Gabriella Harvie Randolph Brockenbrough:

Architectural Patronage in Early National Richmond

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Abstract

Gabriella Harvie Randolph Brockenbrough (1772- 1853), born into Virginia's elite, likely played a significant role in shaping the design of her residence at 1201 Clay Street in Richmond's Court End. Surrounded from a young age by architectural innovators like Thomas Jefferson, B. Henry Latrobe, and Robert Mills, and considering her life as a member of one of Richmond's prominent families, she may have brought personal vision and influence to the design of her home with her second husband, Dr. John Brockenbrough. Although documentation of her direct involvement is scarce, the modifications made to the house point to an understanding of architectural references that may have reflected her existing relationships and experiences. This paper contends that Gabriella's influence on the design of 1201 Clay Street was both substantial and underrecognized.

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With gratitude to Richmond, VA, my endlessly fascinating, history-soaked, occasionally chaotic home; where every building holds a story that has shaped both my life and my approach to studying architectural history.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the enslaved individuals who lived and labored at the properties discussed in this work. Their skill, craftsmanship, and resilience were essential to the construction, maintenance, and daily operations of these homes, yet their contributions often remain unrecognized in the historical record. These properties were also built on the ancestral lands of both the Monacan and the Powhatan Nations, whose presence and stewardship of this land long predate the colonial settlements that shaped Virginia's built environment.

Introduction

A stately house at 1201 East Clay Street in Richmond, Virginia, stands as one of Richmond's most refined examples of Federal domestic architecture. Completed in 1818, and constructed of brick and finished in a smooth stucco scored to resemble ashlar masonry, the two-story residence presents a balanced five-bay façade crowned by a low hipped roof with a shallow cornice. The central entrance is marked by a delicate fanlight and slender sidelights, giving way to a generously scaled central passage that anchors a symmetrical interior plan. The principal rooms are appointed with refined ornamental details, including classically inspired mantels, reeded moldings, and elaborately framed doors and windows. A graceful elliptical staircase rises from the hall, illuminated by a generous stair window, while upstairs rooms echo the formality and restraint of the main level. The house's overall composition, both spatially and ornamentally, reflects a sophisticated and highly coordinated design sensibility, and is executed with clarity and control.

Today, this house at 1201 East Clay Street is best known as the White House of the Confederacy, preserved for its role as the executive mansion of Jefferson Davis, a potent symbol of the Confederate government. When it was saved from demolition in the 1890s, the women of the Confederate Memorial Literary Society saw its value in political and commemorative terms, linking the structure to a specific and highly charged historical narrative. Yet embedded within that narrative is a deeper, and largely overlooked, story - one that predates the Civil War entirely. Decades before its association with the Confederacy, the house may have been designed and built under the direction of Gabriella Harvie Randolph Brockenbrough, a wealthy and well-connected woman whose architectural vision helped shape early Richmond's domestic

landscape. Though the building was not preserved with her influence in mind, its survival offers a rare opportunity to recognize the role of a female patron in the creation of a major urban residence during the Early Republic. This thesis seeks to reposition the house not as a Confederate relic, but as a lasting expression of Gabriella's authorship and influence.

Chapter One of this thesis explores Gabriella's early life, beginning with her birth in Albemarle County, through her first marriage and residence at Tuckahoe Plantation (~1772-1795). The daughter of one of Richmond's wealthiest men, Col. James Harvie, Gabriella lived a life of wealth and privilege, surrounded by some of the most influential families in Virginia. This upbringing would have brought her into regular contact with many of the most distinguished houses in the region, immersing her in the architectural language of taste, status, and refinement that would later inform her own building endeavors.

Chapter Two explores the convergence of prominent architects in early 19th-century Richmond, including figures like Robert Mills, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, and Maximilian Godefroy, who were active participants in Richmond's social scene during this time. These architects, known for their neoclassical designs, were not only central to shaping Richmond's architectural identity, but also interacted with key patrons in the city, among them Gabriella Harvie Randolph Brockenbrough. Through her familial ties and social position, Gabriella moved within the same circles as these architects, forming personal relationships that would have influenced her role as a key figure in the design and commissioning of her home.

Chapter Three explores how Gabriella Harvie Randolph Brockenbrough's design for the Brockenbrough House was shaped by the cultural and architectural milieu of early 19th-century Richmond. Surrounded by a vibrant convergence of architectural styles, social networks, and intellectual currents, Gabriella absorbed the influences of both local and regional design trends,

which were in constant dialogue with each other. Her proximity to the city's leading architects, builders, and elite social circles provided her with a rich environment in which she could refine her own architectural preferences, ultimately molding the house as a reflection of her personal taste and the broader aesthetic currents of the time. This chapter argues that the Brockenbrough House is not just the result of external professional influence, but a direct product of Gabriella's immersion in and engagement with her surroundings.

My research began with a guiding belief: that Gabriella played a meaningful, if largely undocumented, role in shaping the house that later bore her name. In an era when women's contributions to architecture and domestic planning were often overlooked or unrecorded, I set out to trace the faint outlines of her influence through the built environment itself. This belief was rooted in both the spatial logic of the house and the cultural context in which it was constructed. As I examined the layout, room uses, and stylistic choices, I looked for patterns that suggested Gabriella as the core connection between various architectural styles.

The research process, however, was defined by absence as much as presence. The greatest difficulty was the near-total lack of sources - particularly primary documents. Gabriella left behind no letters, journals, or personal records, and the historical archive offered only fleeting references to her, often in relation to her husbands or broader family. As a result, my work has relied heavily on architectural analysis, comparative studies, and contextual research - piecing together a narrative from what was built, rather than what was said.

By reexamining the Brockenbrough House through the lens of female patronage, this thesis challenges long-held assumptions about authorship, influence, and design in the early American city. Gabriella Harvie Randolph Brockenbrough's role in shaping the architectural character of her home reflects not only her cultivated eye and social acumen, but also the subtle

forms of power exercised by elite women in shaping the built environment. Though her name does not appear on architectural drawings or historical contracts, the evidence suggests a deliberate hand in shaping the residence's ornamentation and spatial arrangement, choices that reflect a deeply informed architectural literacy, sharpened by exposure, privilege, and ambition.

In reclaiming the Brockenbrough House as a product of Gabriella's vision, we are invited to reconsider the ways in which women shaped early American cities—not merely as inhabitants or hostesses, but as active cultural agents whose taste and authority left lasting imprints on the architectural record. The house's preservation, long anchored in a narrative of Confederate memory, inadvertently and unintentionally safeguarded a more complex and compelling legacy: that of a woman who lived with confidence, and left behind a structure that speaks to her influence. In centering Gabriella in the narrative of this house, we open space for broader discussions of gender, authorship, and memory in American architectural history.

Chapter One:

An Elite Upbringing Within Virginia's Planter Class

Gabriella Jones Harvie was born on October 21, 1772 to parents Colonel John Harvie[1] and Margaret Morton Jones at Belmont Plantation in Albemarle County, Virginia. Her father, John Harvie Jr., was the son of John Harvie Sr., a Scottish immigrant-turned-businessman who founded the Loyal Company of Virginia alongside Peter Jefferson and other Virginia gentry (Fig. 1).[2] Gabriella's maternal grandfather and namesake, Gabriel Jones, was a lawyer, legislator, court clerk and civil servant in the Colony, descended from Welsh nobility. In addition to Gabriella (the oldest), Col. Harvie and Margaret had six other children: Edwin, Julia, Emily, Lewis, John Augustine, and Jacquelin (Fig. 2).

Belmont Plantation & Ties to Thomas Jefferson

Belmont Plantation, sometimes called Belmont Estate, was purchased by Gabriella's paternal grandfather, John Harvie Sr., from Matthew Graves around 1736.[3] At the time, Belmont consisted of 2,500 acres nestled in the valley between the Southwest Mountains and the Rivanna River in what was then Goochland (now Albemarle) County, Virginia. The estate bordered Edge Hill and Shadwell, plantations of the Randolph and Jefferson families, respectively. In the 1730s, Albemarle and Goochland Counties were part of Virginia's expanding frontier, characterized by dense forests, rolling hills, and scattered settlements along the James and Rivanna Rivers.

[1] John Harvie Jr. was comissioned as a Colonel in the Virginia Forces in 1777 and is sometimes referred to Col. John Harvie. These names are used interchangeably in this paper.
[2] The Loyal Company of Virginia or Loyal Land Company was a land speculation company formed in Virginia in 1749 for the purpose of recruiting settlers to western Virginia, west of the Blue Ridge Mountains.
[3] "East Belmont". National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form

Goochland, formed in 1728 from the western portion of Henrico County, was still a sparsely populated region with isolated plantations and homesteads, many carved from land newly granted to settlers. Albemarle, which would not be officially established until 1744, was even less developed, consisting mainly of wilderness and Native American hunting grounds.

Life in these areas revolved around tobacco cultivation, which drove both settlement patterns and the economy. Wealthy planters established large estates along the riverbanks, using enslaved labor to cultivate and export tobacco to England. The James River was a vital transportation route, allowing goods to be shipped to market, while rough roads and trails connected plantations to small trading posts and churches.

The house that the Harvie family occupied, reported to have been built by the elder Harvie, was described as one-and-a-half stories tall, with wings at each end containing nine small rooms and tall dormer windows.[4] In 1858, the house was moved, divided into two out-buildings and upon its site a "new mansion" was constructed by the new owner.[5]

John Harvie Sr., Gabriella's paternal grandfather, was a Scottish immigrant raised in Stirlingshire, Scotland and immigrated to the United States by 1735. He was known to be an intimate friend to both his neighbor Peter Jefferson and countryman Robert Morris, who was known for writing a number of books on architecture and design.[6] Harvie was a mentor to Peter's

[4] Cantey "Our Children's Ancestry" p. 269-277

[5] "East Belmont" 6 & Allen, "Our Children's Ancestry". Harvie left Belmont in the hands of his friend and neighbor, John Rodgers, to be sold. In 1811, Rogers sold 1,200 acres to Dr. Charles Everett and retained the remaining half, naming it East Belmont. After a fire in 1883, the house was again remodeled and moved back to its original site.

[6] Thomas Jefferson often turned to Robert Morris's Select Architecture, which he owned, for "architectural inspiration". Jefferson derived some of his designs, including an early design for Monticello, from plates in this book. (Adams, 19)

son Thomas.[7] Upon Peter Jefferson's death, John Harvie became executor of Jefferson's estate as well as Thomas Jefferson's legal guardian.[8]

Ten years later, in 1767, Harvie Sr. died, leaving the massive estate to John Harvie Jr.[9] All the Harvie children, except for John, emigrated with their mother, Martha Gaines Harvie, to Georgia in 1780. With this new land holding, John Harvie Jr. continued to preside over Belmont and began to amass a fortune from farming, land speculation, and surveying on the edge of the "wilderness" in the western half of Virginia, in what is now Kentucky and West Virginia. In addition to his holdings in Albemarle County, John Harvie Jr. eventually accumulated about 1,200 acres in what is today's Downtown Richmond: Monroe Ward, Oregon Hill, Fan District and Randolph neighborhoods.

John Jr. became a member of the Virginia House of Delegates and was appointed to the Continental Congress in 1777. While at the Continental Congress, Harvie was one of five Virginia delegates to sign the Articles of Confederation on July 9, 1778 (Fig 3). By 1780, Thomas Jefferson had been elected Governor of Virginia and appointed his childhood friend John Harvie Jr. as registrar of the Land Office in Virginia's newly named capital, Richmond. This provision required that the Harvie family relocate sixty miles east to Richmond. Gabriella would have been around 8 years old.

According to land records, the Harvie family initially resided at a house on 11th Street between Marshall and Clay Streets.[10] Life for a family like theirs in Richmond at this time would have been marked by privilege, social status, and a refined lifestyle influenced by both

[7] A letter from 16-year-old Jefferson seeks advice on his future education from Harvie.
"From Thomas Jefferson to John Harvie, 14 January 1760," Founders Online, National Archives
[8] Jefferson, Peter. Will
[9] *Woods, Edgar. "Albemarle County in Virginia".* Other land holdings of the Harvies included Pen Park and The Barracks in Albemarle County.
[10] Ibid.

British traditions and emerging American ideals. As the city grew in prominence following the Revolutionary War, Richmond's elite resided in grand Federal-style homes, often constructed of brick with elegant interior woodwork, decorative plaster ceilings, and imported furnishings. These families owned large plantations in the western parts of the state, engaged in commerce, banking, or law, ensuring their economic dominance in Virginia society. Women oversaw the management of the home, socialized with other elite families, and played a key role in hosting lavish entertainments, all supported by an enslaved labor force, which managed domestic duties such as cooking, cleaning, childcare, and tending to the gardens.

Daily life for a young girl like Gabriella would have been structured around formal etiquette, and social engagements. Mornings often began with correspondence, household management, or business matters, while afternoons were reserved for visiting neighbors, shopping at Richmond's growing markets, or attending civic meetings. Evenings were filled with dinners, musical performances, and elaborate balls, where Virginia's aristocracy gathered to reinforce alliances and discuss political affairs. Education was highly valued, particularly for young men, who were often sent to William & Mary or even abroad for their studies, while young women were trained in music, literature, and refined domestic arts to prepare them for advantageous marriages. Religion also played a central role, with families attending services at St. John's Church or participating in philanthropic efforts.[11] Because of John Jr.'s close relationship and proximity to Jefferson in childhood, as well as involvement with the Second Continental Congress and the Virginia legislature, we can assume that Gabriella had interactions with Jefferson and his family from a young age. Martha "Patsy", Jefferson's eldest daughter, was

[11] The site of the assembly of the Second Virginia Convention where Patrick Henry gave his "Liberty or Death" speech. John Harvie Jr., as a delegate for the Augusta District, was more than likely in attendance. At the time, the location was called New Church, Town Church, Upper Church, and Richmond Hill Church. The earliest known reference to "St. John's" doesn't appear until 1829.

only a month older than Gabriella, and would have been in Richmond at the same time. Given their similar ages and shared social circles, it is likely that the two girls were acquainted, if not close companions, during their formative years.

In 1785, John Harvie Jr. was elected as the fourth Mayor of Richmond. Around this same time, Thomas Jefferson, who was then stationed in Paris serving as Minister to France, sent a plaster architectural model of the Maison Carrée to Richmond as consideration for the style of the new State Capitol building (Fig. 4). This model was on display for the public, and Gabriella most certainly would have been taken to see it by her father, who, as Mayor, was deeply involved in the City's development and public works. Throughout his life, Harvie had a strong interest in the construction of public buildings, evident in his role on various building commissions, his service in the Land Office, and his own personal investments in real estate. Surrounded by discussions of urban development, design, and civic projects, Gabriella would have grown up with a keen awareness of architecture and development, shaping her appreciation for the built environment from an early age.

Various memoirs and written recollections paint Gabriella as a charming and magnetic young woman, known not only for her beauty and grace but for a spirited, flirtatious nature and a remarkable ability to get what she wanted. Gabriella consistently moved through life with a clear sense of purpose and an ability to navigate the world around her. [12]

Simultaneously, after his wife's death in 1789, Thomas Mann Randolph Sr., a man 31 years Gabriella's senior, asked Col. Harvie for Gabriella's hand in marriage. Some recollections

[12] Gilmer 63. An 1855 account by George Rockingham Gilmer claims that the too-young Gabriella "charmed him by her sprightliness, whilst he engaged her regard, by many little flattering attentions and kindnesses, and especially by talking to her about what she read; her vivid imagination making realizations of the heroes and heroines of romance". Multiple memoirs refer to a young Gabriella falling in love with her father's bookkeeper- A man by the name of 'Marshall' was also appointed to the Registrar's office at the same time as Harvie, and who was charmed by Gabriella's spirit.

claim that Gabriella initially refused Randolph's offer, a gesture that reflects her independence of mind and unwillingness to be easily persuaded, even by a powerful suitor.[13]

Life & Changes at Tuckahoe Plantation

The Randolph Family, one of the "First Families of Virginia", also shared close ties with the Jefferson family. Upon Tomas Mann Randolph Sr.'s father's death in 1746, Peter Jefferson moved his family to Tuckahoe to look after the Randolph children. Close in age, Thomas Mann Randolph Sr., and Thomas Jefferson were tutored together in the schoolhouse at Tuckahoe Plantation.[14]

In 1790, only months after the death of his first wife, 49-year-old widower Thomas Mann Randolph Sr. married 18-year-old Gabriella. Randolph's residence, Tuckahoe Plantation, was a well-established and prosperous estate established in the early 18th century by the Randolph family, one of Virginia's most influential planter dynasties (Fig 5). The plantation was a significant tobacco-producing estate, relying on enslaved labor to cultivate its fields and manage daily operations.[15] The surrounding landscape featured formal gardens, orchards, and working farm buildings, while the James River continued to serve as a primary route for trade and transportation.

