the culture that was embedded in the landscape, the NPS obliterated traces of cultural landscapes in favor of the appearance of an untouched wilderness.

Following the conclusion of World War II, there was an uptick in park visitors due in part to the economic boom and rise of the middle class. In turn, the NPS's goal of providing visitor services tended to overshadow the maintenance of the integrity within the landscape. In more recent years, the NPS has turned its focus from visitor development to visitor management as millions of individuals set foot in the park system every year. Visitor management has become crucial to the Parks as they must

[13] Ibid., 69.

be equipped to handle visitor traffic and human impact in order to ensure that the parks are preserved for years to come.

Cultural landscapes were not an officially recognized resource type by the NPS until the early 1980s. The first edition of *Cultural Resources Management Guidelines* was released in 1982 and was the first document created by the NPS to directly address issues relating to cultural landscapes.[14] On February 15, 1985, the NPS hosted a meeting which resulted in an outline of tasks it was prepared to complete in order to provide further guidance for those working in the field of historic landscape preservation. These tasks included model National Register nominations, bibliography, inventory forms, guidance on Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) and Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) level landscape documentation, technical documentation bulletins, technical notes, and the inclusion and description of historic landscape architecture.[15] In 1989 the NPS published the *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Districts*, which further spurred interest in the landscape as an historic resource.[16]

The development of care for cultural landscapes continued into the 1990s when the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation was established in 1992 arising from the fear of losing significant historic landscapes. At the beginning, the Olmsted Center focused mainly on providing NPS properties with emergency technical

[14] National Park Service, *NPS-28: Cultural Resources Management Guidelines* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982).
[15] O'Donnell, "Cultural Landscape Preservation," 205.
[16] Linda Flint McClelland, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, and Robert Z. Melnick, *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, 1989).

assistance to stabilize and reverse deterioration of cultural landscapes.[17] As the organization evolved, it became more heavily involved with the completion of Cultural Landscape Inventories (CLI) which were created in the same year. The purpose of the reports was to help employees within the various parks better understand the "history, integrity, and importance of their landscapes."[18] In 1996, the NPS established their official definition of a cultural landscape. A cultural landscape is defined as "a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with an historic event, activity, or person exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values."[19] Thus, the cultural landscape takes into account the built and natural environments as well as the role human interaction has played within these landscapes.

In 1998, The Cultural Landscape Foundation (TCLF) was founded by Charles A. Birnbaum to encourage the documentation and stewardship of cultural landscapes.[20] Prior to founding TCLF, Birnbaum worked for fifteen years as the coordinator of the NPS Historic Landscape Initiative (HLI), and spent another ten years in the private sector in New York City where he focused on landscape preservation and urban design. Birnbaum and his compatriots have been instrumental in influencing the field of modern cultural landscape preservation.

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[17] "History," Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, last modified December 7, 2018, www.nps.gov/orgs/1594/oclp-history.htm.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Charles A. Birnbaum, *Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Preservation Assistance, 1994), 1.
[20] "Leadership," The Cultural Landscape Foundation, last modified June 17, 2013, https://tclf.org/category/profile-type/staff.

Birnbaum, a leader in cultural landscape management in the United States helped develop four categories of cultural landscapes, which are historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes.[21] Arguably, the most easily identifiable type of cultural landscapes are historic sites. Historic sites are valued as significant for their association with an historic event, activity, or person. Examples include battlefields like Gettysburg National Military Park or the home of a former president such as James Madison's Montpelier.[22]

Another easily identifiable cultural landscape is the historic designed landscape. A historic designed landscape is one that has been designed by a landscape architect, master gardener, architect, or horticulturalist according to design principles, or an amateur gardener working in a recognized style or tradition. This landscape type may be associated with a significant person or persons, trend, or event in landscape architecture, such as Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia. An historic designed landscape may also illustrate an important development in the theory and practice of landscape architecture like Central Park in New York City. Aesthetic value is one of the most important components of an historic designed landscape, examples being a park or estate such as Prospect Park in Brooklyn or the Biltmore Estate in North Carolina.[23]

The third type of cultural landscape is slightly more elusive than historic sites or historic designed landscapes. An historic vernacular landscape is one that has evolved through use by people whose activities or occupancy shaped the landscape.

[21] Birnbaum, *Protecting Cultural Landscapes*, 1.
[22] Ibid., 2
[23] Ibid.

While aesthetic is important in a designed landscape, function is the focus of historic vernacular landscapes. Oftentimes an historic vernacular landscape may be represented by farms or other agricultural landscapes like the Hanalei Valley Taro Fields in Hawaii.[24]

The final type of cultural landscape is the ethnographic landscape. These landscapes are defined as containing a variety of natural and cultural resources that associated people define as heritage resources. Examples of ethnographic landscapes include contemporary settlements, sacred religious sites, and massive geological structures such as Coyote Valley in San Jose, California.[25]

Along with these four categories of cultural landscapes, Birnbaum also developed steps to research, inventory, document, analyze, and form a treatment and ongoing maintenance plan for cultural landscapes. Today, the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation addresses a variety of cultural landscapes within the NPS through the use of Cultural Landscape Reports that are published and available to the public. This includes Chatham Manor, which has been recognized by the Olmsted Center as both an historic site and historic designed landscape.

The consideration of the preservation of cultural landscapes has been supported largely by organizations outside of the NPS. However, within the past two decades, the NPS has become heavily involved with their cultural landscapes through the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation. While there are now many intellectuals inside the NPS, many remain outside of the Parks. This is demonstrated

[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.

by the lack of the term "cultural landscape" within various parks, including Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP. While cultural landscapes within the NPS have evolved significantly over the previous decades, many challenges continue to arise.

Challenges in Cultural Landscape Preservation

The preservation of cultural landscapes continues to challenge professionals and amateurs alike because it is a complex matter with much to consider. Historically, the focus of preservation has revolved around the built environment while the cultural landscape has been largely ignored. In many cases, such as Chatham Manor, the built environment and cultural landscape have been intertwined since the construction of the manor house and auxiliary buildings in the late 1760s. Today, cultural landscapes remain misunderstood as they are extremely broad and may be found anywhere on Earth.[26]

There is much more to an historic site or property than the built environment alone. A preserved cultural landscape has the potential to demonstrate how earlier generations lived and how they interacted with their surroundings. Educating the public on the value of the cultural landscape may prove difficult but it is a key historic resource worthy of preservation. In the words of Renee Friedman, the cultural landscape can help to further understand the patterns of people who produced them and their "social, religious, economic, and political identity."[27] Key components of

[26] Richard Longstreth, "Introduction: The Challenges of Cultural Landscape for Preservation," in *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 1-2.
[27] Friedman, "For the Curator of Trees and Teacups," 5.

the landscape, including paths of circulation, fence and field patterns, water sources, landforms, or the character and arrangement of plant material provide insight into the evolution of a cultural landscape. In short, an understanding of a cultural landscape can improve knowledge and understanding of these historic places.[28]

Significance presents another challenge to cultural landscapes. Because of their diversity, cultural landscapes likely present different meanings for different people, or even a meaning people would like to forget. In addition, a cultural landscape may have significance within a single event or an evolved process.[29] More trouble arises when there are competing storylines that challenge how a cultural landscape is maintained and interpreted to reflect a multifaceted history.

Along with significance, another issue is the treatment of cultural landscapes. The various features of a cultural landscape may require different treatments since one approach may not be appropriate for the entire property. The fact of the matter is that a cultural landscape is a living and breathing organism that is inevitably going to change in some way or another. For example, trees have a life cycle. Initially, the young trees will not provide much shade so the bushes and flowers will be in a sunny landscape. After 20 or more years the house and gardens may be in the shade due to the tree growth, thus illustrating the change associated with a cultural landscape. It is necessary to preserve the cultural landscape as a whole, not simply bits and pieces, in order to retain its significance and integrity.

[28] Longstreth, "Introduction," 2.
[29] Ibid., 9.

This is not to say these are the only challenges facing cultural landscape preservation. As the field continues to develop, many old and new challenges will continue to arise, and preservationists will need to approach the issue head on in order to save these significant historic resources.

What Is Significance?

An important aspect of cultural landscapes and preserving them is the identification of the historic resource's significance. Significance highlights an historic resource's importance and can be defined as "the means by which properties [or cultural landscapes] are chosen for preservation . . . and the way we [historic preservationists] interact with the public."[30] Additionally, significance works to establish the value of historic resources and is often the motivating factor when it comes to saving them.[31] According to Mason Randall, "A statement of significance gathers together all the reasons why a building or place should be preserved, why it is meaningful or useful, and what aspects require the most urgent protection."[32] The statement of significance is often considered a mission statement. Once the significance of an historic resource is defined, it can be the basis for policy, planning, and design decisions.[33]

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[30] David L. Ames, "Introduction," in *Preservation Of What, For Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance*, ed. Michael A. Tomlan (Ithaca, NY: The National Council for Preservation Education, 1998), 6.
[31] Elizabeth A. Lyon and Richard C. Cloues, "The Cultural and Historical Mosaic and the Concept of Significance," in *Preservation Of What, Form Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance*, ed. Michael A. Tomlan (Ithaca, NY: The National Council for Preservation Education, 1998), 37.
[32] Randall Mason, "Fixing Historic Preservation: A Constructive Critique of 'Significance,'" *Places* 16, no. 1 (2004), 64.
[33] Ibid., 64.

Criteria for Determining Significance

Determining the significance of an historic site has been considered for some time. In the nineteenth century women like Ann Pamela Cunningham worked to preserve historic sites they deemed significant, such as George Washington's Mount Vernon. This work was accomplished before there was any guidance from the government on how to determine significance of an historic site.

Chiefly motivated by the vandalism suffered by archaeological sites in the southwestern United States, the Antiquities Act of 1906 was signed into law by President Theodore Roosevelt on June 8. This Act recognized the importance of protecting archeological sites on publicly held lands and authorized the president to designate National Monuments.[34] In turn, this required federal agencies that managed public lands to ensure their preservation, so that future generations might enjoy the "historic, scientific, commemorative, and cultural values of the archaeological and historic sites and structures on these lands."[35] This was the first law to protect such resources in the United States and gave special attention to the preservation of historic places, structures, and cultural landscapes by establishing a precedent for the years that followed. Although the Antiquities Act does not use the word "significant," it is understood that historic and cultural resources deemed worthy of preservation were significant for a number of reasons, including history, science, commemoration, and cultural value.

[34] 16 U.S.C. 431-433.
[35] "American Antiquities Act of 1906," National Park Service, last modified June 22, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/legal/american-antiquities-act-of-1906.htm.

In the ensuing years more legislation pertaining to historic preservation was passed in response to the growing concern over the lack of clarity in the Antiquities Act. In 1935, Congress approved the Historic Sites Act.[36] This was the first time that Congress specifically articulated that preservation was important, and it established national policy for the preservation of the public use of historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance. The Act established the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), the National Historic Landmark Program, and gave authorization to perform preservation work.[37] In addition, the Act outlined that historic districts, sites, buildings, or other objects must be significant nationally for their history, archaeology, architecture, engineering, or culture in order to be considered for listing.[38]

Historic preservation and the idea of significance continued to progress between 1935 and 1966 but not without interruption. The impact of both the Depression and World War II greatly changed both the United States and the world. After seeing the devastation in Europe, Americans realized the toll the Depression and World War II had rendered at home.[39] In order to "fix" the issue of neglected downtown business districts and inner-city neighborhoods, urban renewal came to the forefront in order to rehabilitate the areas. The destruction by urban renewal to "blighted" areas worked against the principles of historic preservation. In response, preservationists rallied, particularly in Charleston and New Orleans, as they established some of the earliest historic districts in the United States. These districts

[36] 16 U.S.C. §§ 461 et. seq.
[37] 16 U.S.C. §§ 461-467. The National Historic Landmark Program was later integrated with the National Register of Historic Places after the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Tomlan, *Historic Preservation*, 39.

were created based on a rating system for each property's historic significance, which justified their safekeeping.[40]

In September 1963 about 160 professional preservationists met at Colonial Williamsburg for a three-day conference.[41] The conference focused on the "status of American preservation and discussed the philosophical basis, current effectiveness, and best way of directing its future."[42] As a result, the "Principles and Guidelines for Historic Preservation in the USA" was compiled in mid-1964 by a committee led by NPS historian Ronald F. Lee.[43]

The "Principles and Guidelines for Historic Preservation in the USA," in combination with the efforts of preservationists and the impact of the Depression and World War II, led to the passing of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966. Decisions made by professionals between the passing of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and the NHPA of 1966 had a profound effect in shaping how significance is viewed and discussed today.[44]

As a result of the 1966 NHPA, four criteria to identify significance were devised. According to the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, it is necessary to identify an historic resource's significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture which is present in districts, sites, buildings,

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[40] Ibid., 49.
[41] Ibid., 65.
[42] Ibid.
[43] The "Principles and Guidelines for Historic Preservation in the USA" made several recommendations. Among these recommendations was the completion of a comprehensive survey of historic sites by the NPS while working with both the state governments and private organizations. The report also made the suggestion to offer federal loans and matching grants to incentivize preservation activity.
[44] John H. Sprinkle, Jr., *Crafting Preservation Criteria: The National Register of Historic Places and American Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 2.

structures, and objects which possess integrity of "location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association."[45] The four criterion are as follows: Criteria A) associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history, such as a battlefield, the building where an important invention was developed, or a trail associated with westward migration; Criteria B) associated with the lives of significant persons in the past, such as the residence of an important community leader or an artist's studio; Criteria C) 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, such as a bridge that represents technological advancement or a house that is of high architectural style; and Criteria D) have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory, such as the location of a Civil War field hospital.[46] Criteria A and B have associative value, while Criteria C has design and construction value. Lastly, Criterion D has a value of information and includes archaeological sites. In addition to these four main criteria for evaluating significance of an historic resource, this idea has been expanded upon in recent years and there are seven additional criterion considerations (See Appendix).

Integrity is another aspect of significance which warrants discussion. According to *How To Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* by the NPS, integrity is the authenticity of a property's historic identity which is evidenced by the

[45] "National Register of Historic Places," *Federal Register*, Vol. 34, No. 37 (February 25, 1969), 2581-2582.
[46] Ibid.

survival of physical characteristics that existed during the property's historic or prehistoric period.[47] The various aspects of integrity include feeling, materials, workmanship, location, design, association, and setting. All of these aspects are taken into consideration when the integrity and significance of an historic resource is determined. While it may seem as though the application of criteria and integrity may be simple in determining historical significance, this is far from the truth.

Challenges of Determining Significance

Professionals today struggle daily with the concept of significance. The milestone piece of scholarship on the discussion significance is *Preservation Of What, For Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance*. The book is a compilation of papers submitted for a symposium that was held at Goucher College in 1997. The papers within the book discuss the difficulties and issues that are associated with cultural landscapes.

There are inherent difficulties when recognizing and understanding significance and its translation into interpretation. The world is becoming increasingly connected every day, meaning there are an increasing number of viewpoints.[48] Preservationists must accept the challenge by understanding the values of the diverse American experience and demonstrate that history for all citizens.[49] In the words of Michael A. Tomlan, "We, as professionals, must insure that all segments of our

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[47] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1995), 23.
[48] Elizabeth A. Lyon and Richard C. Cloues, "The Cultural and Historical Mosaic and the Concept of Significance," in *Preservation Of What, Form Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance*, ed. Michael A. Tomlan (Ithaca, NY: The National Council for Preservation Education, 1998), 38.
[49] Ibid., 48.

society are involved, with open, honest discussion at all levels of government and everyone in the private sector."[50] In addition to concern for the diverse American experience, significance can also be a delicate subject for some, especially when a painful past is involved, such as slavery or Japanese internment camps. Significance should be determined by stakeholders along with professionals so that the significance of an historic resource can be represented as accurately as possible.

When thinking about a cultural landscape, or historic resources, the general white majority want a fixed interpretation of the past.[51] In other words, these individuals want interpretation to be a solid concept that is clear and not subject to changing viewpoints or alternative histories. Minority groups have often questioned and challenged this idea of fixed interpretation. Unfortunately for those who want a fixed interpretation, history and historical significance are not static as new sources of information are uncovered and reinterpretation is carried out. In fact, historical significance is subjective and can never be permanent.[52]

In the case of cultural landscapes, change over time can demonstrate its own significance.[53] This is true at Chatham Manor as the property has transformed

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[50] Michael A. Tomlan, "Closing Comments: Tying It All Together," in *Preservation Of What, For Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance*, ed. Michael A. Tomlan (Ithaca, NY: The National Council for Preservation Education, 1998), 208.
[51] Howard L. Green, "The Social Construction of Historical Significance," in *Preservation Of What, For Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance*, ed. Michael A. Tomlan (Ithaca, NY: The National Council for Preservation Education, 1998), 85-86.
[52] W. Morton Brown III, "Managing the Impact of Cultural Resources of Changing Concepts of Significance," in *Preservation Of What, For Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance*, ed. Michael A. Tomlan (Ithaca, NY: The National Council for Preservation Education, 1998), 144; and Tomlan, "Closing Comments: Tying It All Together," 203.
[53] Caroll Van West, "Assessing Significance and Integrity in the National Register Process: Questions of Race, Class, and Gender," in *Preservation Of What, For Whom?: A Critical Look at Historical Significance*, ed. Michael A. Tomlan (Ithaca, NY: The National Council for Preservation Education, 1998), 112.

throughout its 250-year history, and has gained significance from its original construction during the Colonial era, the role the property played in the Civil War, and the addition of the Colonial Revival garden designed by Ellen Biddle Shipman in the 1920s. These changes to the property contribute to the site's significance and demonstrates its evolution over time. Many other historic sites do the same, such as James Madison's Montpelier in Virginia.

Along with the idea that history and significance are static is the trend to choose one period of significance for an historic resource. While choosing a specific period of significance may be useful to help tell the story of an historic resource, it has the potential to be severely limiting. It is important to consider all periods of history before jumping to an easy conclusion and losing part of history. Take James Madison's Montpelier for example. Two important families lived at and made an impact on Montpelier, the Madisons in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries and the duPonts in the twentieth century. While the main house is interpreted and restored to the Madison era, the duPonts are considered secondary in significance as there are still a number of twentieth century buildings from the duPont era which are scattered throughout the estate.[54] In this case, the restoration team has allowed those duPont additions to remain in place. This demonstrates the competing storylines which preservationists are forced to deal with, and at times can create much controversy.

Significance is a crucial component in the preservation of historic resources. Significance demonstrates an historic resource's importance and contribution to

[54] Sarah A. Sanders, "One Land, Two American Dreams: Rediscovering the Secondary duPont Narrative at James Madison's Montpelier," (Master's thesis, Clemson, SC: Clemson University, 2015), ii.

American history through four criteria and seven additional criteria considerations. Identifying whether or not something is worthy of preservation speaks volumes to the attitudes of the present time and how historic resources are valued, much the same as the past demonstrates its importance today. As will be discussed in the following paragraphs, the establishment and understanding of significance sets up historic resources for their interpretation.

Interpretation

There are numerous definitions for the word interpretation, but they all boil down to a few common points. Before defining these common points, it is necessary to look at a variety of definitions presented by both professionals in the fields of historic preservation and interpretation along with national organizations.

The first definition of interpretation comes from Freeman Tilden, the author of *Interpreting our Heritage* and noted expert on interpretation in the NPS. According to Tilden, interpretation is "an education activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information."[55] Tilden's definition of interpretation focuses on providing the visitor with not just "factual information" but more of a story which allows the visitor to gain a deeper understanding of the meanings and relationships of a place during a certain period or over time.

[55] Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 33.

A similar definition of interpretation is offered by Sam Ham, known for his expertise on the interpretation of the environment. Ham states, "interpretation is an approach to communication . . . it involves translating the technical language of a natural science or related field into terms and ideas that people who aren't scientists can readily understand."[56] In this context, the phrase history or cultural landscape can be substituted for science. Ham's definition of interpretation is centered on communication, and according to this definition, the interpretation of a cultural landscape is communicated in a way so that the public audience may understand.

A third definition of interpretation comes from the National Association for Interpretation (NAI).[57] NAI's definition of interpretation is as follows: "Interpretation is a communication process that forges emotional and intellectual connections between the interests of the audience and the meanings inherent in the resource."[58] Here again, the definition of interpretation revolves around the concept of communication, but this time communication is meant to stimulate the emotional and intellectual importance of an historic resource with visitors.

The fourth and final definition of interpretation is derived from the NPS. It is broken down into a basic definition and additional clarification. The basic definition reads, "Interpretation facilitates a connection between the interests of the visitor and the meanings of the resource." The NPS further clarifies that interpretation is "1)

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[56] Sam Ham, *Environmental Interpretation: A Practical Guide for People with Big Ideas and Small Budgets* (Golden, CO: North American Press, 1992), 3.
[57] NAI was founded in 1988 and is one of two organizations in the United States that is focused on the advancement of interpretation, the other organization being the National Park Service.
[58] "Mission, Vision, and Core Values," National Association for Interpretation, accessed January 28, 2019, www.interpnet.com/NAI/interp/About/About_NAI/What_We_Believe/nai/_About/Mission_Vision_and_Core_Values.aspx?hkey=ef5896dc-53e4-4dbb-929e-96d45bdb1cc1.

successful as a catalyst in creating an opportunity for the audience to form their own intellectual and emotional connections with the meanings/significance inherent in the resource; and 2) appropriate for the audience, and provides clear focus for their connection with the resources by demonstrating the cohesive development of a relevant idea or ideas, rather than relying primarily on a recital of chronological narrative or series of facts."[59] The NPS's definition of interpretation indicates that the "meaning of the resource" and "meanings inherent in the resource" are evident by their very nature. By this definition, the NPS is relying upon the visitor to understand, almost immediately, an historic resource's significance. Interpretation is then used as the vehicle to assist the visitor in gaining a deeper understanding.

These four definitions of interpretation can be summarized in three points, the first of which is that interpretation is a process. The second point that appears in the definitions is that interpretation is meant to connect the visitor to something or someplace on an emotional and intellectual level, creating an environment of learning and engaged activity. This corresponds with the third point that interpretation is more than just facts and information being thrust upon visitors. In reality, it is the formation of a narrative in which people are able to connect on a deeper level and form their own conclusions. The following section will consider why interpreting cultural landscapes is important.

[59] "Foundation of Interpretation Curriculum Content Narrative," U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, last modified March 1, 2017, www.nps.gov/idp/interp/101/foundationscurriculum.pdf.

Why Interpret Cultural Landscapes?

Now that an understanding of interpretation has been explored, it is important to look at the purpose of the interpretation of cultural landscapes. Robert Z. Melnick, a landscape architect, argues that landscape is linked to "identity, shared experience, and ultimately, to an emotional sense of belonging." Not everyone will connect with every landscape, but preservationists and interpreters should strive to "recognize, understand, and protect" landscapes that are "special, important, and significant."[60] Each cultural landscape presents multiple histories and meanings that result in multiple understandings, and that is where the value of cultural landscapes lies. Society tends to focus on the built environment, and for that reason, the interpretation of cultural landscapes is necessary to provide a full understanding of history.[61]

Interpretation of cultural landscapes can be difficult to comprehend as many professionals continue to struggle with it as well. Cultural landscapes have layered histories, just like buildings, that have evolved over time. They are unique in that they can create a physical link with the past all while enlightening the public about social history and the use of the land. For example, at Gettysburg National Military Park the NPS has restored an orchard to give the visitor a better idea of what fighting was like for troops in the farmland.

Another example is James Madison's Montpelier as it has most recently been restored to reflect Madison's ownership. As the restoration team debated the direction

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[60] Robert Z. Melnick, "Are We There Yet?: Travels and Tribulations in the Cultural Landscape," *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 199.
[61] Patricia M. O'Donnell, "Relating Integrity to Interpretation," *CRM* 17, no. 7 (1994), 12.

of Montpelier, they had in the back of their minds the restorations of the 1930s which had been inaccurate, like George Washington Birthplace National Monument. They wanted to be cautious and avoid guesswork restoration.[62] This restoration process was completed on September 17, 2008. At Chatham Manor, NPS staff have grappled with the idea of restoring the entire property to 1862, ensuring the destruction of improvements made to the property in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, this idea was never executed, and the property stands much the same as it was when the NPS was granted ownership in late 1975.

