NPS Form 10-900

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: _Lynnhaven House (Additional Documentation and Boundary Decrease)_
Other names/site number: _Wishart-Boush House; James Wishart House; DHR #134-0037_
Name of related multiple property listing:
_____N/A_____
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing

2. Location

Street & number: _4405 Wishart Road_____
City or town: __Virginia Beach_____ State: __VA_____ County: _Independent City__
Not For Publication: N/A Vicinity: N/A

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this __X__ nomination ___ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property _X_ meets ___ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

___ national _X_ statewide ___ local
Applicable National Register Criteria:

_X_A ___B _X_C ___D

Julie V. Langan 2/24/2025

Signature of certifying official/Title: **Date**

Virginia Department of Historic Resources

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official: **Date**

Title : **State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government**

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ entered in the National Register

___ determined eligible for the National Register

___ determined not eligible for the National Register

___ removed from the National Register

___ other (explain:) _____

_____

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Private:	☐
Public – Local	X
Public – State	☐
Public – Federal	☐

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

Building(s)	X
District	☐
Site	☐
Structure	☐
Object	☐

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
1	3	buildings
1	0	sites
0	0	structures
0	0	objects
2	3	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

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6. Function or Use
Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)
DOMESTIC: single dwelling

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)
RECREATION AND CULTURE: Museum

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions.)
_COLONIAL_____
_OTHER: Virginia Vernacular_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)
Principal exterior materials of the property: ___Brick_____

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with **a summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Introduction
This property, originally known as the Wishart-Boush House, was first listed in the National Register in 1969. This nomination update corrects errors and omissions in the original nomination; reduces the listed boundaries; changes the name of the property to a more historically accurate one; and provides expanded research and context to argue for the statewide significance of the resource. When the property was originally nominated in 1969, the boundary was a perfect square of approximately 100 acres around the historic house. Most of that acreage has since been subdivided and developed with a mixture of residential subdivisions, major transportation thoroughfares, commercial development, and suburban churches. Only the historic house, called the Wishart-Boush House, is mentioned and "counted" in the original nomination. This nomination update and boundary decrease reduces the listed boundaries to five total acres which represents the remaining intact acreage around the historic building and cemetery. The property's historic setting and all known associated historic resources have been included within the nominated area's boundary. This nomination update also provides a current inventory of resources within the nominated boundaries, including the historic cemetery, which was not discussed in the original nomination, and the three buildings added after 1969. Additional documentation and analysis in Section 8 expand the areas of significance associated with the property. Finally, the official name of the property is corrected to Lynnhaven House, a name first bestowed on the house in the 1970s by APVA after research revealed that the Wishart family actually had no involvement with the construction of the house and the "Wishart-Boush House" name was therefore erroneous.

Summary Paragraph

The property known today as the Lynnhaven House (previously also called the Wishart-Boush House and the James Wishart House) includes five acres with one historic dwelling (Contributing), one cemetery (Contributing), one caretaker's cottage and shed (both Noncontributing), and one visitor center (Noncontributing). Only the historic dwelling was described in the original (1969) nomination. The Lynnhaven House itself is a 1 ½ story, hall-and-parlor plan brick dwelling with a side gabled roof and massive T-shaped exterior end chimneys. The house has been dated using dendrochronology to 1725, making it one of the oldest standing dwellings in Virginia. It underwent a substantial restoration effort in the early 1970s after it was acquired by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA; the organization today is called Preservation Virginia) and after it was listed on the National Register. It is owned and operated today by the City of Virginia Beach History Museums (a division of the City's Department of Cultural Affairs). The house exhibits important surviving 18th century building technology, including English bond brickwork throughout; original roof framing utilizing an exposed tilted false plate with curved rafter ends and supporting brick corbeling; exterior end chimneys with double weatherings and T-shaped stacks; exposed, beaded ceiling joists in the hall and parlor; the original closed-stringer stair with original balustrade; and three original mantels. It also has evidence of a now-missing original rear ell that accommodated a third room on the first floor, an important development in the evolution of the 18th century gentry house.

The cemetery, located just to the south of the house, is the resting place for several members of the Boush family, who owned the property in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. It includes four marked graves, all box tombs, but archaeology has suggested that there may be several additional unmarked graves in the area. There is no enclosure around the cemetery and the area around it is overgrown. The cemetery was in very poor condition when APVA acquired the property, and the ledger stones and pieces of the box tombs were scattered around the site. It underwent extensive restoration in 1975. The caretaker's house and shed, which were built in the 1980s, are located east of the house, beyond a span of trees, while the Visitor Center, which was added to the property in 2005, is north of the house, adjacent to a parking lot and close to the passing Wishart Road.

Narrative Description

In 2018, architectural historians Willie Graham and F. Carey Howlett conducted a thorough investigation of the Lynnhaven House as part of team put together by Aeon Preservation Services to prepare an Historic Structures Report on the building. The following description is indebted to their analysis and wisdom as included in the final HSR and in a more detailed descriptive document titled *Physical Analysis, Lynnhaven House* which was provided to the author by Graham.

Setting

When the Lynnhaven House was first listed on the Register in 1969, it was located on 110 acres in a rural, agricultural setting. The population of Virginia Beach exploded during the third and fourth quarters of the 20th century and the area around the Lynnhaven House today is suburban in nature. A major thoroughfare, Independence Boulevard, is located a 1/2 mile to the west of the house and is lined with shopping centers and chain commercial establishments. Wishart Road, which runs past the house to the north, is a two-lane road lined with houses and churches. In fact, two churches flank the house to the east and the west. A man-made pond, presumably associated with stormwater management from suburban development, borders the property to the south. In spite of these changes to the surrounding acreage, the five acres that encompasses the Lynnhaven House today manages to maintain the sense of isolation that

the Lynnhaven House must originally have offered. The house is located towards the rear of the property, away from Wishart Road, and cleverly deployed vegetative screening means that the road is not visible from the house, nor is the caretaker's cottage located to the east. The low-slung visitor's center between the house and the road blends into the natural landscape that surrounds the building which buffers its visibility from Lynnhaven House. The church and associated parking lot located to the west of the house are probably the most intrusive visual elements, though a large hedge along the property line does what it can to mitigate the impact to the setting.

The area immediately around the Lynnhaven House is level lawn but this clearing is edged with a substantial buffer of trees and large shrubs on the south, east, and west, while a thinner treed buffer separates the house from the visitor center. A wooden boardwalk from the visitor center transitions to a shell path that leads to the house, where it splits to complete a full circle around the house. The cemetery is located along the tree line to the south of the house, near a steep slope leading down to the stormwater management pond. The cemetery is visible from the house, though no formal path leads to it. The caretakers house and associated shed are located to the east of the house beyond a thick stand of trees; a small wooden bridge leads over a low spot and between a thicket to connect the two areas.

Exterior Description

The Lynnhaven House is a 1 ½ story, hall-and-parlor-plan brick dwelling with a side gabled roof and two exterior end chimneys on the gable ends. The brick walls are supported by a brick foundation topped by a brick plinth or water table. All of the brickwork is English bond. The steeply-pitched gable roof is covered with wood shingles. The cornice on both the front and rear elevations features brick corbels at all four corners of the house capping a tilted false plate that carries the weight of the common-rafter roof. Rafters lap over the plate and feature decorative curved ends. This construction technique is visible from the exterior of the house, which seems to be an original design decision. The roof is bracketed by two massive exterior brick chimneys that dominate the side elevations of the house. The chimneys each have two sets of weatherings and T-shaped stacks that are bonded into the side walls of the house.

Lynnhaven House, NW oblique, May 2024. Cemetery is located in the woods at the rear of this photo.

Front (west) elevation

The front of the house is the west elevation. It is three bays wide with a slightly asymmetrical façade – the main entrance is in the center bay but located slightly off-center. It is flanked by a window on either side, and there are three gabled dormers across the front of the roof. The main entrance consists of a board-and-batten door with plain jambs and lintel. It is capped with a segmental brick arch of headers, alternating between glazed and unglazed. Evidence in the brickwork (namely, closers on both sides of the opening) suggests that this door opening is in its original location and has not been reduced or enlarged in size, but the jambs, sill, and door itself all date to the 1970s restoration. The header dates to the early 19th century. A modern set of stairs, executed in the style of a ladder stair, provides access to the door. When APVA acquired the property, there was a full-width, shed-roofed porch across the front of the house which was removed as part of the restoration. The two windows on the first story are both double casement windows with leaded, diamond-shaped panes. The windows themselves are replacements dating to the 1970s restoration; their design is based on archaeological evidence – a single pane was found in a rats' nest and a lead came was found in an excavation unit. Evidence in the brickwork suggests that the window openings were enlarged slightly ca. 1820-1830, possibly when original casement windows were replaced with double-hung sash style windows, and the window jambs and sills date to this period. Both window openings are capped with brick jack arches, both of which are reconstructions dating to the 1970s restoration.

The brickwork on this elevation is English bond with a struck joint. It is mostly original, with some patching and repointing evident and clear evidence of three infilled put-log holes. A simple water table caps the plinth with a single course of Flemish bond with a rounded top edge; on the other elevations this water table is a header course (as part of the English bond on the rest of the wall) and has a squared top

edge, subtle evidence that the west elevation had a higher hierarchy of finish and was intended to be the primary facade. There is an airhole in the plinth to the south of the front door to provide ventilation to the crawl space on that end of the house, and a small original cellar window opening to the north of the door. The window opening measures 1'7" square and has an oak sill and header with four diamond-set square vertical bars. High up on the wall, beneath the eaves where the brickwork is the most protected, there are trace remnants of a red wash.

The eaves also expose the tilted false plate roof construction. Unlike many refined Georgian houses, the cornice at the Lynnhaven House is open, or unboxed, exposing the curved ends of the rafters and the tilted false plate that they are notched over. The false plate is capped at the ends by large brick corbels that extend seamlessly from the brick walls.

Cornice detail, SE corner, December 2023

The three dormers across the roof date to the 1970s restoration and were reconstructed based on physical evidence. The three original dormers are visible in an early photograph of the house from the early 1920s but they were replaced with a single large shed dormer before 1933. When APVA acquired the property, they were able to identify evidence in the original framing to suggest the size and location of the original dormers, and the decision was made to reconstruct them. The dormers are gabled with wood siding on their cheeks and in the gables and wooden rake boards. Like the first story, the windows are paired casement windows with leaded, diamond-shaped panes with wide, fixed transoms of the same design. Also like the first story, the dormers are not evenly spaced across the front slope of the roof; the center dormer is set off-center to the north (left) and the dormers are not aligned above the first story openings.

North side elevation

The north side elevation of the house is dominated by the massive exterior brick chimney which is centered on the wall and has two sets of weatherings. The wall is laid in English bond with closers at the corners and a stringcourse at the eaves. A band of glazed headers runs along the rake of the roof in the gable. The chimney is laid in English bond from the plinth up to the top of the second set of weatherings, where it switches to stretcher bond for the stack. There are stringcourses at the top and bottom of each set of weatherings. The tiled weatherings are largely rebuilt but old bricks were used and the detailing—bricks set flat in a vertical running bond—matches that seen in photographs from the 1920s and 1930s. The T-shaped stack is bonded into the wall, rather than being set apart, and terminates in subtle corbelling at the top. There is also a two-course section of plaster necking near the top of the chimney; the plaster was replaced by APVA but the detail appears in early photographs.

North side elevation, May 2024. Original window opening on the first story and original cellar window opening to the left of the chimney. Original doorway to the right of the chimney. Note glazed headers following the rake of the roof.

To the right (west) of the chimney is a door that appears to be an original opening. Physical evidence in the masonry, and in the lintel visible from the interior, suggest that this opening is original to the house, though this conclusion has been much debated over the years. The opening is capped with a segmental

brick arch and this, along with the door frame, sill, and leaf which matches the front door, dates to the APVA restoration. The 1934 HABS drawings of this side of the house show a jack arch with alternating glazed headers above this door. Like the front door, this one is accessed via a simple ladder-style set of wooden steps.

To the left (east) of the chimney on the first story is an original window opening. The window itself matches the others in the house—a single casement with leaded, diamond-shaped panes—and dates to the APVA restoration. But unlike the other window openings, this one was not enlarged during the early 19th century and is close to its original size. It is capped with a rudimentary jack arch that was rebuilt by APVA; the HABS drawings show it with a jack arch with alternating glazed headers. There is also an original window opening in the cellar to the left of the chimney. Like the one found on the front elevation, this small window opening has a wooden sill and header and seven diamond-set vertical wooden bars. The surrounding masonry suggests that this is an original opening.

North side elevation, original sized window openings

Rear (east) elevation

The rear elevation has a door and a window on the first story, two dormers across the roof, and a shed-roofed bulkhead that shelters a cellar entrance. The wall is laid in English bond and has a ten-course

plinth topped by a plain, stepped water table. Like the front, it features brick corbeling at the corners of the eaves and exposed framing—joists, tilted false plate, and rafters with decorative ends—at the cornice. The most significant feature of the rear wall of the house is the surviving evidence of a now-missing rear wing. Extending up vertically from the south end of the shed-roofed bulkhead all the way to the eaves is a section of brick racking two bricks wide that shows where the now-missing wing was originally bonded into the rear wall. The north wall of the wing was located just inside the brick corbelling at the corner, and patching is evident here, though reconstruction during the APVA restoration has obscured it somewhat. HABS documented original surviving plaster on this portion of the wall between these vertical markers in the 1930s (see photo below), though only small traces remain today. Willie Graham noted that the mortar joints on the rear wall of the house are different on the northern half and the southern half. On the northern half, where the brickwork would have been covered with plaster as an interior wall, original surviving mortar joints show evidence of a simple, freehand, weathered joint, while on the southern half of the wall, which has always been exposed, surviving original mortar joints are struck (grapevine). Graham also documented a large hand-forged, wrought-iron spike in-situ in the attic above the collar beams that he believes marks where the roof of the one-story wing tied in with the roof of the main block. It is unknown when this original wing was destroyed. In the mid-20th century, another rear wing was added and appears in photographs, though it is unclear if it occupied the same footprint as the earlier wing. This later wing was removed shortly after APVA acquired the property. Archaeology has been done in the area to try to determine the original size of the wing, but it has so far been thwarted by heavy disturbance resulting from the APVA restoration and earlier use of the property.

Evidence of missing rear wing. Note broken bricks in the middle of the photo. December 2023.

Rear elevation of Lynnhaven House, ca. 1936, showing the same brick racking illustrated by the photo above, along with surviving plaster on the rear wall. Image courtesy of HABS/Library of Congress.

The door opening that would have connected this original wing to the main house (the doorway shown in the image above and below) is now an exterior door located close to the north corner of the house. The masonry around this opening was extensively reworked during the APVA restoration, but the door frame appears to date to the early 19th century. The board and batten door leaf was designed by APVA to match the other exterior doors that they installed in the 1970s. The opening is now capped by a segmental brick arch that was constructed by APVA; the HABS drawings show a simple wood lintel over the door. Today, the door is accessed by a simple set of wooden ladder-style stairs, matching those found on the front and side of the house.

Rear elevation, December 2023.

Just to the left (south) of the first story door, is the shed-roofed frame bulkhead that shelters the original cellar door. The frame enclosure has weatherboard siding and a wood shingled shed roof and a wide board and batten door and is entirely modern, though it was intended to look older. Its construction by APVA was for the purely utilitarian purpose of providing shelter and protection to the cellar door; they knew that the enclosure did not have any historical precedent. The cellar doorway below is an original opening, though the surrounding brickwork was reworked by APVA. It is unclear at this time how access to the cellar worked originally. It would have been beneath the original wing, so perhaps an interior stair from the rear room led down to the cellar.

