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IMPERMANENT ARCHITECTURE IN A LESS PERMANENT TOWN

THE MID-SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE OF PROVIDENCE, MARYLAND

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Introduction

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a number of town sites developed in the Chesapeake Tidewater of Maryland and Virginia only to ultimately disappear from the landscape. They are "lost towns," not in the sense that people have forgotten where they were, but because little if any of the architecture that defined them survives above ground. Much of what might have been learned about building traditions, town planning, and town life disappeared with their physical structures.

On the Western Shore of the Chesapeake Bay, a long list of once-familiar names, like Calverton, Herrington, Providence, and London Town, have not only now been forgotten but also have left little trace in the documentary records. Those Maryland town sites for which plat maps survive are few and lie principally along the Eastern Shore.[1] Virtually nothing survived of the early housing stock that once defined these port towns.

Over the last decade, Anne Arundel County's Lost Towns Project, an archaeological and historical research program in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, has uncovered the remains of impermanent, or earthfast, buildings in the "lost town" of Providence (1649– c. 1680s) (map 13.1). Neither "impermanent" nor "earthfast" hints at the variability exhibited by this once-common technology. This chapter presents a number of architectural findings from Providence, examining the archaeological evidence within the contexts of current understandings of earthfast buildings and the town of which they were a part. Analysis of historic documents, archaeological floor plans and architectural artifacts suggest urban ambitions, as well
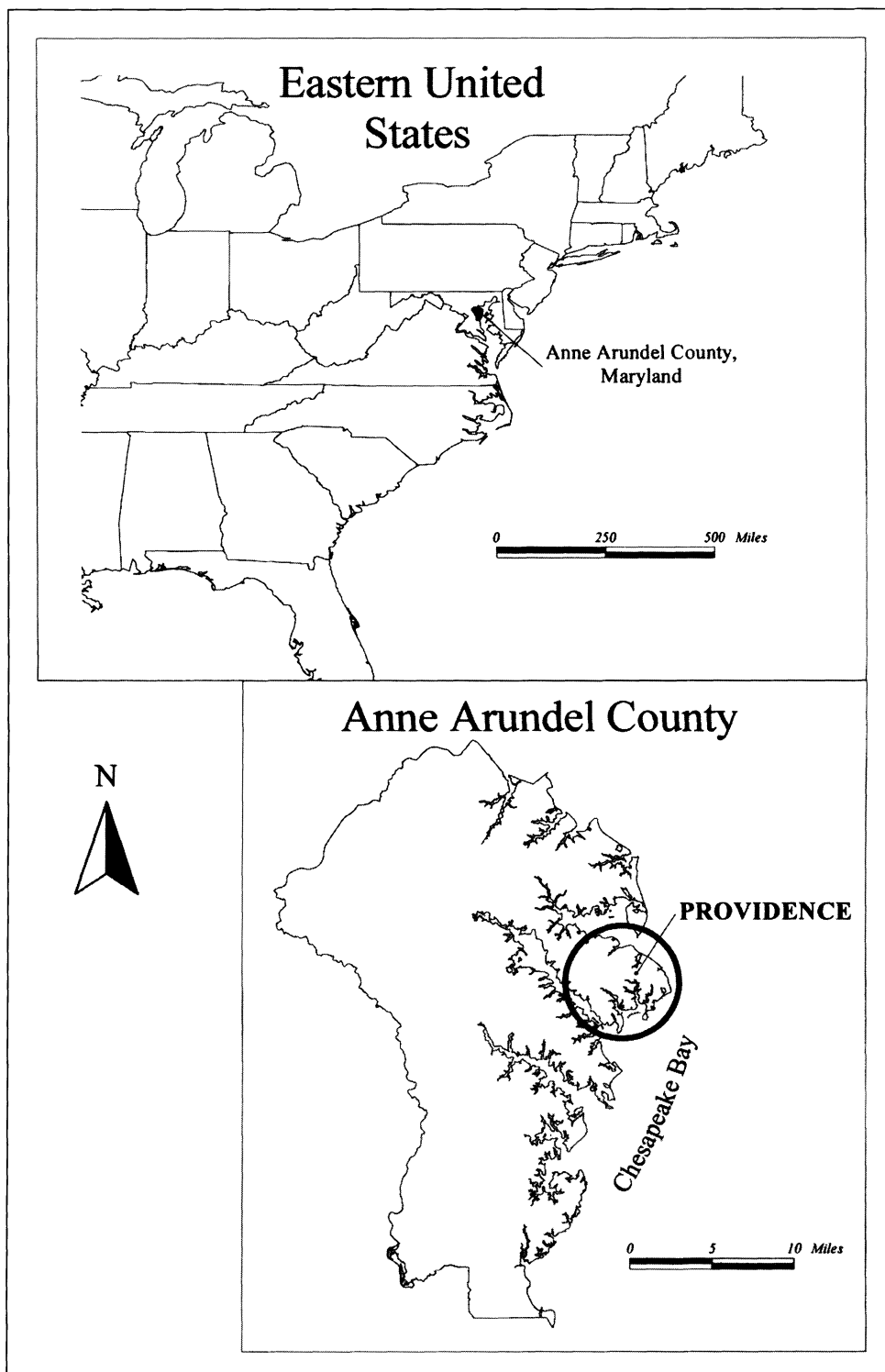
Map 13.1. Providence, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, USA. Courtesy of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, the Lost Towns Project.
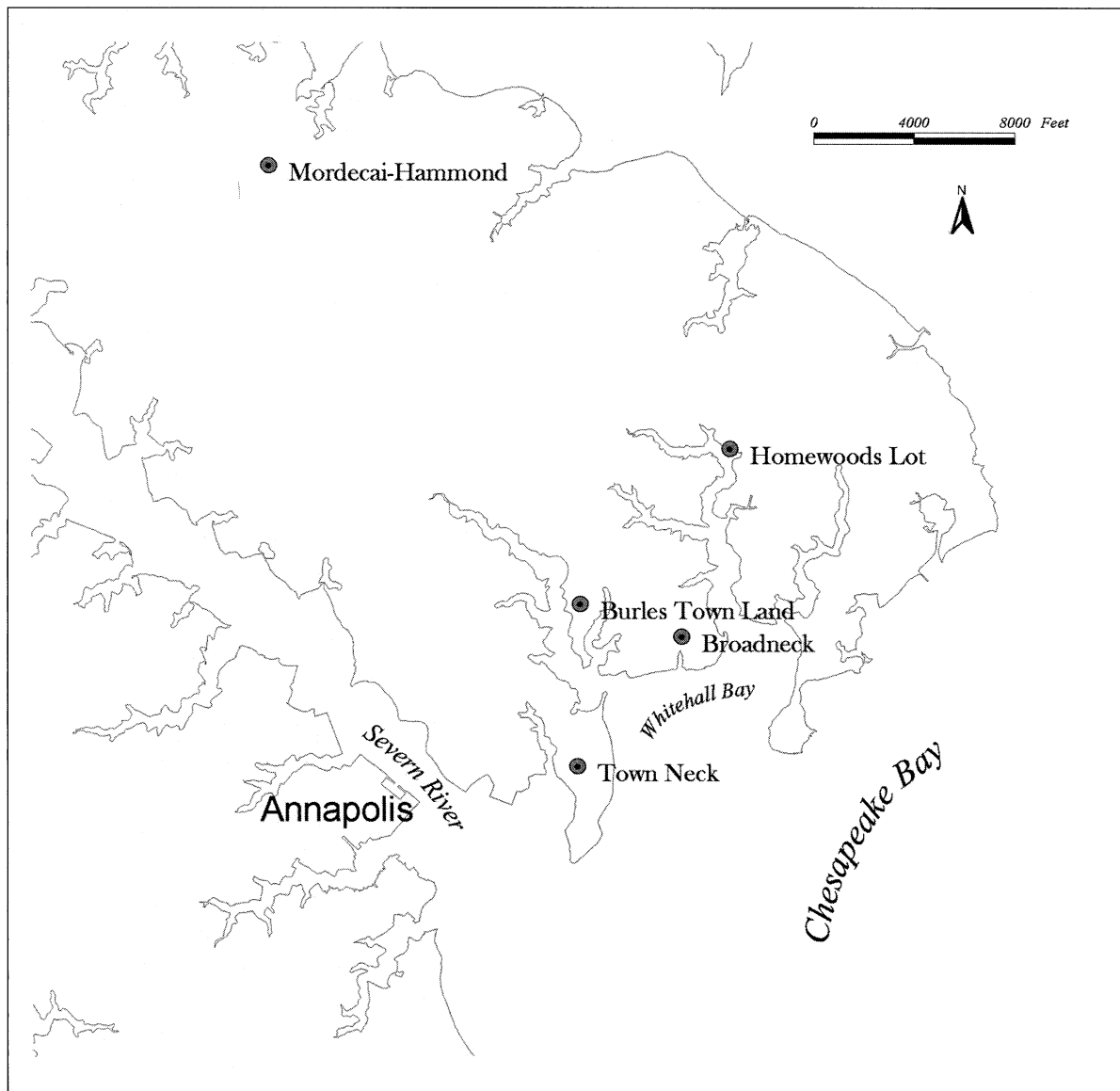
Map 13.2. General archaeological site locations for portions of Providence. Courtesy of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, the Lost Towns Project.

as local solutions to the technical and aesthetic considerations of housing in towns, real or envisioned.

Excavations conducted at four sites within the town of Providence provide the data for this analysis. Additional, supporting data will be drawn from a fifth house site located within the original bounds of Providence but postdating the primary occupation of the town by nearly forty years (map 13.2). This site not only provides additional information but also demonstrates the possible persistence of local seventeenth-century vernacular building traditions into the first decades of the eighteenth century.