The interpretation of cultural landscapes helps professionals and visitors alike understand what occurred, how it occurred, who was involved, and why.[63] Interpretation of cultural landscapes is the best way to peel back the layers of change. This can provide the public with a history which they may not have known existed and may also deepen their understanding of history. For example, archaeology at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello has allowed for the reinterpretation of the site as the plantation street, known as Mulberry Row, sheds light on the lives of the enslaved people associated with the property. In turn, this archaeological information about the cultural landscape is interpreted so that visitors can get a better sense of the people involved in plantation life and how they interacted with and shaped the landscape. Had these excavations not been carried out, the interpretation of Monticello would be drastically different and would fail to recognize the support that men, women, and

[62] Edward A. Chappell, "The Restoration of James Madison's Montpelier," Colonial Williamsburg, accessed on April 29, 2019, https://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Spring05/montpelier.cfm.
[63] Ken Taylor, "Interpretive Value and Cultural Landscapes: An Australian Perspective," *CRM* 17, no. 7 (1994), 17.

children played at Monticello. Interpretation of cultural landscapes should be pushed to the forefront in order to broaden historical knowledge of places such as Chatham Manor.

Conclusion

The concept of cultural landscapes continues to evolve as the values of these historic resources are fully realized. The evolution of cultural landscapes developed around the same time as the historic preservation movement, albeit at a somewhat slower pace. Several organizations, including the Alliance for Historic Landscape Preservation (AHLP), the National Association for Olmsted Parks (NAOP), and the American Society of Landscape Architects Historic Preservation Committee (ASLA HPC), cultivated scholarship and exchanges that led to advances in university education and professional practice.

As the largest curator of cultural landscapes, the NPS has played a crucial role in the public's knowledge and understanding of these historic resources. The Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, established in 1992, has spearheaded efforts to document and preserve cultural landscapes. Just as the National Register of Historic Places criteria for determining significance was expanded in the 1990s, cultural landscapes officially recognized four types: historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscape, and the ethnographic landscape. This is important to keep in mind moving forward because Chatham Manor presents itself as both an historic site and historic designed landscape.

Challenges arise with cultural landscape preservation because it is difficult to help people understand the importance of not only the built environment but also the landscape, including paths of circulation, fence and field materials, water sources, landforms, or plant materials. In addition, cultural landscapes often present various meanings for different people. Competing storylines may challenge the way a cultural landscape is maintained and interpreted. The fact that a cultural landscape is a living and breathing entity also creates a challenge for preservation. These challenges will need to be addressed by professionals as they consider the preservation and interpretation of cultural landscapes moving forward.

Significance is important for cultural landscapes and for their preservation. The idea of significance has long been discussed in the United States. As a result of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, four criteria were devised to identify significance. Today, these four criteria continue to be a guide for determining the significance of sites, such as Chatham Manor. Caution should be taken when selecting a specific period of significance as it may cause the historic resource to lose another important facet of its history. Much care, consideration, research, and discussions should occur before determining significance as it directly impacts preservation and interpretation. The interpretation of cultural landscapes is crucial to public's understanding of history and culture.

Today, the NPS, through the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, is the leader in cultural landscape preservation. The Olmsted Center was responsible for carrying out a Cultural Landscape Report at Chatham Manor from 2016 to the present day. Although in draft form and missing suggestions for treatment, the report has

undeniably provided the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP with new information and a better understanding of the property overall, including the idea of the plantation street. In turn, this newfound understanding of Chatham Manor will play an important role in re-evaluating its significance and interpretation.

CHAPTER TWO

A LOOK AT CHATHAM MANOR

The purpose of this chapter is to explore Chatham Manor on a very detailed level to better understand the property's history, development, and ownership over its two and a half centuries of life. Chatham Manor has a long and unique history that dates to the Colonial era in the United States. In its beginning, Chatham Manor was a self-sustaining plantation owned by some of the most prominent and wealthy Virginians. The Civil War brought about drastic change to Chatham Manor and reflects the transformation that many plantations faced during and after the war. In the years following the Civil War, Chatham Manor and its owners struggled, and it would not be until the Devore ownership and Colonial Revival movement that the property was brought new life.

The Plantation, 1768-1857

The first of the Fitzhugh clan to step foot in what would become the United States was "William Fitzhugh the Immigrant," who came to the Colony of Virginia between 1670 and 1671.[1] Fitzhugh rose through the ranks of colonists as a lawyer and public official. Like his descendants, he served as a representative in the House of Burgesses and was an active land investor.[2] Through his land investments Fitzhugh was able to establish a family home at Eagle's Nest, located in Stafford County, in

[1] Christopher M. Beagan and H. Eliot Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham* (Boston: The Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, unpublished 2016), 18.
[2] Ibid., 18.

1686. Throughout the 1690s, he purchased a total of 4,684 acres along the north bank of the Rappahannock River.[3] A portion of this land would later be carved out for Chatham Manor. This large tract of land, known as Waugh's, was passed to his son, Thomas Fitzhugh, through a will that was probated on December 10, 1701.[4]

Thomas Fitzhugh took particular interest in the Waugh's tract as he petitioned the county for permission to construct a water grist mill along Claiborne Run between 1709 and 1710.[5] The establishment of the water grist mill suggests that Thomas Fitzhugh had "seated" the land by the eighteenth century.[6] Fitzhugh died in 1719 without a male heir, and Chatham Manor was passed to his nephew, Colonel (Col.) Henry Fitzhugh.

Col. Fitzhugh took full possession of his uncle's land tracts by 1733. Three years prior to this, he had married Lucy Carter, the daughter of one of the most powerful and wealthy men in the Colony of Virginia.[7] The couple had four children, including William Fitzhugh III, the builder of Chatham Manor. Unfortunately, Col. Fitzhugh died at the young age of thirty-three on December 6, 1743 when William Fitzhugh III was just over a year old. Lucy Fitzhugh (née Carter) and her brother, Charles Carter, served as the administrators of the estate, and an inventory was ordered by the Westmoreland County Court. The result of this inventory is of

[3] Ibid., 20.
[4] Alvin T. Embrey, *History of Fredericksburg Virginia* (Baltimore, MD: Clearfield Company, Inc., 1937, reprint 1994), 211.
[5] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 20.
[6] Ibid., Seating the land is synonymous with establishing a home on the property.
[7] Many marriages in the Fitzhugh family demonstrated their social standing in society. It was not uncommon for men in the Fitzhugh family to take brides from other wealthy Virginia families. The bride brought with her a significant sum of money in most cases, therefore, increasing the Fitzhugh holdings.

particular interest because it includes an appraisal of an estate in King George County, now Stafford County, which includes eighteen slaves and livestock that totaled £495.[8] This inventory suggests that a plantation had been established on the land prior to 1742, nearly thirty years before the construction of Chatham Manor. In addition, a map produced by Peter Jefferson from 1747 titled "A Map of the Northern Neck of Virginia," shows the Fitzhugh name in the vicinity of Chatham Manor but does not show any buildings.[9]

With the death of his father, William Fitzhugh was set to inherit the family home at Eagle's Nest and the land that would become Chatham Manor. Lucy Fitzhugh (née Carter) married again to Col. Nathaniel Harrison, and the family continued to live at Eagle's Nest. Fitzhugh lived at his ancestral home throughout his childhood, but by age sixteen he lived in King George County with his uncle, Col. Charles Carter.[10]

In 1763, Fitzhugh married Ann Bolling Randolph who was the daughter of Col. Peter Randolph and Lucy Coke Bolling. The Randolph family was extremely powerful, so much so that the marquis de Chastellux of France noted the Randolphs were, "one of the most numerous and wealthiest" of the "first families" of the Colony of Virginia.[11] This again demonstrates an influx of wealth for the Fitzhugh family

[8] Stafford County Record Book M, 369, June 29, 1743 as quoted in George H.S. King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 2 (Fredericksburg, VA: Self-published), 84.
[9] Peter Jefferson (1708-1757) was a skilled surveyor and cartographer. He was also the father of the third president of the United States, Thomas Jefferson.
[10] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 22-23.
[11] "Randolph Family," Virginia Museum of History & Culture, accessed December 16, 2018. www.virginiahistory.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/virginias-colonial-dynasties/randolph-family.

through marriage. Together the couple had six children, but only three survived to adulthood, including Mary Lee (Custis), Ann Randolph (Craik), and William Henry.[12]

On February 26, 1768, Chatham Manor's lands were surveyed by Fitzhugh, Col. Harrison, and the Honorable Joseph Jones.[13] Shortly thereafter, the construction of Chatham Manor began sometime in 1768 and likely lasted until 1771. The property sits atop a bluff overlooking the Rappahannock River and opposite the City of Fredericksburg. To this day, Chatham Manor is unattributed to any architect or designer, but there is clear influence from the English country houses and other plantations of the eighteenth century, like that of Chatsworth Plantation owned by the Carter family.[14] Contemporary architects of the time included William Buckland, Richard Taliaferro, and John Ariss.[15] It has also been suggested that Thomas Jefferson may have offered input into the design of the house and grounds as he was a cousin of Ann Bolling Fitzhugh (née Randolph) and stayed with the Fitzhughs on his way north in 1766.[16] Although Jefferson's potential involvement is interesting, it cannot be confirmed.

A newspaper advertisement from October 5, 1769 confirms Chatham Manor's construction. The *Virginia Gazette* published an advertisement on behalf of Walker Taliaferro for the return of a runaway slave from Fitzhugh's plantation in King George

[12] Mary Lee Fitzhugh married George Washington Parke Custis, the step-grandson of George Washington. Their daughter, Mary Randolph Custis, would later marry Robert E. Lee and lived at Arlington.
[13] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 28.
[14] Ibid., 34.
[15] Ibid., 29.
[16] "Letter from Thomas Jefferson to John Page, 25 May 1766," National Archives, accessed December 16, 2018, www.founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0012.

County, now Stafford County.[17] The advertisement states that Hanover, the escaped slave, was last seen on September 17 and was "by trade a good house carpenter and joiner."[18] In addition to confirming Chatham Manor's construction, the advertisement sheds light on the use of skilled slaves to build the plantation.

It is also important to note Walker Taliaferro's involvement as the "project manager" of the construction of Chatham Manor. Taliaferro was the nephew of famed Williamsburg architect, Richard Taliaferro. This may suggest that Chatham Manor was the work of Richard Taliaferro, rather than the previously suggested William Buckland or John Ariss. Regardless, this cannot be confirmed.

Although unattributed to a certain architect, Chatham Manor had a very typical design for the area and time period. The property is located in the area known as the Tidewater Region of Virginia. Typical of the regional style, plantation owners built their manor houses to face the nearest principal river with a carriage way that typically took guests around the side of the house that faced inland. Guests were greeted by a forecourt with outbuildings set at right angles to the manor house, in Chatham Manor's case the laundry and kitchen. Chatham Manor is in the rigidly symmetrical Georgian style, constructed of brick with a raised brick foundation. It stands two stories tall with a center hall. The main block of the house is seven bays wide with a side gable roof clad with slate shingles. Each gable end of the main block features a prominent brick chimney. The main block is flanked by symmetrical single-story wings connected by short hyphens. Each of the wings have a central brick chimney

[17] *Virginia Gazette*, October 5, 1769 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 2, 123.
[18] Ibid.

that rises from the peak of the hipped roof. In addition, a denticulated cornice runs along all portions of the manor house's east and west façades, and the building is accessible via a doorway centered on the east façade. Another centered entrance on the west façade overlooks the Rappahannock River. The windows throughout the house are six-over-six, double-hung wood sashes with flat arch surrounds.

Illustration 1. A view of the west façade of Chatham Manor, which overlooks the Rappahannock River. In this view the remains of the former portico and porches remain evident. (Author's Photograph)

Architecturally speaking, the Tidewater Region is nestled in a transitional zone. To the south, the Carolinas and Georgia are known for "Low Country" architecture where shade from the blistering sun was a necessity. Shade was often provided by the addition of porches. On the other hand, the cooler climates to the north did not warrant such additions. A two-story portico is evident in nineteenth century photographs of Chatham Manor along the Rappahannock River side of the manor house but were removed during renovations in the 1920s. There is a remarkable similarity between Chatham Manor's portico and that of Shirley Plantation, located in Charles City, Virginia. Shortly after Chatham Manor's

construction, Charles Carter, Fitzhugh's cousin, added the twin bi-level portico to Shirley Plantation. It is unclear if Chatham Manor's portico was part of the original design or a later addition by Fitzhugh after he saw Shirley Plantation. Although the date for Chatham Manor's portico cannot be exacted, it has been agreed upon that it was a later addition in several accounts, including the *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham* (*CLR*), architectural investigations by the National Park Service (NPS) in the 1970s, and *The Mansions of Virginia: 1709-1766* by Thomas Tiletson Waterman.[19]

Illustration 2. This photograph, dated December 1862, provides of view of Chatham Manor from the upper terrace looking to the north with the two-story portico and porches. (Lacy's House, Alexander Gardner, photographer, Library of Congress)

[19] Thomas Tiletson Waterman was an architect and architectural historian with the HABS and the NPS.

Illustration 3. View of Shirley Plantation's primary façade. Note the similarities between the porches of Chatham Manor and Shirley Plantation, constructed by Fitzhugh's cousin Charles Carter. (Carol M. Highsmith, photographer, Library of Congress)

Illustration 4. View of Carter's Grove Plantation and its terraced landscape. The home was constructed by Carter Burwell, another cousin of William Fitzhugh. (The Cultural Landscape Foundation)

The adjacent kitchen and laundry are contemporary with the manor house.

Together, the three buildings are the only remaining structures from the Colonial era.

The kitchen, located to the southeast, is one-and-one-half stories and three bays wide

constructed of brick with a brick foundation. The side gabled roof is clad with slate shingles, and there are interior brick chimneys at each gabled end. The windows throughout are nine-over-nine double-hung wood sashes. In addition, there are two four-light windows in each gable that flank the interior chimney.

Opposite the kitchen and nearly identical is the laundry that is situated northeast of the manor house. The building is a single story with three bays and constructed of a brick with a brick foundation. The side gabled roof is clad with slate shingles and lacks the dormers present on the kitchen. Interior brick chimneys are at each of the gabled ends. The windows throughout are nine-over-nine double-hung wood sashes. Subjacent are three-light basement windows. The centered entry door is located on the south façade with access to the basement via a door on the east façade. A small, single-room addition is located on the north façade. The projection has a brick foundation and is clad with clapboard siding.

Illustration 5. This photograph shows the south façade of the laundry at Chatham Manor. The kitchen is directly opposite of the laundry and identical, with the exception of the addition of three dormers on the south façade. (Author's photograph)

Overall, Chatham Manor's position high atop the eastern bluff of the Rappahannock River demonstrates the wealth of the Fitzhugh family. In addition to the high-style architecture, Chatham Manor had various gardens and decorative plantings to please both residents and guests during the Colonial era. According to the *CLR*, Chatham Manor was accessible via Falmouth River Road, which ran along the Rappahannock River. This road connected Falmouth to the north with the Fitzhugh's grist mill and the Fredericksburg ferry to the south. The terraced landscape on the Rappahannock River side of the property is contemporary with the construction of the manor house. The road atop the terrace likely stretched from Falmouth to what is now Chatham Heights Road via Chatham Lane.[20] As the carriage loop wound through the lands side of the manor house, it is also believed that a portion of the road between the carriage loop and Chatham Heights Road operated as a service-oriented plantation street with barns, slave quarters, outbuildings, and shops on both sides of the road. Plantings and pleasure gardens would have been strategically located for the passerby to admire.

In addition to the manor house, kitchen, and laundry, Chatham Manor is known to have had an "overseer's house, blacksmith shop, and quarters sufficient to accommodate in the best manner more than 50 labourers."[21] As stated in the *CLR*, the slaves were most likely living in five to ten separate structures that were clustered in groups of twos and threes at various locations throughout Fitzhugh's vast plantation.[22]

[20] Chatham Heights Road was formerly known as White Oak Road, and Chatham Lane is now the access point for visitors to enter the Park.
[21] *Virginia Herald*, August 3, 1804 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 2, 45.
[22] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 41.

The dwellings were likely associated with where the slaves worked, which would have included the mill, stables, barns, and blacksmith shop. A mid-nineteenth century map of Chatham Manor titled "Map of the Vicinity of Fredericksburg" shows a small grouping of buildings along what has been called the plantation street. It is highly probable that domestic servants lived in loft spaces in the kitchen and laundry, while the buildings along Claiborne's Run were home to most of Chatham Manor's field slaves.

The original stable at Chatham Manor, which is no longer extant, was first cited on April 21, 1778 when two of Col. Harrison's horses were stolen from the stable. As per the 1797 advertisement for the sale of Chatham Manor, the stable was large enough to house nearly thirty horses and four carriages.[23] The location of the stable has not been confirmed, but it likely stood somewhere along the plantation street.

By November 1771, two deeds indicate Fitzhugh resided at Chatham Manor.[24] This implies the manor house was completed or at least substantially completed. At the time the family moved to Chatham Manor sometime around 1771, the property encompassed roughly 1,200 acres.

The Revolutionary War broke out a few years following the completion of Fitzhugh's Chatham Manor. The property was not at the center of any fighting, but it occupied an important crossroads. [25] An article in the *Virginia Gazette* dated

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[23] *Virginia Herald* and *Fredericksburg & Falmouth Advertiser*, February 14, 1797 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 2, 37-40.
[24] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 30.
[25] Ibid., 38. William Fitzhugh played an extremely active role in colonial society, much like his ancestors. He served in the Virginia House of Burgesses from 1772 to 1775. Fitzhugh also served King George County in ad hoc conventions held in Williamsburg and Richmond after Lord Dunmore,

December 19, 1777 stated, " . . . many slaves are running off to the enemy . . . among the gentlemen who lost slaves to the enemy in that vicinity were Mr. Fitzhugh of Chatham, three fellers, one wench and four children."[26] This was a common occurrence in the Colony of Virginia as the royal governor began offering freedom to slaves and indentured servants to fight against the rebellious colonists.

In support of the Revolution, Fitzhugh worked with James Hunter who was the owner of the Rappahannock Forge, located just to the north of Falmouth along the Rappahannock River.[27] The Rappahannock Forge was the largest in the colonies and produced weapons for both the Continental Army and Navy. Additionally, Generals Washington and Rochambeau passed by the Rappahannock Forge and stopped briefly to camp near Chatham Manor with their troops on their way to defeat the British at Yorktown in 1781.[28] Baron Ludwig von Closen, aide-de-camp to General Rochambeau, spoke highly of Chatham Manor when he wrote, "there are some very pretty houses; that of Mr. Fitzhugh appears to be the finest, because it is situated on a height from which there is a distant view, with the city located at the bottom."[29]

Chatham Manor made it through the Revolutionary War unscathed. Afterwards, Fitzhugh continued to expand his land holdings throughout the Tidewater Region and the Northern Neck of Virginia. In order to support his lavish lifestyle at Chatham Manor, Fitzhugh was forced to divulge in other revenue-generating activities

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the last royal governor of Virginia, dissolved the House of Burgesses in 1774. Fitzhugh later became a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Safety from 1774 to 1775, the Virginia House of Delegates from 1776 to 1777, and was a state senator from 1781 to 1785.

[26] *Virginia Gazette*, December 19, 1777 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 2, 132.

[27] King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 3, 7.

[28] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 32.

[29] Baron Ludwig von Closen, *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1781-1783*, ed. Evelyn M. Acomb (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 210.

and was not solely reliant on his plantation. With roughly 1,200 acres of land at Chatham Manor, a large portion was dedicated to agriculture. Unfortunately, Virginia census records fail to recognize local agricultural production prior to 1850. However, Fitzhugh's correspondence with family and friends offers a glimpse into his crop production. In 1790, Fitzhugh wrote a letter to Thomas Jefferson expressing his concern about the loss of his tobacco and corn crop.[30] Like much of the Tidewater Region, tobacco dominated early cash crop production prior to the Revolutionary War but tapered off as wheat and other food crops rose to the forefront. Fitzhugh also leased out 100-acre tracts of land to farmers who then owed him a portion of their crop production each year. Furthermore, Chatham Manor had fruit orchards for cider and brandy production. According to the *CLR*, two large orchards were located beyond the North and South Ravines.[31] Letters document that Fitzhugh gifted trees from his orchards to friends such as George Washington.[32]

Fitzhugh was also able to generate income through livestock. Again, correspondences allow for a better understanding of the diversity of livestock at Chatham Manor, which included swine, deer, sheep, cows, and horses. The dairy barn played host to over thirty cows and veal calves. Because Fitzhugh was entertaining somewhere between twenty and forty guests a night, it was necessary for the family to keep diverse and plentiful livestock on hand.[33] Horses were also a prominent business endeavor for Fitzhugh. Not only was he a member of the Jockey Club of

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[30] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 22 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 1, 16.
[31] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 45.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 46 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 1, 93.

Fredericksburg, but he was also gifted a slave named Gerald, a jockey and groom, from Rose Newton of Charles County, Maryland in 1785.[34]

The Rappahannock River provided Fitzhugh with yet another source of income. Nets cast into the river came up with herring, shad, and eels that were smoked and packed for either Fitzhugh's consumption or trade. He also operated a nearby quarry, leased out the local grist mill, and ran the ferry across the Rappahannock River to Fredericksburg which had been established on December 19, 1787.

Chatham Manor would not have been the successful plantation it was without the work of slaves. In 1783 Fitzhugh owned 103 taxable slaves within the county.[35] This number does not include the children or individuals who were exempt from taxation. As Fitzhugh moved closer to selling Chatham Manor, the number of slaves declined rather quickly as he was likely trying to settle his debts. By 1801, Burkett Bowen, the overseer, was responsible for forty-four taxable slaves, as reported by the Stafford County tax lists.[36] On January 2, 1805 several of Fitzhugh's slaves rebelled after being ordered to work during the Christmas season. The slaves managed to overwhelm and whip their overseer, Mr. Starke. This event remains one of the earliest known slave rebellions in the United States.

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[34] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 43 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 5, 152.
[35] Ronald W. Johnson and Gerald Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia," (Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, 1978), 34.
[36] Johnson and Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study," 52.

The sale of Chatham Manor was discussed by Fitzhugh as early as 1796. Fitzhugh purchased a home at 607 Oronoco Street in Alexandria in the same year and moved in the following fall of 1797.[37] The Fitzhugh home in Alexandria was located roughly ten miles from the family plantation home called Ravensworth in Fairfax County, which was completed in 1796. Beginning in 1797, Chatham Manor was treated as more of a second home or retreat from Alexandria and Ravensworth. Fitzhugh found it hard to continually dine and lodge twenty to forty guests per night. According to a letter Fitzhugh wrote to his cousin Charles Carter of Shirley Plantation, he shuddered at the idea of selling Chatham Manor, but he recognized necessity of the sale as it would pay for his new house in Alexandria and settle his debts incurred from Chatham Manor.[38]

Illustration 6. Ravensworth Plantation was constructed in 1796 by William Fitzhugh. (Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress)

[37] Ralph Happel, *Chatham: The Life of a House* (Philadelphia: Eastern National Park & Monument Association), 1984), 20.
[38] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 48 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 3, 107-108.

Fitzhugh's sale of Chatham Manor provided several descriptions of the property in the late 1790s and early 1800s. The first is a 1796 Mutual Assurance Society policy that shows a stone mill house along the north bank of Claiborne's Run, which was protected against fire. The building was valued at $6,000 and occupied by George Wheeler.[39] A second Mutual Assurance Society policy insured five buildings at Chatham Manor: a dwelling house, two wings and colonnades, kitchen, and laundry with a combined value of $20,400.[40] In 1805 Fitzhugh re-insured both the stone mill house and Chatham Manor. The stone mill house had diminished in value to $5,000.[41] The policy for Chatham Manor included a more detailed drawing of the five insured buildings. The drawing illustrates a brick dwelling house connected to two brick wings with cellar doors on the wings, a small porch on the southeastern end of the dwelling, and a kitchen with an adjoining smokehouse. The value of this policy remained at $20,400.[42] This amount is equivalent to roughly $400,000 in 2019.

Fitzhugh officially placed Chatham Manor on the market with advertisements in the *Virginia Herald* and the *Fredericksburg & Falmouth Advertiser* on February 14, 1797. Fitzhugh continued to advertise Chatham Manor in 1804 and 1805 after the death of his wife. In 1806 Chatham Manor was finally sold to Major Churchill Jones for $20,000.[43] An article in the *Virginia Herald* on November 21, 1806 recognized the sale of "fifty to sixty" of Fitzhugh's slaves who were "lately attached to Chatham Estate, consisting of Labourers [sic] and Tradesmen, of different kinds, such as

[39] Library of Virginia, Records of the Mutual Assurance Society, no. 47.
[40] Ibid., no. 48.
[41] Ibid., no. 975.
[42] Ibid., no. 974.
[43] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 54.

Carpenters, Blacksmiths, . . . also a good Miller, Cook, Gardener, trainer of Horses, and some valuable House servants."[44] Unfortunately, the outcome of this sale is unknown. Fitzhugh died three years later at the age of 69 on December 19, 1809 at Ravensworth Plantation.