To the left of the frame bulkhead and close to the south corner of the house is the only window on the first story of the rear elevation. Like the windows on the front, this opening shows evidence of being enlarged ca. 1820-1830 and the existing windows are the casement style fabricated by APVA in the 1970s. The jack arch above the window is a modern reconstruction; the HABS drawings show a gauged brick jack arch in the 1930s.

There are two dormers on the rear slope of the roof. Like those on the front, these are gabled dormers with weatherboard siding on the cheeks and in the gable and the windows are the casement design dating to the 1970s restoration. These dormers are also reconstructions; when APVA acquired the property long shed dormers covered the front and rear slopes of the roof. APVA supposedly used physical evidence to reconstruct the dormers, but the Historic Structures Report by Graham and others suggests that the reconstructed dormers are improperly sized. Graham noticed that historic photographs (undated, but pre-1933) illustrate that the dormers on the rear slope of the roof were taller than those found on the front slope of the roof, with a shallower roof pitch. These differences suggest that the dormers were built at different times, which makes sense considering that the north dormer on the rear slope of the roof could

not possibly have been in place at the same time as the original rear wing. Graham and others believe that the dormers on the rear (east) roof slope were added around the mid-19th century, presumably after the original rear wing was no longer standing, while the dormers across the front slope of the roof were original to the house (the lack of windows in the gables and the clear evidence on the interior that the attic story was finished living space originally would have necessitated some windows for light and ventilation).

South side elevation

The south side elevation of the house is the simplest of all with no window or door openings. Like the north side, the south side is dominated by a massive brick chimney with two sets of weatherings that is centered on the wall and matches the one on the north side of the house. The brickwork in the wall itself also mirrors the north elevation with English bond with closers at the corners and a stringcourse at the eaves and a band of glazed headers following the rake of the roof in the gable.

Interior Description

The Lynnhaven House today has a two-room plan, with two rooms downstairs—a hall and a parlor—and two rooms upstairs with a small passage in between. The upstairs rooms are typically referred to as the hall chamber and the parlor chamber. There is no center hall or entry, and the front door opens directly into the larger of the two downstairs rooms – the hall in 18th century parlance – which features a large fireplace, the stair to the second floor, and the most decorative trim found in the house. Originally, there would have been a third room on the first floor only, located in the rear wing (now missing) behind the parlor. There is also a cellar beneath the parlor and a crawl space beneath the hall.

In the fifty years since the Lynnhaven House was first restored, some aspects of the original plan have been much debated by professional architectural historians. The originality of the cellar is one of these elements—some argue that the stepped foundations seen on the interior of the cellar beneath the fireplace and east and west walls is evidence that the cellar was excavated later and the masonry work is an attempt to underpin the foundation to provide structural support, while others point to the original brick partition wall between the cellar and the crawl space, which is bonded into the front and rear walls of the foundation, and the original cellar windows on the north and west elevations as evidence that the cellar was an original part of the house. The brickwork suggests that the air holes in the plinth on the south half of the house are original, as are the larger cellar windows on the north half, which suggests that the space beneath the house was originally divided into different uses—a crawl space beneath the hall and a cellar beneath the parlor. The construction of the partition wall and the presence of cellar windows, which the brickwork suggests were not added later, has no reasonable explanation if the cellar is not original.

There has also been debate about the function of the smaller of the two first floor rooms, the parlor. When APVA restored the house in the 1970s, they restored this room, and interpreted it, as a kitchen. The firebox in the parlor is about a foot wider and 6” deeper than that found in the hall. This size difference is unusual, as the hall fireplace is typically larger than that found in the parlor. There are also arched brick warming niches located inside the fireplace in the parlor on the sides of the firebox about 3’ up from the hearth. The one on the west side was clearly built by APVA, as this entire side of the firebox is reconstructed, but the one on the east side of the firebox does look like it could be original. When APVA acquired the property, the large mantel with bolection moldings that is now located in the hall was located in the parlor. According to an interview with former director, Angus Murdock, plaster ghosts around the parlor fireplace led them to believe that it had no mantel originally, and instead had just a

simple wooden lintel, and they discovered that the existing mantel "fit perfectly" in the hall (where the original mantel was missing as early as 1934 when HABS documented a "new" mantel in this room) and so they decided to relocate it. The larger firebox with warming niches and their conclusion that it had no decorative fireplace surround originally, led APVA to conclude that the space functioned as the kitchen. There have been other documented examples of 18th century houses with hall-kitchen plans, though it is quite unusual. The far more typical plan in the South was a hall-parlor plan with a detached kitchen. More recent research, explored in depth in Section 8, has suggested that the use of the parlor began to shift right around 1725 from a space primarily used by the family for sleeping and other more private family tasks, to a space also used as a dining room for entertaining select guests; the circulation plan at Lynnhaven is best understood within this context. The original door on the north wall (beside the fireplace) would have led to a side yard where a detached kitchen could have been located, while the original door on the east wall would have led into the rear chamber in the now-missing wing. Under this scenario, the parlor/dining room makes logical sense as the "control room" of the plantation, where the lady of the house had ready access to the hall, rear chamber, and service yard. Willie Graham's recent research at Cloverfields in Maryland has documented definitive proof that cooking took place in more than one room in that house, including in an upstairs chamber (Graham, personal communication). It is conceivable, then, that the parlor room was not *the* kitchen in the Lynnhaven House, but it could have been a dining room where the fireplace was designed to accommodate some cooking or final food preparations in certain circumstances. In the following discussion, this smaller of the two first floor rooms will be referred to as the parlor/dining room.

The Lynnhaven House has actually been closed as a museum for the last eight years as the City has battled ongoing moisture problems inside the building. One of the results of the excessive moisture was mold growth on all of the interior surfaces and plaster failure. All of the plaster in the house was replaced as part of the APVA restoration and all of this 1970s plaster was removed from the house in the last several years. Currently, there is no plaster in the house, though the wood framing and partitions remain, so the floorplan is clearly legible. (The APVA restoration retained a small, two-foot-square, section of what they deemed to be original plaster; it is located in the hall, on the front wall about eight feet up from the floor. This small section of original plaster does remain in place today.) The floors on both the first and second floor have been covered with a temporary protective paper (X Board). The absence of plaster provides a unique opportunity to study the building technology of the Lynnhaven House, details that are often hidden from view.

Cellar

The cellar is accessed via a door on the rear (east) elevation that is now sheltered by a frame shed of completely modern construction. The frame structure was added by APVA in the early 1970s to protect the door and access stairs and it was made to look old, with reproduction rose headed wrought nails and band-sawn weatherboards. There was no historic precedent for such a structure. The cellar must have originally been accessed from inside the original rear wing but how that worked is unclear. The existing doorway does appear to be original, with closers in the brickwork and a heavy hewn lintel pegged to the side jambs (the jambs are rebuilt but portions are believed to be original). The door itself is a board and batten door that dates to the APVA restoration. The house originally had a full cellar only under the north end of the house (beneath the parlor) and a brick partition wall divided this full cellar from the crawlspace beneath the south end of the house (the south end of the house has simple vents in the exterior walls while the north end has two barred windows, one on the west wall and one on the north wall). The brick partition wall had been removed down to the dirt floor by the time of the HABS survey in 1934; it was reconstructed by the APVA in the 1970s. The brick walls are unplastered and the joists above are

exposed. The floor is dirt, covered with a thick plastic membrane to address rising moisture. The crawlspace has been excavated to allow the installation of modern mechanical systems.

First floor, Hall

The front door opens into the hall, the larger of the two first floor rooms. The hall has wide, random width floorboards (covered; replaced by APVA) and currently has exposed brick on the south, east, and west walls and a wooden stud wall partitioning it from the parlor/dining room. There is a simple beaded baseboard on the east and west walls of the room and part of the south wall; this dates to the APVA restoration and architectural historians have found no evidence for a baseboard before ca. 1820. There is also a simple chair rail with a bead on both the top and bottom edges on the east and west walls and part of the south wall. Like the baseboards, it dates to the APVA restoration and there is no evidence for a chair rail prior to 1820. At the time of the 2018 HSR, there was a fragment of 19th century chair rail to the left of the fireplace that Graham thought could have possibly been the only surviving evidence of an early 19th century renovation of the house, though it was unclear where in the house it had been located prior to the APVA restoration. That piece of chair rail is no longer in place on the wall, but it is currently stored inside the hall firebox with other trim pieces and it is labeled. There is currently no door or window trim around any of the openings; it is believed that most of the door and window trim that was removed in the last several years dated to the 1970s APVA restoration.

Hall. Front entrance is the open door leaf seen on the left. May 2024.

Regardless, the most important and character-defining elements of the hall do remain in remarkably original condition—the ceiling, the stair, and the fireplace. An 18th century mantel, believed to be the one originally located in the parlor/dining room, is also currently leaning up against the fireplace in the hall. The ceiling of the hall is characterized by exposed framing that was meant to be seen. Hand-planed joists span the room and are molded on their bottom corners with ogee detailing that extends the full depth of the room. The bottom of the floorboards above, which were meant to be exposed, are also hand-planed and are not gauged or undercut, meaning the carpenter hand finished each board to fit exactly before setting it in place. In doing so, he numbered the bottoms of the boards with chalk with Arabic numerals (and not the more common Roman numerals) so that matching edges had the same number. These chalk marks are still visible in one location 300 years later. There is also the faint ghost of an inscribed date – "August th5 1754" (or 1734?) – on the side of one of the joists near the stair. The significance of this date is unknown.

Hall, ceiling detail, exposed joists and numbered floorboards. December 2023.

Hall, ceiling detail, "August th5 1754" [or 1734?].

The stair is the other character-defining element of the hall. The closed-string stair has turned balusters and square newels. The newels have applied, molded caps (all original except for the one on the bottom newel) and finials that were added by APVA (the 1934 HABS drawings note that there was evidence for circular finials but that they were not present at the time). The balusters are a rare example of early symmetrical turned balusters in Virginia, and may be evidence of the overlap between the building trades and furniture artisans, as the design bears a close resemblance to a leg on an early 18th century table from eastern Virginia in the collection of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (Narvaez and Stoll, 67). The balusters support a relatively simple but refined molded handrail. APVA added an oblong drop pendent from the bottom of the uppermost newel; the design is conjectural, but Angus Murdock asserts that APVA found evidence that an original drop pendant in the same location had been sawn off prior to their acquisition of the house (Murdock, Video interview). Stair treads are molded on their edges, though this nosing has been cut off and replicated on most of them (the original profile was documented by HABS and original molding may survive on the uppermost tread). The wall area below the stringer is paneled with original vertical boards with ovolo-molded battens at the seams. The pegged construction that connects these panels with the stair components is visible from within the closet beneath the stair. That closet also reveals a molded ceiling joist that matches those found in the hall reused as a stringer supporting the lower run of the stairs. One can conjecture that this remnant is from the hole cut in the ceiling to accommodate the stair. The floorboards inside the closet are the only original flooring remaining on the first floor of the house. The board-and-batten door to the closet, and the strap hinges it hangs on, date to the APVA restoration. One unusual aspect of the craftsmanship of the stair is that all of the components are simply butted and toenailed together, rather than being connected with mortise-and-tenon or dovetailed joinery. Nails are mostly T-headed, though a few are rose headed wrought nails.

This simplified method of construction is also found at the Keeling House (Narvaez and Stoll, 70), which bears other similarities to the Lynnhaven House (see discussion in Section 8). The only remaining original lath in the house is found on the underside of the upper run of stairs; it is riven and held in place with wrought nails.

Hall, stair, May 2024.

The fireplace in the hall is original and was an important element of the 18th century space for its promise of hospitality, an increasingly important concept in the early 18th century. Although the original mantel has been missing for nearly 100 years (the 1934 HABS drawings note a "new" mantel in this space), the lintel is the original massive hewn beam, chamfered on the backside to facilitate smoke uptake, and the firebox has been restored to its original size: 6'11" wide by 3'6" deep by 4'7 ½" tall. It is slightly smaller than the firebox in the parlor, which is surprising, and supports the theories about shifting room use in the early 18th century. Current thinking suggests that the mantel currently leaning up against the hall fireplace was actually originally located in the parlor (Narvaez and Stoll, 60). Photos suggest that it was in the parlor when APVA acquired the house and the HABS drawings document it in that room as well. The mantel is an early 18th century design with mitered sidepieces molded with a complex bolection profile, while the horizontal member has a pulvinated molding.

Hall, fireplace, December 2023.

First Floor, Parlor/Dining Room

The partition wall between the hall and the parlor/dining room was disassembled and rebuilt by the APVA. The studs are all original and are both hewn and pit sawn. The plate that the studs are toenailed into dates to ca. 1890, according to a 1975 APVA drawing of the doorway between the hall and the parlor. The studs are half-lapped and nailed into the header beam. The existing door location is original, and the post on the west side of the door served as the original door jamb (Graham, 16), though the existing board and batten door dates to the APVA restoration.

The parlor/dining room is a slightly smaller room than the hall with two exterior doors, one on the rear (east) elevation and one on the north end beside the fireplace. The rear door opening, which is original with a hewn lintel set in the surrounding brickwork, would have initially been an interior door that opened into the rear chamber in the now-missing rear wing. The north door opening, also original with a hewn lintel set in bed molding, was an original exterior door, suggesting that the service yard, and possibly a detached kitchen, was located to the north of the main house.

Parlor/dining room, May 2024. The doorway that originally led outside, to the north yard, is on the left beside the fireplace, while the doorway that originally connected to the rear chamber is in the center of the photo.

Like the hall, the ceiling in this room features exposed, molded ceiling joists. There is no evidence that the room originally had chair rail or baseboards and there are none present today. There is no window or door trim in this room either. Also like the hall, the removal of the 1970s plaster has revealed the brickwork on the north, east, and west walls. All are laid in English bond on the inside and the rear (east) wall has remnants of original plaster.

The fireplace in the parlor/dining room was originally larger than the one found in the hall, though it had been reduced in size by the time APVA acquired the property. The masonry of this fireplace required more reconstruction than the one in the hall, but it has been restored to close to its original size. During the removal of filler bricks, APVA discovered warming niches on both side walls of the firebox; the one on the west wall had to be completely reconstructed but the one on the east wall appears to be original. The large hewn lintel over the fireplace had to be replaced in recent years due to severe termite damage, but the front face of the original beam was removed and affixed to the new structural beam so that the appearance is unchanged.

Parlor/dining room fireplace, warming niche on the east wall of the firebox. May 2024.

Second floor

The stair rises to a small passage between two chambers. Like the first floor, all of the plaster has been removed on the second floor. This has revealed the newer lumber used to reconstruct all the interior partition walls in the 1970s. Photos suggest that the second floor may have been one large open space when APVA acquired the property, though the presence of two fireplaces on this floor indicates that it must have been partitioned originally. Presumably, the existing partitions were reconstructed where physical evidence indicated they had originally been located, though restoration documents to support this presumption have not been located to date. The 1934 HABS drawings do show the space divided into two rooms and a small hall, though the north partition is not in the same location as it is currently. Physical evidence also suggests that at some point the partition separating the north chamber from the passage was removed and a railing with square balusters was installed along the edge of the stair opening; when this change occurred is unclear. The placement of the dormers (reconstructed based on physical and photographic evidence by APVA) combined with the two fireplaces does suggest that the current floorplan is logical—the third dormer would have been necessary to light the small passage at the top of the stairs. Both rooms on the second floor have a fireplace on the end wall and dormer windows on both slopes of the roof. Historic photographs (discussed above) do suggest that the dormers on the rear (east) slope of the roof were added later, probably in the 19th century, after the removal of the original rear wing.