Methods in Earthfast Construction

Earthfast construction refers to a variety of related building techniques in which the lower framing members lie directly on the ground or are supported by earth-set wooden posts.[2] In the seventeenth century these construction techniques arrived on the shores of the southern colonies, most likely adapted from a much earlier English building tradition.[3] Used throughout the colonial period, the popularity, or desirability, of earthfast construction started to wane in the eighteenth century. Chesapeake carpenters continued building earthfast structures until the end of the Civil War, but later examples are limited almost exclusively to barns and outbuildings.[4]

Architectural study of colonial buildings in the Chesapeake has shown that more expensive traditional frame and brick buildings were not erected in significant numbers until the second quarter of the eighteenth century,[5] although at least two late-seventeenth-century traditionally framed buildings, the Sands House and Holly Hill, still survive in Anne Arundel County, Maryland.[6] Historians explain this late appearance of conventional framed buildings in the Chesapeake as a result of labor-intensive tobacco farming combined with the short life expectancy of early Chesapeake immigrants.[7] Agricultural diversification by planters in the 1720s and 1730s and shifts in the composition of the Chesapeake population resulted in the formation of a demographically stable society. With increased social stability also came a higher standard of living, and with this, more durable construction methods and materials.[8]

Many earthfast buildings employed a false-plate roofing system structurally independent of the wall frame. This separation of roof and wall systems accommodated differential settling and wracking common in earthfast structures.[9] Other research has shown that riven clapboards covered the exteriors, and interior walls often bore plastered lathing. Fenestration included leaded casement windows, although other types of windows undoubtedly were used. Brick chimneys were a rarity: wattle-and-daub exterior end chimneys with brick hearths generally served the purpose. Floors were earth, wood, or—in a few instances—tile, with partial earthen cellars typically constructed beneath the wooden floors.

Compared with traditional English box framing and masonry, earthfast construction used a light, simplified structural system, requiring less-skilled labor and coarser materials. Consequently, earthfast construction was more economical than other construction techniques. The resulting product, however, was considerably inferior and less permanent than other construction methods used at the time. Generally, the average life-span of an earthfast building was about twenty-five years, barring extraordinary maintenance.[10] "Earthfast" applies to a variety of coexistent building methods more related in purpose (ease and economy of construction) than in structural similarity. Post-in-the-ground, or framed hole-set, buildings dominated this building tradition and consisted of three subtypes defined by how and in what order the posts were erected.

Most earthfast structures uncovered by archaeologists are framed hole-set, where posts were set two to four feet into the ground. Builders raised hole-set buildings as preconstructed sidewall units, as paired posts, or bents, and as individual posts. Each of these methods leaves a distinctive archaeological footprint. Sidewall construction employed parallel lines of two or more postholes, the long axes of the holes perpendicular to the long axis of the building and the molds from the timber posts set against the inside edges of the holes. In profile, the postholes ordinarily are stepped, the deepest part of the hole located closest to the building. The long axes of postholes for bent-raised structures parallel the building's long axis, and the deepest parts of the stepped holes tend to be lo-

cated at the same end of each hole, suggesting bent-raising from one direction. In "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern Colonies," Carson et al. have suggested that independent post construction was the least sound and least common building technique. Such structures are readily identified by irregular, nonstepped postholes that may vary in shape and orientation within a single building. Postmold placement within the posthole varies as well.

Sill-on-ground construction constitutes another form of impermanent architecture. Builders rested continuous sills directly on the ground or embedded them in shallow trenches, tenoning the principal members and intermediate studs into the sills.[11] Although vulnerable to decay, sill-on-ground structures repaired easily, particularly by using the third earthfast technique: frame-on-block. This method elevated a continuous-sill structure on hole-set blocks. Frame-on-block structures share many similarities with sill-on-ground type buildings, and some frame-on-block buildings may have been attempts to salvage sill-on-ground structures.[12]

Architectural historians have documented only three extant colonial earthfast houses in the Chesapeake region: Cedar Park and Sotterley, both post-in-ground buildings, in southern Maryland, and the Matthew Jones House in Virginia. Each of these structures survived as a result of extensive alteration. Each represents multiple phases of construction and repair that show the adaptability and ironically, the sometimes permanence of impermanent architecture. These three buildings represent only a small fraction of the earthfast buildings that once dominated the Chesapeake region. Most of the colonial Chesapeake's housing stock survives only as patterned stains in the subsoil and scatters of architectural artifacts. Archaeologists commonly encounter these structures on rural sites and, increasingly, on town sites such as Providence, Maryland.[13]

The "Lost Town" of Providence

A small group of Puritans from Virginia founded Providence, or Severn, in 1649, invited to Maryland by Governor William Stone. They settled along the Severn River, near present-day Annapolis. In a context of religious and political strife in the English world, and unsure of their future under the rule of the Catholic proprietor, the Puritans occupied relatively small tracts in close proximity to one another for defense. They initially envisioned Providence as a center for the fur trade and signed treaties to that end with the Susquehannock tribe in 1652.[14] Fur trading proved unsuccessful, however, and the Puritans soon turned to the economic mainstay of the Chesapeake, tobacco production.