After his purchase from William Fitzhugh, Major Churchill Jones and his second wife, Martha Selden Douglas Jones, moved to Chatham Manor in 1806.[45] Neither Major Jones nor Martha Jones had children from their previous marriages, and the couple did not have any children together, however Martha Jones' nieces, Martha Ann Elizabeth Macmurdo and Elizabeth Selden, came to live with the couple at Chatham Manor.[46]

The United States Federal Census of 1810 was the first census to occur following Major Jones' occupation of Chatham Manor. According to this census, sixty-seven slaves were living on the property.[47] Shortly thereafter, between 1810 and 1811, Major Jones disposed of roughly 200 acres of Chatham Manor lands, which reduced the estate total to 1,088 acres.[48]

The War of 1812 brought hit close to home as the British forces attacked Washington, D.C. in August 1814. Major and Martha Jones fled Chatham Manor with five wagons out of fear that the British would make their way through the

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[44] *Virginia Herald*, November 21, 1806 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 3, 51.
[45] Major Churchill Jones was born on September 27, 1748 to Churchill Jones and Millicent Blackburn Jones. Due to the unfortunate death of their parents at a young age, Major Jones and his brother William were raised by their uncle, Col. Armistead Churchill. Major Jones was promoted to the rank of major through his service in the Continental Army, which he had joined in 1777 and served until the end of the war. Major Jones and Martha Selden Douglas, a wealthy widow, were married in June 1805.
[46] Martha Ann Elizabeth Macmurdo was the only daughter of Martha Jones' sister, Elizabeth Selden Macmurdo, and Elizabeth Selden was the daughter of Martha Jones' brother, John W. Selden. Both girls were called Elizabeth and spent much of their time at Chatham Manor.
[47] Bureau of the Census, Third Census of the United States 1810, Stafford County, Virginia.
[48] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 57.

Fredericksburg area and lay waste to the property.[49] Martha Jones wrote to her niece, Elizabeth Gibson (née Macmurdo), "Poor Chatham must stand it's [sic] ground. I expect it will be burnt certainly if Fredericksburg goes."[50] The War of 1812 concluded in 1814 with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent. Fortunately for the Jones family and Chatham Manor, the Fredericksburg area did not see any damage.

After the war Major Jones' personal tax list from 1815 provides a better understanding of the value of his estate. Major Jones owned fifty-five slaves, fifteen horses, and thirty-two cattle. In addition to fine furnishings, he rented out a mill for $100, had an ice house, and three houses exceeding $500 in value. The estate as a whole was valued at $6,200 and was the highest valued property in the area.[51] The United States Federal Census of 1820 indicates that the number of slaves under Major Jones' ownership increased to sixty-eight.[52] Of these sixty-eight slaves, thirty-three were female. There are scant references to the slaves at Chatham Manor during this time, and the few times they are mentioned was when Major or Martha Jones requested a doctor for a sick slave.

While Major Jones decreased the Chatham Manor lands but purchased more slaves, he was also working to have the grounds improved, although the exact configuration is unknown.[53] During this time, it was likely the Jones family approached the manor house from the land side prior to the construction of the

[49] C.G. Chamberlayne, "Letter of Martha Selden Jones," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (1938): 292.
[50] Ibid., 292.
[51] King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 2, 46.
[52] Bureau of the Census, Fourth Census of the United States 1820, Stafford County, Virginia.
[53] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 58.

Chatham Bridge.[54] Letters from women at Chatham Manor during the Jones' ownership sheds some light on the property's appearance. One letter from Martha Jones to Elizabeth Gibson (née Macmurdo) explains the damage inflicted by a hailstorm on May 21, 1818:

> . . . I will tell you and with sorrow behold it . . . we were visited with the most tremendous hail storm ever seen here before . . . Out of 500 panes of glass only 47 left and some of them cracked. The hail stones were as large as hens eggs. The hail flew across the rooms till the beds and everything was quite wet but that was not the most melancholy site—our poor garden was torn all to pieces—all the peas cut down—every vegetable destroyed—the lovely flowers shared the same fate and the Poplars stripped of their foliage and all the shrubbery had the appearance as if the caterpillar had eaten off all the leaves. You can have but a faint idea of our situation—the little fruit that the frost left us the hail has beaten off—no fruit—no vegetables—no flowers—no beauty—all are gone . . . Your Uncle says the wheat and oats have suffered fully as much as the Garden; he does not expect to make a bushel of wheat and very few oats. It is my husband's opinion from calculation that our loss will be from the hail at least $2,000.[55]

Martha Jones' letter indicates that flowers and a vegetable garden existed at Chatham Manor. Whether the flowers were in a separate garden or combined with a vegetable garden is unknown.[56]

Additional insight into the property under Major Jones' ownership is documented by an 1821 insurance evaluation which valued the property at $17,000.[57] This marked a decrease of $3,400 in the property's value from the last Fitzhugh policy

[54] Ibid., 59. Between July 1821 and January 1823 the Chatham Bridge was constructed across the Rappahannock River. This included the construction of a bridge house near the intersection of White Oak Road and Falmouth River Road. The completion of the Chatham Bridge created a stronger link between Chatham Manor and Fredericksburg. Up until this point in time, Chatham Manor was much more connected with Falmouth to the north.
[55] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 59 as quoted in King, "Jones Gibson Papers," 35-37.
[56] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 59.
[57] Library of Virginia, Records of the Mutual Assurance Society, no. 2865.

in 1805 and may be due in part to the sale of 200 acres between 1810 and 1811. This insurance policy was secured nearly a year before Major Jones' death on September 15, 1822 after succumbing to a fever at age seventy-three at his Woodville estate. An inventory of his estate was executed, which included sixty slaves totaling $16,423.[58] Through his will, Major Jones freed several of his slaves. His will stated that Lynny should be free upon the death of Martha Jones " . . . and that my executers give her 50 dollars to enable her to move out of state." In addition, Major Jones specified that "Sam commonly called yallow [sic] Sam; Kiz who is the wife to Sam and all Kiz's children; Jenny and her son George; Dick and carriage driver and Ruben" be freed.[59] The remainder of the Chatham Manor estate was left to Martha Jones, in order to ensure she would have a comfortable life.

Major Jones' original will from September 12, 1818 was lost during the Civil War after the Union Army destroyed the Stafford County records, but it is known that Martha Jones rejected her husband's will. Instead, she entered into a contract with her brother-in-law, William Jones. In exchange for the property, Jones was to pay her a yearly allowance of $800 for her dower interest in Chatham Manor. The property continued to be listed in the tax books under the name Mrs. Churchill Jones from 1824 to 1829.[60] Shortly after the contract was agreed upon, Martha Jones acquired a property in Richmond where she lived out the remainder of her life.

Although Martha Jones moved, she was still very much connected to Chatham Manor and spent much time there. Between 1825 and 1829, Martha Jones wrote to

[58] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 60.
[59] Johnson and Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study," 82.
[60] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 61.

Doctors Carmichael and Sons about sick slaves at Chatham Manor. One of these letters is helpful in identifying the location of slave quarters on the property and reads, "Sire, I am informed a Woman belonging to this estate lies very ill—I will thank you to ride as far as the Cabins beyond the overseers house & see her—after doing so please call by the House, & let me know what I shall have to do for her, under your directions, & you will oblige."[61] This letter clearly states at least some of the slave cabins were located near the overseer's house. A map from 1862 shows a masonry structure with three frame buildings nearby along Claiborne's Run. It is suspected that the masonry structure was the overseer's house and the frame buildings were slave quarters, none of which remain today.

Although the property was on the tax rolls under Mrs. Churchill (Martha) Jones, William Jones was in control of the estate.[62] Jones had married Betty Churchill in 1774 and together they had one child, Hannah Jones. He was later remarried to Lucy Gordon after Betty Jones' (née Churchill) death and had one daughter, Betty Churchill Jones. Unfortunately, there is little documentation of Jones' ownership of Chatham Manor from 1822 to 1829. In 1829 Jones sold Chatham Manor to his son-in-law, Judge John Coalter, who was married to Hannah Jones Williamson. Hannah Jones Williamson Coalter was raised at both Ellwood and Chatham Manor. In 1804 she married David Williamson and together they had one child, Janet S. Williamson,

[61] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 58 as quoted in University of Virginia Collections at the Claude Moore Health Science Library, "Letter from M. Jones," 18--.
[62] Major Churchill Jones and William Jones had built together a plantation called Ellwood, which is now under the control of the NPS.

who was both physically and mentally handicapped. Williamson died in 1818 and Hannah Jones Williamson remarried in 1822 to Judge Coalter.

Judge Coalter purchased Chatham Manor from Jones in 1825, but the deed of sale did not transfer until 1829.[63] Judge Coalter and his third wife, Hannah Jones Williamson made Chatham Manor their home sometime in 1825. Shortly after Coalter's purchase of Chatham Manor, the Chatham Bridge was washed away during a flood in the summer of 1826. Less than a year later, construction on a new bridge began, likely utilizing some of Judge Coalter's slaves and hired laborers. The *Virginia Herald* advertised the newly reconstructed Chatham Bridge as open for business in December 1832.[64]

Judge Coalter and his family were members of an active social scene in Fredericksburg and oftentimes entertained various members of the Virginia gentry at Chatham Manor.[65] The following is a description of Chatham Manor written by Charles Augustus Murray in a letter from 1835:

> . . . on the opposite bank of which stands 'Chatham' the house of Judge Coalter. It is beautifully situated on an eminence, commanding a view of the town, and of the bold sweeping course of the Rappahannoc [sic] . . .
> . . . The first glance at Mr. Coalter's house impressed me with the idea that it was an anti-revolutionary date; the old brow-coloured [sic] bricks, the straight green walks in the terraced garden, and the formal grenadier row of stately poplars, all betokened the Old Dominion. The family not being at home, I asked and obtained permission to view the

[63] Judge John Coalter was born on August 20, 1769 to parents Michael Coalter and Elizabeth Moore. Judge Coalter pursued an education in law at the College of William and Mary and received additional training from Judge St. George Tucker in exchange for tutoring his children. Judge Coalter's education propelled him to a successful career as a lawyer. He served on the General District Court for Staunton, Virginia in 1809 and was commissioned by Governor James Monroe to fill a vacancy on the bench of the Court of Appeals, on which he sat until 1831.
[64] "Chatham Bridge," *Virginia Herald*, December 15, 1832.
[65] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 63.

> river and valley from the garden which I enjoyed with much pleasure for some time.[66]

The documentation provided by Murray confirms the terraced garden and poplar trees. Chatham Manor's gardens must have been quite impressive and expansive as Murray indicates he spent much time enjoying them. In addition, this demonstrates the continuation of well-known visitors to Chatham Manor who were welcomed by the owners.

Another account that documented Chatham Manor was provided by Mrs. Delia Bryan Page, the granddaughter of Judge Coalter. Page was born at Chatham Manor in 1833, and in her memoir she wrote:

> It took those times and the quantity of good servants we had to keep such a place up. The floor like polished glass, the gravel walks, the beautiful flower beds and shrubbery. The tall poplars at the foot of the deep fall, standing in a long row like soldiers on guard, gave it an air of grandeur and protection. The spinning house, as we called it, was my delight. There I saw them weave cloth, good cloth, bright-colored homespuns, plaids and stripes, colored or black double cloth for me, single cloth for women, flax spun and woven, cotton and yarn for socks, all interesting and looking so busy. I used to love to carry them things—potatoes from Miss Maria's (the housekeeper's) cellar, cabbage from the garden, meat from the smoke-house.[67]

This passage draws attention to the poplar trees and the existence of flower beds indicating the presence of a flower garden, unlike the mention of flowers in Martha Jones' letter. Page's recollections also shed light on the utilitarian structures of Chatham Manor, such as the laundry and the smokehouse, in addition to the

[66] King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 2, 51-52. Charles Augustus Murray was the grandson of Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor of Virginia.
[67] Delia Bryan Page, *Recollections of Home* (Richmond, VA: William Ellis Jones, Printer, 1903), 129-130.

interactions between those people living in the house and those people who worked for the family.

By 1836, Judge Coalter held in his possession six parcels of land in the area totaling roughly 2,393 acres. According to a Mutual Assurance Society policy from the same year, the value of Chatham Manor's main dwelling, kitchen, laundry, and mill was $10,000.[68] The value of the property had again decreased, this time by $7,000 from the previous insurance policy in 1821. This reveals that few improvements were undertaken by the Coalter family. In 1837 the Coalters sold 400 acres to their son, St. George Tucker Coalter. As a result, the lands directly adjacent to Chatham Manor were reduced to 688 acres.[69]

Shortly after the sale of land to their son, Judge Coalter passed away on February 2, 1838 after suffering a stroke at Chatham Manor. In his will he left a life estate in Chatham Manor to Hannah Jones Coalter and step-daughter, Janet Williamson, who was physically and mentally handicapped since birth.[70] Judge Coalter left a 150-acre tract of land, known as the Mill Tract, along Claiborne's Run to his children, leaving a total of 538 acres to Hannah Jones Coalter.[71] She continued to oversee the operations of the plantation for the next two decades.

Again, tax records assist in the understanding of Chatham Manor and its development. The 1839 tax records acknowledge Hannah Jones Coalter's ownership

[68] Library of Virginia, Records of the Mutual Assurance Society, no. 9279.
[69] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 67 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 5, 21.
[70] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 68.
[71] For unknown reasons, Hannah Jones Coalter actually received 558 acres, an additional twenty acres from what Judge Coalter bequeathed to her.

of land along the Rappahannock River.[72] On October 4, 1847 Coalter sold the Chatham Bridge to John Bryan, her son-in-law, for $9,501.[73] The 1850 United States Census also provides clues into what was going on at Chatham Manor during this time, indicating that Coalter owned nine horses, two mules, eight milch cows, eight working oxen, twenty-seven sheep, thirty-two swine, and nine other cattle. In 1849 the plantation turned out 700 bushels of wheat, 2,000 bushels of Indian corn, and eighty bushels of oats.[74] The census records also specify that Coalter owned nine slaves, which were likely household slaves rather than field slaves. The slave census of 1850 listed a total of forty-nine slaves under her ownership.[75]

Hannah Jones Coalter passed away at Chatham Manor on August 29, 1857. In her will, she bequeathed her estate to Janet Williamson. She also manumitted her slaves, effective at the start of the new year. Coalter's effort to manumit her slaves fell short as her will was contested by Betty Lacy, Coalter's half-sister; J. Horace Lacy, Betty Lacy's husband; and Janet Williamson. Her will was upheld in a lower court but was overturned by the Virginia Supreme Court on May 24, 1858.[76] The slaves under Coalter's ownership continued to be held in bondage by the subsequent owner.

Chatham Manor was sent to auction as the executors of Coalter's estate realized that Williamson could not operate the plantation with her disabilities. All of

[72] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 68 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 2, 20.
[73] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 69 as quoted in King, *Chatham's Owners*, vol. 5, 24.
[74] Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census of the United States 1850, Stafford County, Virginia.
[75] Ibid.
[76] *Daily Advertiser*, June 12, 1858.

the Chatham Manor property was sold to J. Horace Lacy, and Williamson was given an annual annuity of six percent of the property's value every six months. Williamson died shortly thereafter in 1858.[77]

The Civil War Comes to Chatham Manor, 1857-1871

J. Horace Lacy purchased Chatham Manor for $36,950 at public auction on November 7, 1857.[78] This amounts to just over one million dollars in 2019. At this time Lacy also owned Ellwood, Lafitta, and Boscobel plantations.[79] He and Betty Churchill Jones were married in 1848 at Ellwood and together had eight children: Agnes, William J., Elizabeth B., Graham G., Lucy L., Sally M., J. Horace, and Beverly Randolph Drury.[80] Between 1857 and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, the family spent the winters at Chatham Manor and summers at Ellwood.[81]

The Lacys undertook a number of improvements to the property as supported by the Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia policies from 1857 to 1859. In 1857 the policy valued the manor house, kitchen, and laundry at $8,000. By 1859, the value of the three buildings increased to $11,250.[82] At this time, Chatham Manor's total

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[77] Happel, *Chatham*, 34.
[78] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 73. Lacy was born on Jun 10, 1823 to parents William Sterling Lacy and Sally Graham in St. Charles, Missouri.
[79] Ellwood (also known as Ellwood Manor) was constructed around 1790 by Major Jones and William Jones and located in Orange County, Virginia. It is known as the resting place for General Stonewall Jackson's arm as it was buried in the Jones and Lacy family cemetery on the property. The property is now part of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP. As for Lafitta Plantation, it is difficult to find any mention of the plantation in current scholarship. Boscobel Plantation is located in Stafford County, Virginia. No longer extant, the house was built in 1702 by Fitzhugh family and burned in 1915.
[80] A. Wilson Greene, *J. Horace Lacy: The Most Dangerous Rebel of the Country* (Richmond, VA: Owens Publishing Company, 1988), 2. Betty Churchill Jones was born on Jun 21, 1829 to parents William Jones and Lucy Gordon. While growing up, Betty Churchill Jones spent time at both Ellwood and Chatham Manor. Upon the death of her father, she inherited Ellwood.
[81] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 73.
[82] Library of Virginia, Records of the Mutual Assurance Society, no. 18974 and no. 20822.

acreage was around 425 in addition to a 149-acre mill tract along Claiborne's Run. The improvements made by the Lacys are not only demonstrated through insurance policies but also in a letter from Fanny B. Coalter who wrote to her fiancé from Chatham Manor. She wrote, "Mr. Lacy has improved the grounds very much, even in this short time—I hope some of these day [sic] I have the pleasure of bring [sic] with you here & then we can admire & enjoy it together, every foot of ground in yard. Garden and house is closely connected . . . "[83]

The Lacy family likely made improvements to Chatham Manor with the knowledge that farms and plantations were increasingly moving towards more diverse crops and experimental farming as was the case across the United States. The 1860 United States Federal Census recorded that the Lacy family had six horses, nine mules, sixteen milch cows, six oxen, sixteen other cattle, and twenty-three sheep. The Chatham Manor plantation produced 2,950 bushels of wheat, 1,500 bushels of Indian corn, 600 bushels of oats, seventy pounds of wool, ten bushels of Irish potatoes, and 200 pounds of butter.[84]

Production of crops on this scale would not have been possible if not for the slaves who labored in the Lacy's fields. Many of the slaves were transferred to the Lacy family following the death of Hannah Jones Coalter, although this was against her will. The 1860 United States Federal Census, the last before the outbreak of the Civil War, recorded seven household slaves who worked for the Lacy family.[85] At the

[83] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 73 from William and Mary Special Collections, Brown, Coalter, Tucker Papers I, Box 21, Folder 6.
[84] Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Stafford County, Virginia.
[85] Ibid.

outbreak of the Civil War, Lacy moved his slaves to a rented farm in Powhatan County, Virginia.[86]

The Civil War commenced with the Confederate attack on Federally held Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861. Virginia formally declared secession from the United States of America on May 23, 1861 and J. Horace Lacy joined the Confederate Army.[87] While her husband was at war, Betty Lacy and the children moved across the Rappahannock River to Fredericksburg where they stayed with Mrs. Henderson White. They then moved to Greenwood Plantation in the Wilderness, and eventually made their way to Dublin, Virginia in the summer of 1863 where they remained until the end of the War. Betty Lacy had Chatham Manor's furniture removed and transferred to Ellwood, although an account from a Union soldier stated that the family left behind works of art confirming the wealth and power of the Lacy family.[88]

Chatham Manor served several roles during the Civil War, including a headquarters, field hospital, communication center, and picket post. The Union Army, led by General Irvin McDowell, secured headquarters at Chatham Manor in April 1862. As a result of the Union occupation, the Chatham Bridge was destroyed for a second time as the Confederate forces retreated across the Rappahannock River.

There are a number of accounts from Union soldiers that mention the grandeur of Chatham Manor and its landscape that provide a good overview of the property at the time, marking the first time that Chatham Manor is thoroughly documented thanks

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[86] Greene, *J. Horace Lacy*, 6-7.
[87] In the beginning of the Civil War, J. Horace Lacy served an aide-de-camp. He was captured as a prisoner of war but later released during a prisoner exchange. He rejoined the Confederate cause and rose to the rank of major.
[88] Theodore B. Gates, *The "Ulster Guard" and the War of the Rebellion* (New York: Benjamin H. Tyrrel, 1879), 222.

to written descriptions, sketches, and photographs. A soldier from the 80th New York Infantry wrote, "Guards are stationed everywhere around his [Lacy's] house and lands, with the strictest directions to preserve his fences, trees, and even lawns, intact."[89] Pennsylvania soldier Charles Henry Veil recorded, "Our headquarters occupied a fine plantation mansion overlooking the river. It was a typical Southern mansion overlooking the river-large, fine, roomy house, slave quarters, stable, fine garden, and among other surroundings a large number of hives for honey bees."[90]

On May 23, 1862 Chatham Manor played host to President Lincoln, Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, French Minister M. Mercier, and Commodore John A. Dahlgren who met with General McDowell. By this time, there were complaints that Union troops were no longer treating Chatham Manor as they had been instructed at the outset. According to the War Department records, "Contrary to orders, a regiment of cavalry, rather than take the trouble to cut wood, which was near in great abundance, burned several panels of the fence, and thus allowed the animals to enter the fields and tread down the wheat."[91] For their failure to follow orders, the men were required to rebuild the fence.

On July 2, 1862 the *Christian Banner* ran an article that said, "On our way, we passed through the plantation of Mr. Lacy and were surprised to witness the entire desolation of all fencing and enclosures of every kind. His 'beautiful farm' is one common 'muster' grounds."[92] More written documentation from July 1862 confirms

[89] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 76-77 from Letter by "C," 80th New York Infantry, *Argus*, May 7, 1862.
[90] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 77.
[91] U.S. War Department, Series 1, Volume 12, Part III, p. 348, June 5, 1862.
[92] James W. Hunnicutt, *Christian Banner*, July 2, 1862.

that soldier's tents were pitched on the front lawn, the manor house was used for office space and sleeping, and there was a large barn and slave quarters.[93]

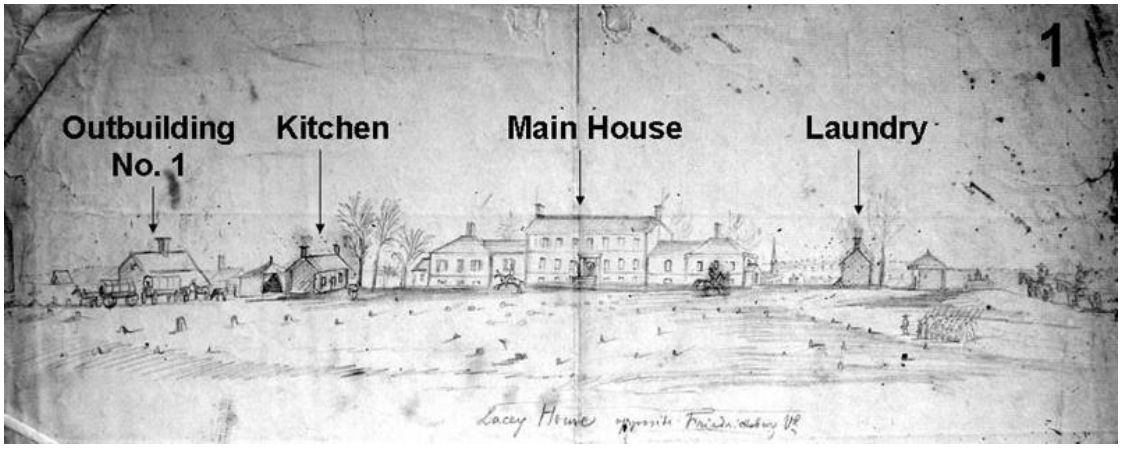


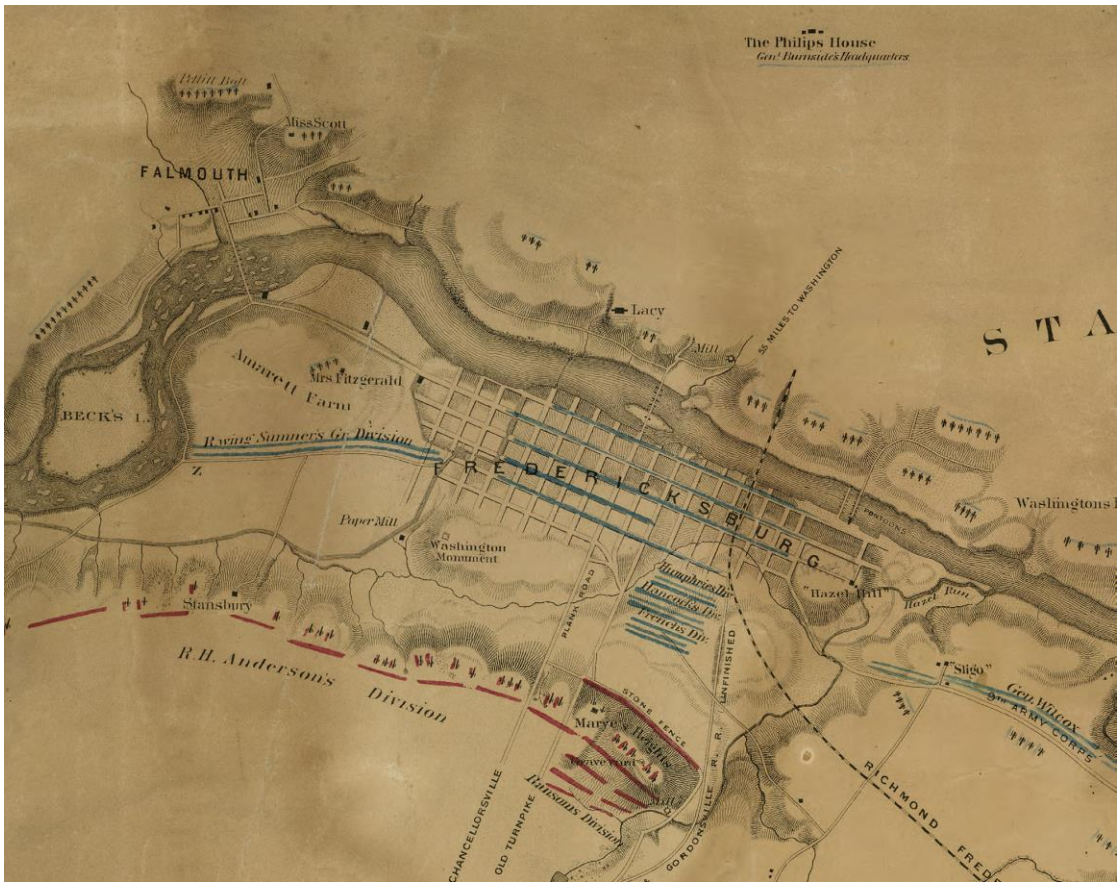
Illustration 7. This sketch of Chatham Manor's east façade was produced by a Union soldier during the winter of 1862 to 1863. The sketch was labeled as part of a blog post about slave quarters at Chatham Manor. (Eric Mink, "J. Horace Lacy's Chatham Quarters?" *Mysteries & Conundrums* (blog), April 1, 2010, https://npsfrsp.wordpress.com/2010/04/01/j-horace-lacy's-chatham-quarters-part-1/)

Illustration 8. Dated March 1863, this photograph shows the west façade of Chatham Manor and the toll the Civil War had taken on Chatham Manor and its landscape. (Lacy's House, Timothy H. O'Sullivan, photographer, Library of Congress)

Throughout the winter of 1862 and 1863, General Edwin V. Sumner of General Burnside's command occupied Chatham Manor as his headquarters. The

[93] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 83.