Gabriella would have arrived at the main house at Tuckahoe via a mile-long, cedar tree-lined dirt lane which aligned directly with the north entrance of the main clapboard house. The

[13] Gilmer 64 & Allen 275; Colonel Harvie was flattered that such a distinguished gentleman had proposed to his daughter, but he was just as shocked and offended when Gabriella immediately refused. Defying a parent's wishes in such a way was almost unheard of—and certainly not something he was willing to accept. While Gabriella and Marshall professed their love for one another, Marshall refused to ruin his relationship with Col. Harvie, and left Virginia 'for a foreign land', leaving Gabriella engaged to Randolph

[14] Thomas Jefferson Foundation, "Tuckahoe"

[15] An indenture document from 1790 which concerned the marriage of Thomas Mann Randolph and Gabriella Harvie contained a list of assets of Tuckahoe – among which are the names of at least eighty-seven enslaved people and their specific roles on the plantation.

two-story early Georgian estate combined American tradition and the aristocratic Georgian style that was in trend at the time of its construction, around 1735.[16] The H-plan house consists of two, two-room wings on either side of a central hall. Two reception rooms open to the right and left of the north hall (Fig 6). Numerous outbuildings surrounded the house, including quarters and domestic workspaces for the enslaved individuals who sustained the household and its operations (Fig 7).

No known portrait of Gabriella exists, a silence in the record that mirrors her own elusiveness in the historical narrative. Memoirs and personal recollections written in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries consistently portray Gabriella as a figure deeply immersed in the pleasures and expectations of high society. While reliance on personal recollections and memoirs must be approached with caution, as they are often shaped by memory, bias, and social convention, the consistency of these accounts lends credibility to the general portrait they offer. These sources suggest that she dedicated much of her time to social engagements, and that her home was widely recognized for its elegance and sophistication, setting a regional standard for refinement. Among many complimentary descriptions, a letter from John Randolph of Roanoke to Gabriella's future husband, John Brockenbrough, says Gabriella "has a mind of a very high order, well improved and manners that a queen might envy." [17]

Within this world of affluence and cultivated taste, Gabriella appears to have developed a keen appreciation for material and intellectual luxury. Descriptions of her charm, wit, and vivacious personality recur throughout these accounts, painting a portrait of a woman who held a commanding presence in social settings and drew admiration from many of Virginia's most

[16] Krusen, 105.
[17] Shorey, *Collected Letters of John Randolph of Roanoke to Dr. John Brockenbrough: 1812-1833*

prominent young men. While she seemed to thrive in this environment, these same recollections suggest a tension within her marriage, as her husband reportedly found little pleasure in the vibrant world she so naturally inhabited.[18]

It is no secret that Gabriella ruffled some feathers in the Randolph family as a wife younger than some of her new stepchildren. After her mother's death, Randolph's fourth daughter Ann Cary "Nancy" had acted as the lady of the house, overseeing the enslaved household staff, managing domestic routines, and making key decisions about meals and daily affairs. When Gabriella entered the scene, it appears that the two started to battle for dominance in the house. Nancy's sister-in-law, Patsy Jefferson, who was married to Thomas Mann Randolph Jr., wrote to her father about this new engagement, with Thomas Jefferson issuing the following composed response:

> "Colo. Randolph's marriage was to be expected...Avail yourself of this softness then to obtain his attachment. If the lady has any thing difficult in her dispositions, avoid what is rough, and attach her good qualities to you. Consider what are otherwise as a bad stop in your harpsichord. Do not touch on it, but make yourself happy with the good ones. Every human being, my dear, must thus be viewed according to what it is good for, for none of us, no not one, is perfect; and were we to love none who had imperfections this world would be a desert for our love. All we can do is to make the best of our friends: love and cherish what is good in them, and keep out of the way of what is bad: but no more think of rejecting them for it than of throwing away a piece of music for a flat passage or two... Be you, my dear, the link of love, union, and peace for the whole family." [19]

[18] Allen, 277.

[19] Founders.org *"From Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson Randolph, 17 July 1790"* ; Martha's letter of 2 July 1790 has not been found but are recorded in Jefferson's Summary Journal of Letters as received 15 July 1790.

Jefferson goes on to remind Patsy that both Randolph and Gabriella's father have important land interests and suggests that it may not be best to cause any conflict: "This marriage renders it doubtful with me whether it will be better to direct our overtures to Colo. R. or Mr. H. for a farm for Mr. Randolph. Mr. H. has a good tract of land on the other side Edgehill, and it may not be unadvisable to begin by buying out a dangerous neighbor".[20]

In 1792, after first losing a daughter in infancy, Gabriella gave birth to a boy, naming him Thomas Mann Randolph Jr. - a name already given to the aforementioned Thomas Mann Randolph Jr; one of Thomas Mann Randolph Sr.'s children from his marriage to his first wife, Ann Cary.[21] Certainly, this naming would have angered the Randolph children, who may have seen the choice as an attempt to elevate Gabriella's son over his half-siblings or as a slight against their late mother's legacy, further deepening existing tensions within the family.

As Gabriella continued to feud with the Randolph children, she made drastic alterations to the interior of Tuckahoe, further exacerbating tensions within the household. She whitewashed the floor-to-ceiling black walnut paneling in the Northwest parlor on the first floor (now known as the "White Parlor") and began adding trending Adams Style features and mantlepieces throughout the house (Fig 8). Gabriella's decision to whitewash the interior of Tuckahoe is one of the few alterations she made that is well-documented, owing largely to the widespread retellings of the Bizarre Scandal in which she was cast in the role of the scheming, overbearing stepmother.[22]

[20] Ibid.
[21] Documents and genealogical references refer to these half-siblings as the Senior Line and Junior Line.
[22] In modern writings detailing the Scandal at Bizarre, Gabriella is referred to as a 'wicked stepmother'

As the thirteen original Randolph children began to move west to Bizarre Plantation[23] and other Randolph land holdings, fifteen-year-old Nancy remained at Tuckahoe.[24] During this time, Nancy would not let Gabriella in her room, and so that particular room remains an outlier from Gabriella's interior decorating without a changed mantlepiece (Fig. 9).[25] Ongoing conflicts between twenty-year-old Gabriella and her stepdaughter eventually led to Nancy's departure to Bizarre to live with her sister Judith, setting up the "Bizarre Scandal" of 1792. The Bizarre Scandal was a highly publicized controversy involving multiple members of the Randolph family of Virginia centered around accusations of an affair between Judith's husband, Richard Randolph, and Nancy Randolph, which allegedly resulted in the birth and secret death of an illegitimate child. Although Richard was acquitted in a widely followed trial, the event remained a stain on the family's reputation and became one of the most infamous scandals of early American society. As news of the Scandal spread, Nancy "suggested stepmother Gabriella was one of the leading rumormongers" and this narrative seems to have followed Gabriella throughout her life. [26]

Thomas Mann Randolph Sr. passed away in November 1793, leaving Gabriella a widow at the age of 21 and the sole manager of a vast estate. Her son, the second Thomas Mann Randolph Jr., inherited Tuckahoe at the age of one, thus placing Gabriella in control of both his substantial inheritance and the extensive property.[27]

[23] Located in Cumberland County, Virginia near Farmville. The plantation is no longer standing.
[24] A Randolph family plantation house, in Cumberland County, near Farmville, Virginia
[25] "Tuckahoe" National Register Of Historic Places. National Register of Historic Places.
[26] Coski, Ruth Ann. The web of kinship : antebellum stories of the Confederate White House. Richmond Journal of History and Architecture. Richmond, VA. vol.3, no.1 (Spring 1996), p. 7-8.
[27] Keiter Not only did the will name the infant half-brother heir to Tuckahoe Plantation, it entrusted Gabriella's father, Col. Harvie as guardian of the younger children.

Belvidere Estate, The Gamble's Hill Project & B. Henry Latrobe

In 1796, newly widowed Englishman Benjamin Henry Latrobe immigrated to the United States looking for a new start and architectural work. After designing a handful of residences in Norfolk, Virginia, Latrobe made his way to Richmond to assist with public works projects in the new Capital. Latrobe's first project was the State Penitentiary, which was overseen by Gabriella's father, Col. John Harvie, still appointed as Registrar of the Land Office.[28] Situated on Spring Street, near the James River, the penitentiary's original structure was one of the earliest examples of purpose-built penal architecture in the United States. Its location was chosen for its seclusion and elevation. The massive, rectangular stone building with high, fortified walls reflected Enlightenment-era ideals of criminal reform, focusing on discipline and isolation rather than purely punitive measures. Latrobe incorporated large, arched windows for ventilation and attempted to design an environment that balanced security with rehabilitation. The penitentiary quickly became a defining feature of Richmond's landscape.

While Latrobe worked on the Penitentiary building, Col. John Harvie enlisted him to design a new house to be located just to the east, on modern day Gamble's Hill.[29] This house was originally designed as a neoclassical five-part building, although only the center core is what was eventually built. Three south-facing rooms along the back of the building featured a panoramic view of the James River, without a portico. It seems to have been designed with heating and

[28] Virginia, "James Monroe Executive Papers". Various details on work on the Penitentiary and Manufactory of Arms are detailed in Monroe's executive papers including an alteration in Latrobe's original plan (June 7, 1800); an advance to John Harvie for furnishing bricks, lime, etc., for the Penitentiary & Manufactory (April 26, 1801); and contracts between John Harvie & Martin Mims for furnishing bricks & lime for the Penitentiary & Manufactory (Oct. 18 1801 & Nov. 27 1802). During this time period, Harvie's two main ventures included the speculation of real estate as well as the manufacture of building materials including brick and lime. John Harvie served as Registrar of the Land Office from 1780-1791.

[29] This house, originally referred to as the Harvie House, changes names to Gamble's Hill House (or Gamble House) upon the sale to Robert Gamble.

cooling in mind, where the sun would allow maximum heating in the winter and a large oval entry would allow breezes in the summertime (Fig 10).

An argument ensued between Col. Harvie and Latrobe sometime during the construction of the house, where Latrobe claimed in a letter to John Wickham that Harvie began to make too many changes to the original plans. [30] At the same time, Harvie continued to be in a dispute dating back to 1791 about the border of his land at Belmont and neighboring Jefferson's holdings; this dispute was resolved in a compromise on February 17, 1810.

On the hill opposite and west of what was to become the Harvie House was the house known as Belvidere. Sometimes referred to as Belvidera, the stately residence on the bank of the James River was owned by a succession of Virginia's elites: heir to Richmond's founder, William Byrd III; Revolutionary hero, Harry "Light-Horse" Lee; and Bushrod Washington, the nephew of George Washington. Belvidere was described as "an elegant villa ... surrounded by seventeen acres, on which were various dependencies, including kitchen, smokehouse, garden, paddock and slave quarters." [31] The earliest mention of "Belvidere" can be found in the 1759-60 letters of the Reverend Andrew Burnaby, an English traveler, who wrote: "The honorable Colonel Byrd has a place called 'Belvidere', upon a hill at the lower end of the falls, as romantic and elegant as anything I have ever seen." [32]

Located on what is now Laurel, China and Holly Streets in Oregon Hill, the two-story house with wings featured a north-facing double-deck porch and a southern view of terraced gardens and the falls of the James River. A serpentine brick wall surrounded the property. [33]

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[30] Latrobe wrote in 1810 about how his work had been "garbled" by Harvie, who had made unapproved changes to the original plans. Some of his changes included a double-column portico on the front of the house.
[31] Virginius Dabney, Richmond: The Story of a City (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990).
[32] Burnaby 8.
[33] [4] "Letters of the Byrd Family (Continued)." The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 39, no. 2 (1931): 139–45. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4244405.

Assuming the serpentine wall was installed by the home's builder, William Byrd III, it would have predated Jefferson's serpentine walls at the University of Virginia by over 60 years (Fig 11). [34]

Two sketches by B. Henry Latrobe survive of Belvidere, most likely commissioned by Washington in 1797-1798. The first, a watercolor on paper depicts the North-front facade of Belvidere in 1797 (Fig. 12) showing a new brick face on the original hart pine building. The second is an unfinished ink and pencil sketch of the house and lawn (Fig 13).

The watercolor shows a building constructed of brick, with a main structure and two attached wings. It stands two stories high, lacking ornamental dormers or gables. The central section has six window openings and includes a two-story porch with slender columns over the entrance on the north side. On the south side, facing the river, the entrance is simply marked by semi-circular steps. The wings are slightly shorter in height, just a few feet, and each is four window openings wide, with entrances on the north side. To the east, there is a separate building, also of brick, two stories high, and slightly lower than the wings. It shares the same architectural style, with window openings on the north and two on the west wall. The chimneys are located at either end of each structure.

It may simply have been that Harvie welcomed an opportunity to acquire the famous Byrd property instead of moving forward with construction on his new house, especially if he were quarreling with Latrobe. Harvie eventually stepped away from the project and sold the partially finished property to Robert Gamble. A photograph from 1807 shows the final iteration

[34] In "Letters of the Byrd Family", page 144, the author states "Thomas Jefferson may have gotten the idea of the serpentine wall for the University of Virginia from the wall at 'Belvidere', and Colonel Byrd may have gotten the idea when in England. But it is very probable that the wall at the University is a copy of the serpentine wall at 'Belvidere'"

of the Gamble house, drastically different from Latrobe's original plan, but retaining the double-column front facade (Fig 14).

Under the Harvie's ownership, Belvidere became a center of political and social activity in Richmond. The house was known for its elegant and spacious rooms, beautiful gardens, and impressive collection of art and furnishings.[35] Maps from the 1880s to show adjacent land labeled Harvie's Woods and Harvie's Pond, likely named after Harvie's extensive holdings in the area. The Richmond Directory from 1856 contains a sketch of Belvedere's location.

During this process, Gabriella most likely struck up a friendship-if she had not already earlier- with Latrobe. In his partially finished sketch of Belvidere, a woman can be seen sitting underneath a tree – we can only speculate if this was Gabriella.

In 1797, Gabriella engaged Latrobe to visit Tuckahoe to help design a canal system to better access the coal deposits on the property. According to his journals, Latrobe sometimes stays for days at a time, where they pass some risqué notes and poetry back and forth, one of which, Latrobe documents from a visit in June 1796:

"*On Mrs. R's requesting each of the Gentleman present to mend her a pen*

1. To mend a pen
   Four able men
   With might and main unite
   no wonder why;
   It was to try
   To make the Widow write.
2. The widow fair
   With gracious air
   Smil'd while the pens were making
   But each poor wight
   Till she should write
   Was in a desp'rate taking

[35] The collections of art and furnishings are mentioned in a few accounts, although no specific pieces are named. It remains unclear if these were objects that remained in the house after William Byrd.