Second floor, hall chamber, looking into parlor chamber. May 2024.

The ceilings on the second floor, like those below, feature exposed framing members that exhibit the fine workmanship in the construction of the house. On the second floor, the ceiling is made up of hand-planed exposed collar beams that are half-dovetail lapped to the rafters which support a board floor for the cockloft, or upper attic, above. These collars are not molded like the exposed joists on the first floor, but the smooth planed finish suggests that they were originally meant to be seen. The board floor of the cockloft is original and the boards are planed smooth on the bottom sides, where they would be seen from the second floor chambers, and left rough pit-sawn on their upper sides. The absence of plaster on the second floor allows for the visibility of the roof framing; the collars are pegged to the rafters through the half-dovetail joints. The missing walls also expose the edges of the floorboards for the second floor from within the stairwell. Unlike the first floor, the flooring on the second floor is original—the wide, pine boards are ship-lapped and face nailed.

Second floor, parlor chamber. May 2024.

Each room has an original fireplace and mantel, though the fireboxes are slightly different sizes. The firebox in the hall chamber is the smaller of the two (which aligns with the hall firebox being smaller than the parlor/dining room one); it is 3' 8 ½" wide by 3' 7 ¼" tall and 1' 2" deep and is flush with the interior of the gable, rather than projecting into the room. The original mantel consists of three molded boards with a large bolection profile near the inside edge and a backband with a beaded edge and a quirked cyma. The parlor/dining room chamber has a mantel with identical moldings, but it is slightly larger to fit the larger firebox, which measures 5' wide by 3' 10 ½" tall by 1' 9" deep. This firebox also projects into the room slightly, about 4 ½". Like the first floor, there is no trim on the second floor—no chair rail or baseboards, no window or door trim—and evidence suggests that the space did not originally have chair rails or baseboards (Narvaez and Stoll, 78). Like the second-floor partition walls, the two doors into each chamber date to the APVA restoration. Both are board-and-batten doors, similar to the style used elsewhere in the house, hung on reproduction hinges on plain, unbeaded door jambs.

Cockloft or upper attic

In the ceiling of the small passage on the second floor is a hatch that provides access to the cockloft or upper attic. It is only accessible with a ladder and Graham et al. believe that this hatch dates to the 20th century (Narvaez and Stoll, 80). The roof framing visible from this attic space shows that rafters are through tenoned and pinned at the ridge. Some of the original roof sheathing remains as well—it is pit sawn yellow pine with some remaining hand-wrought iron nails with spoon-tipped points. The spacing of the remaining nails suggests that original shingles were between 3" and 6" wide. The space in the cockloft is tight and the floor is currently covered with insulation batts and HVAC ducts making it difficult to move around. The exposed brick gable walls seem to have the remnants of whitewash or plaster.

Integrity

The Lynnhaven House has good integrity to both the 18th century period of original construction and the 20th century restoration period, and the surviving architecture can tell us much about both periods of history. The Lynnhaven House retains integrity of location because it remains in its original location and has not been moved. In spite of the explosive growth of the Virginia Beach area over the last 50 years, the Lynnhaven House retains good integrity of setting within the immediate area of the house. While it is no longer surrounded by agricultural land or supporting outbuildings, careful landscaping and vegetative buffers preserve some of the feeling of isolation that the house must have originally possessed, even though it is now surrounded by suburbia. The house retains good integrity of design; the combination of surviving original materials and careful 20th century restoration exhibits the design decisions of the original owner and builders—the exterior appearance, including the decorative brickwork in the gables, the massive end chimneys, and the exposed framing at the cornice; the original footprint; the original floorplan; and interior decorative details, including the mantels, exposed ceiling framing, and the stair. That the 20th century APVA restoration resulted in the preservation of these original details and the restoration of others no longer present (including the dormers) is a true gift. Along the same lines, the house retains good integrity of materials—all the brickwork is original to the 18th century, including the chimneys, along with most of the timber framing members, half of the flooring, three mantels, and most components of the stair. Important materials surviving from the 1970s restoration period include the casement windows, dormers, hardware, doors, partition walls on the second floor, and flooring on the first floor. Excellent integrity of workmanship is showcased by the English bond brickwork; glazed header details in the gables; massive double-shouldered chimneys with multiple stringcourses and tiled weatherings; timber framing and joinery in the roof framing, including the exposed cornice; exposed ceilings with hand-planed and molded joists and collars and numbered, hand-planed floorboards; stair with symmetrical turned balusters; and mantels displaying multiple molding profiles. Twentieth century workmanship by the craftsmen working on the restoration is also exhibited by the repointed brickwork, repaired chimneys, hand-crafted casement windows and doors, and hand-forged hardware. The integrity of feeling at the Lynnhaven House is fair; the lack of finished interior walls negatively impacts the feeling of the 18th century gentry house, even as it exposes elements of the design and workmanship not typically visible to the visitor, while the suburban setting does diminish the original rural feeling of the property. In spite of the diminished feeling, the Lynnhaven House has good integrity of association as it remains the physical link to the history of enslavement which was exposed through documentary research on the families of Lynnhaven, and to the evolving social expectations within planter society in Tidewater Virginia.

Cemetery – Contributing

The cemetery is located to the south of the house, at the edge of the treeline that separates the house from the newer retention pond on an adjacent parcel. There is no wall, fence, or any other type of enclosure around the cemetery; instead, it consists of four marked graves located very close together in a cluster, all oriented east-west. The overgrown vegetation in the surrounding trees is threatening, but the City keeps the cemetery mowed. There are four box tombs, three have sandstone walls and one is brick construction. All have replacement cast stone slabs taking the place of the very deteriorated original ledger stones, except for the brick tomb belonging to Eliza Walke which retains its original ledger stone. Interred here are William Boush (1759-1834), Mary Boush, his wife (1764-1822), William F.M. Boush, their son, (1793(?)–1818), and Eliza J.S. Walke (1802(?)-1884), daughter of William and Mary Boush.

Cemetery, looking northeast. Lynnhaven House is just out of frame to the left. May 2024.

When APVA acquired the property in the early 1970s, the cemetery was in an advanced state of disrepair. Repeated acts of vandalism had broken all of the tombs and scattered the pieces around the property; the cemetery was badly overgrown. In 1975, APVA restored the cemetery and repaired and reconstructed the tombs. The original ledger stones may have been reinstalled at that point and removed later, but they were certainly replaced for their own protection in 1991 with the existing cast stone slabs. At that time, brass plaques with transcriptions of the inscriptions from the original stones were installed on the sides of the box tombs. The original ledger stones are in fragmentary condition and are stored in a City-owned offsite secure storage facility. The only brick tomb, belonging to Eliza J.S. Walke, is surrounded by a wrought iron fence. It is a bow and hairpin style fence with two rails and corner posts set on granite blocks. The fence looks today much as it did in photographs from 1975 and is the most original feature in the cemetery. In addition to the four marked graves, archaeology in 1983 discovered four additional burials in subterranean brick vaults and another possible burial not enclosed in a brick vault, all located to the north of the marked graves, closer to the main house. That same investigation located a section of brick wall to the south of the marked graves but did not chase the wall to see where it led. The area covered by known burials, including the marked graves and those located during the 1980s archaeological dig, measures approximately 60 feet north-south by 35 feet east-west. In 2013, the Chicora Foundation prepared a Preservation Assessment of the cemetery for the City and noted a brick pile approximately three feet east of Eliza Walke's grave that they believed marked the remnants of another burial. This pile was only about a foot high in 2013 and is not easily visible today. No additional archaeology has been done since 1983 in the area of the cemetery, nor has ground penetrating radar been used to try to determine the boundaries. It must be assumed that the archaeological potential of this portion of the property is high, as is the likelihood of finding additional graves.

Caretakers house and shed, Early 1980s – Noncontributing

The caretaker's house and shed are located to the east of the Lynnhaven House and are visually separated by a stand of trees. The caretaker's house and shed were built in the early 1980s (after the house was already listed on the National Register) to provide for an onsite caretaker for the Lynnhaven House; in 2024, it has now been vacant for several years. It appears to face north, towards Wishart Road, though the road is not visible through the heavy woods at the front of the property. In reality, the front of the house may have been the south elevation; the door on the north elevation is reported to enter into the kitchen. A gravel driveway leads directly to the house from the road. A path leads from the caretaker's house across a small wooden bridge to the Lynnhaven House to the west. Prior to the construction of the Visitor's Center in 2005, a small bathroom located in an attached shed on the south side of the side wing provided the only restroom for visitors, staff, and volunteers.

The house is a 1 ½ story frame dwelling with a brick foundation laid in English bond and a side gabled roof. The main block is three bays wide and has two shed dormers on the front slope of the roof. A side wing is two bays wide with no dormers. The walls of the house are clad in wood weatherboards. An interior chimney is also covered with siding, though the material is not clear. The wood shingle roof is deteriorating and coated with moss and algae.

The frame shed is located behind the house and has a steeply pitched, side gabled roof. The building has a door and a small four-light window on the north side facing the house. The roof is covered with wood shingles and the walls are clad with wood weatherboards.

Visitor's Center, 2005 – Noncontributing

The Visitor's Center is the most recently constructed building on the property, built in 2005, more than 30 years after the house was listed on the National Register. It is sited closest to Wishart Road, beside a gravel parking lot. The one-story frame building has a low-pitched front gabled roof and a narrow but deep rectangular footprint. It is three bays wide on the front elevation facing the parking lot, with a centered double-leaf entrance beneath a gabled entry porch in the center bay and a pair of one-light fixed windows in each end bay, set out towards the corners of the building. The building is clad with unpainted wood shakes that helps it blend into the wooded landscape that surrounds it, and it has a brown asphalt shingle roof. It consists of three distinct building blocks set gable-end to gable-end and connected with smaller hyphens, which helps to minimize the mass of the building. Open decking (originally wood, now Trex) wraps around all sides of the building and connects with a wooden boardwalk which leads to the clearing around the Lynnhaven House.

Archaeological Potential

Previous archaeological investigations on the Lynnhaven House property suggest that the archaeological potential of the site varies depending on the location. There have been several archaeological digs on the property over the last 50 years. Archaeology done in the early 1970s as part of the APVA restoration was not well-documented, though it was reportedly extensive. Unfortunately, aside from maps showing the locations of test units, there is no report detailing the findings and no collection of artifacts. Archaeology in the early 1980s investigated the site of the caretaker's cottage prior to construction and found the site to be heavily disturbed and devoid of archaeological significance. Shortly thereafter, the most extensive investigation around the Lynnhaven House itself was undertaken in 1983. This work documented that the east yard was heavily disturbed and showed evidence of substantial fill brought in to level a significant

slope, while the north yard also showed evidence of grading that had disturbed the stratigraphy. That work did, however, document a trash midden in the north yard, approximately 10' north of the northern exterior door which contained 18th and early 19th century artifacts. The west yard of the house was found to be relatively undisturbed and contained another trash midden with 18th century artifacts and several postholes which may predate the 1725 construction date of the Lynnhaven House. The south yard of the house, between the house and the cemetery, was also fairly intact and included seven unmarked burials, the remains of a brick wall, and brick rubble. Little archaeological work of any significant scope has been undertaken since 1983. In 2009, a very limited investigation excavated 19 shovel test pits in the area of a planned handicapped ramp adjacent to the visitor center and found no features or artifacts of significance. In 2014, another limited investigation by the James River Institute for Archaeology focused on the area immediately adjacent to the Lynnhaven House in an effort to determine if planned foundation waterproofing efforts would impact significant archaeological resources. These efforts confirmed that the early 1970s foundation stabilization work of the APVA had obliterated any surviving builders trench or other archaeological evidence within three feet of the building. They did however, note that the earlier 1980s work does show the potential for intact archaeological remains in areas around the house that are more than three feet from the building, especially in the west and south yards, and they recommended additional archaeological excavations before any planned disturbances and archaeological monitoring of any work. Ground penetrating radar in the area of the cemetery could be used to great advantage to identify the full extent of possible graves and any associated wall. Therefore, although archaeology was not part of this nomination update project, the Lynnhaven House property should be considered high potential for archaeological significance outside of areas already specifically ruled out through previous archaeological investigations.

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- [X] A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- [ ] B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- [X] C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- [ ] D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations
(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- [ ] A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- [ ] B. Removed from its original location
- [ ] C. A birthplace or grave
- [ ] D. A cemetery
- [ ] E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- [ ] F. A commemorative property
- [ ] G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions.)
_ARCHITECTURE__
_CONSERVATION__
_____
_____
_____
_____

Period of Significance
_1724-1725_____
_1971-1975_____

Significant Dates
_1724 – 1725 – trees felled, construction substantially completed_____
_1971 – 1975 – restoration by APVA_____

Significant Person
(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)
__N/A_____
_____
_____

Cultural Affiliation
___N/A_____
_____
_____

Architect/Builder
___Unknown_____
_____
_____

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

Tucked into the booming suburbia that is the City of Virginia Beach today is a remarkable survivor of Princess Anne County's colonial past. First listed in the National Register in 1969 as the (erroneously named) Wishart-Boush House, the Lynnhaven House was constructed in 1725 (per dendrochronology) by Francis Thelaball, an enslaver and member of the gentry class, and was the center of a 250-acre plantation. The 1 ½ story, hall-parlor plan house is constructed of English bond brick and has two massive exterior end chimneys. It retains important interior trim work, including the original exposed, molded ceiling joists, original closed-stringer ornamental stair, and three original mantels, and important physical evidence for significant transitions in Virginia architecture, including building technology that reflects the vernacular Virginia house tradition and evidence for the shift in room use from parlor to dining room that occurred in the early- to mid-18th century. It is an important work of architecture that embodies the social, cultural, and economic shifts taking place in the Virginia Tidewater in the decades prior to the American Revolution. After falling into disrepair and being used as a tenant house during the mid 20th century, the house was gifted to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities in 1971 by the Oliver family and was restored by that organization over the next five years. They enlisted the help of Colonial Williamsburg-trained professionals, including well-known restoration architect Paul Buchanan, to restore Lynnhaven to its 18th-century appearance, after which the house was opened to the public and functioned as an interpreted museum for the next four decades. In 2008, the house was transferred to the City of Virginia Beach who continues to operate it as a museum. The preservation and restoration decisions made by the APVA team made it possible for Lynnhaven to live on and educate local residents and esteemed scholars about the architecture and lifeways of Colonial Virginians, but the house is also a reflection of the conservation ethics of the 1970s and the "Colonial Williamsburg effect" in restoration practice. A cemetery associated with the Boush family, late-18th and 19th-century owners of Lynnhaven House, is also located on the property. The Boushes owned Lynnhaven for over 70 years and research by the City of Virginia Beach has uncovered the important history of some of the enslaved people who lived and worked at Lynnhaven during the 18th and 19th centuries. Mingo, Morson, and Moll; Lewis and Pleasant; Sam, Charles, Sally, Tony, Daniel, and Nancy; Jacob, Cuffe, Toney and old Jasper. All were enslaved by the Thelaball and Boush families and their stories, as unearthed by the City's research, give depth to our understanding of the history of enslavement in early Virginia.

The Lynnhaven House is eligible for listing on the National Register at the Statewide level of significance under Criterion C in the area of Architecture and under Criterion A in the area of Conservation with a period of significance of 1724-1725 for Criterion C (capturing the first year some of the trees used in the construction of the house were felled and its original construction) and 1971-1975 for Criterion A (capturing the period of the major restoration undertaken by APVA).