Battle of Fredericksburg took place December 11-15, 1862. The Union Army utilized pontoon bridges to cross the Rappahannock River, with one of the bridges situated just below Chatham Manor. The Union placed artillery along Stafford Heights and bombarded Fredericksburg in order to deter Confederate pickets as the pontoon bridges were constructed. These batteries were located south of the South Ravine and north of the North Ravine. Throughout the battle, General Sumner communicated with General Burnside, headquartered just a mile north at the Philips House, via telegraph. On December 14, General Burnside called for a truce, which was granted by General Robert E. Lee, effectively ending the Battle of Fredericksburg on December 15. General Burnside and his men were forced to retreat back across the Rappahannock River after their defeat. This was a major victory for Lee and a major defeat for Burnside and the Union Army. In fact, at the Battle of Gettysburg the Union troops in defeating the Confederates chanted, "Fredericksburg! Fredericksburg!" as revenge for the Union massacre.



Map 2. This map, entitled "Map of the Battle Field of Fredericksburg, Dec. 13, 1862," shows Union artillery positioned on the Chatham Manor property, identified by the name Lacy. (Benjamin Lewis Blackford, cartographer, Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division)

Chatham Manor also served as a field hospital during the Battle of Fredericksburg. According to the records, 371 Union patients were treated between December 13 and 15.[94] Clara Barton and Walt Whitman were two notable figures who tended to the Union wounded and dying at Chatham Manor following the Battle of Fredericksburg. Chatham Manor played a similar role in the Second Battle of Fredericksburg, also known as the Second Battle of Marye's Heights, on May 3, 1863. This time around Chatham Manor was the headquarters for General John Gibbons under Major General Joseph Hooker.

[94] Johnson and Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study," as quoted found in National Archives, Hospital Register 150, Division 5, A.C. Reg. 131.

In the weeks following General Lee's surrender to General Grant, Major J. Horace Lacy signed an "Amnesty Oath" in Richmond. His petition for a pardon for having served in the Confederate Army was approved by the Governor of Virginia on August 25, 1865.[95] A few months later, the Lacy family returned to live at Chatham Manor, but things would never be the same. The Chatham Manor property had been a casualty of the war and left for dead. Betty Lacy wrote, "all the paneling had been stripped from the walls [of Chatham Manor], every door and window was gone, literally only the bare brick walls were left standing. The trees had been cut down, the yard and garden were a wilderness of weeds and briers and there were nineteen Federal graves on the lawn."[96]

Due to the condition of the house and remaining portions of the property, the Lacys hastily attempted to make repairs to Chatham Manor. The work done on the house during this time was confirmed in the 1920s when workers found a block inscribed with "John Hall, Builder, October 11, 1869." The Lacys were able to increase the value of the house from $8,000 to $11,250.[97] It is also important to note that by 1868, the *Virginia Herald* reported that Chatham Manor had harvested 100 acres of corn that fall, which is indicative that the Lacys were trying their hardest to transform Chatham Manor into an operational farm.[98] The Lacys no longer had the labor of slaves to do the work for them, but they did hire a number of farmhands to carry out the work. Unable to cope with the loss of income following the freedom of

[95] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 97.
[96] Greene, *J. Horace Lacy*, 18.
[97] Library of Virginia, Records of the Mutual Assurance Society, no. 18974 and no. 20822.
[98] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 97 as found in *Virginia Herald*, June 29, 1868.

their slaves, the Lacys advertised Chatham Manor for sale in 1869 with a listing price of $42,000, which included 600 acres of land, an operable grist mill, and the freshly restored and repainted house.

Chatham Manor in the Post-Bellum Period, 1871-1900

Shortly after the improvements were completed at Chatham Manor, the Lacys sold the Chatham Manor property to Oliver Watson, Sr. in 1871.[99] Watson took advantage of the low cost of land in Virginia in the post-Civil War years as Chatham Manor was his fourth purchase in Stafford County.[100] The sale was complicated, and Watson did not take full ownership through an unrestricted deed until 1877. Watson purchased Chatham Manor with 435.5 acres of land, household and kitchen furniture, six horses, five cows, and agricultural tools and implements for $23,900, well under its value of $42,000.[101]

The Watson family leased Chatham Manor to Samuel R. Shadle between 1874 and 1889/1890.[102] Census records from this time also indicate that there were black laborers who worked at Chatham Manor, including Isaac Ford, Austin Jackson, Henry Weaver, and William Brooks who ranged in age from thirteen to thirty-eight.[103] Watson died on September 1, 1882 after suffering a blinding illness.[104]

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[99] Oliver Watson, Sr. was born in Lycoming, Pennsylvania. He left his career as a teacher to become a successful lawyer and businessman in 1837, and was well-known in Williamsport, Pennsylvania. He married Marietta Scott in 1843 and they had eight children together, two of whom died in infancy.
[100] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 100.
[101] Ibid., 99.
[102] Shadle was also from Williamsport and it was likely the two men were well-acquainted with one another.
[103] Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States 1880, Stafford County, Virginia.
[104] *The Daily Gazette & Bulletin*, September 2, 1882.

Upon Watson's death, Chatham Manor was left to his daughter, Emma Watson Jones.[105] At the time of her father's death, Jones was living in Buffalo, New York, and made it clear that she was not inclined to move to Virginia and take up occupation at Chatham Manor. Instead, Jones sold the house to her brother, Oliver Watson, Jr. on November 8, 1883 for $25,000, but continued to pay Chatham Manor's taxes until 1889.[106]

A deed record with the American Surety Company of New York along with activity in the community place Oliver Watson, Jr. and his wife, Ella, at Chatham Manor by 1885. Watson had a great interest in farming and was elected to serve as a vice president of the Agricultural Fair Association in 1886.[107] Watson understood the value Chatham Manor had as a place where he could experiment and carry out his love for agriculture.

Two events brought visitors to Chatham Manor during the Watson's ownership. Horses had long been a tradition at Chatham Manor beginning with William Fitzhugh during the Colonial era. On July 5, 1886, Watson hosted a horse race on a half-mile circular track on Chatham Manor lands that had been laid out at an unknown date.[108] It is unclear whether this track was laid out in the same location as Fitzhugh's horse track or in a separate location. Whatever the case may be, the archaeological investigation from the late 1970s yielded no conclusive evidence for

[105] Will of Oliver Watson, Sr., Stafford County, Virginia Courthouse, Will Book R, 124 as quoted in Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 101.
[106] Johnson and Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study," 187.
[107] *Free Lance*, July 20, 1886.
[108] *Free Lance*, June 22, 1886. No primary sources have indicated Fitzhugh's racecourse, but secondary sources suggest that such a racecourse did exist. As Fitzhugh was an avid horse racer and held the wealth to construct such a facility, it is believable that an earlier course was on the property. During Colonial times it would have been a straight, quarter-mile track designed for flat racing.

the track's location. This was a gathering of roughly 1,000 people who came to Chatham Manor to enjoy the horse races.[109] The second event took place at Chatham Manor on April 1, 1887 when Watson's daughter, Marietta, married Carlton B. Hazard. On the day of the wedding the gardens were described as "beautiful in its present green leaves and buddings of bowers in its lawn carpeted with tender grass."[110]

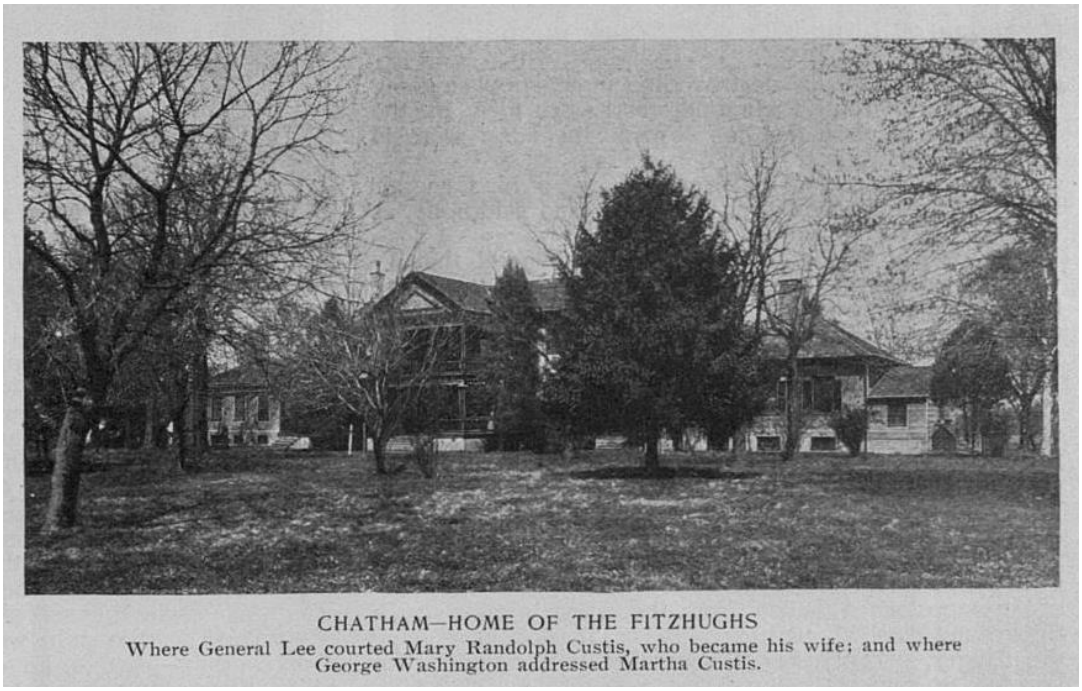
Throughout the Watson ownership there is no indication the family undertook vast improvements to the property. Although no written documentation has come to light, the gardens were maintained, especially for the wedding of Carlton B. and Marietta Hazard, and the family sold the property shortly thereafter.

Albert O. Mays purchased Chatham Manor from the Watsons in 1889.[111] Mays was only twenty-three years old when he purchased the property. Complicated by money matters, the sale between Watson and Mays was complex. Watson first entered into a contract with Madison Munroe Mays, Albert Mays' father, but the sale fell through. Instead, Albert Mays purchased the property on May 25, 1889. The sale included 468.5 acres, horses, cattle, farm implements, and vehicles for a total of $9,985 which was "payable seven years after the date a rate of 6 percent per annum until paid negotiable and payable to the 4th National Bank in Cincinnati with the proviso that if not paid when due bear 8 percent interest from date granted, sold, & conveyed."[112] In addition, Mays sold two parcels to his sisters which upset Oliver Watson when he did not receive the proceeds from a bond in 1889. The matter was

[109] *Free Lance*, July 9, 1886.
[110] *Free Lance*, April 27, 1888.
[111] Albert O. Mays moved to Virginia after leaving Stark County, Ohio with his mother and sister.
[112] Stafford County, Virginia, Deed Book 4, p. 128-131 as quoted in Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 103.

settled, and Mays was still in possession of Chatham Manor as the Watsons made their move "across the pond."

Photographs from the period of Mays' ownership demonstrated the neglect of Chatham Manor's landscape. In November 1899, the *Ladies' Home Journal* featured Chatham Manor in an article about Robert E. Lee and published a photo of an unmanicured landscape.[113] Chatham Manor remained to be unkept throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. Likely in need of money, Mays subdivided and sold off southern parcels of the Chatham Manor property for residential development. In addition to these sales, Mays also had the smoke house moved to a house along Washington Street in Falmouth.[114] This confirms the Mays' lack of care for the landscape at Chatham Manor.



CHATHAM—HOME OF THE FITZHUGHS
Where General Lee courted Mary Randolph Custis, who became his wife; and where George Washington addressed Martha Custis.

Illustration 9. Photograph of Chatham Manor's west façade featured in the *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1899. ("The Anecdotal Side of Robert E. Lee," *Ladies' Home Journal* 16, no. 12 (November 1899), 3).

[113] It should be noted that push lawn mowers had grown in popularity by this time.
[114] Email, Norman to John Hennessy, March 7, 2007, FRSP Archives.

Mays continued to have issues with money as he lost Chatham Manor in a foreclosure case in 1897.[115] According to the record, Mays needed to fulfill his "unsatisfied debt" by putting Chatham Manor up for auction. At this auction, Mays won with the highest bid of $13,750 and secured the funds through a deed of trust on Chatham Manor.[116] Almost one year after his second purchase of the property, a large barn and corn house succumbed to a fire on April 16, 1898.[117] Unable to meet financial needs, Mays was forced to sell the property in 1900.

Chatham Manor in the Twentieth Century, 1901-1975

On August 22, 1900 Chatham Manor became the home of Fleming and Elizabeth Bailey.[118] This transfer ushered in a new era for Chatham Manor and a period of newfound splendor. In addition, this was the first time in the history of the property that the plantation lands were detached from the house. The Baileys had purchased the core of Chatham Manor, totaling thirty acres, while Mays continued to own the surrounding farmland. Mays continued to subdivide his land and sell it for development.

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[115] Ronald W. Johnson and Harlan D. Urau, "Preliminary Historic Resource Study, Chatham, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefield Memorial National Military Park, Virginia," ((Denver, CO: National Park Service, Denver Service Center, Branch of Cultural Resources, 1982), 201.

[116] Ibid., 203.

[117] *Alexandria Gazette* and *Virginia Advertiser*, Library of Congress.

[118] The Baileys were originally from Griffin, Georgia and inherited money from their parents, which helped them purchase Chatham Manor. Fleming Bailey's father, David Jackson Bailey, married Susan Grantland, and spent many years in the Georgia legislature. Elizabeth Bailey's father was Captain Henry P. Hill of the Confederate Army who served in Georgia's House of Representatives.

Map 3. Lots that were sold off by Mays around the southeastern area of the property. (von Schon and Garner, Civil Engineers, cartographers, University of Virginia, G3884.F7 G46 1891.V65)

Under the Bailey's short ownership, improvements were made to the property, including a new barn with a silo by 1903 and a milk house by 1908. Dairy cattle likely grazed in the areas to the northeast of the milk house and barn. The landscape was left unattended, according to photographic evidence. Between 1908 and 1909, there was a proposal for the establishment of the Fredericksburg Normal and Industrial School, known today as the University of Mary Washington. The proposal included Chatham Manor and six other properties.[119] The Baileys were not interested in selling

[119] University of Mary Washington Preservation Plan, "Physical Description of the University of Mary Washington, Fredericksburg Campus, 1908-2011," 19.

Chatham Manor to be used as a school. Instead, they chose to sell Chatham Manor to Allan Randolph Howard.

Illustration 10. This photograph was taken for the book *On the Parallels or Chapter of Inner History: A Story of the Rappahannock* by Benjamin Baron. Taken in 1903, this photograph shows Chatham Manor during the Baileys' ownership. (*Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, FRSP Archives)

Howard purchased Chatham Manor in 1909, but within a few days he transferred the property to his mother-in-law, Harriet Smith.[120] Smith took over legal ownership on February 1, 1909 and lived with the Howards and their two children. The family desired to improve the property and began to make changes almost immediately. In an interview with the Howards' son, William Key Howard, he recalled the property "wasn't very well kept up."[121] Photographs from this era

[120] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 111. Howard was a native of Virginia and moved from Spotsylvania to Fredericksburg in 1881 after his father purchased Kenmore, once the home of Betty Washington Lewis, George Washington's sister. He was a cashier at Conway, Gordon & Garnett National Bank of Fredericksburg and married Francis R. Smith who died in 1916.
[121] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 111.

confirm the state of disarray. The lawn was unmown, and trees were overgrown. The porch connections along the Rappahannock River side of the house had been removed, likely during the Bailey ownership.[122] The Howards hired Frank Stearns, a local architect and builder to work on the stables and a tenant house. This work was carried out by twenty-five workmen who were assigned to beautify "the interior of the house and grounds." The *Daily Star* reported that "when completed this will be one of the handsomest country homes in Virginia."[123]

Shortly after the Howard family made improvements to Chatham Manor, the property was advertised for sale in *Country Life in America* magazine for $43,000.[124] A little shy of a year later, Harriet Smith sold Chatham Manor to the Conway, Gordon & Garnett National Bank of Fredericksburg on March 14, 1914 in order to satisfy debts, which was likely a result of Allan Randolph Howard having been caught and charged with the embezzlement of $14,000 from the Masonic Lodge in Fredericksburg.[125]

[122] Ibid., 112.
[123] *Daily Star*, February 18, 1909.
[124] *Country Life in America*, April 15, 1913.
[125] Johnson and Karr, "Historic Structure Report and Preliminary Grounds Study," 200 and Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 115.

Illustration 11. Chatham Manor's west façade around 1910. (FRSP Archives)

Mark and Marie Sullivan purchased Chatham Manor from Conway, Gordon & Garnett National Bank of Fredericksburg on November 28, 1914 as the bank liquidated its holdings for a total of $10,000 cash along with a three-year $20,000 note.[126] During the Sullivan's ownership, they raised three children at Chatham Manor while Mr. Sullivan commuted between Washington, D.C. and New York. He grew to be a fairly prominent member of society. He was employed for a time by the *Ladies' Home Journal* and encouraged the passing of the Pure Food and Drug Act. He also worked for several newspapers, including *Collier's Weekly*, the *New York Evening Post*, and the *New York Tribune* as a nationally acclaimed political correspondent.

[126] Stafford County Deed Book XV, 318 as quoted in Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham,* 115-116.

Only two years after their purchase of Chatham Manor, the Sullivans placed an advertisement for the sale of the property for $38,000. The Sullivans owned Chatham Manor for a total of six years before selling it to the Devores and returning to Pennsylvania. It is unclear if the Sullivans made any improvements to the property during their ownership.

Colonel Daniel and Helen Devore purchased Chatham Manor from the Sullivans on November 11, 1920 and brought with them the ideas of the Colonial Revival movement in both architecture and landscape.[127] Upon their purchase, the Devores hired architect Oliver H. Clarke who was based out of Washington, D.C. to restore the house. Clarke was a nationally known architect who trained under Waddy B. Wood.[128] According to his obituary, Clarke was known for his love of Colonial architecture and his "greatest pride was his restoration of Chatham."[129] Much of what is seen today at Chatham Manor reflects the changes made during this period, including the entryways and stoops on the east and west facades of the manor

[127] Daniel Devore was born in Ohio and graduated from West Point. He served in World War I. Helen Dovre was the daughter of Alexander Stewart, a Wisconsin lumberman and representative in Congress for Michigan. She later became the first president of the Rappahannock Valley Garden Club due to her passion for the landscape. The couple married in Boston on August 25, 1918. The Colonial Revival movement was also identified as the "Country Place Era" of landscape architecture in the *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*.

[128] "Funeral Rites Thursday for O. H. Clarke, 64," *The Washington Post*, December 15, 1948, B2, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post. Waddy B. Wood received his education from Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Two of his most notable buildings include the Woodrow Wilson House and the Main Interior Building.

[129] Ibid. Clarke explored several avenues throughout his career. After completing his training under Waddy B. Wood, he joined the Office of the Supervising Architect in 1905. In 1910 Clarke entered private practice in New York and Florida, and worked for the War Department during World War I. Following the war, he went back to private practice where he completed the restoration of Chatham Manor and rejoined the Office of the Supervising Architect in 1929. Clarke designed a number of U.S. embassies and consulate buildings along with numerous post offices, courthouses, and the Capital Yacht Club.

house.[130] Clarke's first task was to prepare measured drawings of the house as it stood, and from those measured drawings he made suggestions for improvements. In 1921 the Devores hired a builder and contractor from Highland Springs, Virginia named Evan Davies. He worked with a group of thirty-four men and removed all of the porches.

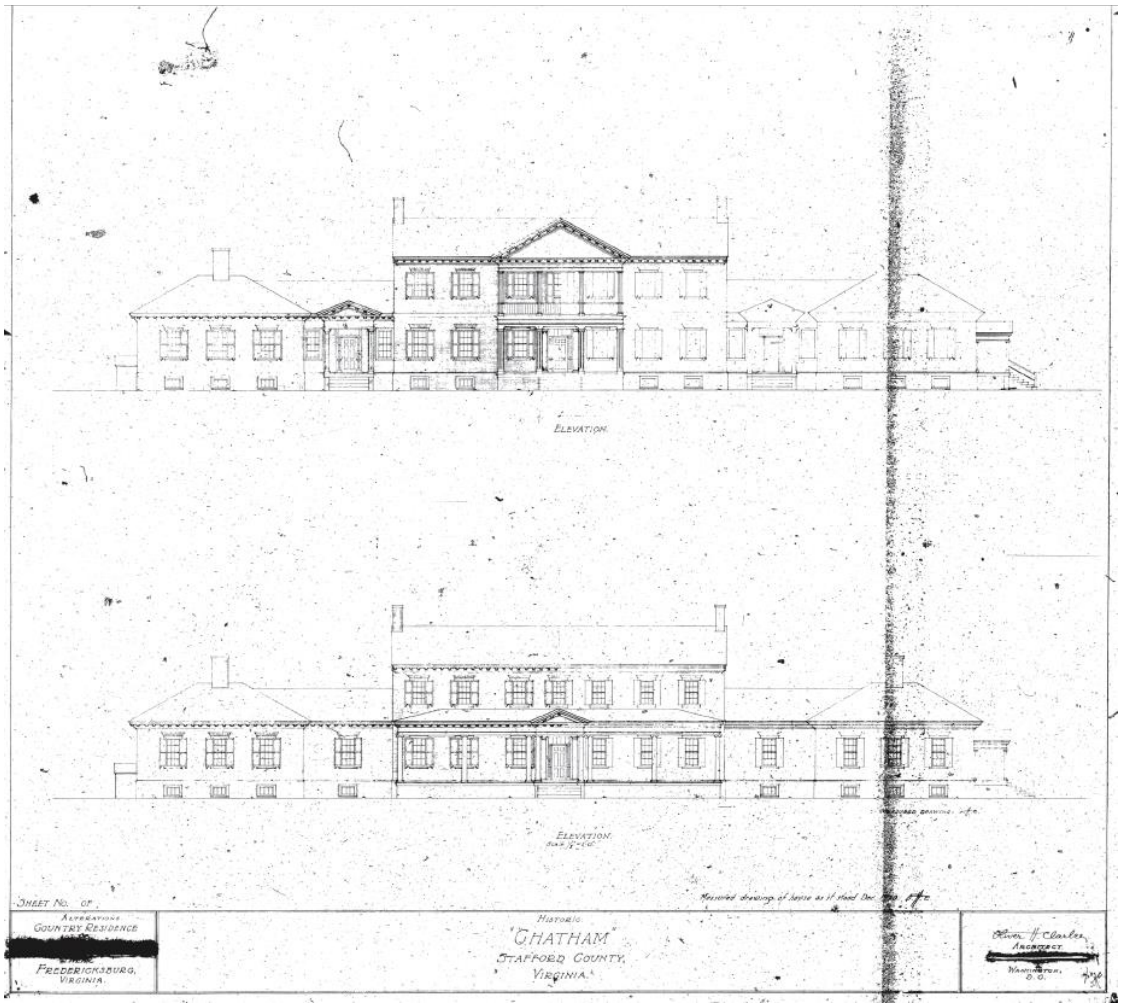

Illustration 12. Measured drawings prepared by Oliver H. Clarke immediately after the Devores purchased Chatham Manor. Clarke produced these measured drawings in December 1920. (NPS, eTIC, FRSP-326-25000)

[130] The east entryway is a copy of the garden entrance at Westover Plantation in Charles City, Virginia, which was taken from *Palladio Londinensis*, a popular eighteenth-century architectural text by William Salmon. The west entryway is a modified Doric style that is not known to be taken from anywhere and may be of Clarke's own design.