3. With fawning look
   The pen she took
   Which Arthur had made ready
   Alas! How sad
   The pen was bad
   And never could write steady
4. That laid aside
   The next she tried
   Was the pen which Steele did mend, Sir,
   She cried and spoke
   at ev'ry stroke,
   "Your pen's too soft, and bends, Sir"
5. Latrobe's next came
   To please the Dame
   He hop'd with fond reliance
   But she took tiff
   Call'd it too stiff
   And bid his pen defiance
6. The bright'ning face
   And jovial grace
   Of Bishop soon proclaim'd it
   That of four men
   His well shap'd pen
   Had won the prize they aim'd at" [36]

Clearly, the relationship between Gabriella Harvie Randolph Brockenbrough and Benjamin Henry Latrobe, though not overtly documented, seems to have extended beyond professional boundaries into a deeply personal and likely romantic connection. In the context of their social circles, where decorum often governed relationships, their correspondence, including this poem, indicates a mutual attraction that likely blurred the lines between their intellectual partnership and personal entanglements. If they were exchanging playful, highly literate verse, it is difficult to imagine that architecture and Latrobe's opinions on such would not have been a

[36] Latrobe Virginia Journals, p.155-157. The people in attendance were identified in Latrobe's writings and sketchbooks as Mr. Bishop of Baltimore- this was most likely Henry Bishop of Baltimore, Mr. And Mrs. Arthur, and Mrs. [Gabriella Harvie] Randolph

topic of conversation. He might even have walked her through the drawings of the Harvie House, especially given his eventual dispute with Col. Harvie. This opens the door to the possibility that Gabriella was not just a passive observer, but an active participant in discussions about the design of her home.

Chapter 2:

A Convergence of Architects in Richmond

As alluded to in Latrobe's poetry, the young, beautiful, and newly widowed Gabriella Randolph continued to attract many suitors. She accepted the proposal of Dr. John Brokenbrough, who had just returned to Richmond after obtaining his M.D. in Edinburgh. Brockenbrough was the son of Sarah Roane and John Brockenbrough, M.D., one of the signers of the Westmoreland Protest of 1764 against the Stamp Act. The prominence of his family offers an early indication of the sphere in which he would eventually operate: his siblings included William Brockenbrough, a judge on the Virginia Court of Appeals; Arthur S. Brockenbrough, who became proctor of the University of Virginia; Dr. Austin Brockenbrough of Tappahannock; and Thomas Brockenbrough. Their collective achievements signal a household firmly rooted in Virginia's professional and civic elite and an environment that undoubtedly shaped his trajectory. (Fig. 15). Gabriella married Dr. Brockenbrough on April 17, 1797, when he was still a respected physician. He would later rise to become president of the Bank of Virginia, marking the beginning of a partnership that once again placed her at the heart of Richmond's social and intellectual life.

Court End & Dr. John Brockenbrough

Although Brockenbrough was already an active Richmond civic leader and businessman, he effectively married into Virginia aristocracy when he married Gabriella Harvie Randolph. Gabriella and Dr. Brockenbrough became known locally for their intellectual pursuits and their commitment to the arts and education. Through their marriage, Brockenbrough became the

stepfather and executor of Thomas Mann Randolph Jr., the half-brother of Thomas Jefferson's son-in-law of the same name. After their marriage, Dr. Brockenbrough quickly abandoned his medical career and began to handle Gabriella's vast estate.

It remains unclear whether the Brockenbroughs ever resided together at Tuckahoe, but given its rural isolation and remove from Richmond's cultural and social spheres, it is likely that Gabriella found it deeply unsatisfying., In December 1797, John Brockenbrough advertised the house at Tuckahoe for lease as well as the sale of between 30-40 enslaved workers (Fig 16). The sale was a part of the larger sell-off of the Tuckahoe estate that involved splitting Upper Tuckahoe from the island, also known as Lower Tuckahoe.[37]

The Brockenbroughs set off for a honeymoon in Europe in Summer 1798, with traveling papers signed by Jefferson dated June 1798.[38] On this trip, they would have been exposed to and inspired by European art and architecture as well as the latest fashion and trends in European architecture. In the late 18th century, the Grand Tour was a common tradition among wealthy European and American elites, serving as both an educational journey and a symbol of status. This was the height of Neoclassical taste in architecture, painting, fashion and decorative arts. For newlyweds, the Grand Tour also functioned as an extended honeymoon, offering an opportunity for cultural enrichment, social networking, and the acquisition of fine art and furnishings for their future home. A couple embarking on a Grand Tour honeymoon at the turn

[37] Advertisement, the Virginia Gazette & General Advertiser, Microfilm [Richmond, Va.]: Photographic Laboratory of the Virginia State Library, December 1797; cited (with image) in Hannah Verdi Warfield, "Prospect and Preservation: Tuckahoe Plantation's Landscape", Garden Club of Virginia, 2008; accessed at https://www.scribd.com/document/136825592/Tuckahoe-Plantation-s-Landscape.

[38] "Certificate for John and Gabriella Brockenbrough, 29 June 1798," *Founders Online,* National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-30-02-0317.

of the century would have likely sought to refine their aesthetic tastes by exploring the architectural wonders, classical ruins, and artistic masterpieces of Europe.

While no record exists of their exact route, the Brockenbroughs almost certainly would have begun in England, with stops in London to visit institutions like the British Museum and St. Paul's Cathedral, before crossing the Channel to the Low Countries or possibly avoiding France altogether via an overland route through Germany and Switzerland. Given the political instability in France following the French Revolution, many travelers at this time avoided Paris and instead focused on the more stable cultural centers of Italy, Switzerland, and the German states. However, considering their close relationship with Thomas Jefferson, who had just returned from France ten years prior, the Brockenbroughs would most likely have made a stop in Paris. From there, travelers would typically enter Italy, where they spent the most time, exploring the ruins of Rome, the grandeur of Florence, and the treasures of Venice. The couple might have also visited Naples and Pompeii, where ongoing excavations fascinated aristocratic tourists. Many Americans, inspired by the architectural ideals of Palladio, made a special effort to visit Vicenza to study his villas firsthand. The journey often concluded with a return through Vienna or Prague, before heading home laden with paintings, sculptures, and a repertoire of architectural details that would ultimately shape their work in Richmond.

No definitive accounts detail the Brockenbrough's movements or engagements between 1798 and 1807, however a Grand Tour honeymoon could have lasted anywhere from six months to several years, depending on the couple's wealth, social obligations, and the political climate of Europe. The most traditional Grand Tours, especially for young men completing their education, could last two to three years, but for newlyweds, a more common timeframe would have been six

months to a year—long enough to visit major cultural centers and acquire furnishings or artwork for their home.[39]

At some point within this time frame, and after they had returned to Richmond, Dr. Brockenbrough abandoned his medical practice and began work at the newly chartered Bank of Virginia, chartered in 1804 with a 1.5-million-dollar investment from stockholders and electing seven directors, one of whom was Brockenbrough's new father-in-law, Col. John Harvie.[40] Some accounts state that Dr. Brockenbrough started as a cashier, and we know from various records he eventually rose to the rank of Vice President.

Dr. Brockenbrough became a member of the Richmond Junto, an influential political and economic faction in early 19th-century Virginia, composed of powerful men who shaped the state's banking, commerce, and governance, including John Marshall, John Randolph of Roanoke, and Thomas Ritchie, editor and publisher of the Richmond *Enquirer* .[41] Centered in Richmond, the group was primarily made up of conservative, pro-business elites who supported a strong banking system and internal improvements to bolster Virginia's economy. Many of its members were closely tied to the Bank of Virginia and used their influence to guide fiscal policies that favored commercial expansion. The group allied with Thomas Jefferson and held strong connections to the Virginia General Assembly, ensuring that their economic and political interests were well-represented at the state level.

In the fall of 1805, Dr. Brockenbrough placed an ad in *The Enquirer* advertising the lease of his house "on the hill between Col Gamble's and Belvidere". He describes the building as his

[39] Maurie Dee Mcinnis, and Thomas Savage. 1999. In Pursuit of Refinement : Charlestonians Abroad, 1740-1860. Columbia, SC University Of South Carolina Press.
[40] Hester, 52. The seven directors were Joseph Selden, William Mitchell, Abraham Venable, Samuel Pleasants, John Harvie, James Brown, and Garvas Storrs
[41] Shaffer, Wade Lee, "The Richmond Junto and politics in Jacksonian Virginia" (1993). Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects. William & Mary. Paper 1539623830. https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-48hj-j617

own residence, where “no expense was spared... for the elegant accommodation of a small family” (Fig 17). It remains uncertain whether he resided there prior to his engagement to Gabriella. If this were the case, it would be particularly noteworthy, as it would suggest that he was a direct neighbor of her father at Belvidere.

In February 1807, Col. Harvie died from injuries after a fall from a ladder while he was inspecting the roof of the Gamble house, which was still under construction.[42] He was buried at Belvidere in the family plot, now a part of Hollywood Cemetery. At the time of his death, he owned over 3,010 acres across Richmond, Albemarle, and the western portion of the state. [43] His obituary described him as generous in heart, a gentle parent, and zealous patriot.[44] Just a few months later, in April 1807, another Harvie family obituary was posted in the paper – that of Lewis Harvie, Gabriella’s eldest brother, who died of an unnamed illness at the age of 25. [45]

As Gabriella endured these personal losses, the world around her continued to press forward with political drama and public responsibility. In the same period, Dr. Brockenbrough found himself drawn into one of the most sensational legal proceedings of the early republic: the 1807 Burr treason trial. The trial, held in Richmond, was presided over by Brockenbrough’s neighbor and friend Chief Justice John Marshall and centered on allegations that Burr had conspired to seize land in the Southwest and establish an independent nation.[46] Later that same year, on the day he was released from jail, Burr’s co-conspirator, Harman Blennerhassett, stayed

[42] ”Letters of the Byrd Family”
[43] Hester, 49.
[44] “Obituary of John Harvie.” Enquirer. February 13, 1807. https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=EN18070213.1.3
[45] “Obituary of Lewis Harvie” Enquirer. April 21 1807. https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=EN18070421.1.3
[46] The famous Richmond Barbeque Club was created by Chief Justice John Marshall, where, similar to the Richmond Junto, Richmond’s elite found themselves” fond of discussing politics and the classics” Brockenbrough, John Wickham and John Randolph of Roanoke all participated in the trial, and were all ”members” of this club.

with the Brockenbroughs and later wrote that "Gabriella Brockenbrough is the nearest approach in this town to a savant and bel-esprit".[47]

In 1810, the Brockenbroughs built a house in Richmond's Court End, the city's wealthiest neighborhood at the time, at the corner of E. Clay and 11th Streets. Located just north of the Virginia State Capitol, Court End emerged as the city's most prestigious address in the early 1800s, attracting Richmond's political and social elite. Situated at the highest elevation in Richmond at the time, the neighborhood symbolized the social and political ascendancy of its elite residents—its height reflecting their elevated status within the city. While Church Hill also occupied high ground and remained home to some of Richmond's earliest development, including St. John's Church and a more established, traditional population, Court End distinguished itself as the newer, fashionable neighborhood, closer to the centers of political power and shaped by the city's evolving aspirations. The neighborhood's name reflects its association with Virginia's legal and political institutions, as many of its early residents were judges, lawyers, and government officials who built elegant townhouses in the area, drawn by its proximity to the state government and court buildings.

This house, known as the "First Brockenbrough House," was a distinguished example of early 19th-century architectural design, marked by its classical colonnaded front. The façade featured a symmetrical arrangement with two windows on each side, a hallmark of the neoclassical style that was popular at the time. The two-story dwelling extended an impressive sixty-three feet in length. At the heart of the design was a prominent two-story portico, which not only provided a striking visual focal point but also functioned as a grand entrance that invited

[47] Lancaster, Robert Alexander. 1915. Historic Virginia Homes and Churches. Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott Company. 130-137.

guests into the home. The house was further complemented by a number of outbuildings that were essential to the estate's daily operations. Among these was a long wing located along Eleventh Street, which housed the kitchen, laundry facilities, and a carriage house—structures that were typical for large estates of the period, designed to separate the more utilitarian functions from the main residence. These outbuildings were crucial to maintaining the flow of daily life while also preserving the aesthetic dignity of the main house. (Fig 18). As they were settling into this new house, in October 1810, the Brockenbroughs lost an infant son.

The Wickham House & Alexander Parris

Elsewhere in Court End, architect Alexander Parris began designs on the Wickham House, caddy-corner to the Brockenbrough's home on Clay Street, and commissioned by attorney John Wickham (Fig 19). One of the leading architects of his time, Parris' early works included elegant Federal-style residences, but he later became known for his monumental Greek Revival and Romanesque structures. Parris's architectural style was heavily influenced by European classical traditions, and he masterfully incorporated symmetry, proportion, and grand porticos into his buildings.

The Wickham House also had the influence of B. Henry Latrobe: a series of letters from March and April 1811 show that Parris had sent plans to Latrobe to review. Latrobe replies with almost a complete alteration to his plans, of which some elements resemble the original plan of the Harvie house on Gamble's Hill (Fig. 20). Certainly, the Brockenbroughs would have observed with great interest the construction of the Wickham House across the street, likely

engaging with the builders and discussing its design with their neighbor and friend, John Wickham.

Ultimately, the Wickham House became a two-story brick structure laid in Flemish bond and finished with fine detailing that reflects the influence of the neoclassical style, then popular in both England and the United States. The house follows a traditional central passage plan. The five-bay façade is balanced and symmetrical, with a refined entrance door framed by slender pilasters and topped by a leaded fanlight, one of the hallmarks of the Federal style.

Inside, the Wickham House is noted for its exquisitely detailed interiors, especially the ornamental plasterwork, elaborate mantels, and carved woodwork. Of special interest is the house's use of private and public spaces, including a more intimate rear wing that accommodated domestic activities. Outbuildings and garden spaces, typical of elite urban dwellings of the period, once completed the property's layout.

In 1813, Parris was selected to design the Governor's Executive Mansion, which features a double-column portico (Fig 21). The house is a two-story, stuccoed brick building with a symmetrical five-bay façade. Its central entrance is marked by an elegant fanlight and sidelights, framed by slender pilasters and topped with a modest entablature—features that reflect the influence of the Adam style within the broader Federal aesthetic. A low hipped roof with a shallow cornice caps the building, lending it a sense of horizontal stability and restraint. Tall sash windows, evenly spaced and adorned with delicate lintels, provide vertical rhythm to the façade.

Together, these elements present a house of quiet elegance and civic dignity, aligning with early Republican ideals of tasteful restraint, order, and classical inspiration. The mansion's architecture subtly reinforces its purpose: not as a private showpiece, but as a public symbol of executive authority, decorum, and the continuity of the Commonwealth.

In 1815, Parris returned to Boston, designing some of his most notable works: the Quincy Market (1824) and Saint Paul's Church (1819), the latter of which features a double-height portico reminiscent of the Brockenbrough's future high-columned house (Fig 22 & 23).

A few years later, another tragedy struck the City and the Brockenbrough family – the worst urban tragedy in the United States occured just a few blocks away: the Richmond Theater Fire of 1811.[48] Gabriella's brother, Edwin, died while attempting to rescue their sister Julia, and their sister Emily's daughter, Mary Whitlock. All three perished in the disaster. Abraham Venable, the President of Bank of Virginia, also died in the fire, leaving John Brockenbrough to become the new Bank President.

The years 1807 to 1811 must have been an incredibly difficult period for Gabriella, marked by deep loss and grief. During this time, she endured the deaths of her father, two brothers, a sister, an infant son, and a niece. The sheer number of tragedies within such a short span must have been overwhelming, leaving her to navigate both personal sorrow and the shifting dynamics of her family's legacy.

At the time of the theatre fire, Richmond had a population of approximately 5,000 people, and the death of 72 attendees affected almost every family in the city, black and white.[49] The theater site became hallowed ground as the city coped with the tragedy. U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall led a committee to raise funds for a memorial on the site of the mass grave. During the fundraising process it was decided that a much-needed church should be built in conjunction with the proposed memorial – a "Monumental Church".

[48] The Richmond Theatre Fire of 1811 was one of the deadliest urban fires in early American history, claiming the lives of 72 people, including prominent members of Richmond society, including the sitting Governor. The fire broke out on the night of December 26 during a performance at the city's main theater, trapping many audience members inside due to the building's wooden construction and limited exits.

[49] The audience the night of the fire included white, black, free and slave, wealthy and working class; 54 of them were women. The event was discussed across the country and Theater was banned in Richmond for eight years.

Dr. Brockenbrough was designated as Chairman of the Monumental Church committee, which, in 1814, selected Robert Mills to design the building - despite the fact that a design was also submitted by his mentor, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, whose personal and professional ties to the Brockenbrough family, including his likely romantic relationship with Gabriella, may have influenced the dynamics surrounding the decision. The result was Monumental Church, an important example of early American Neoclassicism.[50] The committee not only guided the church's architectural vision but also ensured that it would serve as both a place of worship and a solemn memorial, with the victims interred beneath its structure.