Never a town in the modern colloquial sense of the word, Providence nevertheless provided at least some of the social, political, and economic functions of a town.[15] That the Puritans regarded Providence as a town, or at least as a town in the making, is clearly evidenced by their designation of a "Town Path" and "Town Creek" and references to certain properties as "Town Lands."[16] In reality, Providence was little more than what anthropologists would call a "hamlet." A grouping of homes, in this case, arranged around a public center or structure. This form of dispersed settlement is not unique and sounds similar to Lord Baltimore's 1668 description of St. Mary's City, which also used a "town land" system. Writing over three decades after its initial settlement in 1634, Lord Baltimore described St. Mary's City: "The principal place or towne is called St. Maries where the General Assemblies and Provincial court are kept ... but it can hardly be called a towne, it being in length by the water about five miles and in breadth upward toward the land not above six miles, in all which space, excepting my own house and buildings where in the said courts and public offices are kept, there are not above 30 houses and those at considerable distances from each other...." Providence probably had a somewhat similar, dispersed appearance. A small hamlet comprised of a meetinghouse and several dozen widely dispersed houselots on small plantations, averaging from five to fifty acres.

Relations between the Protestant Providence settlers and the Catholic proprietor soured quickly, and open hostilities culminated in the Battle of the Severn on March 25, 1655. The resulting battle was an overwhelming victory by the Providence forces, wresting power from Lord Baltimore's Maryland government. The Puritans maintained control of the

government until 1657, when power was returned to Lord Baltimore. The perceived threat from Lord Baltimore abated; the Puritans rapidly expanded their holdings in Anne Arundel County or moved to new lands in Baltimore County and on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake. Providence, town or hamlet, ceased to exist, or, more accurately, a portion of its extent developed into a new locus called "Arundelton" (eventually Anne Arundel Town, and finally Annapolis) on the western bank of the Severn River. By the 1680s the settlement's core on the Broadneck Peninsula began consolidating into large rural tobacco plantations.

Archaeology of Providence

Significant architectural data assembled from test excavations is available for four Providence sites: Broadneck (18AN818), Burle's Town Land (18AN826), Town Neck (18AN944), and Homewood's Lot (18AN871).[17] This chapter discusses these sites, as well as Mordecai Hammond's Addition (18AN943), an early-eighteenth-century site, within Providence proper but postdating the primary occupation (map 13.2).

Broadneck

Excavations in 1991, prior to the construction of a residential subdivision, led to the discovery of the Broadneck site (18AN818), the earliest definitive evidence of European occupation within Anne Arundel County. Located in an abandoned agricultural field, the site occupied a slope at the head of a small cove on Whitehall Bay, an embayment of the Chesapeake. Temporally diagnostic artifacts indicate that the site was occupied for a limited time, beginning around 1650, demonstrably among the earliest Providence sites settled. Few documents from this period of early settlement in the county survive, and intensive archival research has yet to identify the occupant.[18]

Archaeological excavations at the site revealed a cellar, a pit feature, several postholes, puncheon-set posts, and the possible evidence of sills.[19] The most prominent remains, the cellar and the pit feature, were located thirty feet apart, and measured ten by six feet and six by three feet, respectively (fig. 13.1). A group of small puncheon set posts farther up-slope may

demarcate the location of a small outbuilding.[20] Two small, shallow features, devoid of artifacts, were discovered in a line running perpendicular to the main cellar and exactly five feet away from the side of the main cellar. These features were interpreted as evidence for a sill-on-ground constructed building. The location of the pit features within the footprint of the building implies the presence of a wooden floor. Ash and burned daub from the cellar deposits suggests a single wattle-and-daub chimney on the west gable-end of the building. Additionally, large quantities of daub recovered from across the site suggest that the principal building at the Broadneck site may have possessed wattle-and-daub walls or may have been a log structure sealed with clay chinking.

Excavations at the Broadneck site reveal evidence of a number of architectural features used in one of the earliest buildings in the county. However, more illuminating is the lack of certain architectural details. Neither window leads nor window quarrel fragments were recovered, suggesting shuttered windows.[21] In addition, the low numbers of hand-wrought nails recovered supports the theory that the building was of a wattle-and-daub wall construction, possibly with a thatched roof. Evidence of thatched roofs in the Chesapeake is sparse, but examples have been documented.[22] Pegged shingle roofs are also known. The Broadneck site appears to have been a two- or three-room
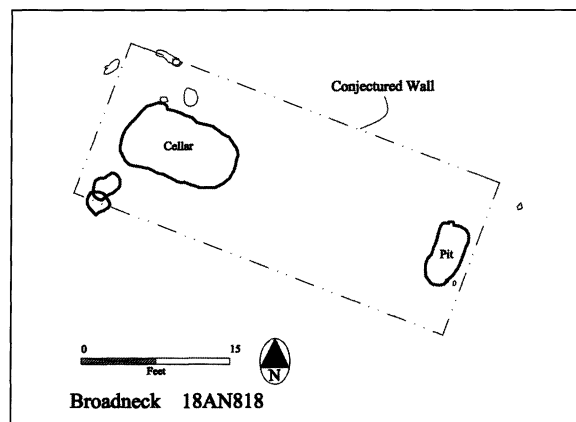