Illustration 13. This 1921 photograph shows Chatham Manor after the removal of the portico and porches. Note also that Clarke's new entryways were executed by this time. (FRSP Archives)

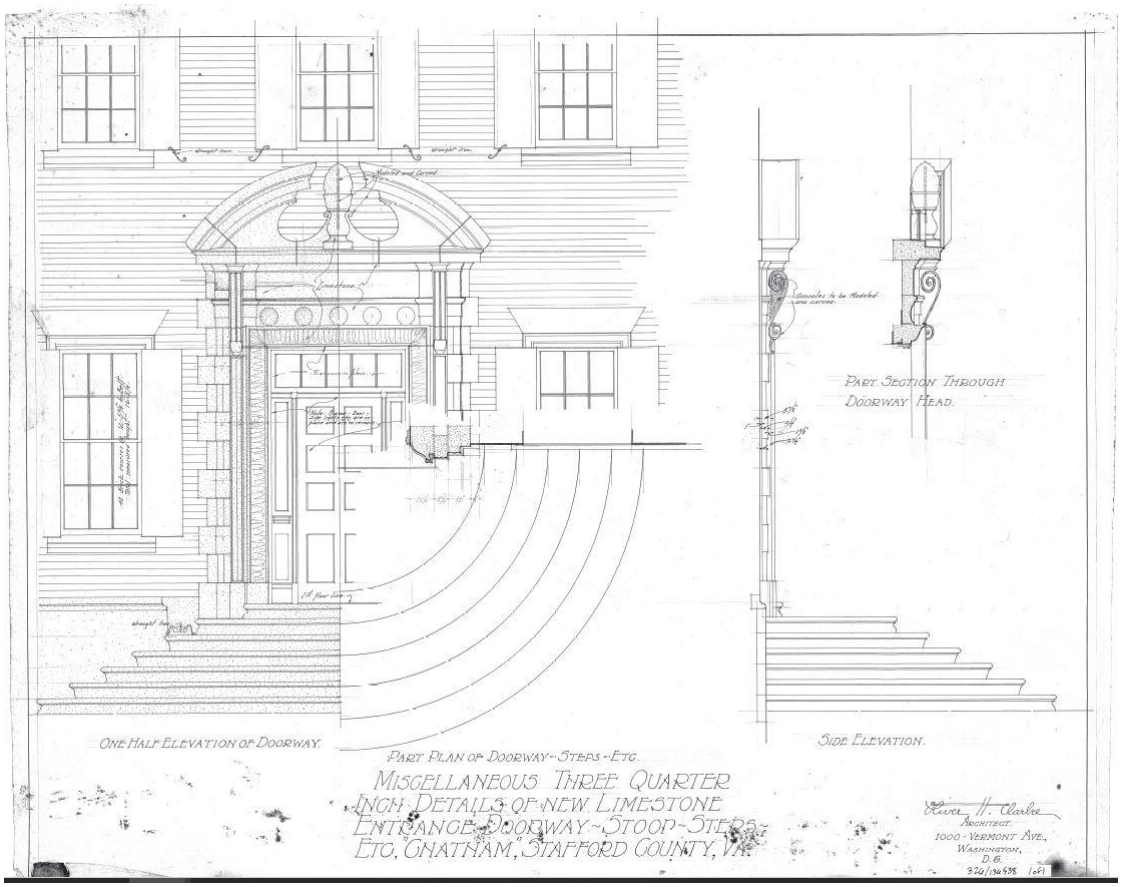

Illustration 14. Detailed measured drawing of the west entryway by Oliver H. Clarke. (NPS, eTIC, FRSP-136438)

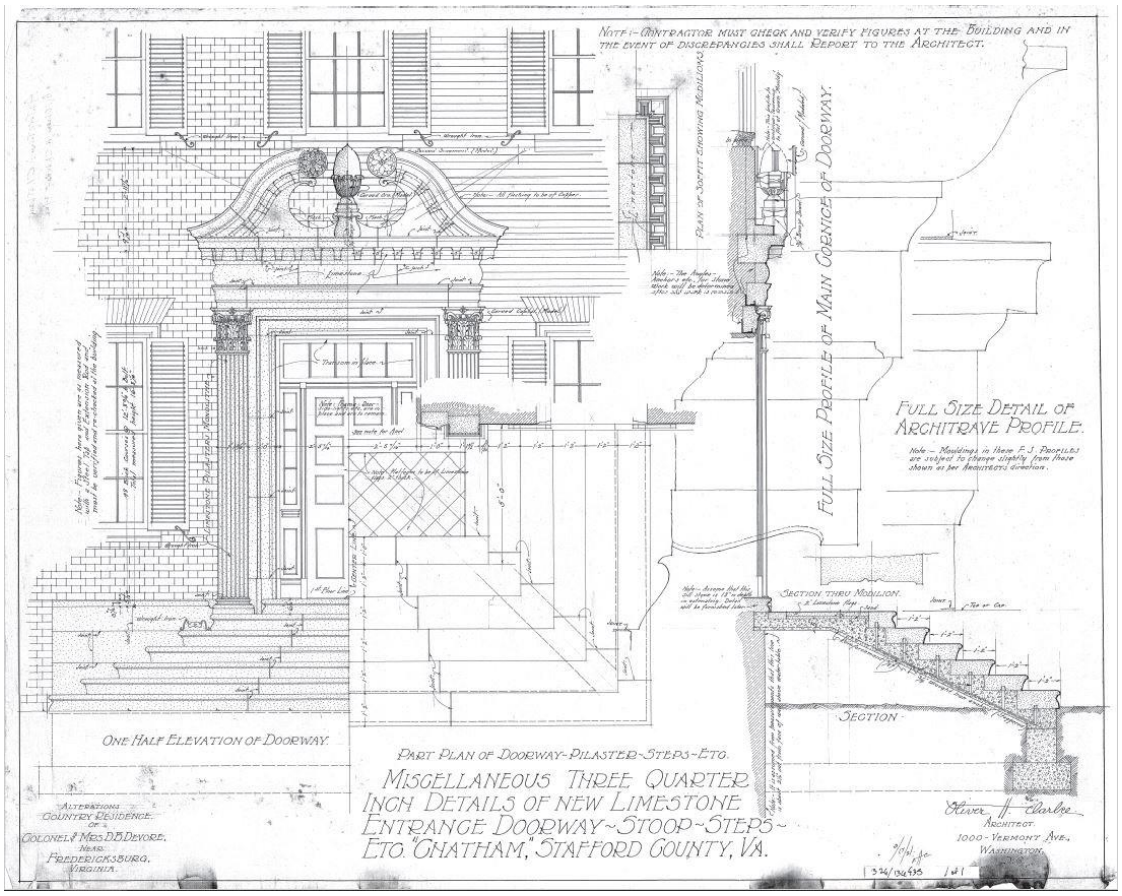

Illustration 15. Detailed measured drawing of east entryway by Clarke. The design was taken from Westover Plantation in Charles City, Virginia and *Palladio Londinensis* by William Salmon. (NPS, eTIC, FRSP-136435)

In addition to undertaking work on the house, the Devores hired Ellen Biddle Shipman, a Cornell University educated landscape architect who well-known for her Colonial Revival garden designs. In January 1921, Shipman presented the Devores with a "General Plan of Gardens for Chatham" which was executed. Shipman was so pleased with her work that she wrote, "Most people thought the garden had been there when the house was restored."[131] The truth of the matter was that this space had been utilized as a carriage drive and a utilitarian space before the completion of the gardens.

[131] Shipman, letter to Mrs. R. F. Willingham, Atlanta, GA, April 23, 1845 (box 8, folder 27, Cornell) as quoted in Judith B. Tankard, *Ellen Shipman and the American Garden* (Amherst, MA: Library of American Landscape History, 2018), 171.

In order to maintain the newly planted garden, the Devores hired gardener David Hanlon. Later the owners hired a number of groundskeepers as Shipman's design required much upkeep.[132]

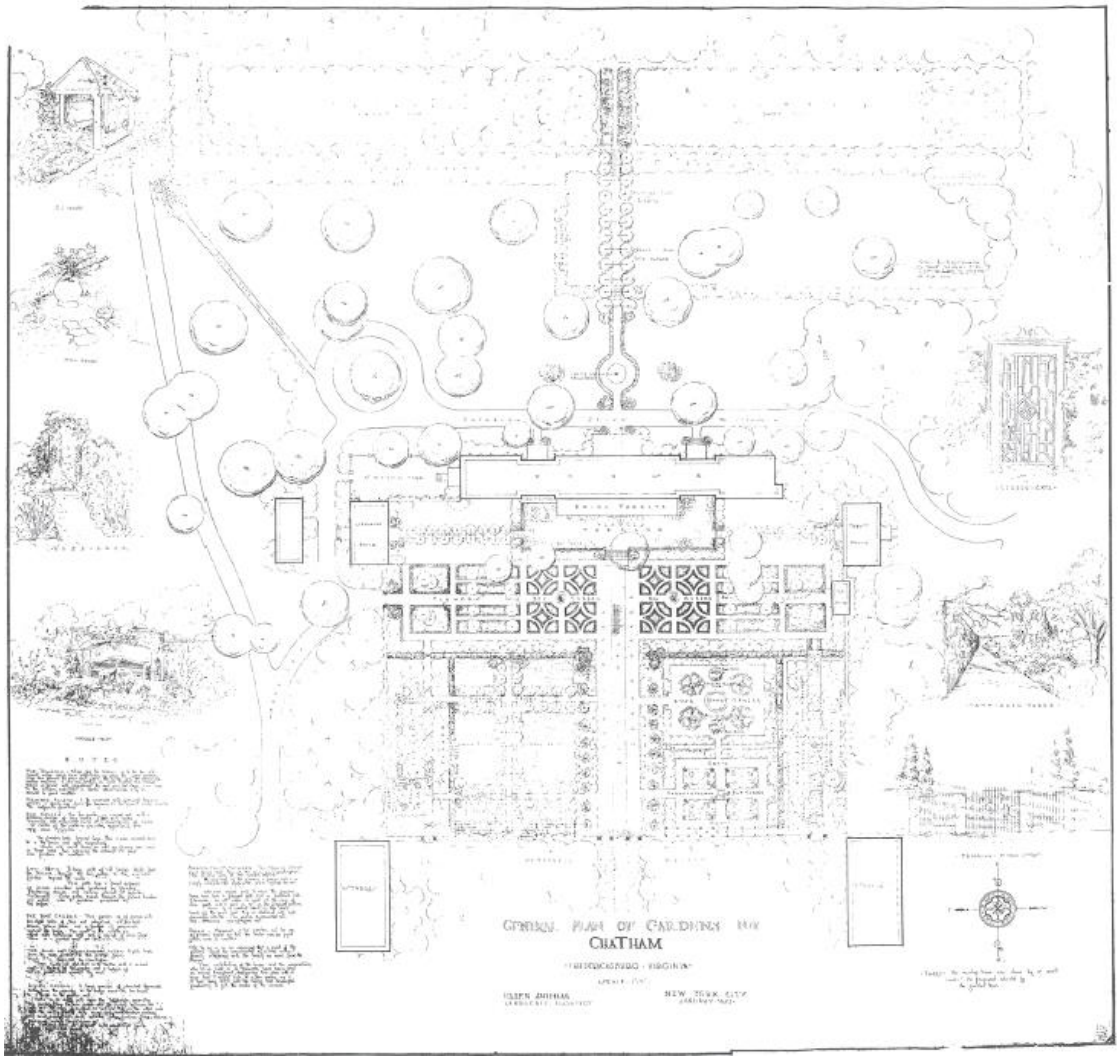

Illustration 16. The "General Plan of Gardens for Chatham" as designed by Shipman. The plan was executed throughout the 1920s. (FRSP Archives)

The improvements made to Chatham Manor were recognized nationally when the property was featured in *House Beautiful* magazine in April 1926. This recognition led Helen Devore to allow members of the Rappahannock Valley Garden

[132] Other gardeners who worked at Chatham Manor include R. L. Gallahan, Hugh Frost, Silas Allen, Leslie Gallahan, Wallace Gallahan, and Lee Sullivan.

Club and “any lover of flowers” to visit Chatham Manor in May 1926 to see the flowers in bloom.[133] In 1929, Chatham Manor was also featured in *Town and Country* magazine, which included photographs taken by Frances Benjamin Johnston in 1927.[134]

Illustration 17. This hand-painted glass lantern slide shows Chatham Manor's west façade in 1927. (Frances Benjamin Johnston, photographer, Johnston Collection, Library of Congress)

[133] *Fredericksburg Free Lance*, May 20, 1926.
[134] Augusta Owen Patterson, “An Eighteenth Century Home in Virginia,” *Town and Country*, March 15, 1929, 65-67.

Illustration 18. Another hand-painted glass lantern slide produced by Johnston showing the area within the walled garden. (Library of Congress)

The Devores sold the newly restored Chatham Manor to John Lee and Lillian Pratt on November 14, 1931 for $115,000.[135] The Pratts were very wealthy philanthropists who tended to shy away from the public eye and viewed Chatham Manor as an opportunity to escape.[136] They were very much interested in the grounds

[135] Stafford County Deed Book XXIX, 548-552 as quoted in Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 129.

[136] Pratt was the vice president of General Motors from November 1922 to 1937 and remained a director after his retirement. In addition, he also served as a member of the War Resources Board and War Production Board from 1939 to 1945. The Pratts preferred to live a quiet life, and donated millions of dollars to the University of Virginia, Virginia Tech, research centers, and various charities. In addition, Mrs. Pratt donated her collection of Czar Nicholas' jewels, including her Faberge eggs, to the Virginia Fine Arts Museum.

and agricultural endeavors. That being said, they made changes to several buildings on the property. In 1932 the caretaker's cottage was replaced with a larger house. The Pratts also added a second greenhouse in 1935 to expand their gardening and experimentation capabilities.

As for the gardens and landscape, the Pratts were in contact with landscape architect Charles Gillette as early as 1931.[137] Lillian Pratt took particular interest in the walled garden that was designed by Shipman and opened the garden for public viewing on Virginia Garden Days in 1935, 1936, 1938, and 1947. At the outbreak of World War II, the garden did not receive the attention required as it was difficult to find a gardener.

When Mrs. Pratt passed away in 1947 at the age of seventy-one, Mr. Pratt no longer felt the need to keep Chatham Manor's intricate and maintenance-heavy gardens. Again, Pratt reached out to Gillette to help him simplify the garden, and these plans were executed in the late 1950s. Pratt continued to reside at Chatham Manor until his death in December 1975 at the age of ninety-six. Chatham Manor had changed significantly by this time and was no longer as opulent as it once had been during the late 1920s and 1930s. Pratt, encouraged by NPS staff, recognized the importance of Chatham Manor's history to both the area and the nation. In turn, he deeded the property to the NPS in his will. Shortly after his death, Chatham Manor was transferred to the NPS, along with a number of items associated with the property.

[137] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 132.

Illustration 19. The simplified walled garden plan designed by Gillette, undated. (FRSP Archives)

The National Park Service Acquires Chatham Manor

The NPS had acquired several estates before it added of Chatham Manor to its list of historic properties. In fact, although four decades have passed, the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP still consider Chatham Manor to be a "new" addition.

It was not until the 1960s that Chatham Manor was regarded as a key historic resource for the NPS, and one that it was interested in acquiring. In September 1963, the *Report on Chatham* was released by the NPS. This nineteen-page report identified Chatham Manor as one of the most important houses on the Fredericksburg battlefield, and also acknowledged the property maintained a high level of integrity from the

Colonial era in addition to its Civil War connections.[138] The authors of the *Report on Chatham* presented Chatham Manor as centered around the Civil War, including vista clearance for "visitor appreciation" and other adjustments to restore the property to its Civil War appearance.[139] Included with the report was the recommendation that "if a suitable portion of Chatham Manor including the mansion, is offered as a donation that favorable consideration be given to its acceptance for preservation and development."[140]

In a meeting between Superintendent Oscar Northington (1946-1966) and John Lee Pratt, Superintendent Northington tested the waters when he questioned Pratt about what was to be done with Chatham Manor. To Superintendent Northington's disappointment, Pratt made it clear he wanted Chatham Manor to be passed on to another prominent family in the area or a distant family member. In a later meeting with Pratt, Superintendent Northington asked the same thing of Pratt, only this time he suggested that Pratt donate the property to the NPS. Pratt, a wealthy philanthropist and supporter of the NPS, agreed to the idea.[141]

On February 14, 1964, Pratt donated about seventeen acres of land along the Rappahannock River to the NPS. This area of land included the location of the upper pontoon bridge landing from the Civil War and was considered a highly important historic resource for the NPS at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP. A month later Pratt made another donation of about thirty acres of land, including the manor house,

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[138] National Park Service Southeast Region, *Report on Chatham, Stafford County, Virginia* (Washington, D.C.: The Department of the Interior), 1, 7.
[139] Ibid., 7.
[140] Ibid., 1.
[141] Zenzen, *At the Crossroads of Preservation and Development*, 370.

gardens, and surrounding acreage, effective upon his death.[142] Pratt also left six lots for an access road along with $15,000 for the development of a "back road." The remaining acreage was left to the Pratt Foundation.[143]

Conclusion

Chatham Manor presents a unique history that spans just over 250 years and has gained significance through each owner. Beginning in the Colonial era, Chatham Manor was established by William Fitzhugh around 1768, although there is some speculation a plantation may have been established as early as 1747. Chatham Manor fits many of the design principles that were common for the period, including a view overlooking the Rappahannock River, the typical manor house with adjacent dependencies, a plantation street, and gardens. It was meant to be a house admired from the other side of the river, and everyone who saw the house knew it belonged to a powerful Virginia family.

As time progressed and Chatham Manor changed hands several times, the Civil War brought about change that would plague the property for decades. After serving as a headquarters, picket post, communication center, and field hospital, Chatham Manor lay in a state of distress as the Union Army made use of the property. The Lacy family came back to find the shell of a house they used to know.

Much like the South, Chatham Manor and its subsequent owners struggled in the new post-Civil War economy. Chatham Manor was bought and sold five times

[142] Beagan and Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, 143.
[143] Ibid., 139.

between 1871 and 1900, with the longest ownership under Oliver Watson who had purchased Chatham Manor from the Lacys. While repairs and improvements were made to the property, the upkeep fluctuated with each owner.

The Devores restoration of the property was extensive in the 1920s and was guided by Oliver H. Clarke and Ellen Biddle Shipman, both well-known for their knowledge of the Colonial Revival style. Both Clarke and Shipman believed they were returning Chatham Manor to its original appearance during the Colonial era, although this was not true. Plans were executed and Chatham Manor was praised as one of the most beautiful houses in the country in national magazines.

When the Pratts moved in around 1930, they were looking for a place to escape the public eye, while Chatham Manor for many years had been a place where people gathered. Occasionally, the gardens were open to the public, but other than that it was a rather private property. Chatham Manor remained that way throughout the Pratt's forty-four-year ownership, the longest in the history of the house. Thankfully, John Lee Pratt understood the importance of Chatham Manor and donated the property to the NPS where it is preserved and interpreted for the benefit of the public to this day.

CHAPTER THREE

INTERPRETIVE DEVELOPMENT OF CHATHAM MANOR

The acquisition of Chatham Manor in 1975 presented an opportunity for the National Park Service (NPS) to expand their interpretation within the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP), particularly in relation to the Fredericksburg battlefield. This chapter will look at NPS documents relating to Chatham Manor's interpretation in chronological order, while also considering the people involved in the development of interpretation. The first section will take a brief look at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP before the acquisition of Chatham Manor and the proactive steps that were taken to consider the property's significance. In addition, there is some discussion about legislation that was enacted around the same time. The next section recognizes the early interpretation that was executed at Chatham Manor and the influence of the staff. The third section discusses the growing concern for Chatham Manor's gardens, a renewed interpretive approach, and Superintendent James R. Zinck. The 1990s are addressed as urban sprawl threatened the boundaries of the park and three superintendents served terms at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP. The end of the 1990s ushered in ideas of restoration thinking. The staff of the Park looked to complete a full restoration of the property to the 1860s, but met some backlash from the non-profit organization, the Friends of Chatham. The last section of this chapter discusses the renewed interest in Chatham Manor's gardens as the staff and Friends of Chatham are seemingly sympathetic to the evolved cultural landscape of Chatham Manor.

Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park Before Chatham Manor

While the Antiquities Act of 1906 was the first federal approach to historic preservation, the establishment of the NPS in 1916 created a catalyst for preservation and interpretation. In order to understand the NPS's development of more recent preservation and interpretation ideas, it is necessary to take a quick look at the history of the organization. On June 10, 1933 President Franklin Roosevelt signed an executive order that reorganized several federal agencies, including the NPS. As a result, the national monuments of the Forest Service, battlefields and cemeteries from the War Department, and parks and monuments of the District of Columbia fell under the authority of the NPS. The role of the NPS was further clarified with the Historic Sites Act of 1935, which enabled the NPS to develop its approach to historic preservation.

In 1963, the first written report to recognize Chatham Manor as a valued historic resource was the *Report on Chatham,* spearheaded by Superintendent Oscar Northington, Jr and published by the NPS. This document sheds light on the earliest ideas the Park staff had about the property's significance. To no one's surprise, the document highlighted Chatham Manor's association with the Civil War and recognized the house as the "most prominent house on the Fredericksburg battlefield."[1] The report also acknowledged Chatham Manor's significance in association with Virginia's Colonial era. With a focus on the Civil War and a nod to

[1] National Park Service Southeast Region, *Report on Chatham, Stafford County, Virginia* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1963), 1.

its Colonial heritage, the Park's staff were provided with a written statement of Chatham Manor's significance.

Here, it is important to recognize the establishment of Harpers Ferry Center (HFC) in West Virginia in the late 1960s and 1970 between the *Report on Chatham* and the next interpretive document. Vince Gleason, a former advertising man, joined the NPS in 1962 to revamp interpretive publications like brochures, handbooks, and posters.[2] Gleason brought forth the concept of a national service center to house all the interpretive design functions for the NPS and Harpers Ferry, West Virginia was chosen as the tentative location. In 1970, the new interpretive headquarters opened. Known as the Harpers Ferry Center, and it remains extremely active and involved with NPS interpretation today.

In addition to the creation of HFC, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) was signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson on October 15.[3] The NHPA created the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), a national Historic Preservation Fund, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), and the "Section 106" review process. Historic preservation was very much in the national spotlight, more so than ever before. As a result, the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP, among other historic sites and parks under the jurisdiction of the NPS, was administratively added to the NRHP with the signing of the Act.[4]

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[2] Barry Mackintosh, *Interpretation in the National Park Service: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, History Division, 1986), 52.

[3] Public Law 89-665; 16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.

[4] Among the other historic sites and parks added to the NRHP at this time were Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Appomattox Court House National Historical Park, Gettysburg NMP, and Chickamauga and Chattanooga NMP.

The last major document to discuss interpretation prior to the acquisition of Chatham Manor by the NPS was the 1973 *Interpretive Prospectus* for the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP as a whole. The *Interpretive Prospectus* was developed during the middle of Superintendent Dixon B. Freeland's tenure with the Park, and it was also the first interpretive planning document to include Chatham Manor.[5] Knowing that Chatham Manor would eventually pass into the hands of the NPS, the planning team included the property even though the transfer of title would not come to fruition for another two years. The inclusion of Chatham Manor in the 1973 *Interpretive Prospectus* demonstrates the planners' foresight and excitement regarding the addition.