Robert Mills & Monumental Church

Hired by the Monumental Church Memorial Committee to design the Monumental Church, "America's First Native-Born Architect" and Thomas Jefferson's only architecture student, Robert Mills, found himself in Richmond. Mills had began to make a name for himself after assisting James Hoban on the commission for the design of the White House in Washington DC.

As Chairman of the Monumental Church committee, Dr. Brockenbrough certainly played a central role alongside Robert Mills throughout the process, providing guidance and input on various aspects of the design (Fig 24). Just as we can reasonably assume Gabriella and Latrobe discussed his architectural designs, it stands to reason that she and her husband would have talked about Mills' design for Monumental Church, especially given their close connection to the tragedy it memorialized and the emotional weight it carried for Gabriella.

[50] "Monumental Church" National Register of Historic Places Registration

Latrobe and other architects disparaged Mills' completed building, which varied somewhat from the original submitted design, but it gained Mills additional work in Richmond.[51] The building's most striking feature is its centralized octagonal sanctuary, a highly unconventional plan for ecclesiastical architecture in America at the time. This form reflects Enlightenment ideals of geometric clarity and moral order, and it draws inspiration from classical antiquity, particularly Roman and Renaissance centralized churches. The central space is surmounted by a low saucer dome, which was originally lit by a now-lost cupola or lantern, creating an airy and luminous interior. The front consists of a monumental Ionic temple-front portico, which faces Broad Street and gives the building its public and civic presence. The portico features six full-height Ionic columns, fluted and topped with classical capitals, supporting a simple entablature and pediment. Inside, the space was designed for clarity of sight and sound, consistent with Protestant liturgical practices of the early 19th century. At the building's front, a large recessed apse houses the memorial tablet that lists the names of those who perished in the fire—a solemn reminder of the structure's origin. The lower crypt beneath the building, which holds the remains of most victims, reinforces the building's dual function as both sacred space and civic monument.

[51] Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, Altogether American: Robert Mills, Architect and Engineer, 1781-1855 (New York, 1994). Mills's winning plans survive and are held in several collections, including the Library of Congress and the Virginia Historical Society. His detailed drawings, including plans, elevations, and perspectives, reveal the clarity and geometric rigor that defined his early work. Latrobe's rejected proposal also survives, notably preserved in his professional papers (many of which are at the Maryland Center for History and Culture and the Library of Congress). Latrobe's scheme was reportedly more traditional in form and possibly more ecclesiastical in character, but specific details vary depending on the source. What is clear is that his design lacked the dramatic centralization and symbolic clarity of Mills's winning proposal.

Just as Monumental Church was completed, in April 1814, Mills was selected by the city to design Richmond's first City Hall, featuring huge doric columns and a symmetrical dome with clerestory windows (Fig 25 & 26).

Maximillian Godefroy & The Bank of Virginia

Mills returned to Richmond in 1816 to design a new City Hall, however, left the city before the building was completed. Maximillian Godefroy, who was in town to design the landscaping at Capitol Square, claims he took over the project (Fig 27). He adjusted the oval entryway to a circular rotunda and redesigned the column structure and fenestration on the outside of the building.

Maximilian Godefroy (1765–1838) was a French-born architect who played a key role in shaping the architectural landscape of early America, particularly in Washington, D.C. After studying architecture in France, Godefroy emigrated to the United States in the early 19th century, where his expertise in Neoclassical design aligned well with the young nation's aspirations to project democratic ideals through monumental architecture.

While in Richmond, Godefroy was appointed in 1817 by the Bank of Virginia, which was under the management of Dr. Brockenbrough, and the Farmer's Bank, run by Mr. Wickham, to design a classical colonnade that would connect their two separate bank buildings. The colonnade was intended to unify the two institutions visually and symbolically, providing a grand and cohesive architectural feature that highlighted the importance of both banks in Richmond's financial landscape. Interestingly, Godefroy would later replicate this colonnade design at the First Unitarian Church in Baltimore, completed the same year (Fig 28 & 29).

While Latrobe, Mills, Parris and Godefroy worked on leaving their mark on Richmond's urban fabric, they presumably navigated the same social networks as Gabriella, especially through her husband's professional influence. Within this context, it is easy to imagine Gabriella not as a passive observer, but as an engaged and discerning participant. Moving through these overlapping circles, she would have encountered each of these men, absorbing their stylistic vocabularies and drawing inspiration from the diverse architectural expressions they brought to Richmond's evolving landscape. Godefroy's elegant colonnades, Latrobe's refined domestic designs as seen in the Harvie House, Parris's imposing porticoes (clearly indebted to Latrobe's influence) and Mills's high-profile commission at Monumental Church would all have provided Gabriella with tangible examples of architectural ambition and taste. These works, emerging directly from her social and physical surroundings, offered a living gallery of ideas from which she could curate her own architectural preferences.

Chapter 3:

A Melting Pot of Influence: The 2nd Brockenbrough House

In March 1816, Dr. Brockenbrough sold the house at 1100 E Clay Street and purchased a parcel one block away at 1201 E Clay Street (the "Second Brockenbrough House", or what is known today as the White House of the Confederacy) for $10,000 (Fig. 30). In May of 1817, he purchased the lot next door for $5,000, guaranteeing an unobstructed view of the Shockoe Valley.

The Second Brockenbrough House

As originally built by the Brockenbroughs, the house had a basement and two floors.[52] The neoclassical house originally boasted a parapet and a shallow hipped roof similar to the nearby Wickham House. The rear of the house featured a colossal double-column colonnade, the first of its kind in Richmond, and possibly the east coast. This rear porch looked over an adjacent parcel, also purchased by the Brockenbroughs, and gardens cascaded over the slope of the hill at the end of Clay Street (Fig 31). Views to the east would have looked over Monumental Church, of great importance to Gabriella, whose family was interred there, and to Dr. Brockenbrough, who served on the architecture commission.

The interior of the home at the time of the Brockenbroughs is not well documented, however a few items with secure provenance remain. Two Italian Carrara marble mantels adorned with mythological carvings are original to the Brockenbrough's house and subsequent

[52] A third story was added in 1857

renovations as well as two life-sized plaster statues of "Comedy" and "Tragedy" which were imported from England. A now-missing chandelier has been claimed by the family to have been ordered from Europe by Thomas Jefferson for Dr. Brockenbrough. Its garden, though now lost, was once an extension of the home's grandeur, with intricate designs and mature plantings that cascaded over the slope of the hill at the end of Clay Street, and the site commanded views across Shockoe Valley.[53]

Though some scholars have attributed the design of the second Brockenbrough House to Robert Mills, a closer examination of both the architectural evidence and the social context calls that attribution into question.[54] Mills, while active in Richmond during the early 19th century and well known for his federal buildings and formal classicism, tended to work in a much more rigid and monumental design. His public commissions often emphasized axial symmetry, flat planes, and a stripped-down neoclassicism aimed at civic grandeur. The Brockenbrough House, however, reflects a more nuanced and domestic interpretation of neoclassical design - one that is elegant but intimate, attentive to spatial flow, and rich with detail that feels selectively curated rather than formulaically applied. These characteristics diverge from Mills's signature approach and suggest the hand of someone with a more personal investment in creating a thoughtful, refined, livable interior.

Similarly, while Dr. Brockenbrough had both the education and the financial means to direct such a project, there is little evidence that he brought a particularly architectural sensibility

[53] The gardens are described as Gabriella's legacy across multiple sources, including Mary Wingfield Scott's *Houses of Old Richmond.* Additionally, Mrs. Davis' memoirs indicate that well-established gardens surrounded the house and that apple, cherry, and pear trees could be found on Shockoe Hill's terraces extending from the property.
[54] "White House of the Confederacy" National Register of Historic Places & Wilbanks. Both the National Registry nomination and a graduate thesis by Korene O. Wilbanks argues the attribution of Mills to the Brockenbrough house design.

to the table. A man of business and banking, his professional interests lay elsewhere, and his name does not surface in architectural circles or correspondence in the way that Mills's or Latrobe's do. While it is plausible that he would have overseen or approved certain aspects of the construction, there is no reason to believe he was the driving creative force behind the home's design. More tellingly, the house displays a fluency in architectural language that aligns more convincingly with someone who moved within the artistic and intellectual circles of the city. Unlike Mills, whose architectural work adhered to public commissions and institutional structures, or Brockenbrough, whose role in the house appears administrative at best, Gabriella maintained overlapping relationships with the aforementioned architects working in Richmond at the time.

The Brockenbroughs (presumably Gabriella, although not documented) made the first substantial change to the house in 1822, when they added the large portico on the rear (south side) of the house. The double columns on the portico are reminiscent of the Louvre, which may have been influenced by Godefroy, or perhaps the couple had seen on their extensive Grand Tour of Europe. In 1828, the Brockenbroughs converted the rectangular entrance hall to an oval shape and changed the square main staircase to a spiral – reminiscent of both Belvidere and the Gamble's Hill houses (Fig 32). Ultimately, the final floor plan of the Second Brockenbrough House mimics the designs created by Latrobe for John Harvie's house at Gamble's Hill. Both plans feature an oval entry hall and three formal rooms on the south side of the house (at Gamble's Hill, these would have overlooked the river; at Court End, would overlook the gardens and across Shockoe Valley). The restrained neoclassicism of Alexander Parris, particularly his use of symmetry, smooth stucco finishes, and simplified classical forms, is echoed in the Brockenbrough House's clean lines and balanced proportions. The presence of Robert Mills as a

friend of Dr. Brockenbrough likely reinforced these classical ideals while introducing a sharper structural clarity, as seen in the delicate fanlights and crisp detailing throughout the residence.

The Brockenbroughs sold the house in 1844, where it changed hands a few times before ending up in the ownership of the City who subsequently rented it to Jefferson Davis, as the White House of the Confederacy. It is most likely from this provenance that the structure survives today, however, in Gabriella Harvie Randolph Brockenbrough's sphere of influence, she encountered, befriended, and learned from the top architects of her day. It is quite possible that her influence over the design of her house at 1201 E Clay Street has been overlooked.

Retirement to Warm Springs

After serving for some time as president of a Virginia bank and maintaining an elite lifestyle, as well as dealing with debts incurred by his stepson, Thomas Mann Randolph Jr., Dr. Brockenbrough found himself financially ruined due to debts incurred on behalf of his social and political associates. Genealogical stories claim a display of remarkable resilience and loyalty from Gabriella, who sacrificed much of her own property to preserve his reputation and financial standing. Seeking a new means of livelihood, the Brockenbroughs retired to their property at Warm Springs Resort in Virginia, which they had purchased years earlier in 1815 and maintained a summer residence.[55] The resort, like others across the country, became known as a highly popular destination celebrated for its therapeutic and healing properties of mineral waters. Through the profits generated from the resort, the couple was able to spend their later years in a state of modest comfort and continued social engagement. In the 1830's, they expanded the

[55] Letters from John Randolph to Brockenbrough allude to Gabriella's poor health. Given the popularity at the time of springs resorts as healing centers, their retirement there may have served two purposes: to help Dr. Brockenbrough's finances as well as an attempt to cure Gabriella's unnamed illness.

tavern, built the women's bathhouse, and added a tall colonnade, reminiscent of the portico at 1201 E. Clay (Fig 33).

Dr. Brockenbrough's brother, Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough, lived nearby and was heavily involved with the construction of the University of Virginia. We can imagine that Gabriella would have experienced or been privy to the development of the property, possibly walking the lawn as the University began to take shape.

Dr. Brockenbrough died in 1852, leaving this note in his will about Gabriella's influence: "as almost all the property I may possess at the time of my death, came to me either directly or indirectly through my wife. It is but just and fair, exclusive of other motives, that she should have and enjoy the benefit of it, of therefore I give and bequeath the whole property I may have, both real and personal... to my wife Gabriella Brockenbrough and her heirs forever."[56] Gabriella's death followed less than a year later, in 1853. Both are buried in Warm Springs Cemetery in Bath County, VA.

The house at 1201 E Clay Street passed through the hands of four prominent owners before becoming the White House of the Confederacy, and later even served as a public school, yet these chapters of its history have been largely overlooked. Even more forgotten is the possibility that the home was shaped by the vision of Gabriella Harvie Randolph Brockenbrough, a woman who, despite the limitations of her time, may have played a key role in its design. If true, this would make the house a rare example of a grand Federal-era residence influenced by a female patron with architectural ambition—a unique history in addition to its association with Jefferson Davis. Yet, rather than being recognized for its early innovation or the influence of a

[56] Brockenbrough, John. Will.

woman in shaping its design, the house is remembered almost entirely for its brief role in the Confederacy, obscuring a much richer and more complex past.

Conclusion

The building now known as the White House of the Confederacy has long been preserved and interpreted primarily for its association with Jefferson Davis and the Confederate government. When the Confederate Memorial Literary Society saved the house from demolition in the 1890s, their intention was to enshrine it as a symbol of Southern nationalism and the Lost Cause. Yet this singular focus on its political afterlife has obscured a more foundational and equally significant history: the house as the product of female patronage in the Early Republic. Long before it became a Confederate shrine, the house stood as a testament to the vision and agency of Gabriella Harvie Randolph Brockenbrough, whose role in its design and construction challenges prevailing narratives of architectural authorship. While the building was preserved for reasons rooted in Confederate memory, we are fortunate that, in doing so, an important and rare example of a woman-shaped architectural legacy in early nineteenth-century America was also saved.

Gabriella's influence on the design of the house at 1201 Clay Street is likely greater than historical records acknowledge. As the wife of Dr. John Brockenbrough, and daughter to John Harvie Jr, both deeply involved in Richmond's architectural and civic developments, she was well positioned to contribute to the aesthetic and functional aspects of their home. Given her familiarity with some of Richmond's most well-known residences as well as architects of her day, Gabriella would have developed a keen understanding of spatial organization, decorative elements, and the symbolic power of architecture. The modifications made to the Brockenbrough house, particularly the oval entrance hall and spiral staircase, echo the designs of her father's

home, suggesting that she had a hand in shaping the structure to reflect both personal and familial significance (Fig 31).

Beyond aesthetics, the home's placement and landscaping held deep emotional significance for Gabriella. The gardens overlooked Monumental Church, the memorial designed by Robert Mills after the Richmond Theatre Fire of 1811, where her siblings and young niece were buried. By integrating elements of her father's home, Belvedere, into the new house's design, Gabriella ensured that her family's legacy was embedded in the very walls of her residence. This blending of personal history with public memory suggests an intention beyond mere decoration—her home became a monument in its own right, shaped by a woman whose influence may have been quietly overlooked but remains undeniably present.

The house itself is a melting pot of architectural influences, drawing from some of the most distinguished architects of the era, many of whom Gabriella encountered through social and political circles. The refinement of Benjamin Henry Latrobe's Neoclassical elegance, the structural ingenuity of Robert Mills, the monumental simplicity of Alexander Parris, and the delicate ornamentation of Maximilian Godefroy are all evident in aspects of the home's design. While Dr. Brockenbrough may have overseen the formal commissioning of architects and builders, it is likely that Gabriella played a quiet but deliberate role in selecting features that resonated with her experiences and tastes. Her exposure to these architectural minds would have informed her preferences, allowing her to incorporate elements that made the house not only a statement of wealth but also a deeply personal space reflecting her cultivated understanding of design.

Despite her probable involvement in the house's design, Gabriella, like all women of her time, was unable to hold a formal position as an architect or designer. The early 19th century

offered no professional avenues for women to receive credit for architectural contributions, as the field was entirely male-dominated. Instead, women exerted influence through domestic spaces: choosing finishes, shaping landscapes, and modifying interiors to reflect their taste and status. Gabriella's role in the creation of the Brockenbrough house would have been understood as part of her domestic responsibilities, rather than recognized as architectural authorship. Nevertheless, her ability to merge personal memory, contemporary trends, and the architectural language of the period suggests that she was an uncredited yet integral force in shaping one of Richmond's most distinguished residences.