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

Statement of Significance in 1969

When the Lynnhaven House was listed on the National Register in 1969, it was listed as the Wishart-Boush House or James Wishart House due to an erroneous early attribution of the property to the ownership of the Wishart family. It was described as "an extraordinary survival of seventeenth-century medieval design" and the period of significance was marked as 17th century. It was listed as significant at the National level in the area of Art or Architecture (the form has "other" marked for "Areas of Significance" and "Architecture" typed into the blank, but then these seem to have been crossed out by hand and "Art" is checked on the official NPS copy of the form). The significance statement is a single paragraph that describes the house as "one of the oldest brick houses remaining in the United States" and "among the few seventeenth century Virginia houses to retain a significant portion of its original interior woodwork."

The narrative below corrects the record with regard to the ownership of the house and the date of construction, and expands the argument for significance by exploring the context of 18th-century Virginia architecture and 1970s architectural restoration,. The level of significance is changed to statewide as the original argument for national significance, namely its 17th century construction date, has proven to be inaccurate. The Lynnhaven House is eligible at the statewide level of significance due to the influential architectural trends embodied by the resource, both those of its original early 18th century construction and its 1970s restoration. This nomination update relies substantially on primary source research conducted on the property between 1975 and 2024, some funded by APVA and some by the Virginia Beach History Museums, and on the architectural research of Willie Graham and Carey Howlett, who conducted the architectural assessment for a Historic Structures Report in 2018, as well as the broader architectural research of Cary Carson, Carl Lounsbury, and others. Sources for particular quotes or facts are cited in the text below and all resources utilized are listed in Section 9.

Brief history of the development of Virginia Beach

The area known today as the City of Virginia Beach was first settled by Europeans in the 1620s and, in 1634, when the English settlers first established administrative land divisions, it was designated part of Elizabeth City County. In 1636, that county was subdivided and the area of Virginia Beach became part of New Norfolk County, which was rapidly subdivided into Upper and Lower Norfolk Counties in 1637; the first Courts were held on Adam Thoroughgood's land in 1637. By 1691, the modern-day area of Virginia Beach was within Princess Anne County and the first courthouse was located along the Lynnhaven River. The many navigable rivers and waterways of the County were important to the growing agricultural economy, as they provided a means to move the main exports, pine pitch and tobacco, towards the ports. In the 18th century, the villages of Newtown and Kemps Landing/Kempsville were established along the Elizabeth River and both hosted the county courthouse for several decades. The economy of Princess Anne County was based on agriculture and the maritime industry all the way up to the Civil War. As a southern agricultural county, Princess Anne had a substantial population of enslaved African Americans throughout the Antebellum period. The county's agricultural industry recovered slowly after the Civil War, but eventually truck farming, providing produce to the growing

urban areas in the Northeast, became profitable. While recreation became an important influencer in development along the coast in the late 19th and early 20th century in the small but growing town of Virginia Beach, the vast acreage of inland Princess Anne County remained rural. The growth of the military between World Wars I and II and the establishment of new military bases and the shipbuilding industry in Norfolk contributed to a substantial increase in the demand for housing, and the mid 20th century was marked by a significant housing boom that created numerous new suburban residential developments on former farmlands in northern Princess Anne County. Development pressure was felt throughout the Hampton Roads area and the neighboring City of Norfolk annexed a sizable portion of Princess Anne County in 1959 in an effort to address their own housing crisis. Concerns about the political implications of annexation, as well as encroachment by neighboring cities, inspired the residents of Princess Anne County and the City of Virginia Beach to merge into one large municipality in 1963. Suburban development continued throughout the middle and late 20th century as improvements to the interstate system facilitated vehicular transportation throughout the Hampton Roads area. In the more than 50 years since the Lynnhaven House was first listed on the National Register in 1969, the surrounding area has transitioned completely from fully rural to densely suburban (Purvis and McClane, 11-18).

Chain of Title of the Lynnhaven House

Over the years, mistakes in tracing the chain of title for the Lynnhaven House have been numerous and led to long-lasting confusion. Back in 1931, Sadie Kellam's book, *Old Houses in Princess Anne Virginia*, asserted that the Lynnhaven House dated to the 17th century and that it was built by William Wishart. Both of these assertions were false, but the name she bestowed on the house, the Wishart-Boush House, stuck for decades. Dendrochronology completed on the house in 1981 and 2007 established that the lumber for the house was felled in the fall and winter of 1724 and that it wasn't allowed to weather before construction, meaning that a construction date of 1725 is likely (Heikkenen; Miles and Worthington). Given this information, the house was therefore constructed by or for Francis Thelaball II (1684-1727) who acquired the property in 1721 (Riley). Thelaball lived in the house with his wife, Abigail Butt (1694-1756) and their five sons—James (1714-1741), Thomas (1718-1751), Lewis (1722-c.1746), Lemuel (1720-c.1746), and Nathaniel (1724-c.1757). He enjoyed the house for a very short time, however, before he died in 1727. His will leaves "my plantation in Princess Anne County" to his eldest son, James (who was 13 years old when his father died) (Will reprinted in Luccketti, Romo, and Laird, 59). It seems likely that Thelaballs's widow and his sons continued to live in the house after his death, and Abigail married again, to Anthony Moseley, between April and September 1728. The two had four more children together, but it isn't clear if they continued to reside at Lynnhaven. James Thelaball inherited the 250-acre Lynnhaven House plantation from his father and he may have lived there once he reached the age of maturity. He died in late 1741, when he was only 27 years old and without any children, and the property passed to his younger brother, Lemuel. Lemuel held it for only a few years before he passed it to his oldest brother, Thomas, around 1746. When their father, Francis, had died in 1727, Thomas had inherited a plantation in Norfolk County and he married the twice-widowed Elizabeth Wilson Sweeney Boush sometime prior to 1746; their first child, Abigail, was born that year, followed quickly by another girl, Prudence, in 1747, and a boy, Lemuel, in 1749. It is unclear if Thomas and his young family moved to Lynnhaven when he inherited it, but Thomas died in 1751 and his young son, Lemuel, died around the same time. The Lynnhaven House property passed to young Abigail and Prudence Thelaball, four and five years old at the time of their father's death, and they owned it for more than 30 years. In 1783, Abigail Thelaball gave her interest in the Lynnhaven House property to her sister, and, in 1784, Prudence

sold the property to their older half brother, Captain Frederick W. Boush, a son of Elizabeth Boush Thelaball from one of her previous marriages. There is some evidence that Boush was living on the property prior to purchasing it, at least by the 1770s; researcher Wesley Jones uncovered primary source evidence that supports this theory (Jones, 21-23). A title history completed on the Lynnhaven House in 1975 also cited a Revolutionary War era map that included a reference to a place labeled "Roush's" as evidence that Boush was living on the property before he officially purchased it from his half-sisters (Riley cited in Jones, 21). Jones also found primary source references that suggested that Elizabeth Thelaball was living in Norfolk County in the late 1750s; since Thomas Thelaball had owned at least two plantations at the time of his death, one in Norfolk County and one in Princess Anne County (Lynnhaven House), it is certainly plausible that Frederick Boush was living on and managing the Princess Anne County plantation while his mother and sisters lived in Norfolk County.

The Lynnhaven House property would remain in the Boush family for more than 70 years. Frederick W. Boush came from a prominent family and used his status to achieve positions of authority in Princess Anne County. In the late 1750s he was appointed by the Lynnhaven Parish vestry to be responsible for clearly delineating property lines and was licensed to operate an ordinary for a year (there is no evidence that he ever actually ran an ordinary) (Jones, 24). By the 1760s, he was a local Sheriff; in 1768 the Virginia Gazette ran an advertisement for an African American person suspected of being a runaway who was being held in the Princess Anne County jail and that ad was signed by Frederick Boush (Jones, 25.) And by the 1770s he was involved in the fight for independence, serving on a local committee supportive of the Continental Congress and commanding a company of men in the local militia (Jones, 25-26). In 1782, right before he purchased the Lynnhaven House plantation from his half-sister, he owned over 800 acres of land, 12 enslaved persons, 7 horses, and 50 head of cattle (Jones, 27). Boush continued to prosper and at the time of his death in 1806, he owned multiple plantations totaling 2,312 acres and at least 37 enslaved people. In comparison to his neighbors, his holdings were quite substantial (Jones, 27).

Boush may have been one of the most prosperous landowners in late 18th century Princess Anne County, but research by Wesley Jones has found that Boush was frequently in conflict with his neighbors and his name appears in the historical record on multiple occasions associated with acts of cruelty towards enslaved persons. In the mid to late 1770s, three different men complained to the Princess Anne County court that Boush was "a Person of lewd Life and Conversation and a common disturber of the Peace" (Jones, 26). Jones also uncovered a document that reveals a dispute between Boush and his neighbors in 1774 (and Jones' research into the names mentioned in this particular document is one of the pieces of evidence that he uses to support his theory that Boush was living on the Lynnhaven House property at the time) and in this "declaration" Boush warns "those Gentleman and Slaves to Keep of[f] my Land Except on the Kings Highway," and in return he allows "any Person finding any my Negros on Mr. Walks Land or Capt. Kemps will take them and give them Twenty one lashes well Layed on their bare Back I will give them five shillings…and shall Ever Look upon them to be a friend to Justice" (Jones, 22). In a later episode Boush was taken to court and charged with the mutilation of "a Negro Slave called Ned," though he pled not guilty and the justices ultimately allowed him to escape punishment (Jones, 25). Boush was a prime example of one of the great ironies of American history—a gentleman deeply involved with the fight for American independence who simultaneously enslaved other people and treated them with cruelty and disregard.

Frederick W. Boush had three children with his wife, Jacomine Hunter: William, Caleb, and Elizabeth. His eldest son, William (1759-1834), inherited the Lynnhaven House plantation when his father died in

1806. Researcher Madison Riley carefully examined the multiple landholdings of Frederick Boush at the time of his death and concluded that Frederick was living at the Lynnhaven House when he died, but she could not conclude with any certainty that William Boush had taken up residence at Lynnhaven after he inherited it (Jones, 28). William Boush had purchased a 300-acre property on Little Creek in 1795 and moved there with his wife, Mary "Polly" Brickhouse, by 1800 (Jones, 28). But evidence at Lynnhaven House itself does suggest that William and his family moved to Lynnhaven soon after he inherited it. First, William, Mary, and both of their children are buried at the Lynnhaven House, which is strong evidence that they made it their home for an extended time. Second, architectural historians Willie Graham and Carey Howlett discovered physical evidence of early 19th century improvements at the Lynnhaven House, including the enlargement of the window openings and the probable installation of double-hung sash to replace the original casement windows, and the upgrading of trim on the interior of the house, represented by a single surviving piece of chair rail. Such cosmetic improvements and updates are often seen in the architectural record when a property changes hands and a new owner takes up residence.

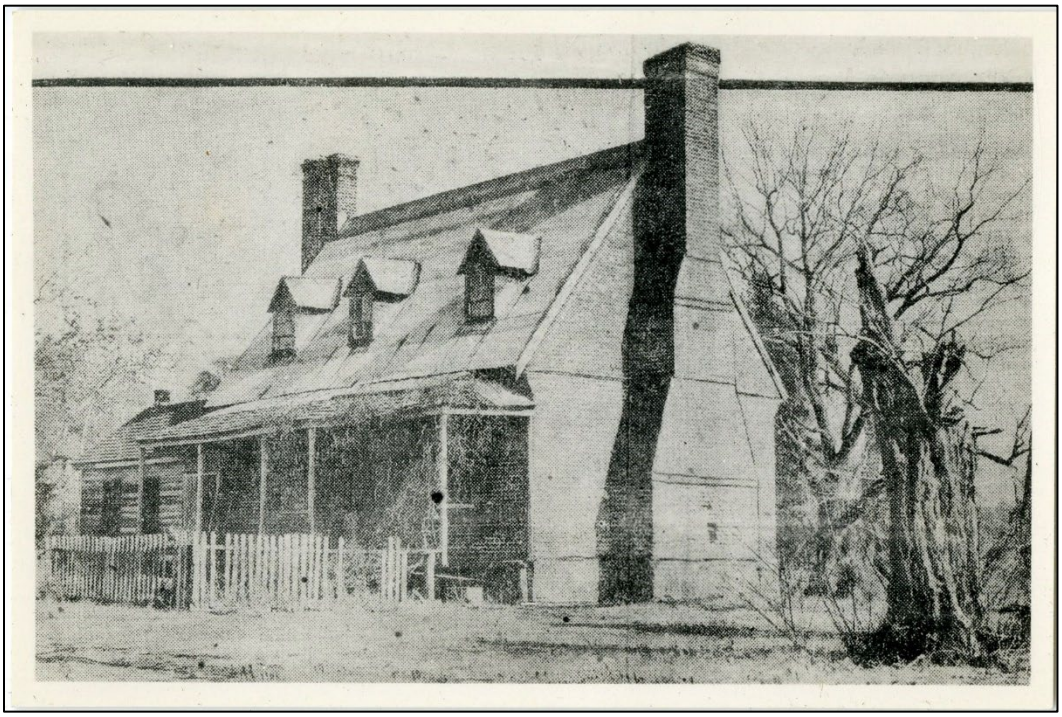
William Boush and his first wife, Mary Brickhouse Boush, had two children together, William F.W. Boush (1793-1818) and Elizabeth J.S. Boush (1802-1884). William Boush was a wealthy enslaver and planter who owned multiple plantations. During the War of 1812, the presence of British troops in the area inspired many enslaved persons to attempt escape, and William Boush is reported to have lost around 15 members of his enslaved workforce in 1814 when they stole one of his fishing boats and fled to the British (Jones, 28). William pursued compensation for his financial loss, but his attitude towards slavery was clearly a complicated one—when he wrote his last will and testament in 1830, he freed all his enslaved people. To his second wife, Mary Wilson Boush, he loaned "negro men Sam & Charles negro woman Sally and her future increase and her children Tony & Daniel & girl Nancy" who were to be set free "after her interest ceases." He also did "hereby emancipate and set free my negros Jacob, Cuffee, Toney & old Jasper and I do give to each of them the sum of one hundred dollars, I also lend them during their joint lives and to the survivor during the life the land & plantation now occupied by James Watson." He went on to "emancipate and set free all the rest of my slaves…and hereby direct my executors to sell the land in the County of Princess Anne purchased by me from James Nimmo and pay the proceeds to my said negros emancipated by this clause to which negros I give the said proceeds to be equally divided between" (William Boush).

By the time William Boush died in 1834, his son, William F.W. Boush, had been dead for more than 15 years. William F.W. Boush died in 1818 at the age of 25. According to his grave marker in the family cemetery, William F.W. Boush was, at the time of his death, a Justice of the Peace and a delegate in the General Assembly; he had no children and his grave is the earliest marked grave in the family cemetery. Mary Brickhouse Boush died four years later and is buried beside her son. William and Mary Boush's daughter, Elizabeth "Eliza" J.S. Boush, married David M. Walke before 1822 and they lived in Norfolk where David was a magistrate and owned real estate totaling $25,000 (Jones, 31). David Walke was the grandson of Anthony Walke II, who built Old Donation Church, close to Lynnhaven House (Narvaez and Stoll, 15).

It is unclear who resided at Lynnhaven House after the death of William Boush in 1834, though it is certainly probable that his second wife, Mary Wilson Boush, remained. Eliza Boush Walke inherited the property and held it for another 25 years, but research suggests that she and her husband maintained their permanent residence in the city of Norfolk (Riley). Eliza Boush Walke sold the Lynnhaven House

property in 1859 to George and Joseph Smith but she obviously continued to have a special place in her heart for the family homeplace; she chose to be buried there beside her brother, mother, and father when she died in 1882.