The planning team was composed of Dr. Alan E. Kent, HFC; Robert K. Krick, author, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP; William E. Meuse, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP; Charles E. Shedd, Jr., Virginia State Office; and Ellsworth R. Swift, HFC.[6] The planning team derived interpretive objectives and themes for the entire Park and identified the interpretive objectives:

- To build a foundation of empathy between modern Americans and their mid-19th century forebears, by clarifying the conditions of stress and venture in which the national character was formed;
- To contribute to the strengthening of man's understanding of an aspect of his past, as a means of creating a set of communal roots

[5] Superintendent Dixon B. Freeland served at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP from June 15, 1969 through May 21, 1980. Freeland's time with the Park was uncommonly long. Prior to joining the staff in Fredericksburg, he was the superintendent of Saratoga National Historic Park from May 17, 1964 to July 1, 1967. After Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP, he went on to become the superintendent of the Home of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Vanderbilt Mansion National Historic Site from June 1, 1980 to September 17, 1983. His legacy with Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP was his ability to make friends with those of influential means. This resulted in the addition of approximately 3,062 acres to the Park between 1969 and 1979.

[6] HFC is an abbreviation for the Harpers Ferry Center.

shared by all Americans, at a time when individuals are rootless on a personal basis;
- To make the men of the Civil War become fully dimensional, rather than flat figures on National Park Service museum walls, or cold names on white pages, or marble blocks on courthouse squares;
- To communicate basic facts about the battles around Fredericksburg, and the larger picture of which they are a part; and
- To have available onsite the informational resources, historic objects, and personnel necessary to provide in-depth responses to the large body of deeply interested visitors mixed with the masses of more casual public.[7]

In addition to the interpretive objectives, the planning team outlined interpretive themes in sequence:

> The people, humble and exalted: their personalities, motivations, lives, deaths. Professional historians and students are still groping for the full dimension of the Civil War soldier (of all grades). We must try to open a vista for the disoriented and only slightly committed, general visitor;
> The battles: unique characteristics, manifestations of commanders' personalities, impact of each separate conflict on national destinies;
> The war: its causes, its prosecution outside the battlefield, its end results;
> The City of Fredericksburg and surrounding counties during the war;
> The implements and techniques of the war; and
> Lt. Gen. Thomas Jonathan Jackson, Confederate States of America (CSA). He will be one of the pervasive figures within theme one but is listed separately because he represents nearly the total story at Jackson Shrine, one of the park's detached sites.[8]

The interpretive objectives and themes developed by the planning team center solely on the Civil War and are extremely vague. The NPS wanted visitors to understand and relate to those who were witnesses to a war that divided the nation but failed to outline how they intended to develop the themes. The *Interpretive Prospectus* misses

[7] National Park Service, *Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park: Interpretive Prospectus* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1973), 2.
[8] Ibid., 3.

a few key components, which have been adopted in recent years, including the civilian experience before, during, and after the war, as well as the built environment.

Later in the report, Chatham Manor was identified as a key site within the Fredericksburg battlefield. The planning team also made it clear that Chatham Manor would not serve as a new visitor center. Instead, the team recommended that the interpretation of Chatham Manor portray the property during the Battle of Fredericksburg from December 11-15, 1862.[9] In order to accomplish this interpretation, they thought it was necessary to return the property to its nineteenth century appearance using photographic evidence from the era.[10] The exterior interpretation would then focus on the use of "pontoon bridges, the unique telegraphy, the destruction of Fredericksburg," and an overview of the distant battlefields.[11]

As for the interior of the manor house, the planning team suggested a furnishings study and plan be executed in order to re-create the Civil War scene. A few lines later, however, the planning team contradicted themselves by stating Chatham Manor could not be a showcase for furniture or architecture, but rather interpreted as part of the Fredericksburg battlefield. It is understandable that Chatham Manor was not and is not suited for furnishings as there is not a large collection original to the house, but it is intriguing the planning team did not view Chatham Manor as architecturally significant. The narrow focus on the Civil War and absence

[9] Ibid., 11.
[10] Restoration is "the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time." This means that features that were added after the period are removed and pieces missing from the restoration period must be reconstructed. Today, restoration remains the ideal that many people see as a chief focus of preservation efforts. Tomlan, *Historic Preservation*, 236.
[11] Ibid.

of recognition of Chatham Manor as architecturally significant demonstrates a lack of understanding of the property as an historic resource. It also validates the uncertainty about Chatham Manor's interpretive future.

The *Interpretive Prospectus* mentioned the importance of Chatham Manor's grounds, but only with respect to its relationship to the battlefields and troop movements during the Civil War. There was no mention of the contemporary landscape. It is not to say the interpretive goals from the 1973 *Interpretive Prospectus* were incorrect. Questions arise when the interpretive ideas for Chatham Manor were focused on a period of five days in December 1862 when in reality, the property had significance and potential to reflect over 200 years of history.

The end of the *Interpretive Prospectus* lists the priorities of the Park. Chatham Manor did not make the list, presumably because the NPS had not yet acquired the property from John Lee Pratt. By comparison, it is interesting to note that Ellwood Manor, known as the Lacy House in the document, was identified as priority number seventeen of twenty-six, even though the NPS did not acquire the property until 1977. Higher priorities of the Park included land acquisition, preparation of a sign and wayside plan, completion of a new key-sites tour, rehabilitation of the Fredericksburg Visitor Center, and scene restoration along Sunken Road.[12]

Overall, the 1973 *Interpretive Prospectus* skims the topic of the potential interpretation of Chatham Manor as it was not a priority for the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP at the time. The document indicates the planning team was unable

[12] Ibid., 43-44.

to clearly articulate how they would handle Chatham Manor's interpretation upon acquiring the property.

Early Interpretation

After the death of John Lee Pratt on December 20, 1975, Chatham Manor was passed to the NPS through a deed of gift. The staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP eagerly welcomed Chatham Manor to its holdings in May 1976. Between May 1976 and the opening of the property to the public in October 1977, much attention was given to Chatham Manor. A memorandum from Howard H. LaRue, Acting Regional Director of the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, to Superintendent Freeland dated October 5, 1976 is one of the first documents to discuss the interpretation of Chatham Manor after the NPS's acquisition of the property. LaRue noted that the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP should be concerned about both the interior and exterior interpretation.[13]

From the outset, Superintendent Freeland made it clear he did not want the staff at HFC to be involved in the process and believed his staff was fully qualified to complete the task at hand.[14] Furthermore, HFC did not get involved because the development of the interpretation at Chatham Manor at this time was understood to be an interim plan that would be revisited and redeveloped in the near future.[15] In 1977 the regional NPS office decided that Chatham Manor would serve as the park

[13] Memorandum, From Acting Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Region to Superintendent, FRSP, October 5, 1976, FRSP Archives.
[14] Memorandum, From Interpretive Specialist to Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Region, October 5, 1976, FRSP Archives.
[15] United States Department of the Interior Requisition, May 5, 1977, FRSP Archives.

headquarters as well as an interpretive center. In a letter to concerned Executive Director Tucker Hill of the Virginia Historical Landmarks Commission, Acting Regional Director Benjamin Zerbey explained that the combination of administrative and interpretive use had proven to be "the best way to preserve and protect historic structures."[16] Zerbey went on to explain that Chatham Manor would be more closely monitored if NPS staff were working in and around the property on a daily basis, whereas opening the entire house to visitors would be hard on the building.

Chief Historian Robert Krick became a major player in the development of the early interpretation of Chatham Manor. Krick began his thirty-two-year career at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP four years earlier in 1972 as an interpretive specialist. He received his master's degree in American history with a focus on military history from San Jose State College.[17] In the administrative history of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP, historian Joan M. Zenzen points out that Krick's sympathy for the Confederacy led him to update and revise "on-the-ground history" in the Park's battlefields.[18] Krick wanted to connect with people in meaningful ways through stories and places within the Park. He played a major role in forming the interpretation of Chatham Manor as he was present for the release of the 1973 *Interpretive Prospectus* and was active continuously through his retirement in 2004. When Chatham Manor was acquired by the NPS, Krick focused its interpretation on the Civil War period and the exhibits presented little information

[16] Letter from Benjamin Zerbey, Acting Regional Director, Mid-Atlantic Region to Mr. Tucker Hill, Executive Director, Virginia Historical Landmarks Commission, August 18, 1977, FRSP Archives.
[17] Joan M. Zenzen, *At the Crossroads of Preservation and Development: A History of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2011), 234.
[18] Ibid., 234.

about the site's long and rich history. In particular, he refused to address topics like slavery and its role in influencing the Civil War. Although Krick may have genuinely wanted to connect with visitors in a meaningful way, his interpretive goals hindered the possibility of a rich and expansive interpretation of Chatham Manor.

By October 1976, Krick had written a "Development/Study Package Proposal" ("Proposal"), which was signed by Superintendent Freeland. Krick's "Proposal" identified Chatham Manor as the top priority within the Park with a "commitment to occupancy both administratively and interpretively" by October 1977.[19] The staff decided that fifteen case and panel exhibits would be sufficient for the interpretation of three rooms within the first floor of Chatham Manor. The rooms included what are known as the entrance hall, dining room (Owners' Room), and drawing room (Civil War Room). Interior interpretation would focus primarily on the Civil War with secondary emphasis on Chatham Manor's colonial significance, events that occurred on the property, and people associated with the property.[20]

This initial wave of interpretation was recorded and influenced by another park historian, A. Wilson Greene, who earned a Master of Arts degree in history from Louisiana State University in 1977. The planning document written by Greene and held in the archives at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP includes comments made by Superintendent Freeland that revealed the staff's initial thoughts on Chatham Manor's interpretation. Greene's notes indicate the entrance hall was viewed as a space to greet and orient visitors with the help of an interpretive volunteer.[21] The

[19] Robert K. Krick, "Development/Study Package Proposal," October 18, 1976, FRSP Archives.
[20] Ibid.
[21] A. Wilson Greene, "Chatham Planning," 1977, FRSP Archives.

dining room provided a place to tell the story of Chatham Manor from its construction to the present time and focused on the historical figures and events associated with the property, as well as the architectural significance of the house. On the other hand, the drawing room focused on Chatham Manor during the Civil War. The objective of the Civil War room was to link Chatham Manor to the main themes of the Park and make sure that visitors understood the relationship between Chatham Manor and the Battle of Fredericksburg. Topics covered in the room included Chatham Manor's role as a headquarters, communication center, field hospital, and cemetery.

Once visitors strolled through the three rooms of the interior, they were to be encouraged by the interpretive volunteers to make their way outside. The limited exterior interpretation at this time was focused on the Civil War, including a pontoon crossing wayside which discussed the Union Army's attempt to cross the Rappahannock River during the Battle of Fredericksburg. In addition, Greene's planning notes recorded that the remaining buildings on the property should be labeled so as to identify their date of construction and function in order to support the secondary theme of Chatham Manor as a plantation. The lack of care for the interpretation of the landscape is evident throughout the document, but Greene's notes do suggest the interpretation of the landscape would be addressed down the road.

In addition to the interpretive planning, Krick identified the need for rehabilitation and stabilization work on the main building and its dependencies, as well as the necessity of archaeological investigations. Rehabilitation work included the removal of ivy and overgrown trees and bushes, the installation of drainage tile, the repointing and replacement of bricks, reinforcement of the summer beams in the

main house, and roof and chimney repair.[22] As for the archaeology, the NPS was particularly interested because the Chatham Manor property had the potential to yield information from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. In particular, the NPS staff were interested in the buildings that were no longer extant, roads, trails, and the rumored racetrack. Other than an interest in an archaeological investigation to better understand the missing landscape features, there was no real mention of the interpretation of the grounds. The NPS staff decided that the grounds were to be maintained as is on an interim basis.[23] Amid the ongoing rehabilitation project on the property, Chatham Manor was opened to the public with three exhibit spaces on October 15, 1977.[24]

While interpretation for Chatham Manor was being developed, so too was the NRHP nomination form for the entire Park. Although Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP was administratively added to the NRHP in 1966, it was not until 1976 that a nomination form was completed and submitted to the Keeper of the National Register. This nomination was officially signed and added to the NRHP in 1977, but Chatham Manor is only briefly mentioned. The periods of significance were identified as 1700 to 1799 as a nod to the early years of Chatham Manor in the context of Colonial Virginia and 1800 to 1899 due to the Civil War. December 1862 through May 1864 were listed as the dates of significant importance for the Park. The nomination form was almost entirely focused on the Civil War and stated the areas of

[22] Zenzen, *At the Crossroads of Preservation and Development*, 371.
[23] "Summary of Conclusions Reached at Chatham Meeting," October 20, 1976, FRSP Archives.
[24] Dixon B. Freeland, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service News Release, "National Park Service to Open Chatham to the Public," October 3, 1977, FRSP Archives.

significance as architectural and militaristic. Interestingly, the nomination form fails to recognize archaeology, agriculture, and landscape architecture as significant within the Park, all of which are considered significant today. The brief summary paragraph of Chatham Manor recognized the manor house as an excellent example of the Georgian architectural style and "was employed as headquarters by numerous Union generals."[25] It is not to say that the NPS staff were wrong in focusing their efforts on identifying the significance of Chatham Manor in relation to the Civil War, but by doing so, they failed to recognize other historic events and people who had a hand in the evolution of the property, including painful topics such as slavery.

A New Decade, A New Superintendent

At the end of 1980, a new superintendent stepped in. The man chosen for the job was James R. Zinck. Superintendent Zinck received his Bachelor of Science degree in geography and science from Western Illinois University and later underwent a two-year training program in Washington, D.C. before accepting his first superintendency.[26] Before coming to Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP, Superintendent Zinck worked at Crater Lake National Park, Carlsbad Caverns National Park, Montezuma Castle National Monument, Chaco Canyon National Monument, Lake Mead National Recreation Area, and the Mather Training Center at

[25] Robert Krick and Brooke Blades, *Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park and Cemetery*, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, April 7, 1976.
[26] Zenzen, *At the Crossroads of Preservation and Development*, 234. Superintendent Zinck went to work for the NPS following graduation and held a seasonal position for four summers, which was interrupted by military service. He took a permanent position at Carlsbad Caverns, moved to Montezuma Castle National Monument, and then went on to Chaco Canyon National Monument as the chief ranger.

the Grand Canyon.[27] His first position as a superintendent lasted nine years with the Allegheny Portage Railroad National Historic Site, which included Allegheny Portage, Johnstown Flood, and Fort Necessity. Superintendent Zinck accepted a new position as superintendent of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP where he served for another nine years and took a particular interest in Chatham Manor along with the park's Chief Historian Robert Krick. He has been remembered for his attention to park resources but is seen to have failed by dwelling on the minutiae rather than the big picture.[28]

Despite today's view about Superintendent Zinck's leadership within the Park, interpretation at Chatham Manor expanded greatly, due in part to his attention to its resources. In spring of 1981, two additional rooms were opened on the first floor for interpretation and included additional interpretive panels. Shortly thereafter, the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP released the 1982 *Interpretive Prospective: Chatham and Ellwood Houses*, the first of such plans after Chatham Manor and Ellwood were acquired by the NPS.[29] This document does a better job of communicating clarity and the goals for interpretation at Chatham Manor than the 1973 *Interpretive Prospectus*. The interpretive objectives were outlined as follows:

1. Utilize site resources to best advantage;
2. Promote resource preservation and safety by heightening visitor understanding;

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[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., 273.
[29] National Park Service, *Interpretive Prospectus: Chatham and Ellwood Houses, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park* (Harpers Ferry, WV: Harpers Ferry Center, 1982), 2. The planning team was composed of James Zinck, Superintendent of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP; Robert Krick, Chief Park Historian; Ellsworth R. Swift, Deputy Manager at HFC; Gerald Sielaff, Interpretive Specialist; David H. Wallace, consultant; and Michael P. Paskowsky, Interpretive Planner at HFC.

3. Develop interpretive programs which can be viewed independently of other park areas, but complement the overall park story; and
4. Be cost conscious.[30]

The third interpretive objective is especially significant because it demonstrates the widening view of interpretation at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP. This is a turning point in the interpretation of Chatham Manor. While the 1973 *Interpretive Prospectus* required Chatham Manor be interpreted as part of the Fredericksburg battlefield, the new *Interpretive Prospectus* called for an expansion of interpretation.[31]

In keeping in line with the 1973 document, the 1982 *Interpretive Prospectus* recommended that Chatham Manor not be furnished.[32] That is where the similarities between the interpretive documents end. In the 1982 *Interpretive Prospectus*, the Park staff, particularly Superintendent Zinck, felt that it was necessary to focus on the "continuum of history with an emphasis on the Civil War."[33] The main goal was to use Chatham Manor as a "window to the past, through which visitors can catch a glimpse of the various styles of living and dramatic events witnessed by its occupants."[34] This was meant to foster the inclusion of life before and after the Civil War. The authors of the document acknowledge the evidence left behind by the Devores and Pratts as they believed it added to the understanding of Chatham Manor but deemed it "hardly . . . appropriate to interpret a Civil War site."[35]

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[30] Ibid., 2.
[31] National Park Service, *Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park: Interpretive Prospectus*, 11.
[32] National Park Service, *Interpretive Prospectus*, 3.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., 5.
[35] Ibid, 3.

The idea of interpreting Chatham Manor on the "continuum of history" confirms progress in the understanding and interpretation of the property, but it still lacked consideration of one of the most important aspects of the property: the landscape. It is important to keep in mind that the *Interpretive Prospectus* and recognition of cultural landscapes by the NPS were being developed simultaneously. As it was written in the *Interpretive Prospectus*, "no specific recommendations" were made for the "Chatham grounds at this time, other than to encourage visitors to wander in them."[36] The phrase "at this time" indicates the Park staff understood Chatham Manor's grounds were an important historic resource, but they did not have the capability to address the landscape since they were more concerned with the main house and built environment. Overall, the 1982 *Interpretive Prospectus* was still not a complete realization of Chatham Manor's potential, particularly as a cultural landscape, but it does show progress in the NPS's ideas of interpretation.

Chatham Manor created a buzz within the NPS shortly after the 1982 *Interpretive Prospectus* was published. Between 1983 and 1984 Chatham Manor's gardens were restored to their 1920s appearance based on Ellen Biddle Shipman's design. This restoration was the cause of controversy amongst the staff. Superintendent Zinck wanted to approach Chatham Manor's interpretation by using a continuum approach, and he believed the restoration of the gardens was a crucial step in accomplishing this approach. On the other hand, Chief Historian Krick believed the gardens were a distraction from the interpretation of Chatham Manor in relation to the Civil War. Those opposed to Superintendent Zinck's restoration plan also argued the

[36] Ibid., 6.

limited budget for Chatham Manor could not support work that was not in line with the primary theme.[37]

Superintendent Zinck managed to get his way with the support of Virginia's gardening organizations and the restoration of the 1920s garden was completed between 1983 and 1986. The work, overseen by landscape architect Reed Engle, included the repair of the garden walls, removal of trees and growth that would adversely affect the recently repaired walls, new poured concrete foundations, and a plastic perforated drain line to ensure the strength of the garden wall foundations. Engle followed Shipman's designs and included the re-laying of slate sidewalks and replanted shrubs, flower bulbs, and climbing rose arbors.[38] All of this was made possible through outside funds. Unusual for the time, Superintendent Zinck had the foresight to recognize the importance of Chatham Manor's landscape as it had gained significance over the years. While the restoration may have been controversial at the time, Superintendent Zinck followed through on his approach to consider Chatham Manor's continuum of history.

Another major publication was completed during Superintendent Zinck's nine years with Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP. The *Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park: General Management Plan* was completed in 1986 to replace the existing master plan of 1968, which had become obsolete. While the *General Management Plan* does not speak much to the interpretation, it is important to note that it recognizes the significance of Chatham Manor from its

[37] Zenzen, *At the Crossroads of Preservation and Development*, 272.
[38] Ibid., 271.

construction in 1768 to the NPS's acquisition, with an emphasis on the Civil War. The authors also identified Chatham Manor's pre- and post-Civil War history as secondary in significance, and recognized that the gardens had achieved national acclaim due to their design by Ellen Biddle Shipman.[39] It can be assumed that Superintendent Zinck, who was part of the planning team, encouraged the others to recognize Chatham Manor's potential for interpretation outside of the Civil War.

The 1980s were a transitional period for Chatham Manor's interpretation as new rooms were opened to the public and the gardens were deemed significant enough to warrant restoration, at least according to Superintendent Zinck. Unfortunately, Chatham Manor's landscape received little attention following the restoration and fell into a state of decay.

Changing Personnel in the 1990s

The restoration of Chatham Manor was seriously considered at the end of the 1990s and influenced by three different superintendents who led the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP: Maria Burks, Martha "Marti" Leicester, and Alexander "Sandy" Rives. There was no change in interpretation at Chatham Manor during this time. In fact, it was discussed very little and there is scant documentation available from the NPS. Nevertheless, it is valuable to analyze the actions and activities of the

[39] National Park Service, *Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park: General Management Plan* (Denver, CO: Denver Service Center, 1986), 28-29. The planning team for the *General Management Plan* was composed of Dan Huff, Natural Resources Specialist; Keith Dunbar, Community Planner; A. Whit Watkins, Outdoor Recreation Planner; and Robert Rothweiler, Wildlife Biologist all from the Denver Service Center. Staff on the planning team from Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP included James R. Zinck, Superintendent; Michal K. Johnson, Chief Ranger; Robert Krick, Historian; and Alexander Rives, Management Assistant. In addition, J. Fred Eubanks, Regional Planner/Liaison from the Mid-Atlantic Regional Office, was part of the team.

superintendents and staff during this time to understand the role that each individual played and how they set the stage for later discussions.

Beginning in 1989, Maria Burks, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania's anthropology program, came to Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP after working at Independence National Historical Park and the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, where she focused on visitor services and cultural resource management. She was the first woman to be superintendent of a Civil War battlefield park and one of only thirty female superintendents nation-wide. Superintendent Burks saw preservation as one of her primary goals and stated that, "we'll be sorry for what we lost."[40] This was in reference to the continuing urban sprawl that was occurring in the region and threatened many of the battlefields and historic sites in Virginia and across the nation. In addition, Superintendent Burks understood that everyone's interest in the Park was sincere and of equal value, and the Park's interpretation should "excite you, anger you, and make you question."[41] While Superintendents Burks had an interest in furthering the preservation and interpretation at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP, she was often called upon to perform agency duties in Washington, D.C. and could not focus all her attention on the Park. This left her to rely heavily on her staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP to control park operations.[42] The lack of focus on interpretation during this period is likely due to the

[40] Zenzen, *At the Crossroads of Preservation and Development*, 290 as quoted in Toler and Voss, "Leaving Room," *Free Lance-Star*, January 24, 1995.
[41] Marie Joyce, "Saving a View of History," *Free Lance-Star*, April 3, 1990.
[42] Superintendent Burks served as the Special Assistant to the Director for two years following her position as superintendent at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP. In 1995 she was chosen to become the Superintendent of Cape Cod National Seashore in Massachusetts. Superintendent Burks retired from the NPS in 2012 after nearly 40 years of service. Today, she now works consultant for parks and historic preservation.

attention which urban sprawl generated as a threat against the Park, particularly the Route 3 and I-95 intersection between Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg.[43]

Martha "Marti" Leicester was asked to fill the vacancy of Superintendent Burks beginning in 1994. A graduate from Stanford University, she received a bachelor's degree in mass media and communications and completed graduate work at the University of South California in environmental management. She joined the NPS in 1972 as a park ranger with the Salem Maritime National Historic Site and later moved to the West Coast before coming back to the East with developed skills in history, education, and community relations.[44] Much of Superintendent Leicester's tenure from 1994 to 1997 also revolved around the concern over expanding urban sprawl and not much attention was given to interpretation. Discussion of the restoration of Chatham Manor may have begun in 1997.[45]

Superintendent Alexander "Sandy" Rives, a former park management assistant at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP, returned to the Park after a brief interim at Shenandoah National Park. As the park management assistant under Superintendent Zinck, Rives did not agree with the restoration of the gardens in the 1980s and recalled that the project was "enormously expensive."[46] He served as superintendent from 1998 to 2002.

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[43] Zenzen, *At the Crossroads of Preservation and Development*, 292.
[44] "New Superintendent Named at "Fred-Spot" National Military Park," *American Battlefield Protection Program: Battlefield Update* no. 50 (October 1994).
[45] Leicester retired from the NPS in 2005 after serving as the Deputy Regional Director in the Pacific West Region. Much of her focus with the NPS revolved around the attitude and behavior changes as a result of public education in formal and informal settings.
[46] Zenzen, *At the Crossroads of Preservation and Development*, 272 as quoted in Rives, transcript of interview, February 19, 2010.