Historians have been grappling with the role of women as architectural patrons, particularly in contexts where documentation is sparse and authorship is traditionally attributed to men. Gabriella's story contributes to this growing body of scholarship by offering a compelling case of influence exercised through social networks, personal taste, and intellectual engagement rather than formal commission or authorship. Like many women of her time, Gabriella operated within the domestic and cultural spheres, yet her proximity to architects, exposure to European design, and personal experiences position her as an active participant in shaping the architectural landscape of early 19th-century Richmond. Her influence, though not officially recorded, speaks to the ways in which women helped construct the built environment from behind the scenes, through conversation, collaboration, and lived experience.

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Illustrations

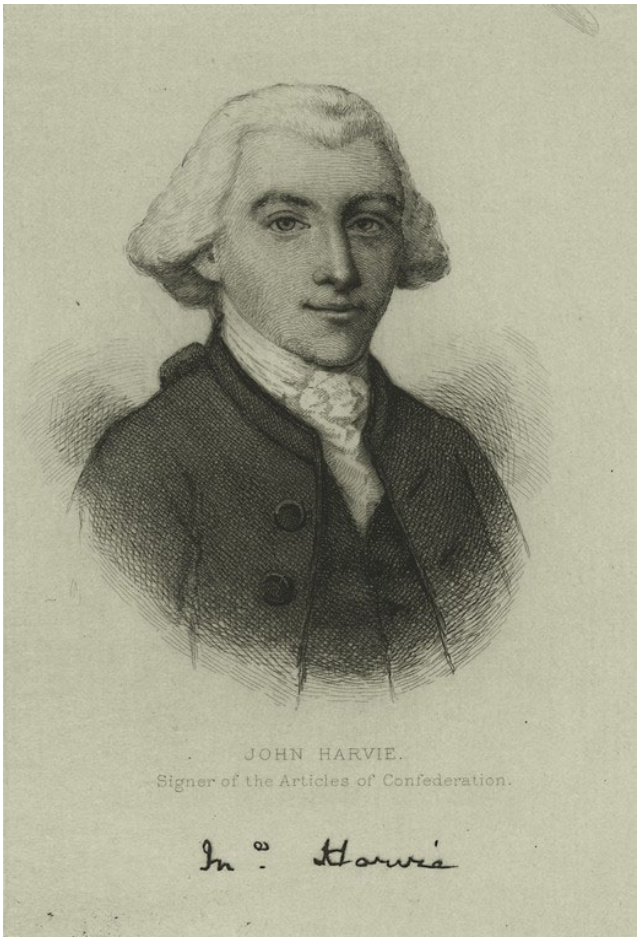


Figure 1. John Harvie Jr. (or Colonel John Harvie) *Albert Rosenthal etching of Harvie, New York Public Library*

Figure 2. A gold bracelet depicting Margaret Morton Jones (center) and her Children. While not dated, we can assume that these depict the four eldest children: Gabriella, Edwin, Julia, and Emily. *Virginia Museum of History and Culture, photo by Author.*

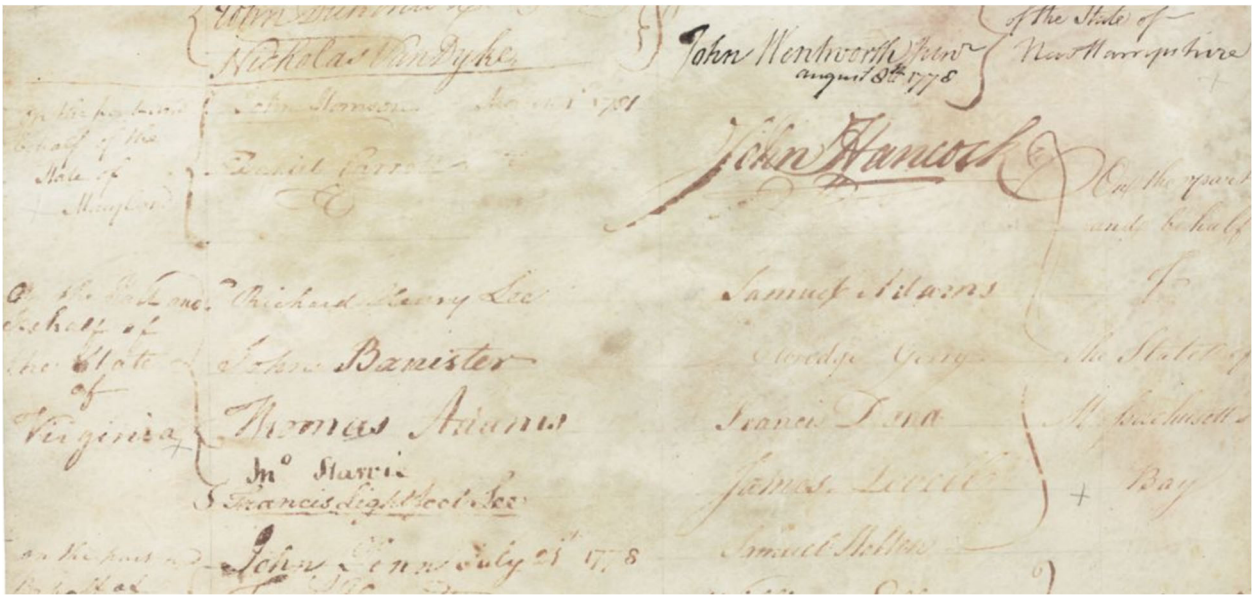


Figure 3. John Harvie's signature on the Articles of Confederation (bottom left). *Library Of Congress, and U.S Law Library Of Congress. The Articles of Confederation. Washington, D.C. https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/articles-of-confederation*

Figure 4. The plaster model of the proposed capitol building, now on display inside the capitol's Jefferson Room. *Wilson, Mabel O. "Notes on the Virginia Capitol." The American Academy in Berlin. Accessed December 14, 2023. https://www.americanacademy.de/notes-on-the-virginia-capitol/#:~:text=One%20of%20the%20earliest%20examples,Roman%20temple%20in%20Nim%C3%AAs%2C%20France.*

Figure 5. Tuckahoe Plantation. *"Tuckahoe" National Register Of Historic Places. National Register of Historic Places.*

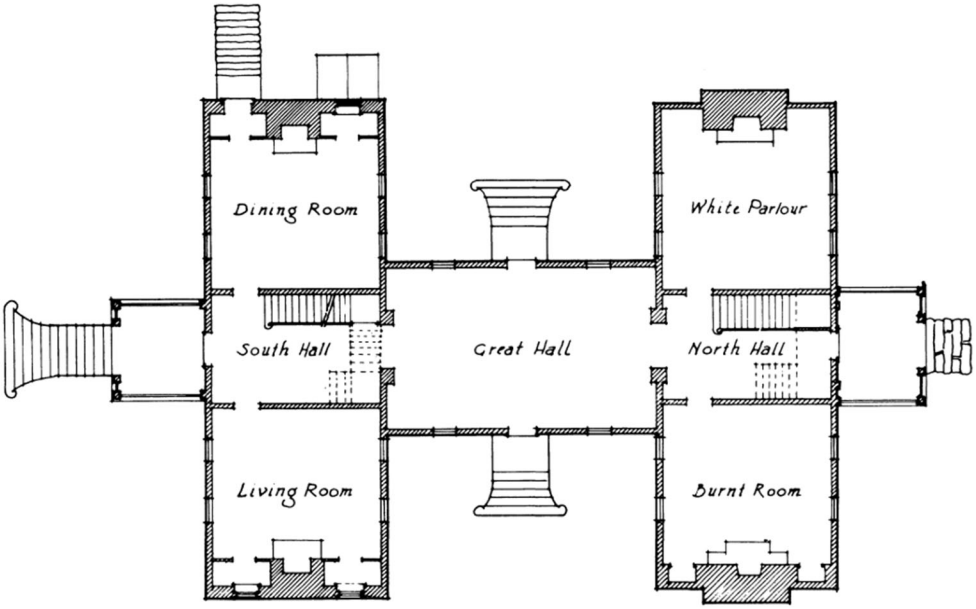


FIG. 2. First-floor plan, Tuckahoe, Goochland Co., Va. (Drawing, Howard L. Rich.)

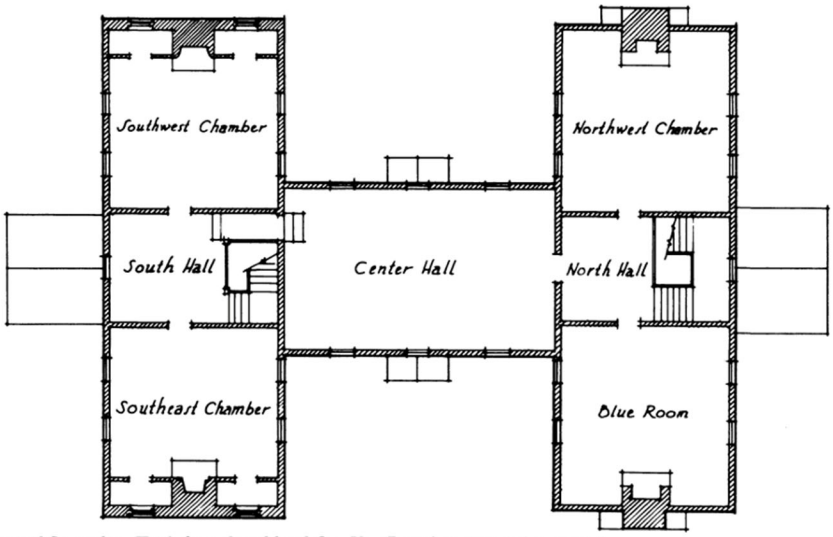


FIG. 3. Second-floor plan, Tuckahoe, Goochland Co., Va. (Drawing, Howard L. Rich.)

Figure 6. The first- and second-floor plans of Tuckahoe . *Krusen, Jessie Thompson. "Tuckahoe Plantation." Winterthur Portfolio 11 (1976): 103–22. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1180592.*

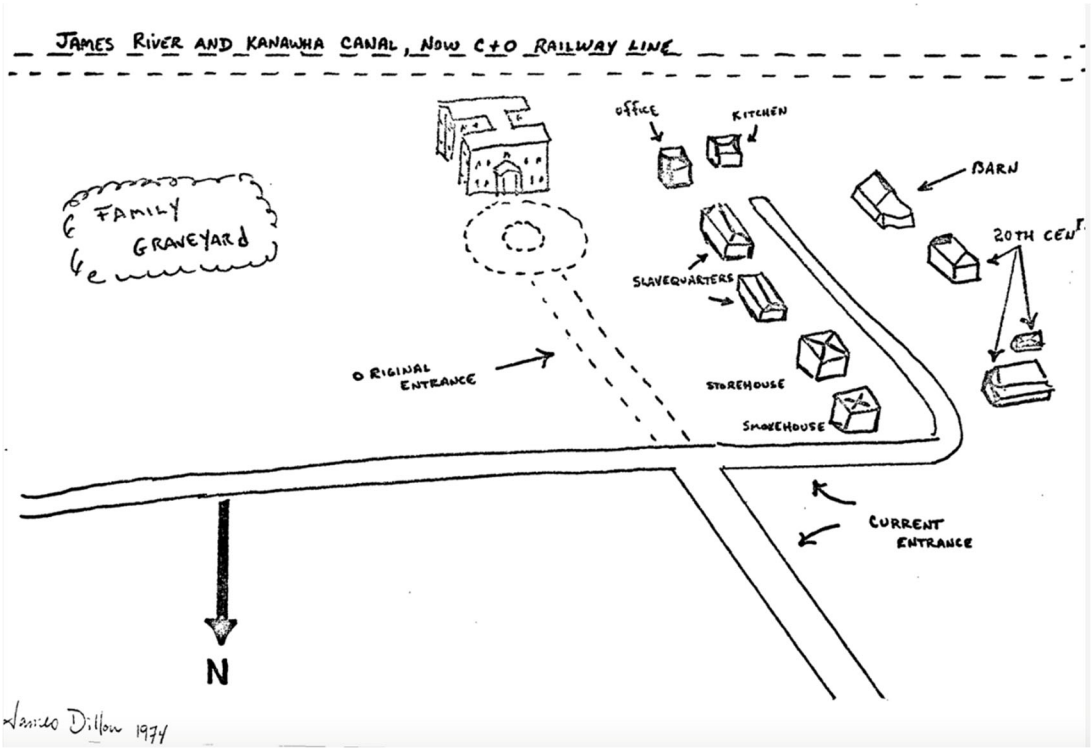


Figure 7. Birds eye view drawing of Tuckahoe from the 1974 NHL Nomination.

Figure 8. The White Parlor and Adams Style mantel at Tuckahoe. *Krusen, Jessie Thompson. "Tuckahoe Plantation." Winterthur Portfolio 11 (1976): 103–22. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1180592.*

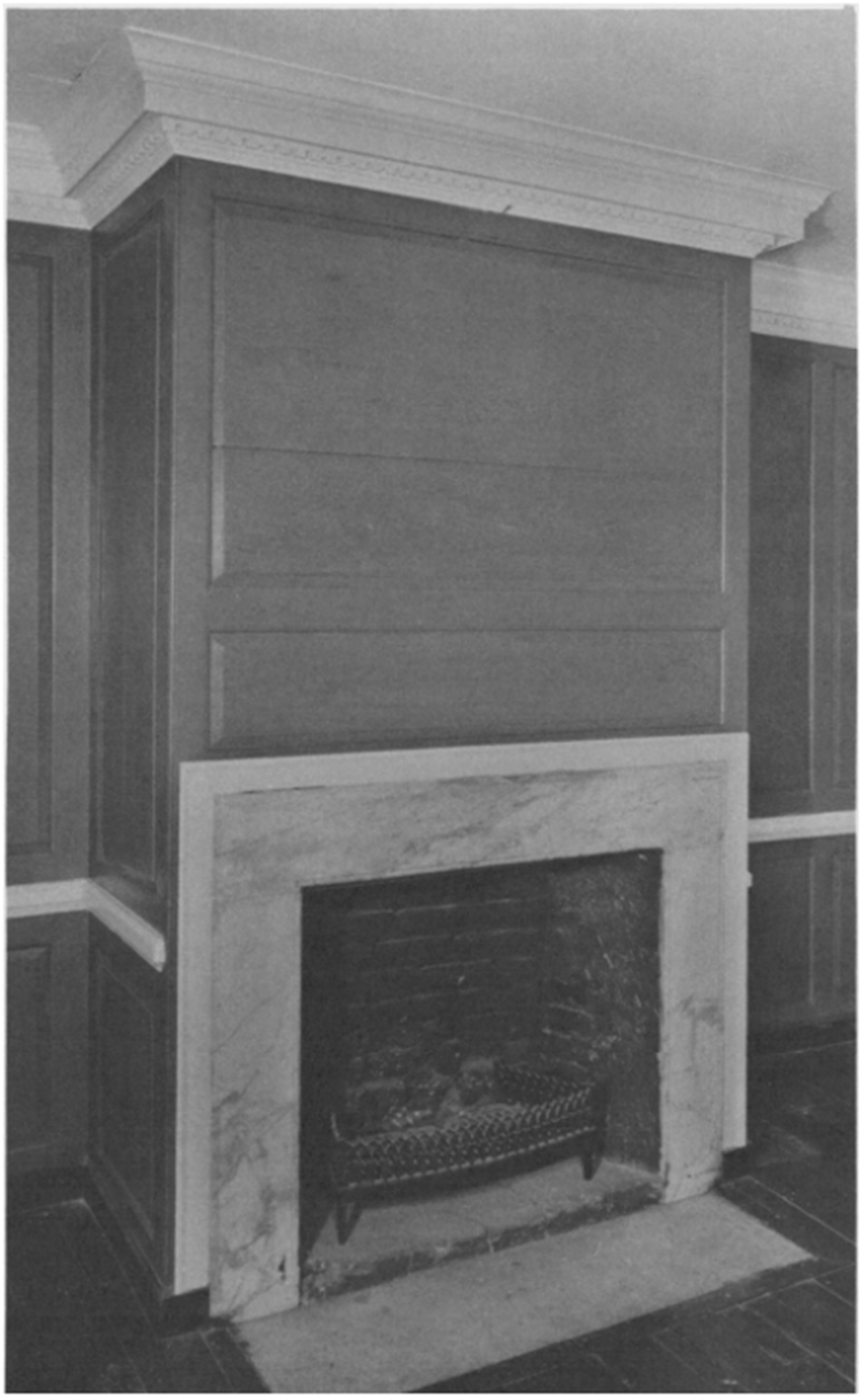


Figure 9. The Blue Room (Nancy's Room) fireplace is the only mantel thought to date from the colonial period. *Krusen, Jessie Thompson. "Tuckahoe Plantation." Winterthur Portfolio 11 (1976): 103–22. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1180592.*