Fig. 13.1. Plan view of features at Broadneck site (18AN818). Courtesy of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, the Lost Towns Project.
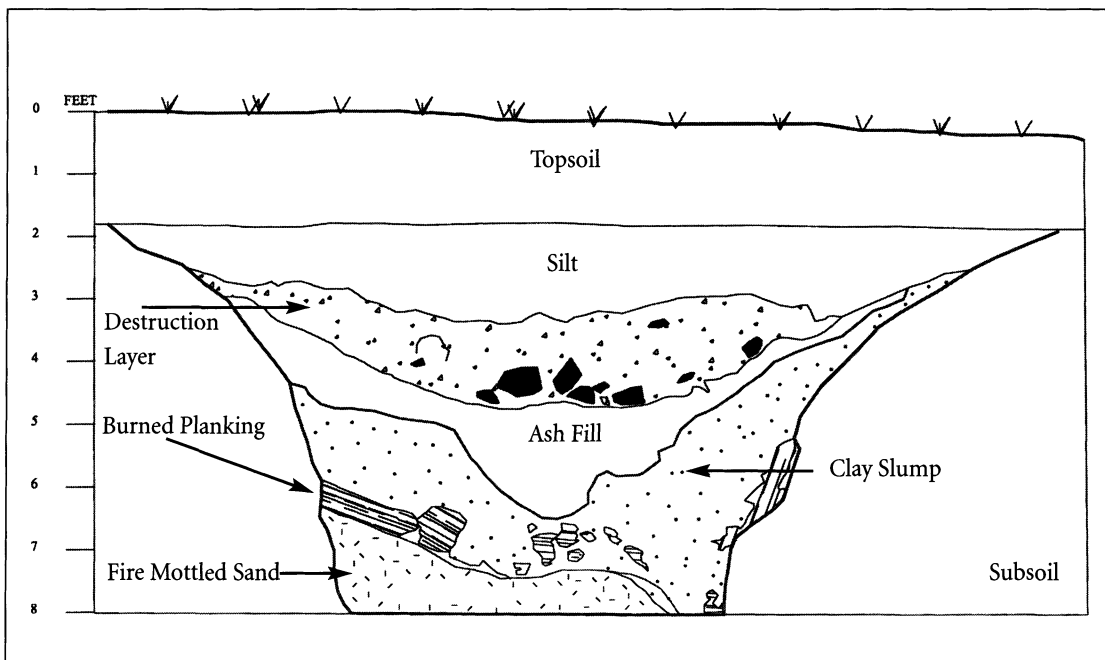
Fig. 13.2. Profile of cellar at Town Neck site (18AN944). Courtesy of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, the Lost Towns Project.

building approximately thirty-six to forty feet in length and sixteen feet in width. Given the evidence of a single gable-end chimney, only one room was heated.

The artifact assemblage from Broadneck indicates that the site was occupied for only a short duration. This structure may relate to the first generation of building activity at Providence. A 1684 pamphlet promoting colonization of Pennsylvania describes a house "30 feet long and 18 feet wide, with one partition near the middle and another to divide one end into two smaller rooms," and one which usually lasted ten years without repair.[23] Referencing to the same pamphlet, Carson et al. (1981) noted that "it is perhaps more likely that the pamphleteer was remembering houses in which the studs, too, were buried in holes or trenches or were fastened to unframed lengths of sill beam laid in slots in the ground." The description approximates the interpretation of the principal structure at Broadneck.[24] The short length of occupation and the relatively crude construction suggest that the Broadneck site buildings date to the ini-

tial phase of settlement at Providence. Structures uncovered at other Providence sites contrast markedly with the architecture at Broadneck.

Town Neck

The Town Neck site (18AN944) was located during sediment trap excavations associated with construction of athletic facilities at the Naval Radio Transmitter Facility on Greenbury Point. Further investigation revealed that the Navy construction crew had cut through a seventeenth-century cellar (fig. 13.2). The site is located on peninsula near the mouth of Carr Creek, a tidal tributary of the Severn River. Salvage excavations were conducted by the Anne Arundel County archaeology program and by KCI Technologies, a private firm under contract to the Department of the Navy.

Richard Bennett and eight other individuals settled portions of this peninsula "for their Mutual Security" between 1649 and 1658.[25] In 1658, Bennett, by this time the sole owner the entire tract deeded the property to Nathaniel Utie, secretary to Governor
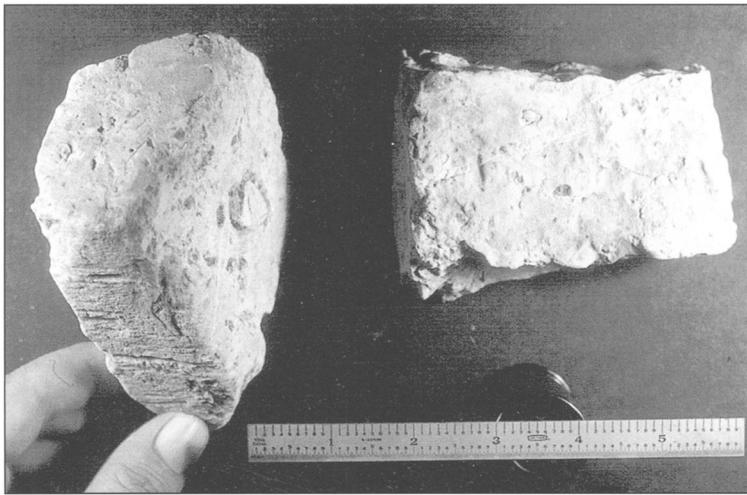
Fig. 13.3. *Dodekop* staining from yellow brick header recovered at Town Neck site (18AN944). Courtesy of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, the Lost Towns Project.