This is not to say these three superintendents were always around to influence and lead park operations on a daily basis. Both Burks and Rives were chosen for agency duties that led them away from their duties as superintendents, and subsequently, relied on their staff to control the day-to-day decisions and operations. Unlike the superintendents who seemingly came and went quickly, the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP had been around for years. The staff included interpretive historians Donald Pfanz, Greg Mertz, Noel Harrison, Frank O'Reilly, and eventually Eric Mink. One of the most important and influential members of the staff was John Hennessy, who joined the Park in the 1990s after beginning his career at Manassas NMP in the early 1980s. He became chief historian in 2001, following Robert Krick's retirement and served as the acting superintendent between 2002 and 2003. In 2003, Russell Smith took over as superintendent and served in that capacity for ten years, an exception to the previous norm of short superintendent tenures.

Restoration Thinking

Since the restoration of Chatham Manor's gardens to their 1920s appearance based on the designs of Shipman, the staff felt the gardens put a strain on the budget and required an unnecessary amount of maintenance. In 1997, under Superintendent Leicester's tenure, the Chatham Planning Team was developed. Among the members of the planning team were Superintendent Leicester; John Hennessy; Dave LaClergue, the resource protection ranger; and members of the Friends of Chatham, the non-profit organization that supported the garden through weekly volunteering.

A 1997 email from Leicester to the Chatham Planning Team identified the group's long-range goal of restoring Chatham Manor as an 1860s example of lifestyle, economy, and plantation living in the antebellum South.[47] The correspondence shows that the gardens would not be removed until funding was secured for the restoration of the property to its antebellum appearance, hardly a new concept for the NPS staff. Since the acquisition of Chatham Manor, there had been some discussion of the desire for restoration, but it was never added into the long-range interpretive plan or general management plan. This email was the first time the Park staff were genuinely considering a full restoration.

A "Draft Proposal for Chatham Gardens and Grounds" was written on May 11, 1997 and suggested that the entire Chatham Manor property be returned to its 1860s appearance. The proposal also asserted that the diminishing federal budget in the 1990s made it difficult to maintain the restored gardens. The Chatham Planning Team called for the return of the less elaborate plans developed by Charles Gillette under John Lee Pratt's ownership.[48] This was viewed as an interim measure with a long-term goal of returning the house to its 1862 appearance. Unfortunately, this meant all the post-1862 buildings and features on the Chatham Manor property would be demolished.

Superintendent Leicester realized the Chatham Planning Team required some technical assistance with their plans, specifically on ways to reduce long-term maintenance of the gardens, so on May 20 and 21, 1997 Shaun Eyring, Historical

[47] Email from Marti Leicester to Dave LaClergue, FRSP Maintenance, Brian Dendis, Noel Harrison, and John Hennessy, May 9, 1997, FRSP Archives.
[48] "Draft Proposal for Chatham Gardens and Grounds," May 11, 1997, FRSP Archives.

Landscape Architect, and Dorothy Geyer, Landscape Architect, were brought in from the Northeast Regional Office of the NPS for meetings. The meetings were summarized in a memorandum written by Eyring and Geyer on July 28, 1997.[49] The report stated, "the post-Civil War accretions to the house and landscape detract . . . from the park's ability to interpret critical events of 1862."[50] The Chatham Planning Team argued this point for several reasons: (1) the goal best fit the Park's enabling legislation and interpretive mission; (2) the maintenance of a simpler landscape like that of 1862 would cost less money in the long term; and (3) the Park would be better able to complete their interpretive mission without interference from an elaborate Colonial Revival garden.[51]

While the Chatham Planning team argued for the interpretive needs of the Park, they also argued that the maintenance was a financial burden. Ironically, after further research, the Chatham Planning Team discovered the upkeep and maintenance of the garden did not cost the Park excessive amounts of money. One full time employee was required to tend to the garden, and the leaders of the Park preferred that the full-time employee spend their time elsewhere in the Park by helping to further interpretive goals.[52]

Eyring and Geyer listened to the presentation by the Chatham Planning Team but seemed to shy away from the idea of restoration. During the meeting, Eyring explained the potential historical significance of the garden and various landscape

[49] Memorandum to Superintendent through Cultural Resources Group Manager and Facility Manager from Historical Landscape Architect and Landscape Architect, July 28, 1997, Central Rappahannock Heritage Center.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

features. Eyring also pointed out that a determination of eligibility was required for the garden and landscape features before any restoration work was started. On the other hand, the Friends of Chatham were hard-pressed to budge on their anti-restoration stance. While the Friends of Chatham acknowledged the landscape's historical significance, the group also understood the gardens needed to be scaled back due to maintenance concerns. This meeting was the last time that thoughts regarding Chatham Manor's garden and landscape were recorded in the twentieth century.

A Fresh Start and Changing Approach

Between the beginning of the twenty-first century and today, Chatham Manor has undergone minimal changes in interpretation. The NPS has scaled back the idea to restore the entire Chatham Manor property to its 1862 appearance, though not completely forgetting it. The most recent plan regarding interpretation for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP was completed in 2001. The *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* replaced the 1973 *Interpretive Prospectus* for the entire Park, and was a coordinated effort between the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP along with staff from HFC.[53] According to the *Long-Range Interpretive Plan*, it was time for a change in Chatham Manor's interpretation.[54] The planning team stated that Chatham Manor should demonstrate the colonial and antebellum south in addition to

[53] The *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* was prepared by Marti Leicester, former Superintendent; John Hennessy, Assistant Superintendent (now Chief Historian); Robert Krick, Chief Historian; and Don Pfanz, Staff Historian from Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP. Staff members from HFC were also involved, including Paul Lee, Division of Interpretive Planning; William Brown, Division of Historic Furnishings; Scott Harmon, Branch of Exhibit Planning; Anne Tubiolo, Division of Audiovisual Arts; Richard Hoffman, Division of Wayside Exhibits; and Mark Johnson, Division of Wayside Exhibits.

[54] National Park Service, *Long-Range Interpretive Plan* (Harpers Ferry, WV: Harpers Ferry Center, 2001), 26. See Appendix for parkwide interpretive themes.

the transformation of a Virginia plantation through roughly 200 years of history. This meant that Chatham Manor would act as a metaphor for the fate of the "entire south."[55] This is an assuming statement as plantations and their transformation varied from location to location throughout the South following the Civil War.

Included in the ideas of the interpretive plan was the restoration of the architectural elements on the Rappahannock River side of the manor house and the re-routing of visitors so they would interact with this portion of the property first. In essence, this was an effort to restore a portion of Chatham Manor to its 1862 Civil War appearance and create a timeline approach from the antebellum period through the impact of the Civil War on Chatham Manor and Fredericksburg.[56] In addition, the plan addressed the interior of the manor house and suggested that contrasting furniture be used to "illustrate the impact of war on this prosperous antebellum plantation."[57]

As for the auxiliary buildings and landscape, the authors suggested the laundry be used as a place for the interpretation of slavery at Chatham Manor and the Fredericksburg area. The twentieth century gardens are briefly mentioned, but little attention is given to their historical significance. The plan states, "whether or not the current garden landscape is retained is less important to the educational experience visitors will have at Chatham."[58] By ignoring the twentieth century gardens, the Chatham Manor staff failed to recognize the historic continuum of the property. Although Chatham Manor is part of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP and

[55] Ibid., 26.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid., 27.
[58] Ibid.

the Civil War is the primary focus throughout the Park, Chatham Manor warrants further interpretation to demonstrate the property's prosperity, destruction, neglect, and rejuvenation.

In order to further aid the interpretation of Chatham Manor, the National Preservation Institute (NPI) conducted a weeklong session in Fredericksburg from June 10-14, 2002.[59] Chatham Manor was chosen as one of the case studies and during a four-hour planning charette, twenty-five people were divided into three groups to examine how Chatham Manor's stories could be better interpreted with the overall purpose and mission of the Park. Each group was told to incorporate Chatham Manor's historical resources, landscape, and architectural treatment and how those three things affected access, circulation, and interpretation. Each group developed a vision statement with supporting ideas. The results of the charette are recorded in a document held by Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP.[60]

The three groups' vision statements were relatively similar. Each statement emphasized Chatham Manor's primary significance in relation to the Civil War and were expanded to include Chatham Manor's history before and after the war. The three groups showed unanimous support for the retention of the twentieth century gardens as they recognized their significance. They also agreed that the site should be

[59] Founded in 1980 by James C. Massey and Constance Werner Ramirez as a non-profit organization, NPI was created to provide training by preservation professionals through a schedule of classes with instructors. In the early years, NPI also provided technical assistance through historic structures reports and assistance with federal tax credits. Today, the organization still provides the scheduled professional training seminars in historic preservation and cultural resource management. The work done by the NPI at Chatham Manor was done as part of one of their conferences and came at no cost to the NPS.
[60] "National Preservation Institute, Fredericksburg Virginia, Chatham Case Study," June 10-14, 2002. This document was graciously provided to the author by Chief Historian John Hennessy via email on February 7, 2019.

used as a timeline with visitors encountering the Rappahannock River side of the house first and using the terraces to tell each step of the colonial and Civil War stories. It was also agreed that the riverfront view be restored through clearing, and two of the three groups suggested the Rappahannock River side of the house be restored to its 1862 appearance, which included the restoration of the porches. In addition, two groups suggested the Park staff offices be moved out of the manor house, at least on the first floor, to give access to visitors and enhance interpretation through a model or computer-generated virtual tour.[61]

Amid these vision statements and supporting ideas, those participating in the charette also discussed highlighting Ellen Biddle Shipman and her design in order to attract different visitors, such as garden enthusiasts and those interested in historic house museums. Participants also suggested the NPS acquire the Moncure Conway House in Falmouth to provide a counterpoint to Chatham Manor's story. Also known as the Conway House, the Moncure Conway House was constructed around 1807 along the banks of the Rappahannock River. It was the home of abolitionist Moncure Daniel Conway and is significant for its association with the Underground Railroad. The Conway family was divided by the Civil War as two of the sons fought for the Confederacy and Moncure Conway believed that slavery was wrong. Conway was able to help over thirty slaves from his father's plantation escape to freedom in Ohio. By interpreting the two historic sites, there is potential to create a multi-site experience for the discussion of the secessionist and abolitionist stories. All of these points culminated into a consensus that Chatham Manor is a multi-faceted historic resource

[61] Ibid.

and the NPS should do its best to interpret that diversity. Unfortunately, these ideas and concepts were just that, and they have yet to be acted upon nearly two decades later. Fortunately for the property, the idea of a period restoration of Chatham Manor has fallen to the wayside in favor of interpreting the whole story.

Chief Historian and Chief of Interpretation John Hennessy assumed his post in 2002 and has played an important role in Chatham Manor's interpretation since then. In addition to Hennessy's influence, a new superintendent joined the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP in 2003. Superintendent Russell Smith joined the NPS in 1972 after graduating from the University of Delaware with a bachelor's degree. Prior to his post as superintendent, Smith was Chief of Interpretation at Independence National Historic Park, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, and the entire Northeast Region. His interests in interpretation played a crucial role by backing the re-thinking the interpretive approach to Chatham Manor.

In the summer and fall of 2009, Smith hosted several public meetings in preparation for a new general management plan to replace the 1986 version. The public was invited to attend the meetings to voice their views, issues, and concerns. The NPS also set up a way for the public to comment via media platforms, including their website. The culmination of these meetings resulted in a "Scoping Summary Report".[62] The report reflects the ideas and suggestions made by the participants, who desired scene restoration, more care for the gardens, reorientation to the original main entrance on the riverside of the house, interpretation of the 1920s garden, and

[62] National Park Service, "2009 Scoping Summary Report," Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park General Management Plan, 1. In addition to meeting with the public, the NPS also met with park partners and stakeholders.

additional interpretation on slavery and the slave experience.[63] The Park staff took these suggestions very seriously, and progress was made to fulfill those interests spelled out by the public.

The first major improvement made to interpretation occurred in 2010. Hennessy, always interested in the diverse experience, pushed for new interpretation at Chatham Manor. In a blog post from July 28, 2010, Hennessy wrote to readers that Chatham Manor was going to receive new wayside exhibits to interpret the landscape, slavery, and provide a better overview of the property.[64] These are now the first set of interpretive panels visitors read. One panel examines Chatham Manor's landscape, only from the eastern façade during the Civil War. There is no mention of the terraced landscape constructed during the Colonial era by William Fitzhugh and only a brief mention of Ellen Biddle Shipman's design. In addition, the two interpretive panels on the west façade, overlooking the Rappahannock River, discuss the pontoon bridges that were constructed and the desolation of the City of Fredericksburg during the Civil War. While the interpretive signage is beneficial from the viewpoint of the Civil War, the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP have neglected to address the evolved landscape, including the terraced landscape during Fitzhugh's time and the work of Ellen Biddle Shipman. Both Fitzhugh's terraced landscape and Shipman's design warrant interpretation as they have been deemed significant by the newly updated NRHP nomination, which will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

[63] Ibid., 3, 7, 10, 11.
[64] John Hennessy, "Waysides at Chatham," *Fredericksburg Remembered* (blog), July 28, 2010, https://fredericksburghistory.wordpress.com/2010/07/28/waysides-at-chatham/.

Although interest was really starting to take root in keeping Chatham Manor's gardens, they fell back into a state of disrepair. Until about 2012, Chatham Manor's landscape was left unmaintained. In May 2012, the non-profit organization, the Friends of Chatham, was re-established on a more permanent basis than in the 1990s.[65] The members identified their purpose "to support the preservation of Chatham Manor including various outbuildings, dependencies, and the historic ground which surrounds it, through advocacy, financial support, and increased community involvement, while promoting public awareness and appreciation of its historic legacies primarily by facilitating, sponsoring, and participating in fundraising events relating to the foregoing purposes."[66] Since their reincarnation, the Friends of Chatham have been a driving force for the preservation and interpretation of the landscape. They have successfully fundraised and supported the restoration of the summer house in the walled garden, as well as the Pan statue and cupola located on the lawn of the Rappahannock River side of the house. In addition, they volunteer weekly in the garden to mow the lawns, prune bushes, and care for the flower gardens. The Friends of Chatham have also committed to providing the funds for a part-time gardener. The group has plans to revive the greenhouses on the property and create a demonstration garden. The group has been a great asset to the staff of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP and have been commended for their work by Hennessy and

[65] Sharon Adinolfi and Carol Hyland, interview with author, December 7, 2018. Adinolfi serves as the president of the Friends of Chatham, while Hyland is the membership chair. Adinolfi has been involved with the Friends of Chatham from the very beginning. Hyland is a master gardener and has held an interest in Chatham Manor for some time. She graduated from the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1976 with a Ph.D. in history.

[66] "Help Us Help Chatham Manor," accessed October 1, 2018, https://friendsofchatham.org/friends-of-chatham/.

Cultural Resources Manager Eric Mink. The involvement of the Friends of Chatham appears to have helped the staff to better understand the cultural landscape, and they have also demonstrated that there are people interested in topics outside the realm of the Civil War.

In another attempt to further understand Chatham Manor's landscape, the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation has been charged with writing a *Cultural Landscape Report* (*CLR*) for the property. Started in 2016 and not yet completed, the *CLR* has expanded the staff's knowledge and understanding of Chatham Manor.[67] In particular, the *CLR* has brought to light the idea of the service-oriented plantation street. The report, which has been reviewed by the staff of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP, also provides a history of the house and follows its owners and notes the alterations made to both the built environment and the landscape.[68] The completion of the *CLR* will validate the rising interest of Chatham Manor as a cultural landscape within the NPS to better understand and interpret the property.

The final document to be reviewed is the most recent draft of the NRHP nomination form for Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP. The purpose for the

[67] Christopher M. Beagan and H. Eliot Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, (Boston: The Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, unpublished 2016). Beagan is a graduate of Cornell University's landscape architecture program and began working for the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation in 2010. Beagan has co-authored several other NPS documents, including "Modernizing Plant Records management: An Overview and Evaluation of Digital Recordkeeping Tools," and *CLR*s for Upper Fort Mason at the Golden Gate National Recreation Center, Rotch-Jones-Duff House and Garden Museum at the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, Saint-Gaudens National Historical Site, and Hampton National Historical Site. Foulds holds the position of senior project manager. He studied landscape architecture at the University of Virginia from 1990 to 1993. Foulds has contributed to a number of *CLR*s, including the San Juan National Historic Site, Blackwoods an Seawall Campgrounds in Acadia National Park, Crater Battlefield at Petersburg National Battlefield, Fort McHenry, and Glenmont at the Thomas Edison National Historical Park. Although still in the draft stages, Cultural Resources Manager Eric Mink shared the document with the author via mail.

[68] Appendix C is a copy of the components of the Chatham Manor property that were assessed for significance.

updated nomination form for the Park is twofold: to document and account for all resources acquired through Park boundary changes in 1989, 1992, and 1999, and those that have gained significance since the previous form was completed in the late 1970s.[69] The recognition of Chatham Manor is greatly expanded in this nomination form. Chatham Manor's areas of significance include military, conservation, commemoration, health and medicine, architecture, landscape architecture, and archaeology.[70] This is quite different from the 1976 form which recognized Chatham Manor for its association with the military and architecture. In addition, the period of significance was also expanded to range from 1768, Chatham Manor's construction, to 1965, in recognition of the commemoration of the Civil War centennial.

Through the application of the NRHP criteria, the authors of the new nomination form identified Chatham Manor as significant under Criteria A, C, and D. Criterion A acknowledges Chatham Manor's role during the Civil War, specifically as a headquarters and field hospital. It also recognizes two women who worked there, Dr. Mary Edwards Walker and Clara Barton.[71] Criterion C was applied for Chatham Manor's architectural importance but was expanded to include landscape architecture. The authors of the updated nomination form identified Chatham Manor's designed landscape and the walled garden as significant examples of work by Ellen Biddle Shipman and the importance of the evolution of landscape design that is evident at Chatham Manor.[72] Lastly, Criterion D is applied to Chatham Manor for its

[69] Stephen A. Olausen, Kristen Heitert, Laura Kline, Gretchen Pineo, and Elizabeth de Block, *Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park*, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, December 2015, draft.
[70] Ibid., 104.
[71] Ibid., 153-154.
[72] Ibid., 229-238.

archaeology.[73] Although the last archaeological work was completed in the late 1970s, the authors of the nomination form argued that Chatham Manor exhibited good integrity and the potential to yield information about the antebellum agricultural development of the area from the late eighteenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries.

Criterion	Category	Period	Specific Date	Event
A: Event	Military History	1862-1865	1862	Occupation of Chatham by Union forces
			1863	Battle of Fredericksburg
			1865	End of the American Civil War
	Health and Medicine (Field Hospital)	1862	1862	Use of Chatham as a field hospital by Union forces
C: Design	Architecture (Georgian)	1768-1771	1768	Construction of Chatham begins
			1771	Construction of Chatham substantially complete
	Landscape Architecture (Late Colonial and Colonial Revival)	1768-1926	1768	Construction of Chatham begins
			1926	Shipman-designed landscape improvements substantially complete
D: Information Potential	Archaeology (Historic, Non-aboriginal)	1768-1965	1768	Construction of Chatham begins
			1965	End of the documented period of significance

Table 1. This table is a summary of the National Register of Historic Places criterion applied to Chatham Manor. (Cultural Landscape Report)

[73] Ibid., 257-262.

The newest update to the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP NRHP form is an excellent example which demonstrates how far the NPS has come in their understanding of the cultural landscape at Chatham Manor. Nevertheless, there is still room for improvement.

Conclusion

As evident by the analysis of the various documents in this chapter, Chatham Manor's interpretation reflects the changing view of the NPS over the years. These changing views are due in part to the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP and the help of associated friends and members of the public. The NPS has struggled to recognize the significance of Chatham Manor and its interpretive value. For example, while it was clear at the outset, the NPS was unsure how to approach Chatham Manor's landscape and did not mention the work carried out by Ellen Biddle Shipman. It is also important to keep in mind that at the time of Chatham Manor's acquisition cultural landscapes were not yet defined or considered an historic resource by the NPS, although the concept was developing and generating interest. Simultaneously, there was an understanding that cultural landscapes were important as examples of historic gardens were reconstructed and incorporated into the interpretation at sites such as the Governors Palace at Colonial Williamsburg.

By the 1980s, Superintendent Zinck showed deep care and consideration for the colonial revival garden designed by Shipman. Although other members of the park staff disagreed, Superintendent Zinck managed to push his plan forward and the gardens were restored to Shipman's design between 1983 and 1986. Because this

work fell outside the lines of the *General Management Plan*, many of the staff members, including Chief Historian Robert Krick, saw the restoration efforts as a waste of time and resources. During this time, the documents analyzed in this chapter never refer to Chatham Manor as a cultural landscape, but they do reflect the growing consideration of such an historic resource. It can be argued that Superintendent Zinck had the foresight to understand the significance of Chatham Manor's landscape, which other staff members lacked until a few decades later.

The late 1990s brought about a seemingly transient superintendency as three different people filled the role. The interpretation of Chatham Manor was not given much attention until the Chatham Planning Team formed in 1997. During this time there was an eagerness and fixation on restoring Chatham Manor to its 1862 appearance in order to present better interpretation. Had this plan been executed, the only buildings remaining on the site would be the manor house, kitchen, and laundry. Additionally, it is likely the porches and gardens would have been restored on the Rappahannock River side of the house. Fortunately for Chatham Manor and its cultural landscape that has gained significance over time, the plan was not executed and the NPS has slowly grown to embrace the additions made by its owners following the Civil War.

Today, the staff of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP are at an interesting crossroads regarding the interpretation of Chatham Manor. It is evident that little of the property's interpretation has changed since the late 1970s and early 1980s, apart from the addition of the interpretive wayside panels installed around 2010. Chatham

Manor is now rising to the forefront as a valued historic resource and is understood as an evolved cultural landscape.

According to the definition and four categories of cultural landscapes laid out in Chapter One, Chatham Manor fits into two categories. The most easily identifiable is the historic site. As an historic site, Chatham Manor is significant for its association with historic events, activities, and people, including the Civil War; plantation life and the post-bellum period; and its various owners and designers. Chatham Manor is also an historic designed landscape due to terraces on the west façade and the walled garden on the east façade. These two categories of cultural landscapes present at Chatham Manor create a unique opportunity to explore the interpretation of the site, and all of these aspects have evolved over time as was demonstrated by Chatham Manor's history in Chapter Two.

In turn, Chatham Manor's significance has been expanded in light of the *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham* and is reflected in the newest draft of the NRHP nomination form. In response to this expanded significance to include elements of the cultural landscape, the NPS can reevaluate the interpretation of Chatham Manor. The focus can now move away from mostly just the manor house to the entirety of the cultural landscape to demonstrate an evolved space through the continuum of history.

There are many challenges associated with the reinterpretation of the cultural landscape of Chatham Manor. The first issue is that Chatham Manor is bound by the constraints of a National Military Park, which in this case, focuses on the Civil War. While it is okay to interpret Chatham Manor's history in relation to the Civil War, it is

also important to acknowledge its long and varied history. This is something the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP have come to understand slowly but surely. Limiting interpretation at Chatham Manor to the few years before, during, and after the Civil War would be a mistake, and would create a history that fails to acknowledge other periods of time that have their own significance within the cultural landscape.

In addition to the challenge of past interpretation focused on the Civil War, the staff may also find it difficult to educate visitors about the significance of a cultural landscape. Professionals in the field of preservation continue to grapple with the concept themselves. So much attention has been given to the built environment that it is difficult to interpret a cultural landscape, which is composed of both buildings, landscape, and nature. Interpreting the cultural landscape at Chatham Manor is important because the features found within, such as the plantation street as described in the *CLR*, can provide a deeper understanding for Chatham Manor as a plantation. The farm fields and agricultural buildings of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century can also relay the significance of agriculture at Chatham Manor following the Civil War as it was still flourishing.

Although there has not been as much research on slavery on Chatham Manor as one might assume, this provides an avenue to pursue further research and interpretation on the topic. More research on slavery at Chatham Manor would support the idea of the property as a plantation and help visitors better understand the property's role in the Colonial, Antebellum, and Civil War periods. Interpretation should speak to the role slavery played in the start of the Civil War, and also to the life of African Americans following the Civil War, linked with the experiences of poorly

paid black farmers and the Jim Crow Era. This interpretation could take place in the kitchen, laundry, or both auxiliary buildings. The cultural landscape of Chatham Manor provides innumerable avenues for interpretation of slavery and the post-Civil War years for African Americans.

The staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP are moving in the right direction by acknowledging that Chatham Manor is a cultural landscape. As reinterpretation of the cultural landscape enters the mind of the staff, they must keep in mind that Chatham Manor's landscape has evolved over time and has gained significance which exceeds that of just the Civil War.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined how the National Park Service (NPS) has approached the preservation and interpretation of the cultural landscape at Chatham Manor. For the most part, Chatham Manor has escaped changes to its landscape, unlike many other historic sites. Throughout the 1970s, the cultural landscape of places such as Colonial National Historical Park were being dismantled to reflect the colonial period and create a landscape that was frozen in time to substantiate the goals of the NPS. When Chatham Manor became part of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP) in 1975, the staff used narrowly defined categories of significance to fit the property into their interpretive themes of the Battle of Fredericksburg and the Civil War. By only recognizing Chatham Manor's significance within the context of architecture and the Civil War, the staff failed to recognize its value as an evolved cultural landscape and historic resource.