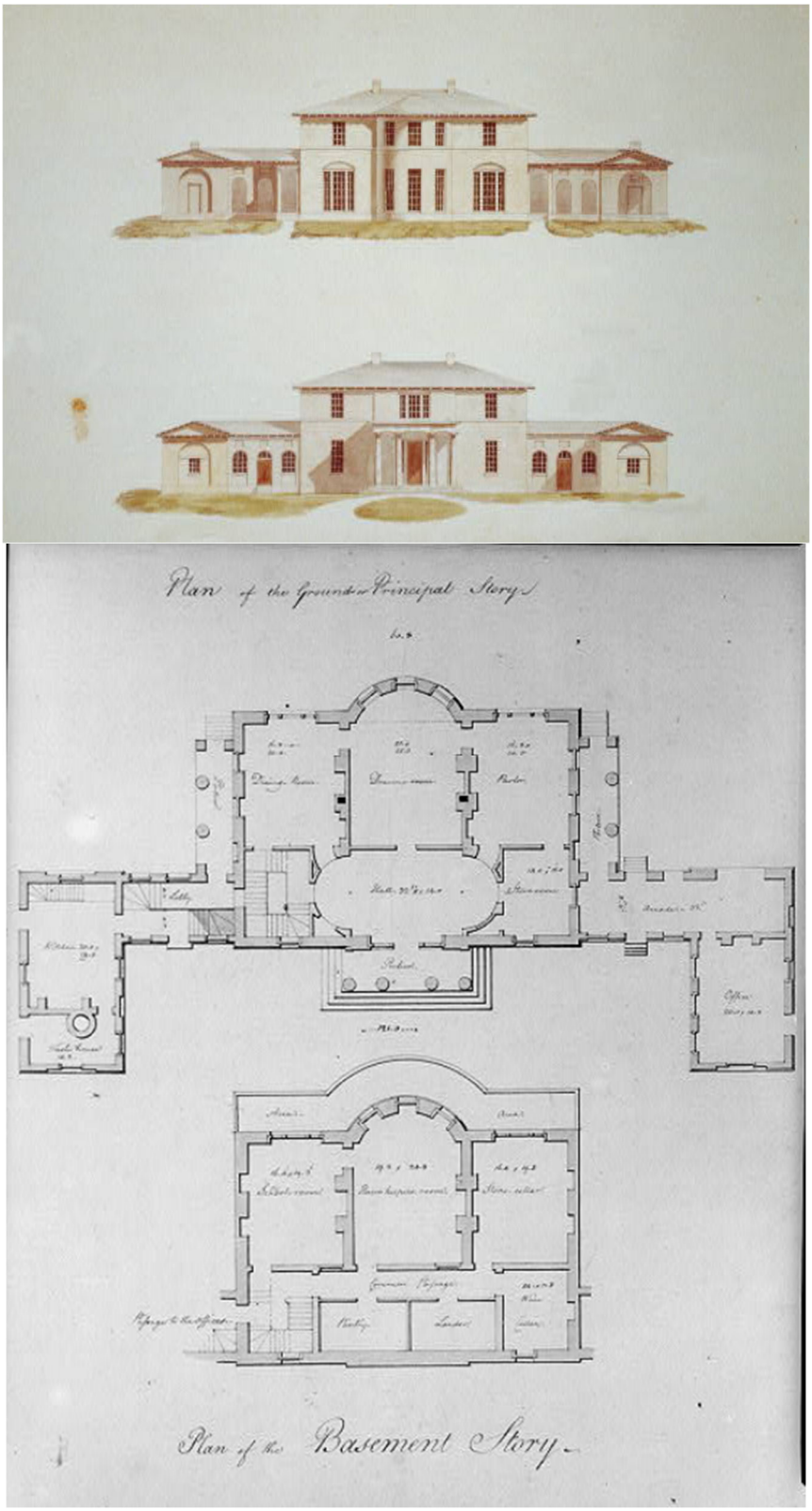


Figure 10. Latrobe's designs for the Harvie House on Gamble's Hill. *Latrobe, Benjamin Henry, Architect. Houses and a church "Buildings Erected or Proposed to be Built in Virginia". Front and rear elevations. , None. [Between 1795 and 1799] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2001698993/*

Figure 11. An 1856 map showing Belvidere, with its main building and two wings. The wavy outline (highlighted) may signify the serpentine walls. To the Northeast, both the State Penitentiary and Gambles Hill can be seen. *Sides, William, "Map of Richmond, Ellyson, 1856," Online Exhibitions, accessed February 17, 2025, https://www.virginiamemory.com/online-exhibitions/items/show/2.*

Figure 12. A watercolor illustration of the North front elevation of Belvedere from the Latrobe Sketchbooks. *B Henry Latrobe, "View of North Front of Belvidere, Richmond," Maryland Center for History and Culture, January 1, 1797, https://www.mdhistory.org/resources/view-of-north-front-of-belvidere -richmond/.*

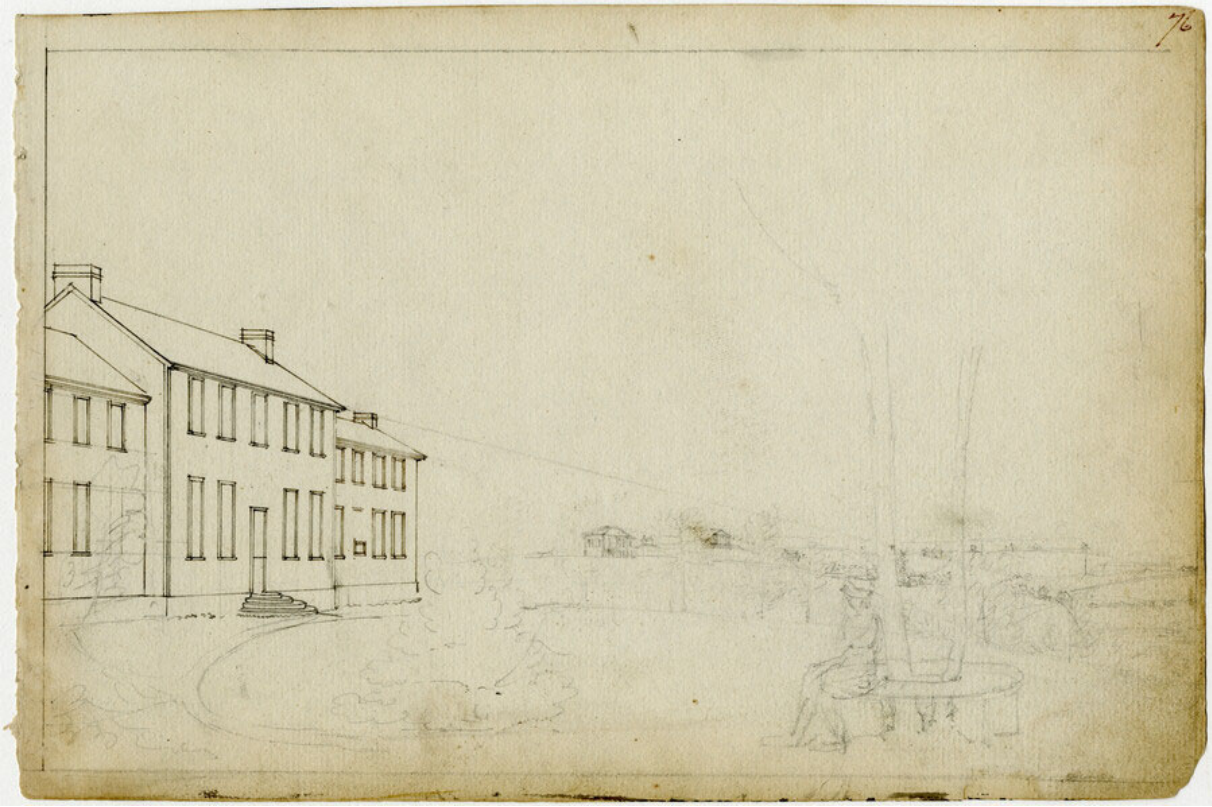


Figure 13. A pen and ink drawing of the house and lawn of Belvidere. *Latrobe, "House and Lawn, Belvidere, Richmond, Virginia," Maryland Center for History and Culture, January 1, 1797, https://www.mdhistory.org/resources/house-and-lawn-belvidere-richmond-virginia/.*

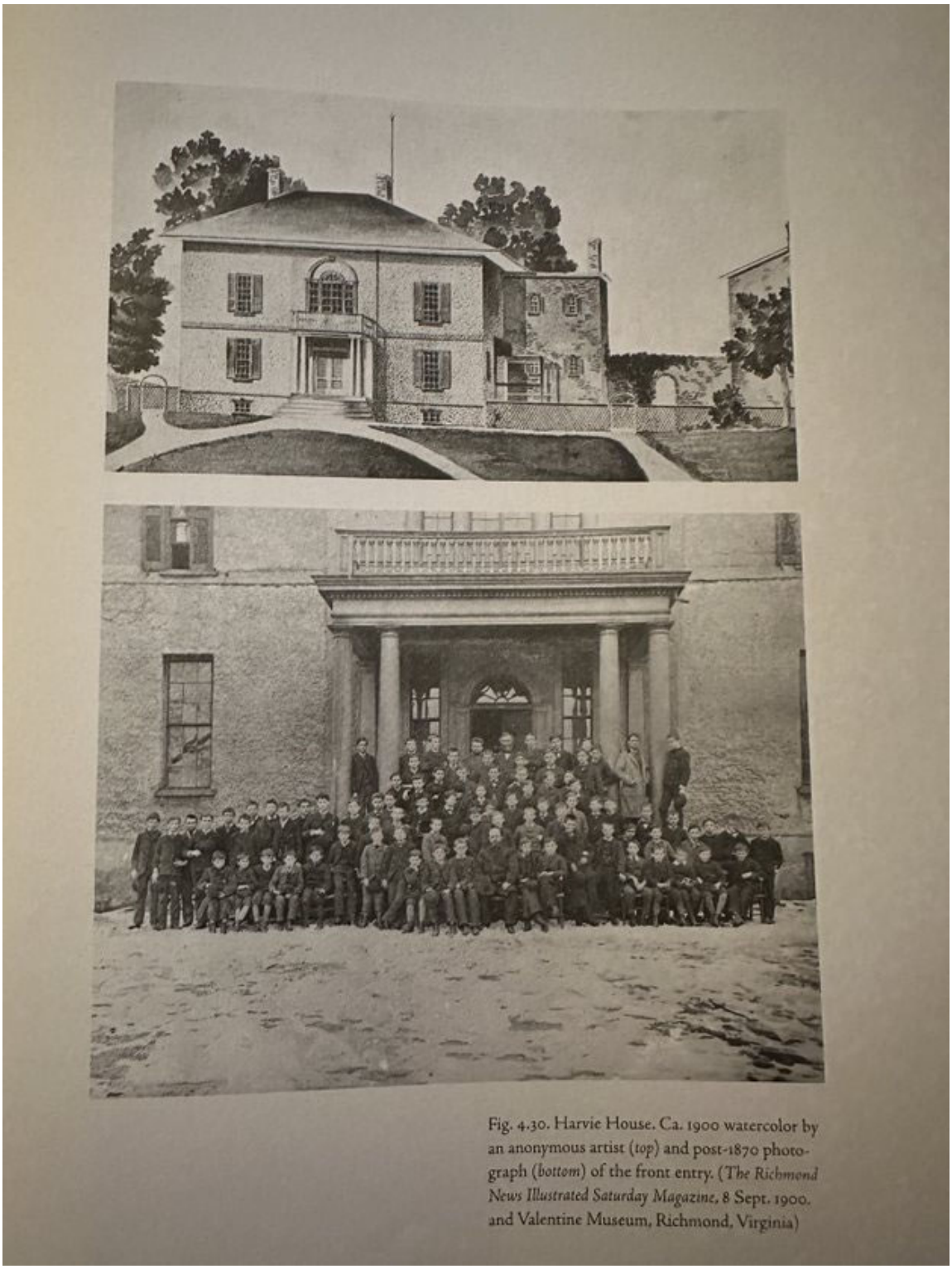
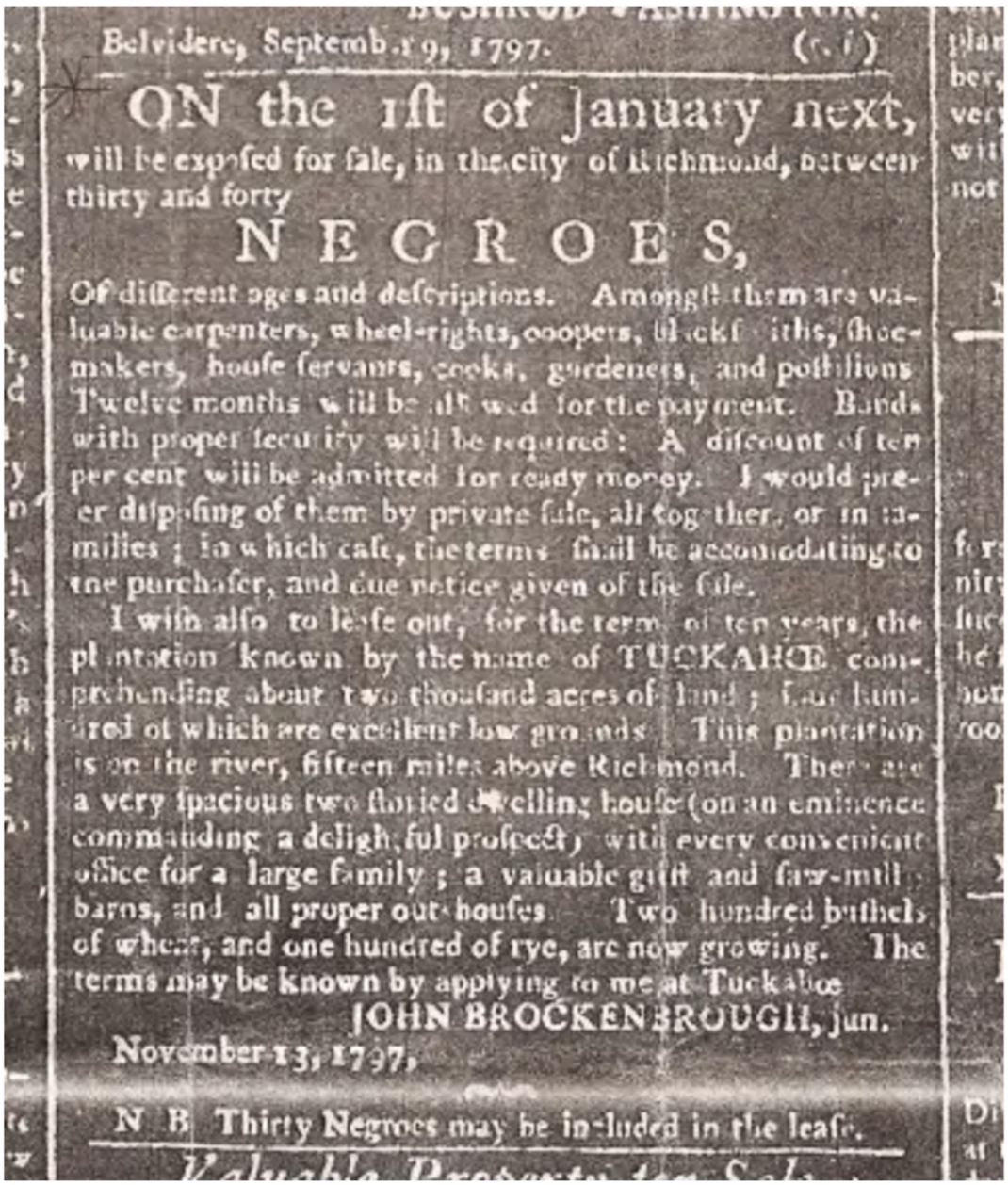


Fig. 4.30. Harvie House. Ca. 1900 watercolor by an anonymous artist (*top*) and post-1870 photograph (*bottom*) of the front entry. (*The Richmond News Illustrated Saturday Magazine*, 8 Sept. 1900. and Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia)

Figure 14. The final iteration of the Gamble House, as shown in an 1870 photograph. *Scott, Mary Wingfield. Houses of Old Richmond*

Figure 15. This circa 1846 daguerreotype portrait of John Brockenbrough is one of twenty-seven daguerreotypes that were set into a single frame and titled "James River and Kanawha Company Directors and Employees." Most likely commissioned by the company's president, Joseph C. Cabell. *"John Brockenbrough". Virginia Historical Society. https://encyclopediavirginia.org/12586hpr-ea4041166da5fe2/*



Belvidere, September 9, 1797. (r. i)

ON the 1st of January next, will be exposed for sale, in the city of Richmond, between thirty and forty

NEGROES,

Of different ages and descriptions. Amongst them are valuable carpenters, wheel-rights, coopers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, house servants, cooks, gardeners, and potillions. Twelve months will be allowed for the payment. Bonds with proper security will be required: A discount of ten per cent will be admitted for ready money. I would prefer disposing of them by private sale, all together, or in families; in which case, the terms shall be accommodating to the purchaser, and due notice given of the sale.