Between 1859 and 1923, the Lynnhaven House property changed hands at least 7 times and the acreage associated with the house was reduced from 250 acres to 45 acres. In 1923, William W. Oliver purchased 45 acres including the Lynnhaven House and multiple outbuildings (Luccketti, Romo, and Laird, 6). Oliver was a truck farmer and he used the acreage at Lynnhaven for agriculture. The house was used by tenants and farm managers during the time of Oliver's ownership; he and his wife did not live there. A photo from 1933 shows a barn to the northwest of the house (see image on following page). It may have been during Oliver's ownership that the original gabled dormers were replaced with the large shed dormers on the front and rear slopes of the roof; photos from ca. 1915 and the "early 1920s" show the gabled dormers in place, while the HABS documentation from 1934 shows the shed dormers. Oliver also removed a frame wing that was on the north side of the house in the photos from the 1910s through the 1930s and replaced it with a one-story brick wing on the rear elevation of the house (approximately in the location of the original wing) sometime in the 1940s or 1950s. It is unknown when the original rear wing was removed, though the physical evidence suggests that it occurred in the 19th century, prior to the construction of the dormers on the rear elevation; the frame wing on the north side may have been constructed when the original wing was removed.



View of the front elevation of Lynnhaven House, Virginia Beach, Virginia, ca.1915-1918, Marguerite DuPont Lee Photograph Collection, AV2009.29. Note original dormers and frame north wing. Image courtesy of Visual Resources, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Architectural research team examining Lynnhaven House, Virginia Beach, Virginia, in 1933. Note the barn on the far left of the image. Image courtesy of Visual Resources, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

View from the west of the Wishart House [Lynnhaven House] taken by W. Harry Bagby, March 29, 1934. Historic American Buildings Survey. Image courtesy of Visual Resources, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

W.W. Oliver recognized the historic significance of the Lynnhaven House and wanted to see it restored and preserved. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1969, during the final years of his life. At the time, the house was unoccupied. In 1971, his heirs donated the house and a 1.5 acre parcel to the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA) with the understanding that the APVA would restore the house to its original appearance and operate it as a museum. The house was restored between 1971 and 1975 and the property surrounding the house was expanded slightly through the purchase of additional acreage. In 2006, APVA donated a historic preservation easement on the property to the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and in 2008 APVA transferred the house to the City of Virginia Beach.

Criterion C: Architecture

18th Century Domestic Architecture in Tidewater Virginia

The Lynnhaven House is eligible for listing on the Register under Criterion C in the area of Architecture as an early 18th century gentry house that retains important surviving architectural evidence of the social, cultural, and economic shifts that occurred in Tidewater Virginia in the decades before the Revolutionary War. Important research by prominent Virginia architectural historians, including Dell Upton, Cary Carson, Mark Wenger, Edward Chappell, Carl Lounsbury, and Willie Graham, has documented these shifts and the ways they are reflected by the houses people built. The Lynnhaven House was built in 1725, at a time of transition socially, culturally, and economically, and the architecture of Lynnhaven embodies the ways that these transitions are expressed in buildings.

In the early 17th century in Tidewater Virginia, the economy was driven by tobacco cultivation. Tobacco is a very labor-intensive crop and it has a voracious appetite for new land; it ate up the resources, both financial and labor, of the colonists engaged in its production. Upon arriving in the colonies, many settlers first shelter was no more than a "hovel," as they devoted all their time to tobacco cultivation. After a few years, these colonists might progress to building an earthfast dwelling – a one-room house without a masonry foundation (Carson et al., 147-148). They all aspired to a fully framed or brick house with a masonry foundation and masonry chimneys, but many of those fully invested in tobacco cultivation were forced to move west to find land not already exhausted by the crop before they were ever able to build this aspirational dwelling. This instability in the tobacco economy didn't encourage investment in more permanent dwellings—it was unlikely that a son would be able to inherit his father's land and continue to grow tobacco (Carson et al., 171). It wasn't until farmers started diversifying their crops and shifting to primarily grain as their cash crop in the late 17th century that brick houses were built with any regularity (Carson et al., 174). Consequently, the architectural record for the 17th century Tidewater is dramatically incomplete, with no surviving examples of the "hovel" or "first house" to complete the picture (Carson et al, 147-148). In fact, brick houses were rare enough around 1700 that contemporary observers felt compelled to mention them—in 1687 a Frenchman travelling through the Virginia colony noted that dwellings built entirely of brick were just starting to appear on the landscape, while another account from 1705 notes that several gentlemen had recently "built themselves large Brick Houses" (Beverley quoted in Carson et al., 160-161).

In "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," Carson et al. discuss the cluster of surviving early 18th century small brick houses in the Norfolk/Virginia Beach area, including Lynnhaven, the Thoroughgood House, and the Weblin House [the Keeling House and Fox Hall (today in the City of Norfolk) also fall within this context but are not referenced in this particular article], and argue that their

construction was a direct result of, not only an agricultural shift from tobacco to cereal grains that took place in the area of Lower Norfolk County right around 1700, but also of the growth of a profitable island trade in tar, pitch, and pork (Carson et al., 171). The significance of the development of the maritime industry on the evolution of the domestic architectural landscape is particularly interesting in light of the fact that Francis Thelaball II, the original builder of the Lynnhaven House, was involved in that industry as a "shipwright or boat builder" by 1714 (Jones, 10). Wesley Jones' research into the families connected with the Lynnhaven House uncovered several other members of the Thelaball extended family in Norfolk and Princess Anne Counties all involved in the maritime industry at the same time (Jones, 11). The architecture of the Lynnhaven House, therefore, is indicative of this economic shift from tobacco to grain agriculture and the rise of the maritime industry that took place in the Princess Anne and Norfolk County area right around 1700.

Carson et.al. also discuss the development of the vernacular Virginia House tradition and its evolution, from its roots in the English prototype to the earliest brick houses of the 1700s, in "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies." They argue that every surviving house from the early 18th century includes at least one feature inherited from the impermanent Virginia House tradition—the common rafter roof, tie beams, tilted false plates, etc. (Carson et al., 163). These elements of roof construction are descendants of earlier building traditions brought over from England that featured tie beams that extended beyond the wall lines and supported the roof rafters independent of the posts below; this disconnection between roof and walls made structures easier and cheaper to build (Carson et. al, 158-159). Lynnhaven House displays its original roof construction details including common rafters that are notched over a tilted false plate that is capped at the ends with large brick corbels. The tilted false plate seems to be an innovation of American builders who took the "false plate" or "raising piece" from the English tradition and tilted it at a 45 degree angle enabling them to simply notch the rafters to hook over the plate, with no complicated joinery required (Carson et al., 159). Instead of being boxed in and concealed, these eave details seem to have been left intentionally exposed at the Lynnhaven House—the decorative, curved ends on the rafters suggest that they were originally intended to be visible. This visible, structural framing is echoed in the exposed, molded ceiling joists inside the house and is both an indicator of the architectural lineage of the building—connecting to the vernacular Virginia House tradition—and the intentional choices of the original owner – exposing the craftsmanship and permanence of their dwelling to make a statement about their economic standing and class status.

As the 18th century began, the gentry class was increasingly concerned about setting themselves apart from those socially beneath them. When the new colonists were sheltering in one-room "hovels" with insufficient food in the early 17th century, there was no effort made by the planter to physically separate himself from his servants, but by the mid-1600s there was a distinct preference in house construction to segregate the family (who saw themselves as the superior class) from the servants and enslaved workers (Carson and Lounsbury, 96). This manifested itself on the landscape in the form of separate quarters for the servants and separate entrances into the main house. By the late 17th century, planters were expressing a preference for a two-room house plan with chimneys on the gable ends where the front door opened into the larger of the rooms, called the "hall," and where a stair to the half story rose either along the partition or beside the chimney (Carson and Lounsbury, 98). Domestic labor was increasingly removed from the main house, meaning that there was little need in house design to include separate rooms to accomplish such tasks—this "architecture of apartheid" is a hallmark of Southern architecture until the end of slavery (Carson and Lounsbury, 99). (Of course, enslaved workers continued to labor in these two-room houses and their labor in separate outbuildings is not of lesser importance, but within the context of the

architectural evolution of gentry dwellings, the enslaved workers themselves had little agency.) In the 17th century, the hall was used for a multitude of tasks—cooking, dining, and servant lodging included, while the parlor was the sleeping quarters for the family. But by the beginning of the 18th century, a growing preoccupation among the gentry class with social status inspired a shift in room usage. As both the servants and enslaved workers themselves, and their labor, was more often removed from the main house to separate working and sleeping quarters, the function of the hall and parlor began to change. The planters reclaimed the hall as a space to entertain their social equals, while the parlor became a private dining room where they might dine with family or others of the same class. Initially, the main sleeping area for the planter and his wife shared the parlor with the dining furniture, but increasingly the main sleeping quarters were moved to a new room appended to the back of the parlor – the bedchamber ell (Upton, 109).

According to the work of Upton and Carson, these bedchamber ells first appear around 1730 (Carson and Lounsbury, 104), making the Lynnhaven House one of the earliest known examples of this plan. As the idea of the dining room caught on and increased in social significance, the gentry desired to devote more space within the room to these social functions. The construction of a bedchamber ell allowed the private functions of sleeping and dressing to be removed from the semi-public dining room. At Lynnhaven, the surviving evidence makes it clear that a rear ell was an original feature of the dwelling (the brick walls of the ell were bonded into the brickwork of the main block). But the size of the fireplace also hints that the intended original function of the parlor was more dining than sleeping—the warming niches inside of the fireplace on either side wall would have kept warm food that was to be served in the space, while the overall large size of the fireplace (slightly larger, in fact, than the fireplace in the hall) suggests that some cooking may have taken place here. Willie Graham has documented another 18th century house in Maryland that has definitive evidence of cooking occurring in multiple rooms in the house, rather than a single "kitchen" (Graham, personal communication) and Lynnhaven may be another example of this phenomenon. While architectural historians have documented an overwhelming preference for separate, exterior kitchens by ca. 1700, perhaps the idea that there is a single "kitchen" where all cooking occurs is a modern one. While the intensive, heavy-duty (and messy) food preparation undoubtedly took place in a stand-alone kitchen building, the evidence at Lynnhaven suggests that some cooking continued to occur inside the main house. When, why, and how much will likely never be known with any certainty, but it probably varied with the seasons, the menu, and who was dining. In the early 1970s APVA interpreted the evidence at Lynnhaven to mean that the parlor was the original kitchen for the house, but, in light of the evidence for the original ell combined with the contextual research into the rise of the social significance of dining, it seems far more likely that Lynnhaven is evidence of an early dining room in which cooking and warming of food occasionally occurred. As the members of the gentry class changed the way that they used domestic spaces, so too did the enslaved workers. Written and physical evidence that illuminates exactly how the enslaved moved through or labored within these newly redefined spaces is lacking; perhaps the most important thing is to simply remember that they were there, too, and that their lives also changed with the changing room definitions. Further discussion about the enslaved at Lynnhaven is below under the heading "African American History at Lynnhaven House."

This new function of the hall and parlor as "drawing room" and "dining room" also reflects the increasing social importance of class and the desire of the gentry to impress each other with their hospitality. By the early 18th century, the hall was the planter's formal, public space where he could offer food and drink and social interaction to others of the same class. This importance of "hospitality" as a social obligation inspired the shift in room use from parlor to dining room, which occurred during the first quarter of the

18th century, and is reflected in the architectural record. Architectural historian Dell Upton notes that the hall was often "furnished as elegantly and as formally as circumstances allowed" (Upton, 103), and at Lynnhaven the surviving original trim elements in the space speak to this level of refinement—the exposed joists with molded edges, the detailed, ornamental closed-string stair, and the large central fireplace that would have been adorned with a molded fireplace surround, probably similar to the three surviving original mantels. If the hall was the public room, the parlor cum dining room was a semi-public space that mediated between the public space of the hall and the private spaces of the chambers and the work yards (Upton, 104). Often the dining room was physically connected to all of these spaces, as was the case at Lynnhaven. The exposed beams and fireplace surround with complex moldings surrounding a large fireplace adorn a space that was still intended to impress guests. But the multiple doors connecting to the work yard to the north of the house and the bedchamber ell to the rear, along with the door to the hall, imply the additional functionality of this space as the command center of the plantation, particularly for the lady of the house.

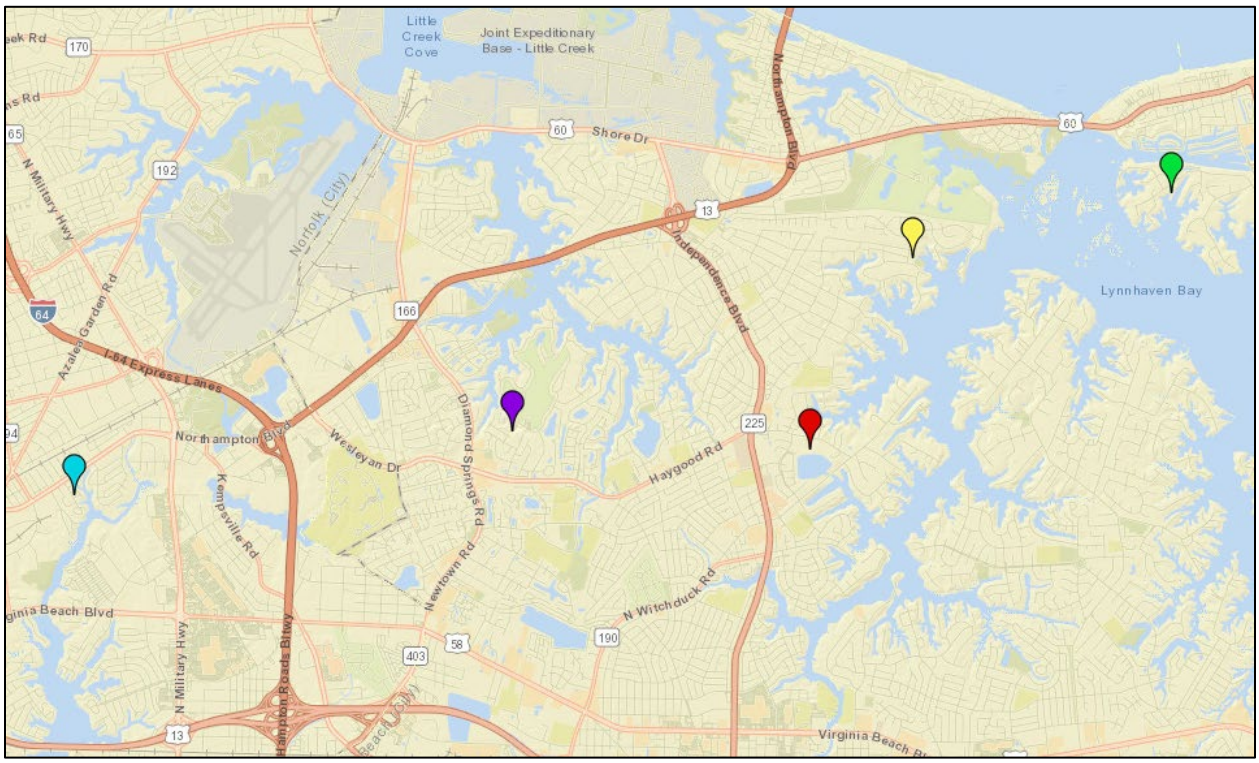
This interest in segregating public from private spaces led to the rise in the central passage plan house, which also occurred in the early 18th century with the first documented reference dated 1710 (Wenger, 137-138). By the mid-18th century central passages and double-pile house plans were increasingly preferred by the gentry class, both for their functionality in physically dividing and, controlling access to, public and private spaces, but also for the social statement that they made (Wenger, 141). Even in houses without a central passage, one might be created at the top of the stairs with a landing and two doors creating two private chambers (Upton, 104), as was the case at Lynnhaven. The ornamental closed-string stair in the hall made a visible, conspicuous statement about the status of the householder, but the passage at the top of the stairs with doors to private chambers reflected the social importance of segregating private spaces. The Thoroughgood House seems to have been constructed with a central passage plan about five years before the Lynnhaven House was completed with its three-room vernacular plan, and the central passage would go on to become the dominant plan of choice. The Lynnhaven House embodies this important moment of transition from the vernacular Virginia House to the increasingly English-derived central-passage, double-pile plan gentry house of the late 18th century. Builders and owners at Lynnhaven took the familiar vernacular hall-and-parlor plan and modified it to suit the new social imperatives of the 18th century, creating defined public and private spaces within a new three-room plan.