Stone, who patented it as Towne Neck. In November 1661, Utie sold the property to William Pennington, who sold it a month later to Ralph Williams, a Bristol merchant and a magistrate of Anne Arundel County. Williams held the 250-acre Town Neck tract until his death in 1673, after which the property was conveyed to his heirs, then to Edwin Perrin in 1685, and finally transferred to Nicholas Greenbury, who named the property Greenberry's Point. Temporally diagnostic artifacts recovered from the site indicate the property was occupied from at least about 1660 until the 1680s, when the structure was destroyed by fire.

Excavations were limited in scope but provided a great deal of architectural evidence. The most notable feature was a timber-lined cellar or half-cellar (Feature 1), probably twelve by fifteen feet in plan and eight feet in depth (fig. 13.2). In addition to the cellar, several other architectural features were documented, including three postholes and a large refuse pit, interpreted by the excavators as a trash-filled borrow pit.[26] Because of the limited scope of these excavations, the floor plan of the Town Neck structure remains unknown; however, significant information can be derived about the finishing and appurtenances of this building.

Excavators observed more brick at Town Neck than at any other Providence site. Recovered samples included an English-standard sized red brick and three varieties of yellow brick. Quantities of quartzite foundation stones were also noted. Typical seventeenth-century yellow bricks are hard *klinker* varieties imported from the Netherlands. Because of their resistance to high temperature, these bricks typically were used for fireboxes. The three varieties of yellow brick recovered from the Town Neck site also included softer Dutch *moppen* construction brick, and a third, larger type of unknown derivation. A number of examples exhibited evidence of *dodekop* staining, an iron oxide stain applied for decorative effect (fig. 13.3). Joseph Sopko identified similar staining at the Fort Orange site Albany, New York.[27] Sopko suggests that *dodekop* stained brick was used to create decorative brickwork patterns typical of Dutch brickwork or, alternatively, as an attempt to blend yellow bricks with red.[28]

At Town Neck, the combination of red and yellow brick with the building stones probably represents the remains of a substantial and notably decorative brick chimney stack seated on a stone base. The quantity of brick observed during excavations may even have been sufficient to represent the remains of decorative brick gable ends.[29]

Other artifacts recovered from the excavations at Town Neck indicate the use of leaded casemate windows. Two window lead fragments bear the name of the English glazier Frances Good and are dated 1661.[30] Also recovered were a number of yellow and green lead-glazed *estrikken* floor tiles, discussed in more de-

tail below (fig. 13.4). These architectural artifacts suggest that the building displayed a high degree of finished and decorative detail not typically found on most mid-seventeenth-century Chesapeake sites. The builders imported the windows, yellow bricks, and floor tiles from Europe. Based on form and materials, the bricks and the floor tiles are Dutch. As will be discussed, excavations of Robert Burle's residence (c. 1649), another nearby Providence site, Homewood's Lot, and Mordecai Hammond's Addition also reveal the existence of Chesapeake earthfast framing utilizing Dutch imported finishing materials, a housing standard atypical of the Chesapeake building tradition.

Burle's Town Land

Robert Burle, county surveyor, patented one hundred acres called Burle's Town Land in 1663. Although patented late, artifacts recovered from the site support an earlier construction date possibly as early as 1650. He lived there until his death in 1676, leaving the plantation to his youngest daughter, Rebecca. Rebecca

Burle married Humphrey Boone in 1680, and the couple seems to have moved their household to Boone's land in the northern part of Anne Arundel County, effectively abandoning the Burle homelot.

The nature of the archaeological excavations at the Burle site was quite different than that seen at Broadneck and Town Neck. The latter were both limited salvage investigations designed to collect as much information as possible within a narrow time frame. Excavations at the Burle's Town Land site, however, were extensive and systematic, consisting of over 225 five-by-five-foot excavation units conducted over a period of years (fig. 13.5). This sample size provides a context that neither the materials from Broadneck nor Town Neck are capable of providing.