I wish also to lease out, for the term of ten years, the plantation known by the name of TUCKAHOE comprehending about two thousand acres of land; four hundred of which are excellent low grounds. This plantation is on the river, fifteen miles above Richmond. There are a very spacious two storied dwelling house (on an eminence commanding a delightful prospect) with every convenient office for a large family; a valuable grist and saw-mill; barns, and all proper out-houses. Two hundred bushels of wheat, and one hundred of rye, are now growing. The terms may be known by applying to me at Tuckahoe

JOHN BROCKENBROUGH, jun.

November 13, 1797.

N B Thirty Negroes may be included in the lease.

Valuable Property for Sale

Figure 16. After Col. Thomas Mann Randolph's passing in 1793, Gabriella married John Brockenbrough. In 1797,the Brockenbroughs divided the property into two tracts; Lower Tuckahoe to the east and Upper Tuckahoe, the tract containing Tuckahoe house. John Brockenbrough listed Tuckahoe for lease in the Virginia Gazette in 1797 *Advertisement, the Virginia Gazette & General Advertiser, Microfilm [Richmond, Va.]: Photographic Laboratory of the Virginia State Library, December 1797; cited (with image) in Hannah Verdi Warfield, "Prospect and Preservation: Tuckahoe Plantation's Landscape", Garden Club of Virginia, 2008; accessed at https://www.scribd.com/document/136825592/Tuckahoe-Plantation-s-Landscape,*

I Wiſh to leaſe for a term of years my HOUSE on the hill between Col: Gamble's and Belvidere. As it wasdeſigned for my own reſidence no expence has been ſpared to afford every convenience for the elegant accommodation of a ſmall family. A ſquare of four half acre lots under an excellent encloſure, is annexed to the houſe, and the benefit of luxuriant and extenſive paſturage for a few horſes and cows will be granted by Col: Harvie. It is intended to erect a bridge over the canal near Mr. Rutherford's mills, by which the diſtance to the lower part of the town will be rendered more convenient than from the greater part of the houſes on Shockœ-hill. To a genteel family, who will take proper care of the buildings and encloſures, I will let it upon very moderate terms.

JOHN BROCKENBROUGH.

September 10. (TTf.

Figure 17. Brockenbrough's ad in *The Enquirer* in November 1805 advertising his house for lease.

Figure 18. The first Brockenbrough House at 1100 East Clay Street. Scott, Mary Wingfield. *Houses of Old Richmond*

Figure 19. The Wickham House *Wickham House. National Register of Historic Places*

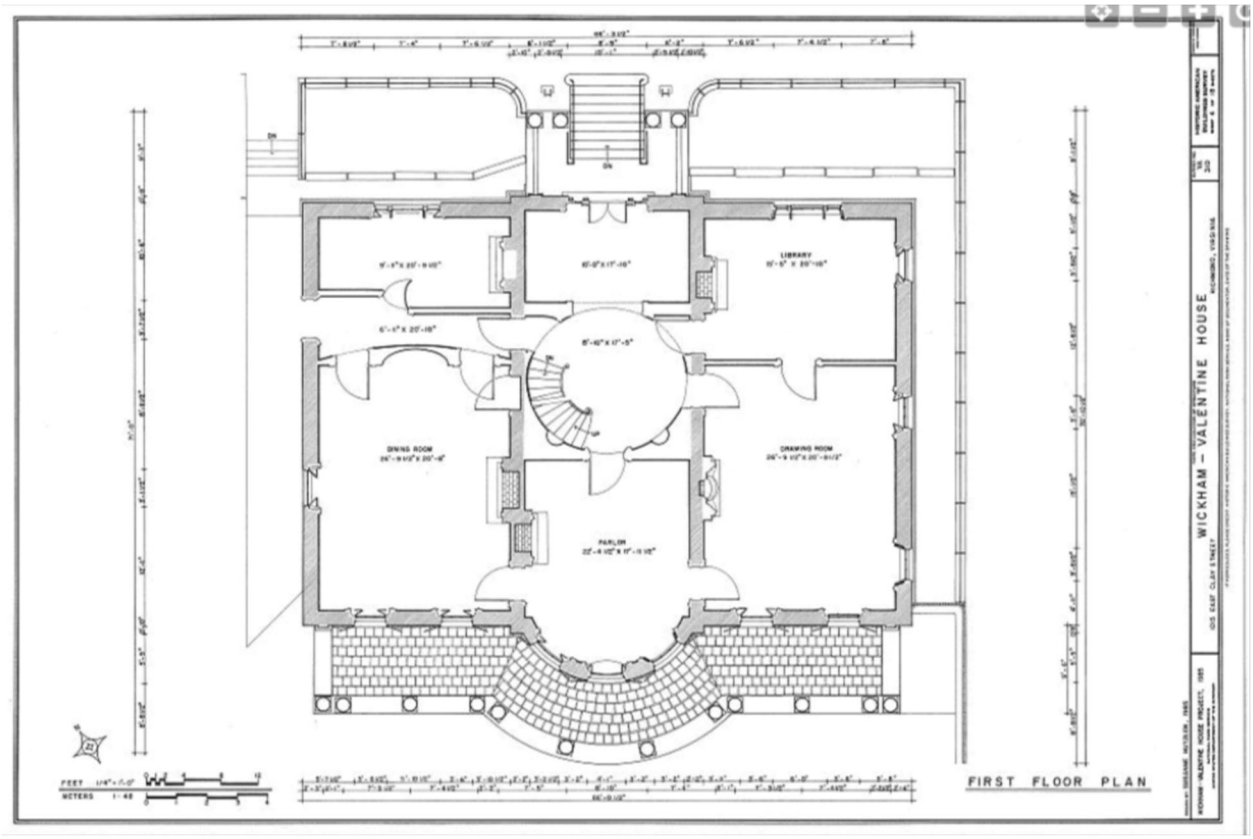


Figure 20. First floor plans of the Wickham House. *Historic American Buildings Survey, Creator, Robert Mills, John Wickham, Alexander Parris, Mann S Valentine, Eugene Bradbury, Sponsor Valentine Museum, et al., Unknown, and Frederick D Nichols, photographer. Wickham-Valentine House,East Clay Street, Richmond, Richmond Independent City, VA. Independent City Virginia Richmond, 1933. Documentation Compiled After. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/va0586/.*

Figure 21. Virginia Governor's Mansion *Historic American Buildings Survey, Creator, Alexander Parris, Christopher Tompkins, and Duncan Lee. Governor's Mansion, Capitol Square, Richmond, Independent City, VA. Independent City Richmond Virginia, 1933. translateds by Price, Virginia Bmitter Documentation Compiled After. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/va1456/.*

Figure 22. Quincy Market, Boston. *Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print*

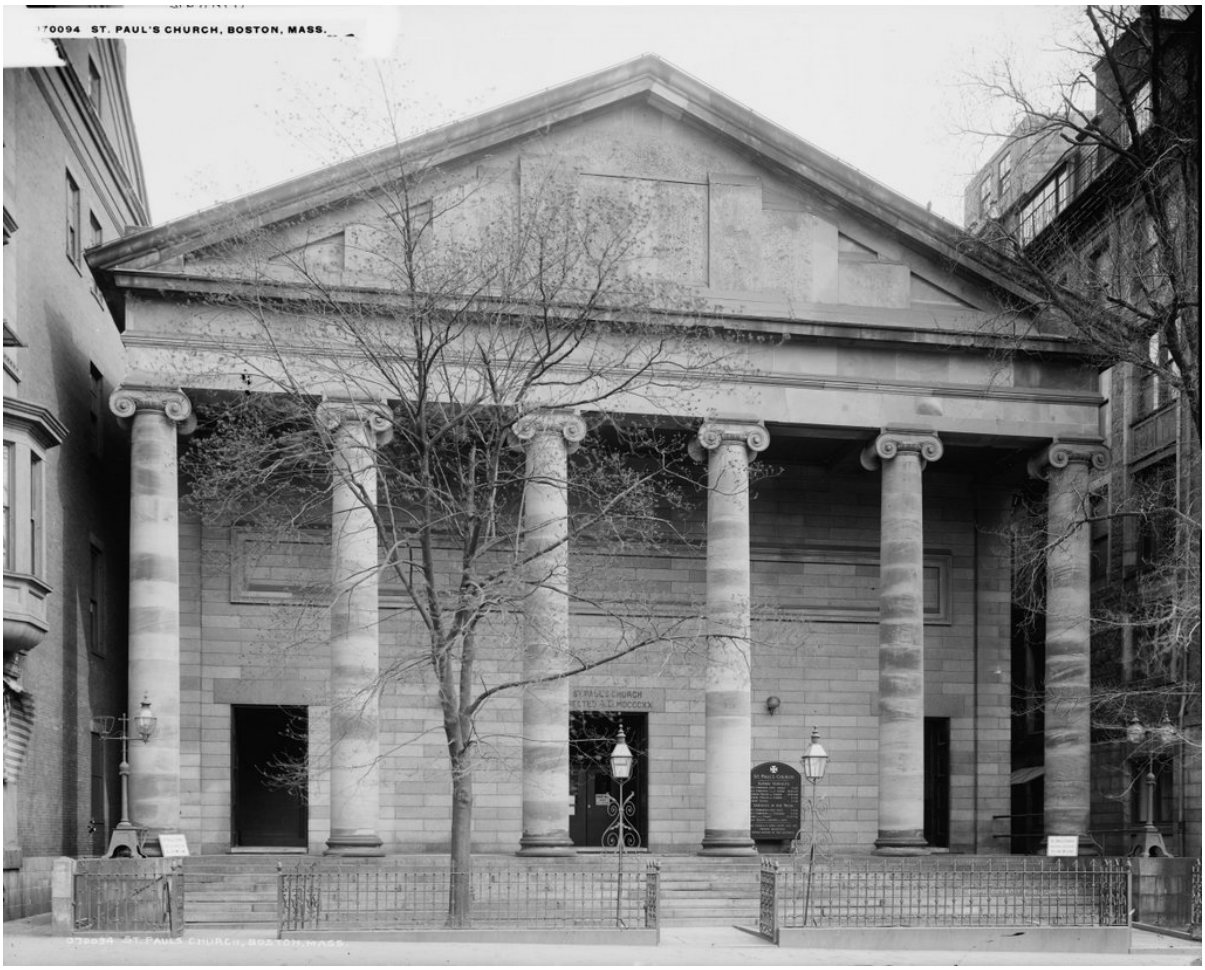


Figure 23. St. Paul's Church, Boston. *Library of Congress*

Figure 24. Monumental Church, William Goodacre engraving, 1812 *Virginia Historical Society*

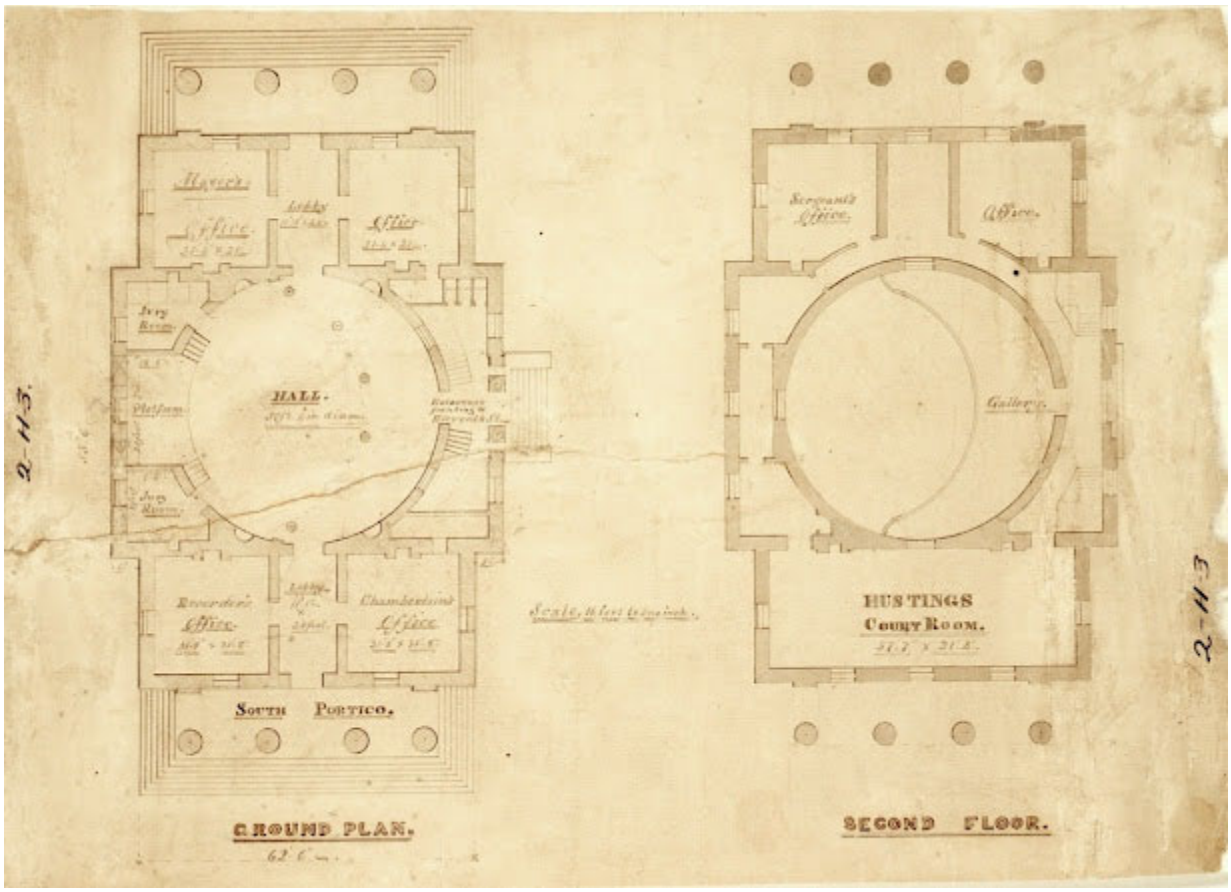


Figure 25. Robert Mills' plan for the first Richmond City Hall, 1816. *The Library of Virginia*