In addition, the Lynnhaven House is also one of the earlier documented examples of a house with an original cellar. Cellars were not common beneath houses prior to the 1720s, and their arrival around that time is attributed to both the architecture of segregation, which sought to separate workspaces from family spaces, and the increasing importance of visible gentrification, in which the gentry class sought to visibly set themselves apart from those they considered to be their social inferiors. They quite literally began raising their new brick houses on tall foundations to give them a more imposing appearance, which created the option of useable space beneath at least one of the first-floor rooms.

Other Surviving Examples of Similar Houses

The five surviving early 18th century brick gentry houses in the Lynnhaven River area—Lynnhaven House, Adam Thoroughgood House (134-0033), Adam Keeling House (134-0018), Weblin House (134-0035), and Fox Hall (122-0118)—all reflect the socio-cultural and economic transitions of the first and second quarters of the 18th century and are a remarkable grouping of survivors. All five are located near creeks or branches that connect to the Lynnhaven River and all are within a 4-mile radius. All are

constructed of brick, though the bond varies -- Keeling is laid entirely in Flemish bond, while Lynnhaven is entirely English bond; Thoroughgood has Flemish bond on the façade and English on the other three sides, and Fox Hall has Flemish on the front and rear and English on the gable ends, while Weblin has a more irregular combination of Flemish and English bond. Four of the five have decorative brickwork in the gable ends; Thoroughgood, Weblin, and Lynnhaven all have rows of headers emphasizing the rakes, while Keeling has a chevron pattern in the gable ends. Large brick corbels at the corners of the eaves at Thoroughgood and Lynnhaven (and possibly also at Fox Hall though they no longer survive) capped the ends of the tilted false plate roof construction and are perhaps a precursor for the three-course corbeled brick cornice that became widely prevalent in early 19th century brick houses in Virginia. The similarity in the chimneys of the five houses is striking; Keeling is the only house with two interior end chimneys (which made possible the highly decorative chevroning in the gables), though Weblin and Thoroughgood each have one interior end chimney and one exterior one. The exterior end chimneys at Weblin, Thoroughgood, Fox Hall, and Lynnhaven are all massive structures that look quite similar. All are double-shouldered chimneys serving fireplaces on both the first and second floors and all have T-shaped stacks that are fully engaged with the end walls. Each has tiled weatherings and string courses visually divide each chimney at the tops and bottoms of each set of weatherings. All have corbeled caps and Lynnhaven and Weblin have plaster necking just below the cap. The striking exterior visual similarity between these chimneys does inspire theories about a single mason being responsible for all of them, which is certainly possible, though difficult to prove, but, just as important, the consistent visual vocabulary makes a conspicuous statement about the householder's ability to offer plentiful, comfortable hospitality to his peers. Indeed, this similarity in exterior appearance is no accident. Architectural design in the 18th century was influenced by a number of factors, but one of them was certainly the design of neighboring dwellings. These five houses are in such close proximity to each other, and the original owners all had social connections with each other, so regardless of whether or not the same mason was involved in all of them, they certainly influenced each other. As Dell Upton points out, the symmetry and regularity in 18th century vernacular house design is a combination of academic ideals and the Virginia emphasis on order and neatness; the repetitive system of ordering building elements gives all houses an external similarity of appearance (Upton, 115). But often times the symmetry is suggested rather than achieved, as is the case at Lynnhaven – the three-bay façade suggests a symmetrical arrangement, but realities of construction, particularly the need to light the second-floor passage, resulted in the slightly asymmetrical placement of the center dormer. The formality and similarity of the exterior appearance of these five houses implies the social formality that underlay early 18th century interpersonal relationships and was one of the visual cues that the gentry class used to identify each other. Once past the front doors, the floor plans of these houses provide tangible examples of evolving room use and the concern with creating public and private spaces. Weblin appears to have a traditional hall-and-parlor plan; Thoroughgood, Keeling, and Fox Hall all exhibit the center passage plan just gaining popularity among the gentry class in the early 18th century; while Lynnhaven offers the only example of the three-room vernacular plan that attempted to adapt the traditional hall-and-parlor plan to the new social imperative. (The house known as the Pallet House or Wolf Snare Plantation (134-0039) is also located in Virginia Beach at the southern end of the eastern branch of the Lynnhaven River and it is a 1 ½ story, three-bay brick house with a gambrel roof that is believed to date to the early 18th century. Its history and architectural evolution are poorly documented, however. It appears to have some details in common with the other houses discussed here, but further research and building analysis would be necessary in order to draw accurate comparisons.)



Road map ca. 2024 showing the locations of the eighteenth-century brick houses of the Lynnhaven area. Turquoise pin represents Fox Hall; purple pin is the Weblin House, red pin is the Lynnhaven House; yellow pin is the Adam Thoroughgood House, and the green pin is the Adam Keeling House.

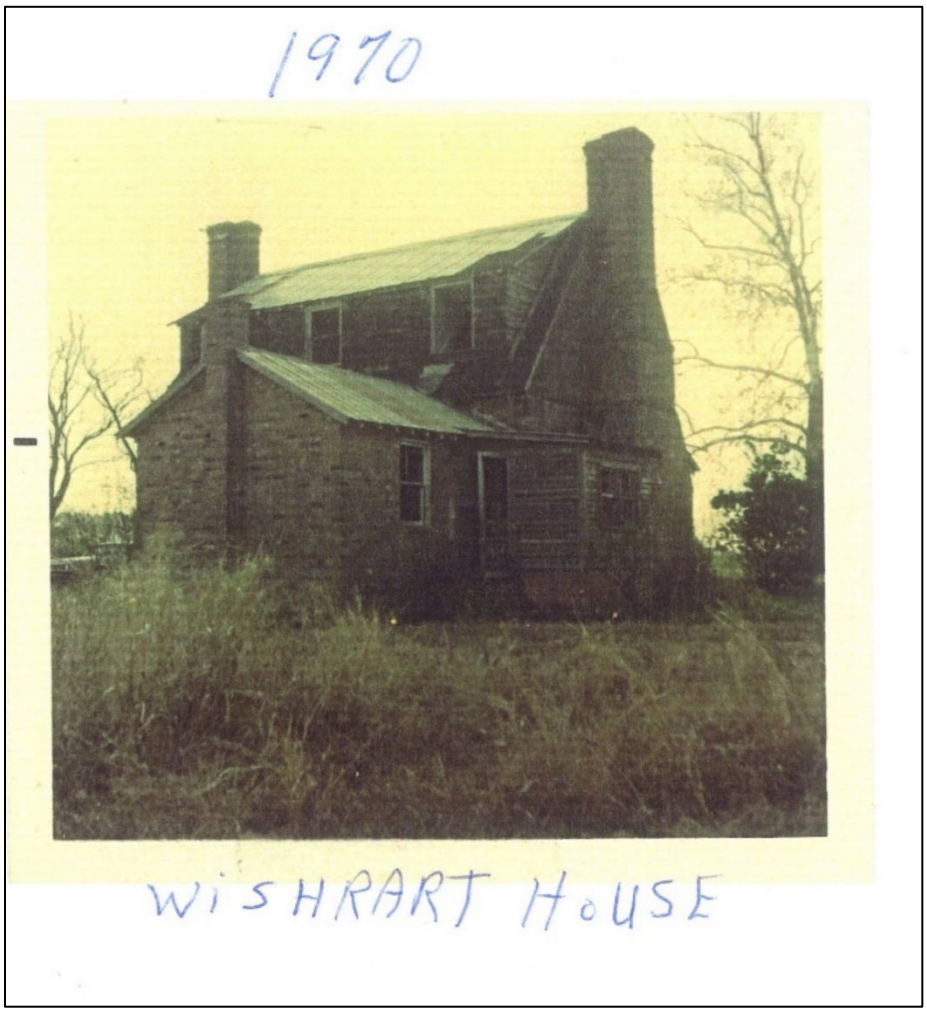
Thoroughgood House, Virginia Beach, Virginia, May 2024. Compare the chimney, the brick corbels at the corners, and the glazed headers following the rake with Lynnhaven.

When originally listed, the Lynnhaven House and the Thoroughgood House were both listed at the National level of significance (Thoroughgood is also an NHL), while Keeling and Weblin were both listed at the State level. It appears that Lynnhaven and Thoroughgood were both believed to date to the 17th century when they were first listed and were therefore considered some of the oldest brick houses in the country, hence their national level of significance. In fact, dendrochronology has shown that both date to the early 18th century and are excellent examples of pre-Georgian gentry houses, illustrating important architectural trends of the Colonial era and their connections to the social and economic transitions of the time. The level of significance of the Lynnhaven House is therefore modified to State level, on par with Keeling and Weblin, for its architectural significance.

Criterion A: Conservation

The APVA Restoration, 1971-1975

When APVA acquired the property from the estate of W.W. Oliver, one of the stipulations of the gift was that the APVA would restore the house to its original appearance within twelve years. At the time of acquisition, the house had shed-roofed dormers that were added in the late 1920s and a brick addition on the east (rear) elevation of the house, in roughly the same location as the original rear ell, that dated to the 1950s. At the time the property changed hands, everyone believed that the house dated to the late 17th century and so this was the time frame that APVA was initially targeting when restoration work began. (The original nomination for the "Wishart-Boush House" was completed in 1969 and declared the house to be significant as a 17th century dwelling constructed by the Wishart family.) Robert A. "Angus" Murdock was the Executive Director of APVA at the time and was deeply involved in managing the restoration project. He hired R. Neil Frank Jr., an archaeologist with Colonial Williamsburg, to conduct archaeological testing within a fenced area around the house in 1972 and 1973; unfortunately, information about where he dug and what he found is very minimal as he never prepared a report. Shortly after acquiring the property in late 1971, APVA hired James Shipp to be a caretaker/demolition contractor. Correspondence between Shipp and Murdock suggest that Shipp was living near the Lynnhaven House property and was in charge of discouraging vandalism and keeping the grass mowed, but also cleaning out the house. On January 1, 1972 Shipp wrote a note to Murdock that included a sketch and a discussion of the evidence for early gabled dormers across the front of the roof that he had discovered. Also in 1972, Murdock applied for federal funds for the project through the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission and received $36,000 towards the project. By February 1973, actual restoration work had not yet begun, but in a letter to a representative of the local APVA branch Murdock details the progress on the project so far, including some archaeology by Mr. Frank, a "thorough survey" by Paul Buchanan, documentary research by Mallory Read, and genealogy by Anabel Wishart Lane (she had done extensive genealogy on the Wishart family, who were later determined to have no connection to the house) (Murdock to Meacham). The 1950s rear addition was removed by the APVA sometime around 1972-1973.



1970 view of the rear elevation of the Lynnhaven House showing mid-20th century rear addition. Photo courtesy of the Virginia Beach History Museums.

Images of Neil Frank's archaeological investigations from 1973. There is very little information about this dig beyond a few intriguing images and a map showing the locations of test units. Image courtesy of the Virginia Beach History Museums.

Architectural drawings for the restoration were completed in October 1973 and are signed by "R. Gailey, Colonial Heights, VA." H. Randolph Gailey got his start as an architectural draftsman for firms in Richmond in the 1930s and worked for the Corps of Engineers at Camp Lee during World War II designing barracks and administration buildings. He became interested in Virginia history and historic architecture during this time, and over the next 20 years became well-known for his work on historic properties. He opened his own firm in Petersburg following the end of World War II and moved his office to his house in Colonial Heights, Virginia in 1948. He was known for his skilled work on the restoration of early plantation houses including Oak Hill, Wales (Dinwiddie County), and Burlington (Dinwiddie County), and Violet Bank and the Farmers Bank Building in Petersburg, along with other projects "in the Williamsburg area" (Heuser, 4). His house in Colonial Heights, out of which he practiced for more than 40 years, is located within the Colonial Heights Historic District and is individually recognized for significance under Criterion B in the area of Conservation.

E.T. Gresham Inc. in Norfolk was hired to be the general contractor on the project and Carl Torrence with Torrence, Dreeling, Farthing, and Buford was the structural engineer for foundation repairs. Photos from the restoration suggest that sometime between 1972 and 1975 the contractors undertook extensive excavations alongside the foundation to add a concrete underpinning for stabilization purposes. Unfortunately, this work was not monitored by an archaeologist and resulted in the destruction of any extant builder's trench. As the restoration work drew to a close, a deed trace was done on the property in 1975 by Madison Riley and is considered to be the most accurate representation of the property chain of title to date. The restoration was "complete" and the house opened to the public in August 1975, but research was ongoing and additional work in the early 1980s would significantly alter the facts about the house's history.

In an early application of dendrochronology, the structural members of the Lynnhaven House were tested by Dr. Herman J. Heikkenen of Virginia Tech in 1982 and the results suggested that the trees used to build the house had been felled during the winter of 1724/25 and the lumber had not been allowed to weather prior to construction, putting a fairly clear date of construction at c. 1725. These results were confirmed in a later study by the Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory in 2007. Archaeologists with the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology were hired by the APVA in 1981 to survey the site of the proposed caretaker's cottage and septic field to the east of the Lynnhaven House. They excavated 12 2' x 2' test units and concluded that the area had been extensively disturbed and contained no colonial stratigraphy. The VRCA crew returned in 1982 to complete additional testing around the Lynnhaven House. This project was substantial and included the excavation of 44 test units and 10 machine-dug trenches. While this project also documented significant disturbances of the area around the house, it did result in the discovery of several unmarked brick burial vaults south of the house, between the house and the marked cemetery; a trash midden located north of the house that dated to between 1725 and 1850 and which contained a fragment of a turned lead came (from a window) dated to 1730; another trash midden in the west yard that dated to the second quarter of the 18th century; and several postholes (Luccketti, Romo, and Laird).

The evidence uncovered as a result of this multi-disciplinary work in the 1980s resulted in some significant alterations to the interpretive narrative. The evidence from the dendrochronology and the chain of title combined to suggest that the Wishart family, in fact, had no association with the house and that it had actually been built for Francis Thelaball and his family in 1725. In newspaper articles from

1976, the house is referred to as "the house formerly known as the Wishart House" and the Lynnhaven House, but the erroneous 17th century date of construction persisted in the local discourse until 1983.