Situated at the head of a small drainage on a terrace overlooking Mill Creek, Burle's Town Land lies partly within a plowed field and partly within an eighteenth- to nineteenth-century family cemetery. Graveshafts have disturbed seventeenth-century deposits, damaging some portions of the principal dwelling.
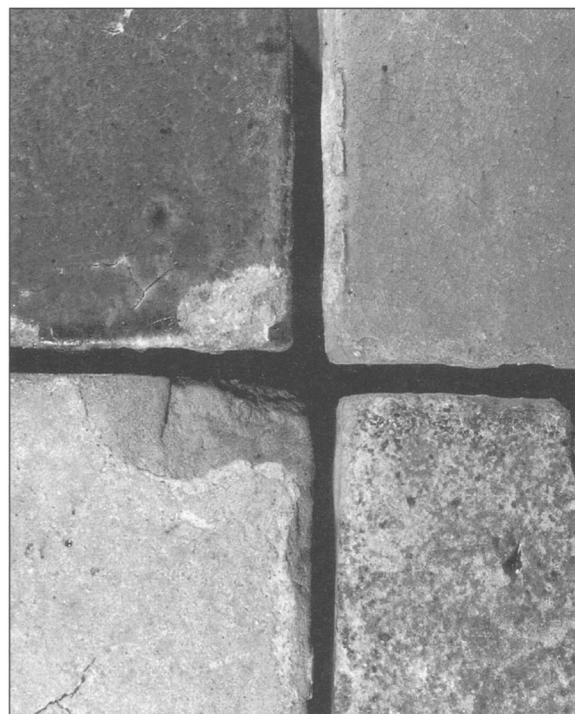

Fig. 13.4. *Estrikken* tiles recovered at the Town Neck site (18AN944). Courtesy of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, the Lost Towns Project.
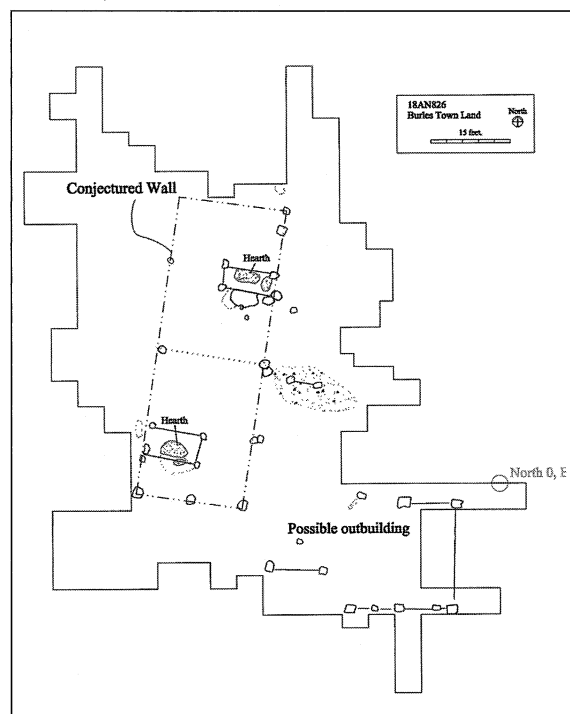

Fig. 13.5. Plan view of excavations at the Burle's Town Land site (18AN826). Courtesy of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, the Lost Towns Project.

However, because the core of the site lies within this cemetery, large areas have escaped plowing. A second building or enclosure, found in the plowed field, escaped damage from grave digging but remains only partially delineated by excavation.

The principal dwelling measured roughly sixty by twenty feet and had three rooms, or possibly six, depending on the interpretation. The structure appears to have consisted of two sections, each an inverted mirror image of the other (fig. 13.5). Both were constructed simultaneously during period one. Each section had an interior wattle-and-daub chimney located along the west and east walls. Gable-end wattle-and-daub chimneys would have been more typical of seventeenth-century Chesapeake architecture. Dutch yellow *klinker* bricks were used to complete the firebox. The vertical support posts were likely raised in pairs using bent construction, and tied into an interrupted sill. The exterior most likely was riven clapboard, while burned daub impressions and lath nails indicate interior split lathing. Other areas of the building incorporate more unconventional materials.

Large quantities of red clay "pantiles," or roofing tiles, apparently of Dutch origin, were found across the site. Computer simulation mapping of the tile fragment distributions demonstrate that at least the northern half of this "duplex" was roofed with pantiles. However, lower amounts recovered in the southern portion may only be the result of plowing in this area. Pantiles have been found at few seventeenth-century Chesapeake sites, and these were predominately brick public buildings.[31]