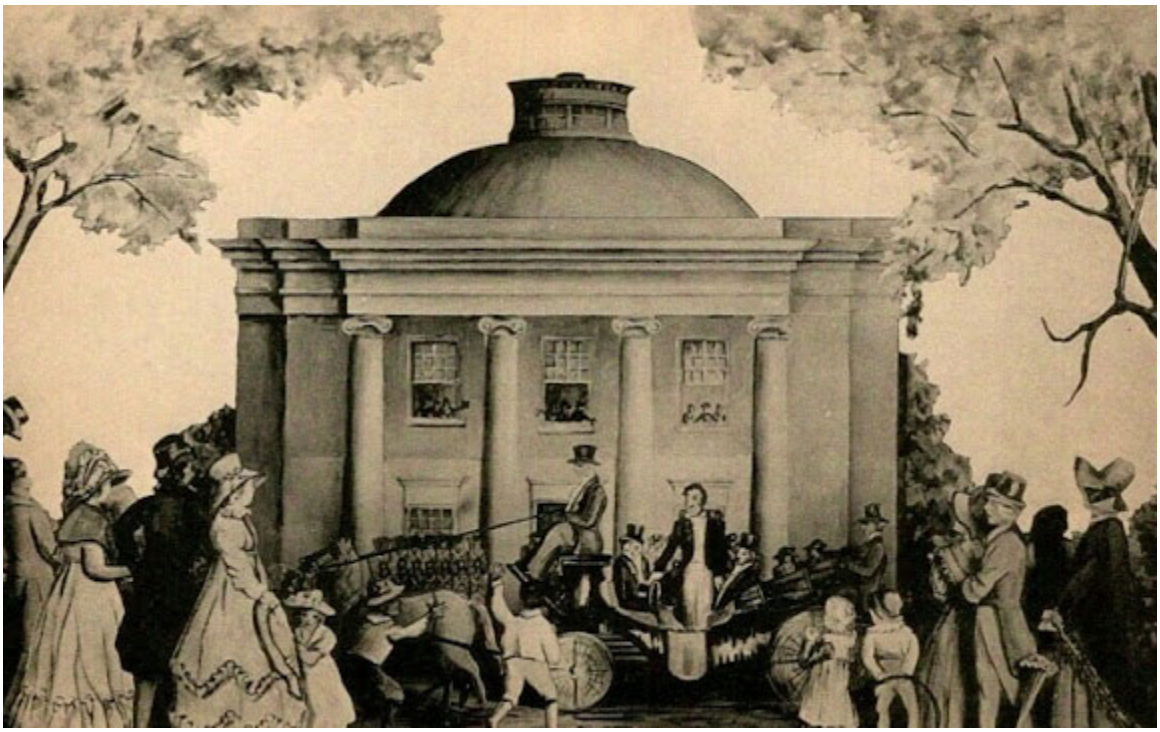
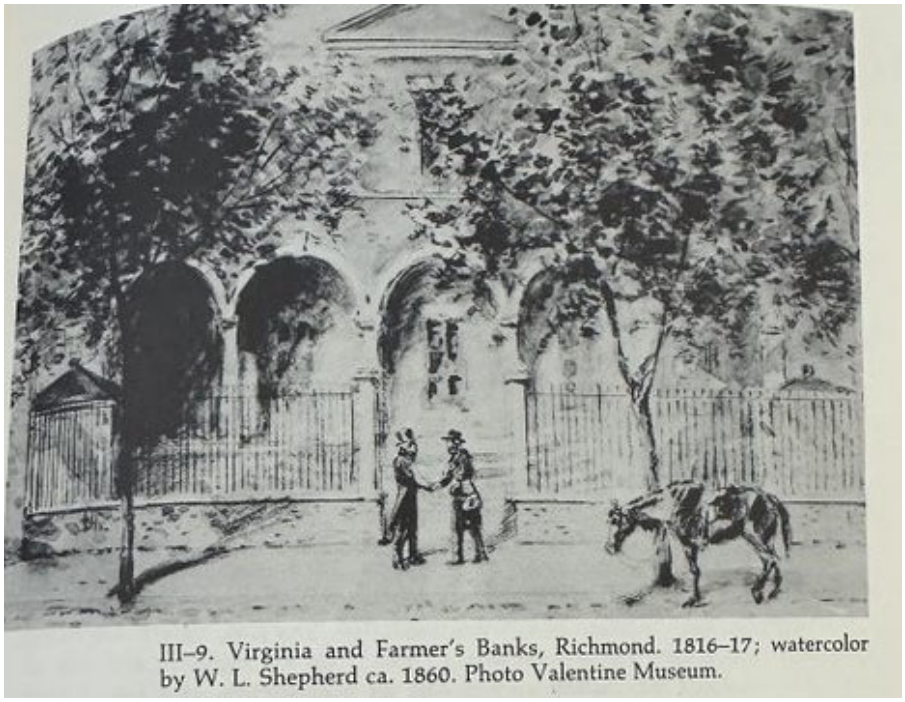


Figure 26. The Marquis de Lafayette arriving at Richmond City Hall in October 1824. *The Valentine Museum*



III–9. Virginia and Farmer's Banks, Richmond. 1816–17; watercolor by W. L. Shepherd ca. 1860. Photo Valentine Museum.

Figure 27. An illustration of Godefroy's column structures at the Banks in Richmond. *The Valentine Museum.*

Figure 28. Godefroy's columns at the First Unitarian Church in Baltimore. *Evans, Catherine "First Unitarian Church of Baltimore," Explore Baltimore Heritage, accessed February 15, 2025, https://explore.baltimoreheritage.org/items/show/611.*

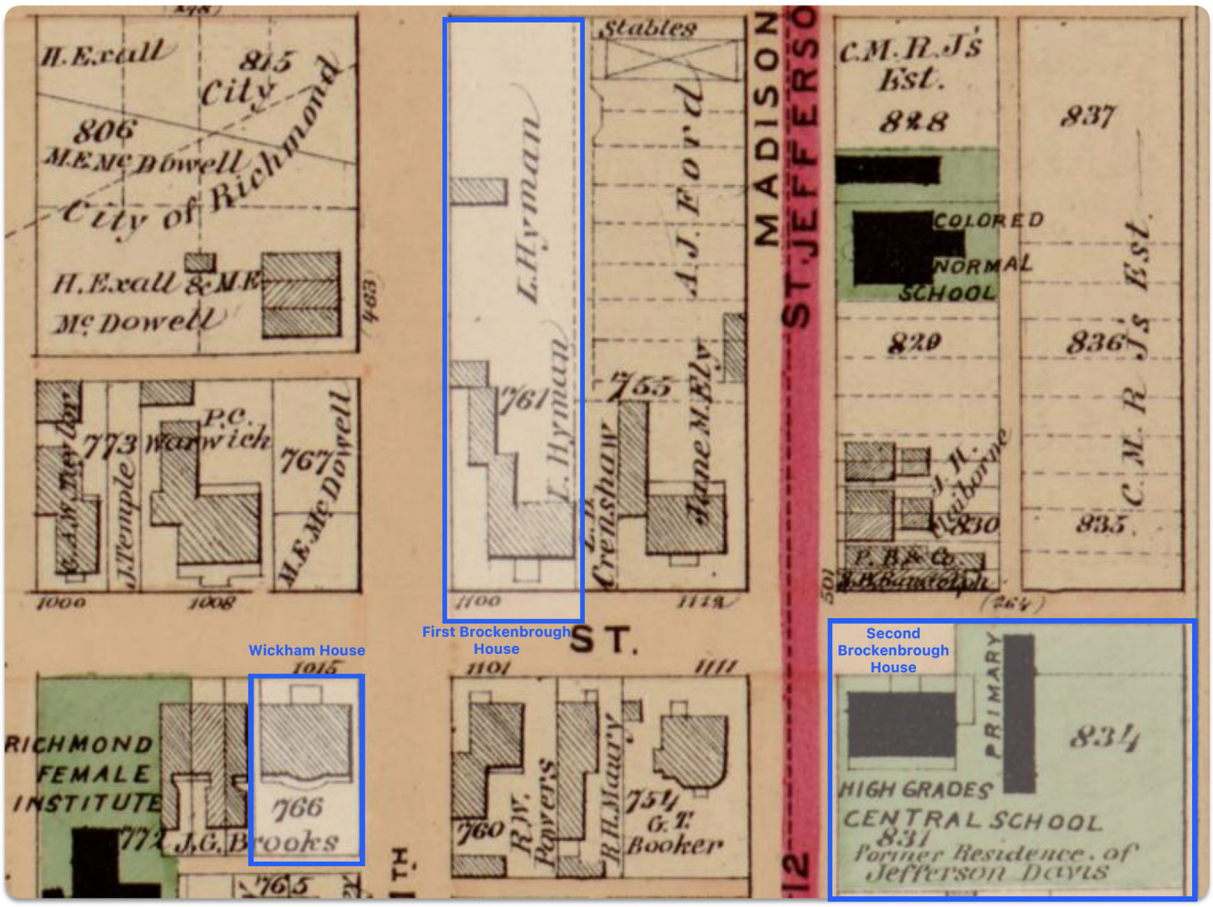


Figure 29. An 1877 Beers Atlas with The First Brockenbrough House, the Wickham House, and the Second Brokenbrough House highlighted. *Beers, F. W. Illustrated atlas of the city of Richmond, Va. [Richmond, Va.: F. W. Beers, 1877] Map.* https://www.loc.gov/item/2005630891/. *Edited by Author.*

Figure 30. The portico of the Second Brockenbrough House. *Virginia Dept of Historic Resources 1975 Nomination Photo*

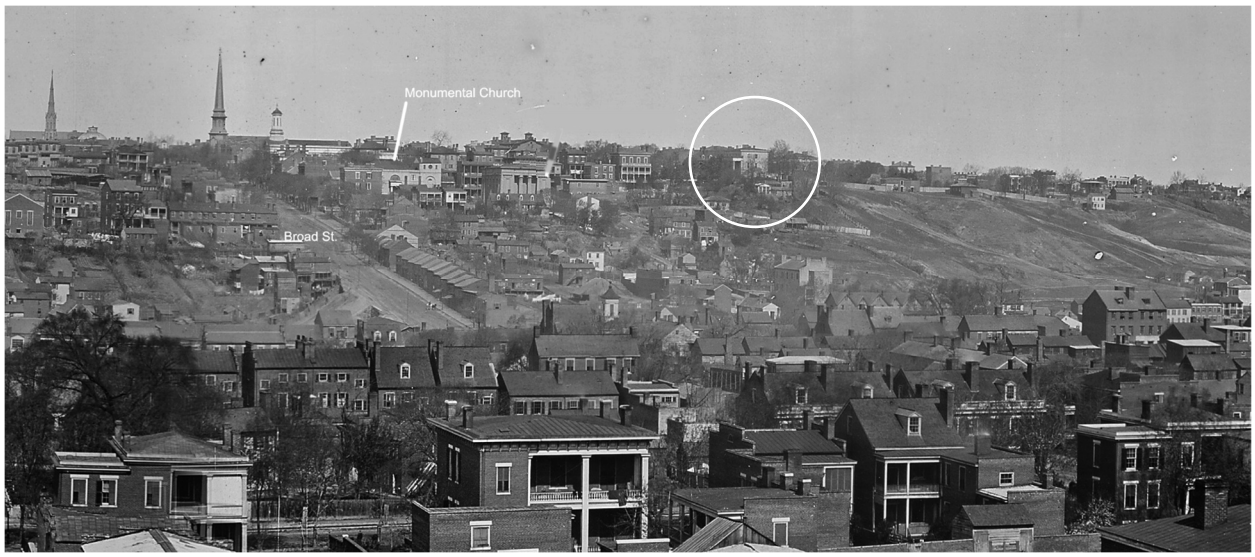


Figure 31. A Civil War-era composite image of Court End from Church Hill. The Brockenbrough house is at the top of the ravine in the white circle, with Monumental Church identified on the left . (*Composite Image from multiple Library of Congress sources Civil War views of Richmond, Virginia. Richmond United States Virginia, None. ca. 1861-ca. 1865, bulk 1865 april. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2005688683/ & https://zoom.it/fXR7*)

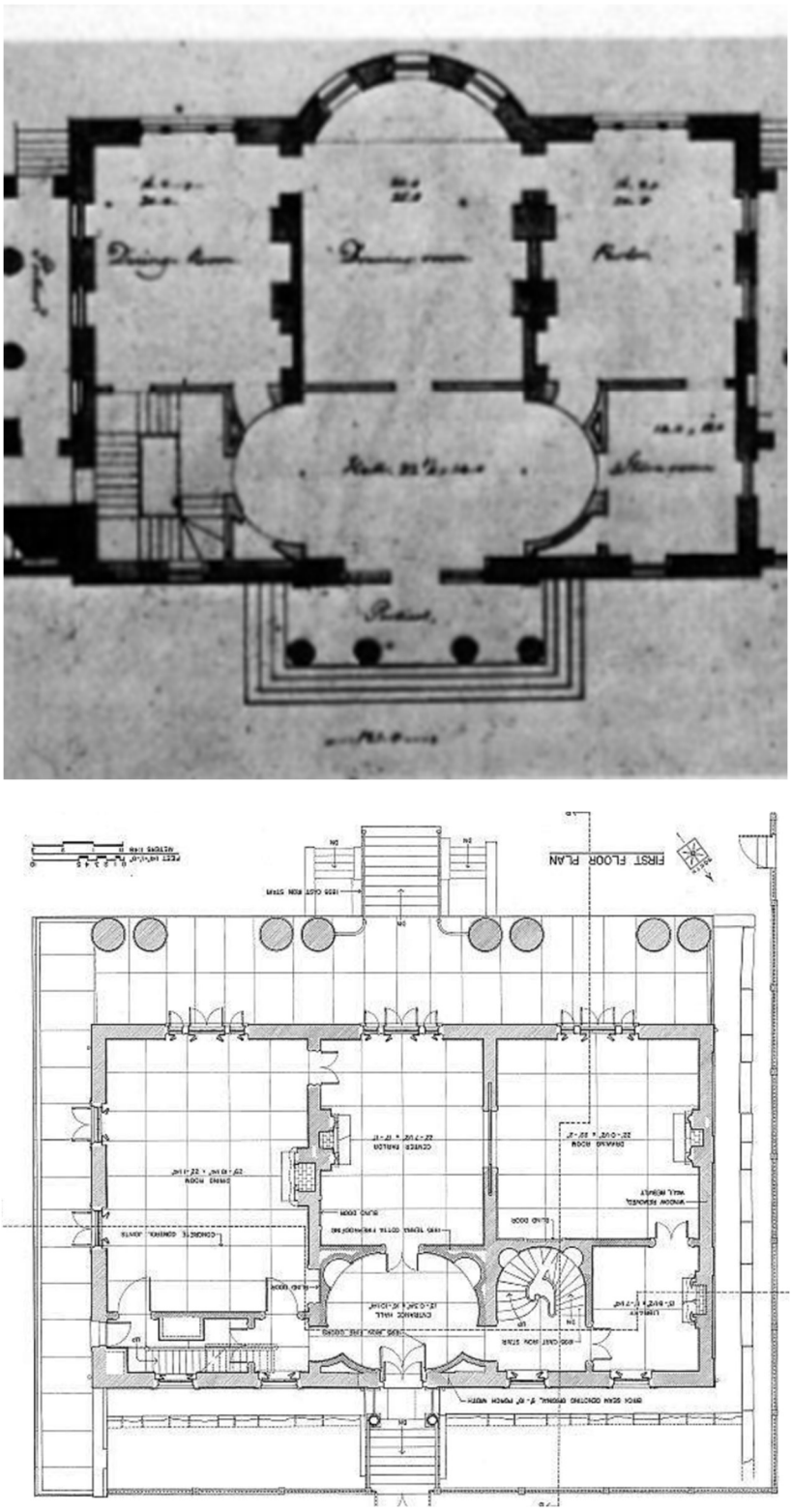


Figure 32. Floorplans showing the similarities of the Harvie House (top) and the Second Brockenbrough House (bottom)

Figure 33. A photo of the colonnade at Warm Springs. *Ammons, Terry & Worsham, Gibson. Historic Structure Report, The Warm Springs Bath House, The Omni Homestead, 2016. https://www.studioammons.com/s/16_0810-WS-HSR-sm.pdf*