While there are many aspects of this early 1970s restoration that could be criticized today from a preservation standpoint, it is important to remember that the work that they accomplished arrested the decay of a vacant building and succeeded in preserving the house for another 50 years and opening it to the public. Our understanding of the evolution of vernacular domestic architecture in Tidewater Virginia is unquestionably more complete because Lynnhaven House was not only restored but made available to various professional architectural historians over the years for study. The Lynnhaven House is eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A in the area of Conservation for the significance of this 1970s restoration which embodied the guiding philosophy of APVA and was influenced by the groundswell of interest in history and historic preservation inspired by the country's Bicentennial. The work also shows the influence of Colonial Williamsburg on the historic preservation movement and was guided by prominent architectural historian and Director of Architectural Research at Colonial Williamsburg, Paul Buchanan.

The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities was founded in 1889 as the first statewide preservation organization in the country as a direct result of the social and political upheaval of the post-Civil War era (Lindgren, 14). Their mission was to promote cultural traditionalism, that is, elite, white rule and the prominence of Virginia in the National discourse, and they used historic sites as a tool to reform society to their traditional view (Lindgren, 10). The sites that they chose to purchase, protect, and restore were those that fit neatly into this mission. Their earliest projects were in Williamsburg, where little Colonial architecture remained in the 1890s, and Jamestown. They focused their early efforts on the colonial magazine, or Powder Horn, the foundations of the Capitol, and Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg, and the 22 ½ acre plot of Jamestown that they were gifted in 1893 which included the ruins of a church, a cemetery, a colonial magazine, and a Confederate fort. While their early preservation and restoration efforts were romantic and unscientific, their focus on the historic symbols of early Virginia history did succeed in making Jamestown a mecca for white, protestant traditionalists (Lindgren, 136). By the late 1930s, the work of the APVA was largely dictated by the whims of the local branches, which acquired properties all over the state (Lindgren, 235). Because their preservation mission was so closely tied to the idea of promoting cultural traditionalism, for decades the end goal of an APVA preservation project had to be a public museum that could educate the populace on the greatness of Virginia. These early restoration projects, therefore, are not necessarily scholarly examples of restoration techniques and practices, but they do illustrate the history of what the white elite wanted the public to value and emulate. In 1933, APVA acquired Smith's Fort plantation in Surry County which they restored as a museum and interpreted as the home of the son of Pocahontas; even after local researchers proved that there was no truth to this claim, APVA continued to promote their false narrative (Lindgren, 234). According to researcher James Lindgren, "what appeared to be real was as good as what was real" (Lindgren, 239).

The work of restoring Virginia's significant architectural resources has remained central to APVA's mission throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries (APVA was rebranded as Preservation Virginia in 2009 which is how it is known today). In the 1970s, contemporary with the Lynnhaven House restoration, APVA also purchased and began restoring Bacon's Castle in Surry County and undertook a major restoration of the John Marshall House in the City of Richmond which they had owned since 1911. Later restorations include the Isle of Wight Courthouse, Pear Valley (Northampton County), and the Cole Diggs House (City of Richmond), all in the 1990s; and Tucker Brother's Store in Charlotte County in the

2000s. Preservation Virginia continues to own and operate six historic sites and undertakes regular maintenance and ongoing restoration work on all of them – Bacon's Castle, Smith's Fort, Historic Jamestowne, John Marshall House, Patrick Henry's Scotchtown, and the Cape Henry Lighthouse.

In any preservation project the end result will inform visitors not only about the past, but also about the present. Understanding a restored building requires an understanding not only of the historic context—what was the world like in which this building was created—but also the context of the restoration—who did the work and what was their mission; what was the bigger picture in which they were completing this project? In the case of the Lynnhaven House, the 1970s restoration must be understood as a manifestation of the APVAs mission and as a product of the Bicentennial era. For the APVA, the Lynnhaven House fit neatly into their playbook—it was a 17th century (or so they thought) house of a member of the elite class in rural Virginia. They decided to restore it to its supposed 17th century appearance and use it to tell the story of the early Virginia settlers and planters in the Tidewater area. In the context of the early 1970s, this was a highly appealing story. In the lead-up to the country's 200th birthday, the Bicentennial inspired a groundswell of interest in history. Coming on the heels of the Civil Rights movement, the Vietnam War, and the Watergate scandal, the Bicentennial was a unifying force that brought the country together with patriotism and nostalgia for the past. History and patriotism went mainstream with specials on TV, countless advertising campaigns that invoked the American flag or the founding history of the country, and musical performances. The Bicentennial was everywhere and the American people became curious about their history. Local historical societies were established for the first time in some localities, and local projects that focused on the preservation of a building or group of buildings or the preservation of locally important documents were undertaken all over the country. Sometimes this work was funded by donations but oftentimes groups were able to tap into grant funding established specifically to support local Bicentennial commemoration efforts (federal as well as state or local—APVA utilized both federal and state funding in its restoration efforts at Lynnhaven). And museums opened in these restored buildings could count on this increased interest in history to bring visitors through the door.

The restored Lynnhaven House, then, is a product of both the history and mission of the APVA and the historical curiosity inspired by the Bicentennial era. In their quest to restore the house, the APVA didn't have to look far to find other examples of restored colonial buildings being interpreted for the public—Colonial Williamsburg (CW) was less than 60 miles to the west. The architectural historians working at Colonial Williamsburg were aware of the Lynnhaven House and its significance well before APVA acquired it—there are photographs in the files at Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library taken by CW staff as early as the 1930s. Part of their methodology for reconstructing all the buildings that were no longer standing in Williamsburg included extensive fieldwork documenting surviving colonial buildings in the Tidewater area that they could use as models for what Williamsburg may have looked like. Research for this project did not reveal any written documents that illuminate how Paul Buchanan got involved in the Lynnhaven restoration project. Buchanan was a well-known and well-respected restoration architect by the early 1970s, but his professional approach was a throwback to the colonial era—he rarely wrote anything down, did few drawings, and preferred to convey his professional guidance orally. In this way, his methodology harkened back to the oral tradition of the early craftsmen working in Tidewater Virginia in the 17th and 18th centuries. The surviving files of the APVA do not include any letters or notes or reports or drawings by Buchanan, though he is described as the "restoration consultant" in several documents written by APVA staff. According to the next generation of architectural historians who worked at Colonial Williamsburg after Buchanan, this is not unusual. As one noted, "He probably went out to the site and walked around the building while chewing on his cigar and told whoever

was there what he saw and what he thought" and that may have been it (Lounsbury, personal communication). This lack of documentation may be frustrating now as we try to determine why they made some of the restoration decisions that they did, but it also may be beside the point. The restoration of the Lynnhaven House is just as much about the story that they wanted to tell as it is about what the building told them. Consider, for example, the question of parlor/dining room vs. kitchen. There are no documents to shed any light on what physical or documentary evidence informed the restoration and interpretation of this space as a kitchen—no measured drawings of what it looked like when they found it, no annotated photographs, no field notes, no written analysis. The only explanation was offered by Angus Murdock well after the fact in a 2014 video in which he suggests that they examined the surviving first floor mantel (now propped in the hall) and ghost marks on the wall in the parlor/dining room and decided that the fireplace in that room didn't have a mantel originally and that this evidence, combined with the large size of the fireplace and the niches in the sidewalls, meant that this space was therefore the original kitchen. (It is possible that there was other evidence to support this conclusion, and that Buchanan recommended it based on his observations, but there is no record of it. It is also worth noting that the findings documented in the Historic Structures Report from 2018 contradict this conclusion.) But when considered through the lens of the story they wanted to tell, having a kitchen to interpret was more convenient—visitors could identify with a costumed interpreter cooking over an open fire and promotional and educational materials could rely on the trusty symbol of the colonial cooking hearth as a hook to tell the story of Virginia exceptionalism. "What appeared to be real was as good as what was real" (Lindgren, 239).

Costumed interpreter cooking in the north fireplace in the restored "kitchen" (actually the parlor/dining room) shortly after Lynnhaven House opened to the public in 1975. Image courtesy of the Virginia Beach History Museums.

Therefore, the Lynnhaven House must be analyzed not simply as an example of an 18th century gentry house, but as an example of a 1970s restoration of an 18th century gentry house. Within this context, the Lynnhaven House is eligible under Criterion A at the state level in the area of Conservation because the restoration work embodies several influences that had a significant impact on how history was consumed by the Virginia public for the next fifty years—the mission of the APVA, the phenomenon of the Bicentennial, and the preservation philosophy of Colonial Williamsburg, Paul Buchanan, and H. Randolph Gailey.

African American History at Lynnhaven House

Fifty years after the first restoration efforts at Lynnhaven House, the evolving fields of historic preservation and museum interpretation have resulted in new research to broaden our understanding of old buildings and museums. Both APVA/Preservation Virginia and the Virginia Beach History Museums (who acquired the Lynnhaven House from Preservation Virginia in 2008) have recognized the glaring omission of any discussion of the enslaved population whose labor made Lynnhaven House, and the

gentry lifestyle that it represents, possible. City staff have recently sought to bring to light the history of the African Americans who lived at the Lynnhaven plantation, seeking to populate a more inclusive narrative about the property. The Lynnhaven House is a tangible connection to the significant history of enslavement which often leaves an ephemeral mark on the landscape; the house is the anchor that connects the significant historical documents that mention the people enslaved at Lynnhaven with a physical place.

From its earliest days, the Lynnhaven plantation relied on the labor of enslaved people. The will of Francis Thelaball from 1727 mentions four enslaved people by name—Morsor (or Morson?), Mingo, and Moll and "my negro boy Lewis"—but reference to "the remainder of my negroes" makes it clear that he held additional enslaved people at the time of his death (Thelaball's Will reproduced in Lucketti, Romo, and Laird, 59). The inventory of Thelaball's estate mentions various livestock, including cattle, sheep, an "old horse," and hogs, along with a significant amount of household goods, tools, kitchen wares, and "a boat and canow," and the people he enslaved undoubtedly worked to care for his household and his plantation (Thelaball's estate inventory reproduced in Lucketti, Romo, and Laird, 60). Research has shown that most enslavers in Virginia and Maryland between the late 17th century and the mid-19th century separated cooking and meal preparation from their halls, parlors, and dining rooms, utilizing free-standing kitchens or work buildings for these tasks (Carson and Lounsbury, 163-164). Often, enslaved people who worked in the household slept in these secondary buildings beside the main house, while those who worked in the fields had more rudimentary quarters closer to the fields (Carson and Lounsbury, 164). But the idea that all enslaved people had a living space that was theirs, separate from the enslavers space, is probably not accurate. Many enslaved people who worked intimately with their enslavers household, perhaps intimately enough to be mentioned by name in their will, probably slept in passages, closets, cellars, and enslavers bedchambers, always on-call. The physical and documentary evidence of such arrangements often just does not exist. But in 1727 we know that Morsor, Mingo, Moll, and Lewis lived on the Lynnhaven plantation with Francis Thelaball and his family; the standing Lynnhaven House is all that is left to connect them to the landscape.

Research funded and supported by the Virginia Beach History Museums staff has illuminated the continued presence of African Americans at Lynnhaven House through the 18th and 19th centuries. While Frederick W. Boush bought the Lynnhaven plantation from his half-sisters in 1784, the evidence suggests that he may have been living on the property much earlier (see discussion above). The research of Wesley Jones into the families of Lynnhaven documented that Boush was an enslaver with a cruel streak. A 1774 declaration by Boush recounted a conflict that Boush had with his neighbors and in it Boush encouraged his neighbors to whip "any my negroes" if they were found to stray from his property; according to the research of Jones, the conflict discussed occurred on the Lynnhaven plantation property (Jones, 22). As part of his role as Sherriff, Boush's name also appeared in the Virginia Gazette advertising the capture of people who he judged to be runaway slaves (Jones, 25). And in the 1790s, Boush was charged with "Feloniously cutting off a toe and a part of one of the Ears of a Negro Slave called Ned;" he was not ultimately held responsible for his actions by the court (Jones, 25). When Boush died in 1806 he was one of the richest men in the County, owning 2,312 acres on multiple plantations and at least 37 enslaved people (Jones, 27). The path of destruction that he must have wrought during his lifetime through the lives of numerous enslaved African Americans must have been wide indeed. His documented treatment of enslaved people is representative of the inhumane treatment of an entire race of people that underlay the social, cultural, and economic lifeways of Tidewater Virginia in the 18th century.

As a fascinating counterpoint to the legacy of Frederick Boush, his son William Boush's story documents the 19th century's growing unease with the institution of slavery. William Boush inherited Lynnhaven plantation from his father in 1806. It has not been verified that he and his family moved to Lynnhaven immediately, but since all were eventually buried on the property, they presumably moved there within the next 5 to 10 years. Like his father, Boush owned numerous enslaved individuals, including many that he had inherited along with the plantation. According to Jones' research, in 1814 at least thirteen of the people he enslaved stole one of Boush's fishing boats and escaped to join the British, who were encamped nearby during the War of 1812; a list of the escapees included several with the same names as those William inherited from Frederick (Jones, 28-29). It has not been proven through documentary evidence that this event occurred at Lynnhaven, but the close proximity to the water certainly makes it plausible. The apparently successful escape (William pursued financial compensation for his loss in 1828 suggesting that none of the escaped enslaved people were captured and returned to him (Jones, 29)) provides a suggestion of the resilience of those who were enslaved on the Tidewater plantations and their willingness to take great risks to emancipate themselves. Historic research has not yet revealed anything about how William felt about the escape of these individuals or his feelings about the institution of slavery in general, but his final will and testament, written in 1830, suggests that, by then at least, William was conflicted about enslaving other humans. In his will, which was read when he died in 1834, William names multiple enslaved individuals and releases most of them from bondage. At the same time, he was unwilling to fully eliminate his family's reliance on enslaved labor—he loans his second wife "negro men Sam & Charles negro woman Sally and her future increase and her children Tony & Daniel & girl Nancy" to use for the rest of her life. But he does "emancipate and set free my negros Jacob, Cuffee, Toney & old Jasper and I do give to each of them the sum of one hundred dollars, I also lend them during their joint lives and to the survivor during life the land & plantation now occupied by James Watson… I do hereby emancipate and set free all the rest of my slaves including those lent to my wife after her interest ceases, and hereby direct my executors to sell the land in the County of Princess Anne purchased by me from James Nimmo and pay the proceeds to my said negros emancipated by this clause to which negros I give the said proceeds to be equally divided between." His will verifies that he was living at Lynnhaven House at the time of his death, and it stands to reason that those enslaved individuals named in the will were those that William felt closest to, possibly those that he interacted with on a daily basis during his life at Lynnhaven House. William's decision to emancipate Jacob, Cuffee, Toney and "old Jasper" and others at the time of his death perfectly illustrates both an undercurrent of unease about the moral rectitude of enslaving other humans, and the very real fact that the bedrock of the plantation society and economy of which William Boush was a part was fully dependent on enslaved labor, and he was unwilling or unable to cut those ties while he was alive to deal with the consequences.