It must be understood that during the 1970s the concept of the cultural landscape was still evolving, and it was not until 1982 that the NPS officially recognized cultural landscapes as historic resources. Another decade passed before the definition of cultural landscapes was authored by Charles Birnbaum, who also identified four categories: historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes. It is wrong to imply the NPS missed the mark with respect to the preservation and interpretation of cultural landscapes. In the 1980s, Superintendent Zinck may have been relatively alone in his

push for the restoration of the Colonial Revival gardens, but this reflects a better understanding of the cultural landscape and the widening scope of what the NPS deemed significant at Chatham Manor.

Between the completed restoration of the Colonial Revival gardens in 1986 and today, interpretation at Chatham Manor has been stymied due to a shifting focus on other historic resources within the Park and a lack of funding. Interpretation always seems to be in crisis as it is the most vulnerable during budget cuts. Arguably, the focus on other historic resources and lack of funding has both hurt and saved Chatham Manor. Had the money been available to restore Chatham Manor in the late 1990s to its 1862 appearance, nearly a dozen buildings and landscape features would have met the wrecking ball. A more holistic look at history would have been erased in favor of a false landscape. It may be considered a blessing in disguise that the NPS was unsure of how to approach Chatham Manor and lacked the funds to move forward with various undertakings.

Today, the staff at the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP have accepted Chatham Manor's cultural landscape and its potential for interpretation. This is due in part through the advocacy of John Hennessy, Eric Mink, and former Superintendent Russell Smith, who realized that the entirety of Chatham Manor's cultural landscape is significant for its evolution over the years. With the help of the *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham,* written by staff members from the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, Chatham Manor's cultural landscape is more fully understood than it has ever been before. A door has been opened to advance the preservation and interpretation of Chatham Manor.

Through rigid adherence to professional guidelines, preservation and interpretation tend to focus on the ideas that have been deemed significant through narrowly defined terms. While the terms have broadened, there remains a trying path ahead. Professionals within the NPS who are at the forefront of defining and interpreting cultural landscapes must remember that the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties and the Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes are flexible guidelines that evolve with the changing thought processes regarding significance.

It is a difficult task to interpret cultural landscapes and that has been proven time and again as professionals have worked on sites such as James Madison's Montpelier and Colonial National Historical Park. Cultural landscapes defy the norms as they often times demonstrate change rather than one significant period of time. Professionals should challenge themselves and their understanding of significance to interpret an historic resource's history. Not only will this provide a better understanding for professionals, but it will also translate and further the public's knowledge about various historic resources, particularly the cultural landscape. It is taking the easy way out to interpret one single period of history. It may be helpful to think of Chatham Manor and its landscape as a video rather than a photograph where time is frozen. By developing cultural landscape interpretation that is comprehensive, flexible, and reflect history's continuum, a greater number of people will be able to connect with the site. The cultural landscape offers visitors what the built environment alone cannot: an understanding of how the players in history interacted with and shaped the landscape.

Future Work

There are a number of steps the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP may consider taking in order to further the preservation and interpretation of Chatham Manor. The first step the staff should consider is furthering historical research. It is worth the time and effort to investigate Walker Taliaferro, the project manager during Chatham Manor's construction and the nephew of famed Williamsburg architect, Richard Taliaferro. The purpose of this research would be to determine whether or not either Richard or Walker Taliaferro had a hand in the design of Chatham Manor. Richard Taliaferro was the architect of Wythe House, the Governor's Palace, and the Capitol in Williamsburg. In addition, it is suggested that Richard Taliaferro was the architect of Carter's Grove, constructed for William Fitzhugh's cousin, Carter Burwell. Were the architect of Chatham Manor to be discovered, it would provide a deeper understanding of the property's history and an avenue for furthered interpretation by making connections with other Virginia plantations and the early capitol of Williamsburg.

The history of Chatham Manor could be further expounded upon by developing the characters of the property's post-Civil War ownership. By completing research on owners like Oliver Watson, interpretation could include what life was like in the ensuing years at Chatham Manor and Fredericksburg as a whole, particularly from an agricultural standpoint. This research and discussion should include a discussion of African Americans within the community or the lack thereof. By further understanding the owners of Chatham Manor in the post-Civil War years, the NPS

could interpret the impacts of the Civil War ten and twenty years out, rather than the few years immediately afterwards.

In addition to research of owners after the Civil War, care should be taken to explore the lives and works of Oliver H. Clarke, the architect who "restored" Chatham Manor in the 1920s, and Ellen Biddle Shipman, the designer of the Colonial Revival gardens. While there is some scholarship on Shipman, hardly any can be found on Clarke. The work by Clarke and Shipman is important as part of the Colonial Revival movement that was popular in the 1920s. Today, the NPS might consider a different approach to interpretation at the site than was previously thought of.

The Colonial Revival movement took place during a time when the Jim Crow laws had a stronghold. The Colonial Revival garden does little to reflect how the property would have looked when slaves lived and worked in the space during the plantation era. The garden, executed in the space where slaves once labored, is an idealized or romanticized view of plantation life which is reminiscent of *Gone With the Wind*. It works to wipe out the story of slavery from the landscape. The Colonial Revival garden also reflects the idea of the "Lost Cause," which held that despite its loss, the Confederacy was a noble and heroic cause. The people who supported the Lost Cause believed that slavery had nothing to do with the Civil War, thus justifying their erroneous judgement in erasing the history of slavery at properties like Chatham Manor.[1]

[1] Baugher and De Cunzo, "Archaeological Perspectives On and Contributions To the Study of Colonial American Gardens," 73.

In summary, the 1920s Colonial Revival movement at Chatham Manor should be studied and interpreted for its idealized view of the South in support of the Lost Cause. By interpreting Chatham Manor in this way, the NPS staff could discuss with visitors the repercussions of the Jim Crow laws and the impact that the Lost Cause ideas had both on Chatham Manor and the surrounding area.

Another way interpretation of Chatham Manor could be improved is through the lens of women's history. While most of the interpretation has focused on men and the Civil War, women have long played an important role in Chatham Manor's history, beginning with Ann Bolling Randolph Fitzhugh, the wife of William Fitzhugh. Chatham Manor has a history of prominent women, including but not limited to Ann Bolling Randolph Fitzhugh, Hannah Jones Coalter, Betty Lacy, Dr. Mary Edwards Walker, Clara Barton, Helen Devore, Ellen Biddle Shipman, and Lillian Pratt. These are just a handful of the women known to be associated with Chatham Manor. The interpretation of Dr. Mary Edwards Walker and Clara Barton might be expounded upon, specifically because of their tie to the Civil War. In addition, the NPS staff might look at the life of Betty Lacy and compare her life before and after the Civil War to demonstrate the downfall of prominent Virginia plantation owners once their source of labor was no longer available. Lastly, the NPS should consider more robust interpretation of Ellen Biddle Shipman, who fought her way through the male-dominated world of landscape architecture. This interpretation could go hand-in-hand with the discussion of the Colonial Revival garden. It is a shame that with so many prominent women in Chatham Manor's history, their stories have been neglected.

The last major topic that should receive attention by way of research is slavery. There is a serious gap in research pertaining to slavery at Chatham Manor, which has been acknowledged by Park staff. While interest in slavery at Chatham Manor has been on the upswing in recent years, due largely in part to Chief Historian John Hennessy and Cultural Resources Manager Eric Mink, there needs to be a serious and methodical approach to research on this topic. Chatham Manor and its staff should look to places like Thomas Jefferson's Monticello or George Washington's Mount Vernon to create a plan for furthering the research of slavery.

One of the best ways to support the historic research of slavery and the cultural landscape at Chatham Manor is through archaeology. Time and again, the execution of archaeology has proved to be extremely beneficial in understanding people of a certain time and the way they interacted with the landscape. A good example of using archaeology to interpret slavery comes from Charleston, South Carolina. Archaeological work at the Miles Brewton House clearly defined the "big house" with the dependencies out of site from passersby.[2] Because the previous archaeological excavation in the 1970s did not focus at all on the topic of slavery, a new archaeological plan should be developed in order to locate the former slave dwellings. Were an archaeological investigation to uncover slave dwelling remains, Chatham Manor's cultural landscape and interpretation would be better equipped to discuss slavery on the property and in the Fredericksburg area.

Archaeology could also be used to better understand the terraces of Chatham Manor's waterfront façade. Much like Carter's Grove near Williamsburg, Virginia,

[2] Ibid., 73-74.

the terraced landscape can be interpreted to reflect Chatham Manor's life as a plantation. The investigation at Carter's Grove, led by archaeologist William Kelso, demonstrated that the Burwells wanted to reaffirm their "English cultural heritage" and their status among the Virginian elite.[3] This is also true of the Fitzhughs at Chatham Manor. Archaeology could be utilized to search for steps down to the Rappahannock River. A number of Virginia plantations had a water entrance to their properties so that ships could unload English supplies and take the plantation crops, including tobacco and wheat, back to England. This enabled the plantation owners to avoid import taxes. Archaeology could potentially unearth these remains. If there is evidence of stairs, this could be added to the interpretation of the colonial cultural landscape to help visitors better understand the functions of the plantation.

Lastly, an archaeological investigation should be undertaken with a focus on uncovering materials from the time when Chatham Manor served as Union headquarters and a field hospital during the Civil War. Artifacts uncovered could be utilized in the interpretation of the site inside Chatham Manor. By undertaking an archaeological investigation focused on the Civil War, it would provide an avenue to further Chatham Manor's interpretation so that it aligns more closely with the themes as expressed by the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP.

Once historical research and archaeology have been considered and/or completed, the NPS should then focus on an approach to Chatham Manor and present it as a cultural landscape, using the term in its interpretation. In order to determine the various foci of Chatham Manor, the NPS should monitor visitors. The monitoring of

[3] Ibid., 75.

visitors should include the recordation of where visitors are coming from and why they are visiting Chatham Manor. For example, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City collected zip codes from visitors upon entering the building. This is information that volunteers who are stationed at Chatham Manor could collect. It would be easy for volunteers to ask for this information when introducing Chatham Manor to a group of visitors, and their responses could be recorded and passed along to the staff. If conversations fail to produce results or volunteers are uncomfortable with the idea, having visitors sign in may be another viable option. Once this information is collected over a period of time, ranging from six months to one year, the NPS staff can then analyze these records to gain a better understanding of where visitors are coming from and what they are looking for by way of interpretation. Chatham Manor is a complex cultural landscape with variety of stories to tell. It is up to the staff of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP to flesh out whether they will approach Chatham Manor through the lens of slavery, the Civil War, or through the Colonial Revival movement and its attempt to whitewash history.

With all this said, the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP should not feel as though they are alone in their undertaking. In fact, it would be wise of the staff to reach out to other groups for help. The Friends of Chatham are eager and willing to provide support and have demonstrated their dedication to the property through monetary backing for rehabilitation and restoration projects. The Friends of Chatham have their own ideas about the interpretation of Chatham Manor and the Park staff should listen to these valuable stakeholders. A higher-up member of the Park staff must attend the meetings to show their support for the group and interest in their

ideas. This is not the first time a Friends group has played an instrumental role within the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP. The Friends of Wilderness Battlefield provided the funding for the restoration of Ellwood Manor. The NPS staff should not underestimate the power of the Friends of Chatham as they have previously witnessed a great success at Ellwood Manor. The Friends of Chatham will undoubtedly continue to play a major role in the treatment and preservation of Chatham Manor, and they are eager to enhance the property's interpretation.

Finally, the NPS staff should look to create partnerships with local universities. These universities could conduct the historical research previously mentioned or an archaeological program could host summer field schools at Chatham Manor. This has worked extremely well in places like Robert H. Treman State Park in Tompkins County, New York. In Treman State Park, Cornell University students enroll in a class entitled "Fieldwork in Urban Archaeology." Twice a week, students are shuttled to the site to work on an archaeological dig to uncover the small, nineteenth century community of Enfield Falls. All of this work is overseen by Professor Sherene Baugher in conjunction with the New York State Parks system. In turn, the information yielded as part of the archaeological investigation is featured in the visitor's center and the buildings are interpreted. This is just one example of a university involved with archaeological work. Another example of similar work undertaken by universities can be found at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, where University of Virginia has established an archaeological field school specifically related to the archaeology of Chesapeake slavery and the landscape.

The potential for partnerships with local universities and colleges cannot be stressed enough. Nearby universities include George Washington University (GW). GW has a range of undergraduate majors and graduate programs, including Africana studies, American studies, anthropology, archaeology, history, museum education, and museum studies. In addition, the University of Mary Washington is right in the heart of Fredericksburg and has undergraduate programs in American studies, historic preservation, history, and museum studies. The Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP even has a connection with the University as Eric Mink is a graduate of the historic preservation program. Other schools that should be considered by the NPS include Virginia Commonwealth University, the University of Virginia, and the University of Richmond. These partnerships present themselves as a win-win for both parties. The staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP can rely on the students for historical research and carrying out the archaeological investigation, while the students gain hands-on experience in the real-world.

Chatham Manor and the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP have a unique opportunity to consider the preservation and interpretation of the cultural landscape. Historical research, archaeology, and partnerships with the Friends of Chatham and local universities are of the utmost importance in order to fully develop Chatham Manor's narrative.

Limitations

Ideally, the analysis of Chatham Manor as a cultural landscape would have included a longer discussion about the possible ideas revolving around the

reinterpretation of the property after the examination of similar sites. In addition, it would have been useful to collect oral histories from past superintendents based on a dialogue surrounding Chatham Manor's cultural landscape, significance, and interpretation. Due to time and financial constraints, it was not possible to pursue these avenues, but they are worthy of future exploration.

In addition, a deeper investigation into the Friends of Chatham, including their activities and ideas, would further expand the understanding of their influence at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP. How the Friends of Chatham and the staff of the Park interact is deserving of its own study as Friends groups grow in numbers and support the NPS. Furthermore, a comparison between Chatham Manor and other NPS sites with parallel histories, or state sites that have become involved with cultural landscapes, should be executed. While this may be a monumental undertaking, it would provide a better context as to how cultural landscapes are being treated and interpreted.

It is my hope that the staff at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP continue their thinking and consideration of the significance of Chatham Manor as a whole, especially the cultural landscape, that has evolved over time. This thesis has demonstrated that the NPS's thoughts on the preservation and interpretation of Chatham Manor have come a long way. Although Chatham Manor's primary focus may always be on the Civil War because of its tie to the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP, the realization of the evolved landscape's significance offers an opportunity to look at the cultural landscape not as a picture perfect frame frozen in

time, but one that has come into being as a result of various owners and individuals who came in contact with the property.

The staff at the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP have demonstrated their commitment to furthering their understanding of the cultural landscape through the *Cultural Landscape Report*. Addressing the cultural landscape is not easy, especially when the property is viewed as primarily significant for its association with the Civil War but in actuality, reflects a much broader history through an evolved landscape. The interpretation of the cultural landscape can bridge the gap between the natural and built environments by interpreting how people interacted with and created the landscape. This is backed by the idea that society is growing to appreciate contributions of all periods of history. The staff of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP have been presented with a unique opportunity to set a new course for landscape preservation and interpretation at Chatham Manor, and the ensuing years have the potential to set forth a new standard within the NPS.

APPENDIX

Appendix A: National Register Criteria for Evaluation of Significance

Criteria for Evaluation

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship and association, and:

A) That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our 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 important to prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religions institutions or used for religions purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in natures, and properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

a. a religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
b. a building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural values, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
c. a birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life; or

d. a cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, from association with historic events; or
e. a reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
f. a property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or
g. a property achieving significance within the past fifty years if it is of exceptional importance.

Appendix B: Themes from the *Long-Range Interpretive Plan*, 2001

Parkwide Themes, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park:

- Located mid-way between the Federal and Confederate capitals along critical river crossings, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County provided the setting for some of the bitterest and bloodiest fighting of the Civil War. Here, military tactics, the civilian experience, and civilian attitudes underwent major transformation. Here, national reputations were gained and lost as the fortunes of the combatants ebbed and flowed.
- More than any other battlefield area, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania NMP portrays a continuum of history--the ebb and flow of a nation at war with itself. The battles here had important strategic and political implications; the campaigns waged here constitute both the peak of Confederate military success in the war and the first stage of ultimate Confederate defeat. These campaigns also had an immense impact on the morale, economies, will, and ability of each side to continue waging war.
- The park's wartime resources also illuminate pre-war condition. Chatham, Ellwood, Catharine Furnace, and other civilian sites reflect antebellum political, social, and economic conditions of the South. Collectively, these resources, and the experiences of those who inhabited them (both slave and free) help illustrate the root causes of the Civil War.[1]

Subthemes, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park:

- Vividly illuminates some of the dominant personalities of the war--Lee, Jackson, Grant, Hooker--and provides important insights into their methods, successes, and failures.
- Reflects the changing nature of battlefield tactics as they evolved from open-field fighting to trench warfare. These changes had major implications for the soldiers' experience in battle, which changed dramatically between 1962 and 1964.
- Demonstrates the importance of terrain, natural features, location, and ground cover in waging military campaigns and battles, and illustrates the evolution of design and use of field fortifications.
- Illustrates the dramatically changing impact of war on civilians in Virginia--a key component of the Union effort to bring the Confederacy to its knees. The contrast between the pre-war prosperity of Chatham and the wartime devastation of the plantation, the city of Fredericksburg, and the surrounding landscape is compelling. An important point is the decades it took this region to recover from war.
- Reflects the appalling number of lives lost during the Civil War. More than 100,000 men fell on these fields, more than any other spot of comparable

[1] National Park Service, *Long-Range Interpretive Plan*, WV: Harpers Ferry Center, 2001), 3.

size on the continent. The Fredericksburg National Cemetery is one of the largest military cemeteries in the country. The large number of unknown Union dead here suggests a particularly horrific aspect of the war--the possibility of ending up as a nameless corpse, whose fate was ultimately unknown to the soldier's family.

- Reflects the efforts of subsequent generations to preserve and interpret their past. These varied efforts over the decades illustrate society's evolving values and view on war and history.[2]

Primary Themes, Chatham

- Chatham exemplifies the transformation of a Virginia plantation through 200 years of history: from a Colonial Plantation whose prosperity was built upon a slave economy, through the torment of war and destruction, to a painful post-war recover.[3]

Subthemes, Chatham

- Reflects the varied experiences of homes caught in the vortex of battle in its use as a Union army headquarters, hospital, picket post, and graveyard.
- Illustrates the complex institution of slavery and its aftermath in Virginia. Chatham was the scene of a minor slave revolt in the early 19th century.[4]

[2] Ibid., 3-4.
[3] Ibid., 6.
[4] Ibid.

Appendix C: Cultural Landscape Inventory

Topography and Natural Systems			
Preferred Name[5]	*Date of Construction and/or Modification(s)*	*Historic Context(s)*	*Evaluation*
Center Embankment		Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing
Ledge in North Ravine		Civil War	Contributing
North Embankment		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
North Ravine		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
South Ravine		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
Terraces		Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing

Spatial Organization and Land Use			
Preferred Name	*Date of Construction and/or Modification(s)*	*Historic Context(s)*	*Evaluation*
Caretaker's Cottage Area		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Center Embankment Area		Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing
Entrance Parcel Area		Colonial	Contributing
Manor House and Walled Garden Area		Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing
North Embankment Area		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
North Field Area		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
North Ravine Area		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
Northeast Field Area		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
Northwest Field Area		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
Orchard Area		Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing

[5] Christopher M. Beagan and H. Eliot Foulds, *Cultural Landscape Report for Chatham*, (The Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, unpublished 2016).

Riverside Field Area		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
Riverside Woods Area		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
South Ravine Area		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
Terraces Area		Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing
Woodlot Area		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing

Circulation			
Preferred Name	*Date of Construction and/or Modification(s)*	*Historic Context(s)*	*Evaluation*
Brick Entrance Paths		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Caretaker's Cottage Drive		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Caretaker's Cottage Walk		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Carriage Drive	Built 1769-1771; Rehabilitated 2008	Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing
Carriage Drive Spur	Built 1922-1927; Rehabilitated 2008	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Chatham Lane	Built 1769-1771; Altered 1950-1960	Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
Farm Lane	Built 1769-1820; Altered 1922-1927	Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
Farm Road Terrace		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
Front Entrance Paths	Built by Ellen Biddle Shipman 1922-1927; Restored 1984-1986	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Garden Paths	Built by Ellen Biddle Shipman 1922-1927; Restored 1984-1985	Colonial Revival	Contributing
North Embankment Road Terrace		Colonial, Civil War	Contributing
Service Drive		Colonial Revival	Contributing
South Ravine Path	1922-1927	Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	

Visitor Parking Lot		None	Non-contributing

Vegetation			
Preferred Name	*Date of Construction and/or Modification(s)*	*Historic Context(s)*	*Evaluation*
Historic Period Trees		Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing
Naturalized Woodlands		Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing
Orchard Trees		Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing
Post-historic Period Trees		None	Non-contributing
Walled Garden Plantings		Colonial Revival	Contributing

Buildings and Structures			
Preferred Name	*Date of Construction and/or Modification(s)*	*Historic Context(s)*	*Evaluation*
Bird Pen Foundations		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Boathouse		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Caretaker's Cottage	1900-1930	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Carriage Drive Culverts	1922-1927	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Carriage Drive Retaining Wall	Built by Ellen Biddle Shipman 1920-1930	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Carriage House and Stable	1920-1930	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Chatham	Built 1768-1771; Altered 1820-1830; Restored by Oliver H. Clarke 1920; Rehabilitated 1977	Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing
Corn Crib	Built 1940-1950; Restored 1995	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Dairy Barn	Built 1890-1900; Altered 1984; Altered 1987;	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Entrance Gate	Built by Ellen Biddle Shipman 1920-1930	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Farm Office	1920-1930	Colonial Revival	Contributing

Front Retaining Wall and Stairs	1922-1927	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Furnace House	1922-1927	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Garage		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Garden Pergola	Built by Oliver H. Clarke 1922-1927; Restored 1984-1986	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Hot Bed Foundations		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Kitchen	Built 1771; Altered 1920-1930; Rehabilitated 1990-1991	Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing
Laundry	Built 1771; Altered 1925	Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing
Milk House	1900-1905	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Music Stair	Built by Oliver H. Clarke 1926; Restored 1984-1986	Colonial Revival	Contributing
North Greenhouse	1935	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Rear Garden Wall and Gates	Built by Ellen Biddle Shipman 1922-1927; Restored 1984-1985	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Rotunda	Built by Oliver H. Clarke 1926; Restored 1990	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Septic Tank	1922-1927	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Service Drive Gates		Colonial Revival	Contributing
South Greenhouse	1890-1900	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Summer House	Built 1920s; Renovated 1940	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Well House	1940	Colonial Revival	Contributing

Views and Vistas			
Preferred Name	*Date of Construction and/or Modification(s)*	*Historic Context(s)*	*Evaluation*
Vistas along the central axis of the Walled Garden		Colonial Revival	Contributing
View from the southwest side of the manor house to Fredericksburg		Colonial, Civil War, Colonial Revival	Contributing

Constructed Water Features			
Preferred Name	*Date of Construction and/or Modification(s)*	*Historic Context(s)*	*Evaluation*
Lily Pond	1927	Colonial Revival	Contributing

Small-Scale Features			
Preferred Name	*Date of Construction and/or Modification(s)*	*Historic Context(s)*	*Evaluation*
Cannons on Reproduction Carriages		None	Non-contributing
Caretaker's Cottage Picket Fence		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Ceres Statue		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Civil War Grave Markers	1879	Civil War	Contributing
Contemporary Site Furnishings		None	Non-contributing
Corn Crib Picket Fence and Posts		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Exedra Bench		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Fire Hydrants	1900-1905	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Flora Statue		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Garden Bench/Arbor		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Garden Rose Trellises (5)	Built by Ellen Biddle Shipman 1922-1927; Reconstructed 1984-1986	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Gas Pump	1925-1930	Colonial Revival	Contributing
Garden Benches (4)		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Millstone		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Pan Statue		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Plinth		Colonial Revival	Contributing
Reproduction Pontoon Bridge Section		None	Non-contributing

Visitor Parking Lot Picket Fence		None	Non-contributing
Walled Garden Statuary		Colonial Revival	Contributing

Interpreted Archaeological Features			
Preferred Name	*Date of Construction and/or Modification(s)*	*Historic Context(s)*	*Evaluation*
Smoke House Foundation	1771	Colonial	Contributing

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