Thanks to the thorough work of Wesley Jones and others, there are limited glimpses of the realities of life after emancipation for some of the enslaved people freed by William Boush. On January 25, 1806 the Virginia General Assembly passed legislation titled "An ACT to amend the several laws concerning slaves" which prohibited the importation of slaves into Virginia and required that freed slaves leave the state within twelve months of emancipation. The legislation was a response, in part, to the fear and anxiety inspired by Gabriel's Rebellion in 1800, when Gabriel, an enslaved blacksmith, plotted to attack Richmond. Whites were becoming increasingly uneasy about their safety as the population of enslaved people grew, and this action by the General Assembly was an effort to halt the arrival of enslaved people from other states and to eliminate the influence of freed Blacks, who many Whites feared would sow discontent and rebellion among their enslaved populations. This fear was amplified in the wake of Nat

Turner's Revolt in 1831, when Nat Turner, an enslaved Black preacher, led other enslaved men in a revolt that resulted in the killing of 55 white men, women, and children in Southampton County. The Act required freed Blacks who wished to remain in the Commonwealth for more than twelve months to petition the courts for permission. In December 1835, Jacob and Toney Boush petitioned the General Assembly for permission to remain in Princess Anne County as free persons of color:

> The petition of the subscribers respectfully shows: That their late master William Boush of the County of Princess Anne departed this life in the month of January 1834 having made his last will and testament a copy of which is hereto annexed. By this will your petitioners are emancipated and an interest in a tract of land is given to them for life, which with slight exertions on their part will furnish them with adequate support. Your petitioners beg leave to state further that they are brothers and upwards of sixty years old; that in the lifetime of their master they served him faithfully and had entire confidence reposed in them. That during the late war when seventeen of his slaves eloped to the British fleet then in sight of his residence your petitioners with the same facility of escape adhered to their master and his service, and they believe that their meritorious conduct on that, as well as on former occasions, was the inducement with their master to liberate them. Your petitioners being now so far advanced in years and having a home where they reside, humbly hope that your Honorable body will by law permit them to remain in the Commonwealth. (Reproduced in *Enslaved Population Research*)

Their request was not immediately granted but they petitioned again in 1837 and this time they were successful; the court "doth grant permission to the said Jacob Boush and Toney Boush to remain within the Commonwealth and to reside within the County only during the good pleasure of the Court" (Reproduced in *Enslaved Population Research*).

Twenty years later a man named George Boush also applied for permission to remain in the County. His petition indicated that he too had been emancipated by the will of William Boush and was residing on a farm called Lebanon owned in 1858 by a man named F. Mallory, who had acquired the farm from Mrs. Eliza Walke, daughter and heir of William Boush. George had been living on the farm when Mr. Mallory acquired it and Mallory states, "I then continued him in charge and most faithfully did he perform the duty. So much so that I allowed him to remain this year and gave him a piece of land to work rent free with directions to look out for my crops on that portion of the estate. He has continued to conduct himself to my entire satisfaction and a more humble honest [illegible] creative I do not know. His wife and children belong to the estate of David Walke to be freed, I understand, at the death of his widow." The petition went on to state that on the death of Eliza Walke and the emancipation of George's wife and children the family would leave the state together. The petition was granted "during the lifetime of Mrs. Walke until his wife and children are freed" (Petition reproduced in *Enslaved Population Research*). Eliza Walke, who inherited Lynnhaven House from her father, William Boush, sold Lynnhaven in 1859 and did not die until 1884.

Unlike Jacob, Toney, and George, Jasper Boush (probably not "old Jasper" mentioned in William Boush's will but a younger Jasper who was also emancipated by William) elected to leave the country entirely. Jasper Boush was around 16 when he was emancipated by the will of William Boush. In 1850, when he was 32, he sailed for Liberia, along with his wife, Sarah, and his one-year-old son, Oliver Perry, on a ship sent by the American Colonization Society, an organization established in 1816 to advocate for the gradual emancipation of all enslaved people and their resettlement in Africa (American Colonization

Society, 1850, 247). The records of the Society note that 55 emigrants were onboard the Liberia Packet when it set sail from Baltimore on July 4th, 1850 on its eighth journey to Africa. Two letters from Jacob Boush were later published in *The African Repository,* the annual journal of the Society*,* recounting his experiences in Liberia. One was addressed to a Reverand William H. Starr in 1852 who had evidently written to him asking about his life in Liberia and seeking to dispel "certain evil reports" about prospects for emancipated slaves there. Boush reported, "Truly I am better and better pleased with Liberia each morning when I awake and find myself in it…Here I am in the land of my forefathers; here I can enjoy all those rights which a benevolent God hath so liberally vouchsafed to man…and here, I have as many political, social, and religious rights as any man any where beneath heaven's wide spread canopy" (American Colonization Society, 1852, 285-286). The letter, as published by the Society, is clearly an attempt to promote the colonization of Liberia by the formerly enslaved and may have been specifically solicited by Starr to do just that. Another letter from Jacob Boush was published in the *Repository* in 1855, this one a copy of a letter that Boush sent to Eliza Walke and that she forwarded on to the Society. Again, Boush touts his satisfaction with his situation in Liberia, mentioning his agricultural success and general gratification "that there is a Liberia and that we are in it" (American Colonization Society, 1855, 100-101). Even discounting the promotional intent of *The African Repository*, these letters in Jacob's own words provide a window into another life for the formerly enslaved from Virginia. The fact that Jacob corresponded with the daughter of his former enslaver after he was settled is also interesting, and speaks to both the complicated interpersonal relationships that arose in the antebellum South, but also the role that the American Colonization Society played in mitigating concerns among the gentry class about a post-emancipation future.

The Virginia Beach History Museums continues to research the descendant community of Lynnhaven House, searching for the descendants of Jacob, Toney, George, and Jasper. These fragments of their stories after emancipation illustrate some of the various ways that the tensions around slavery and freedom were negotiated in the mid-19th century. In the early 21st century, the Lynnhaven House remains as both an anchor for this history and a jumping off point for further research to develop a more inclusive, accurate, and complete narrative about society, culture, architecture, and economics in Tidewater Virginia.

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Personal Communications

Willie Graham, March 12 and 13, 2024
Carl Lounsbury, March 11, 2024
Mark Wenger, March 19 and 20, 2024

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

____ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
_X__ previously listed in the National Register
____previously determined eligible by the National Register
____designated a National Historic Landmark
_X__ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #_VA-11-16_
____recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
____ recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

__X_ State Historic Preservation Office
____ Other State agency
____ Federal agency
__X__ Local government
____ University
__X__ Other
Name of repository: _Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond, Virginia; Lynnhaven Education Center, Virginia Beach History Museums; APVA/Preservation Virginia Archives, Richmond, Virginia_____

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _134-0037_____

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property ____5 acres_____
Acreage previously listed in the National Register approximately 110 acres

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates
Datum if other than WGS84:_____
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)
1. Latitude: 36.873729 Longitude: -76.126617

2. Latitude: Longitude:

3. Latitude: Longitude:

4. Latitude: Longitude:

Or
UTM References
Datum (indicated on USGS map):

☐ NAD 1927 or ☐ NAD 1983

1. Zone:	Easting:	Northing:
2. Zone:	Easting:	Northing:
3. Zone:	Easting:	Northing:
4. Zone:	Easting :	Northing:

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)
The updated boundary encompasses three tax parcels all owned by the City of Virginia Beach – GPIN #s 14787622240000 (Caretaker's Cottage parcel), 14787601390000 (Lynnhaven House parcel), and 14786694870000 (Visitor's Center parcel). The boundaries are shown on the included parcel map and were obtained on June 13, 2024 from the City of Virginia Beach GIS data.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)
When the property was originally nominated in 1969, the boundary was drawn as a perfect square of approximately 110 acres around the historic house; the building's footprint was also circled on the USGS Quad Map. Most of that acreage has since been subdivided and developed, and much of it may not have been owned by the owner of the Lynnhaven House at the time of listing anyway. The updated boundary includes five total acres on three adjacent parcels all owned by the City of Virginia Beach. This represents the remaining intact acreage around the historic building. The property's historic setting and all known associated historic resources have been included within the nominated area's boundary.

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11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Kristin Kirchen, Principal Architectural Historian
organization: Iron Dog Preservation, LLC
street & number: 532 Pantela Drive
city or town: North Chesterfield state: VA zip code: 23235
e-mail: irondogpreservation@gmail.com
telephone: 804-516-8200
date: June 2024

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.

- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

Name of Property: Lynnhaven House

City or Vicinity: City of Virginia Beach

County: State: Virginia

Photographer: Kristin H. Kirchen, Iron Dog Preservation, LLC

Date Photographed: December 2023 and May 2024

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

1 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0001
Main House, northwest oblique.

2 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0002
Main House, north side elevation.

3 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0003
Main House, northeast oblique.

4 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0004
Main House, rear (east) elevation.

5 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0005
Main House, south side elevation.

6 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0006
Main House, southwest oblique.

7 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0007
Main House, south gable and chimney detail.

8 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0008
Main House, front elevation.

9 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0009
Main House, front door.

10 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0010
Main House, north side elevation, windows detail.

11 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0011
Main House, front elevation, eaves detail.

12 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0012
Main House, rear elevation, eaves detail.

13 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0013
Main House, rear elevation, racking from missing rear ell.

14 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0014
Main House, front elevation, original cellar window.

15 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0015
Main House, rear elevation, cellar door.

16 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0016
Main House, Hall from front door.

17 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0017
Main House, Parlor/Dining Room from front corner.

18 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0018
Main House, Hall, front wall with main entrance and original plaster retained.

19 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0019
Main House, Hall, looking at partition into Parlor/Dining Room.

20 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0020
Main House, Parlor/Dining Room, rear wall with door that led to rear ell.

21 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0021
Main House, Parlor/Dining Room, end wall with fireplace and door that led to north yard.

22 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0022
Main House, second floor, looking from hall chamber at partitions into parlor chamber.

23 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0023
Main House, second floor, parlor/dining room chamber.

24 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0024
Main House, Hall, stair.

25 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0025
Main House, Hall, stair paneling detail.

26 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0026
Main House, Hall, stair newel and balusters detail.

27 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0027
Main House, Hall, ceiling detail with numbered boards.

28 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0028
Main House, Hall, ceiling detail with date.

29 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0029
Main House, Hall, fireplace.

30 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0030
Main House, Parlor/Dining Room Chamber, fireplace.

31 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0031
Main House, Hall Chamber, fireplace.

32 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0032
Main House, interior window detail.

33 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0033
Main House, carpentry detail, second floor collar and rafter joint.

34 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0034
Main House, cockloft, view of end wall and rafters.

35 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0035
Looking from front SW corner of main house at cemetery at tree line.

36 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0036
Cemetery, looking southeast.

37 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0037
Cemetery, Eliza Walke's grave with fence.

38 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0038
Cemetery, Mary Boush and William F.W. Boush's graves.

39 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0039
Caretaker's House, northwest oblique.

40 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0040
Visitor's Center, front (north) elevation and parking area.

41 of 41. VA_VirginiaBeach_Lynnhaven_House_0041
Visitor's Center, southwest oblique.

Location Map

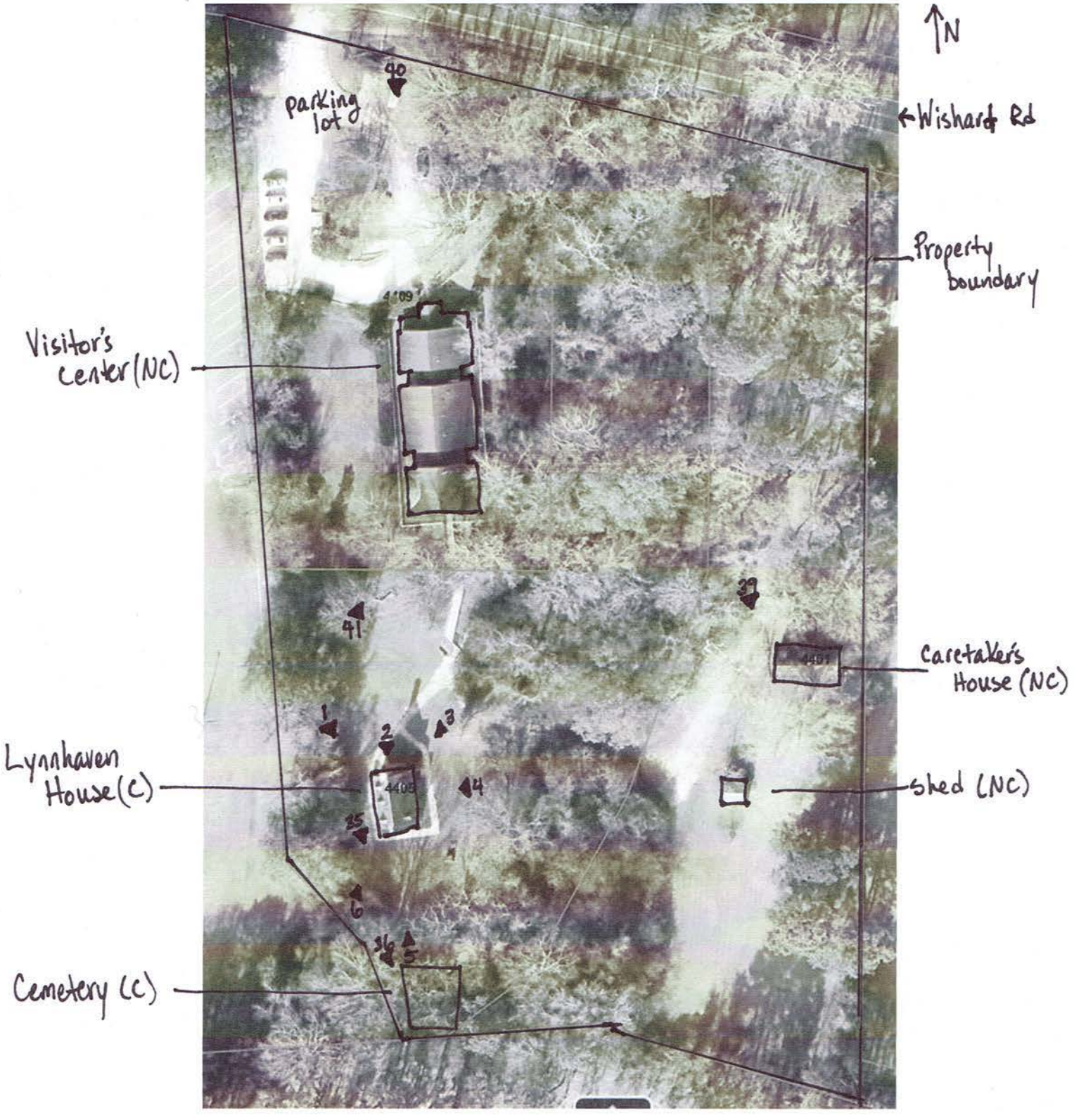
Lynnhaven House
City of Virginia Beach
DHR ID: 134-0037

Spatial Reference: WGS 1984 Web Mercator Auxiliary Sphere
Software: ArcGIS Pro 3.1.0
Date: 6/25/2024
Created By: D. Bascone, VDHR

0 1,000 2,000 Feet

N


BOUNDARY DECREASE MAP
Lynnhaven House
City of Virginia Beach, VA
DHR ID# 134-0037
2024 Nominated Boundary
1969 NRHP Boundary
0 250 500 750
Feet
City of Virginia Beach, VITA, Esri, HERE, Garmin, INCREMENT P, NGA, USGS, Virginia Geographic Information Network (VGIN)



Lynnhaven House, DHR #134-0037
Virginia Beach, Virginia
Sketch Map and Photo Key for entire property

Lynnhaven House, DHR #134-0037
City of Virginia Beach, Virginia
Sketch Map and Photo Key, detail of main house area

Parcel Map, Lynnhaven House, City of Virginia Beach, DHR #134-0037

6/13/2024, 2:59:42 PM

City Boundary

Condos

Parcels

Address Point

Primary

Non-Primary

Non-Primary Address Point Label

Primary Address Point Label

1:2,257

0 0.01 0.03 0.06 mi

0 0.02 0.04 0.09 km

City of Virginia Beach Center for GIS