Like at the Town Neck site, fragments of *estrikken* tiles—red bodied earthenware floor tiles with white slip under green or yellow glaze—were also recovered at Burle.[32] Equal numbers of green and yellow tile fragments were excavated, suggesting alternating colors of either a "checkerboard "or a "striped" pattern arrangement. Paintings by Vermeer and De Hooch, and other seventeenth-century Dutch genre painters, illustrate the use of such tiles in scenes of Dutch domestic life. Several paintings in particular show checkerboard patterns (fig. 13.6). The exact placement of the tiles is open to speculation, but they seem to be located directly in front of the hearths.
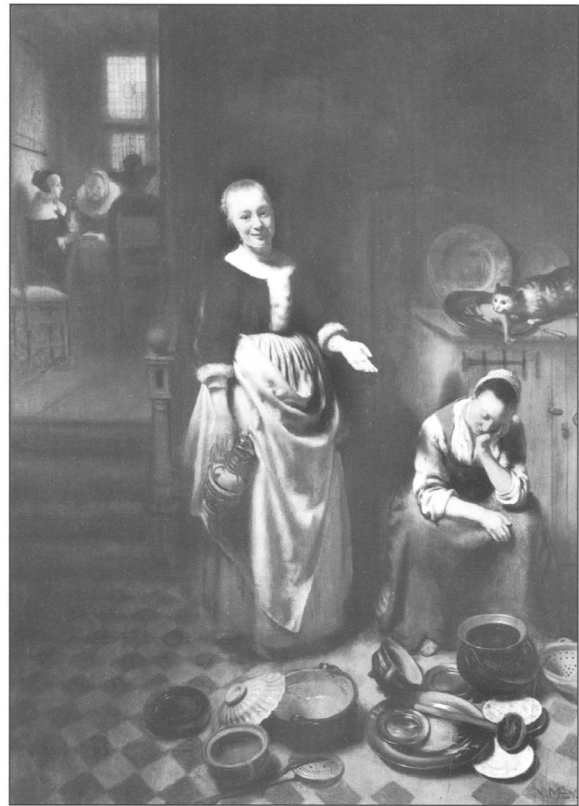
Fig. 13.6. Nicolaes Maes, *Interior with a Sleeping Maid and Her Mistress (The Idle Servant)* illustrating the green and yellow *estrikken* floor tiles, c. 1655. Courtesy of the National Gallery, London, England.

Robert Burle's house also utilized blue and white Dutch tin-glaze earthenware, or "delft" tiles, as either fireplace surrounds or, less likely, baseboards or chair rails. The one identifiable fragment found at the Burle site depicts a portion of a soldier, modeled after the engravings from De Gheyns's *Exercise of Armes* (1609), an important and influential early-seventeenth-century military manual (fig. 13.7).[33] Similar Dutch tiles have been recovered from a number of other seventeenth-century sites. Examples include St. John's, van Sweringen's "Council Chamber," the Country House, and Smith's Town Land at St. Mary's City, Maryland, Jamestown, Virginia, Dutch Manhattan, and Fort Orange, New York.[34]

Two marked window cames were recovered from the Burle site, as well as a nearly intact quarrel with

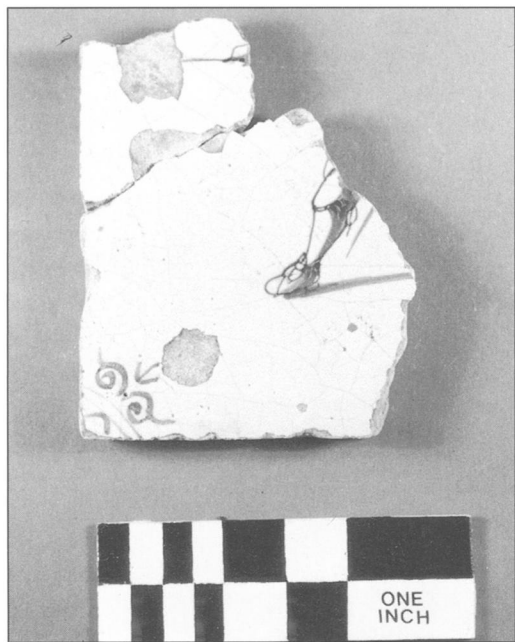Fig. 13.7. Portion of tin-glazed earthenware tile recovered at the Burle site. Courtesy of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, the Lost Towns Project.

glazing, indicating the presence of leaded casement windows. One marked window lead bears the letters RICHAR—. Hanna, Knight, and Egan (1992), suggest that these letters are possibly the mark of Richard Holland, an English glazier.[35] The second mark contains the fragmentary inscription "—SON of BRIS—." This is the mark of John Mason of Bristol, England, for which the only known associated date is 1647.[36] This approximates the circa 1650 assumed construction date for the Burle's Town Land site.

The extensive use of Dutch materials (including a variety of lead-glazed earthenware floor tiles, tin-glazed earthen decorative tiles, pantiles, and yellow bricks) and glazed casement windows suggest a well-appointed dwelling unrivaled in Providence, and perhaps on a par with anything else in Maryland. The relatively small quantities of these materials actually recovered from the Burle site, and the paucity of architectural hardware, probably indicate an extensive salvage of building materials following the abandonment of the building.

Homewood's Lot

Homewood's Lot (18AN871), also called Belfield Farms, is the location of the fourth Providence archaeological site for which substantial clues about the original architecture currently exists. Evidence from the seventeenth-century component of the site further refines the chronology of settlement, occupation, and vernacular architectural forms relating to the town of Providence.

This complex site located overlooking Whitehall Creek was occupied almost continuously from the mid-seventeenth century through the present. In 1650, the first property owner James Homewood had the property surveyed into a 210-acre tract called Homewood's Lot. The property remained within the family for the next eighty-one years until it was resurveyed in 1731, incorporating additional tracts totaling 1,392 acres.

Excavation of forty-one five-by-five-foot test units revealed a diversity of architectural features from as many as six distinct buildings, many of which can be associated with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century occupations. These overlapping chronological and spatial sequences generated significant difficulties in site interpretation. As a result of these difficulties, discussion of the site within the context of this chapter is largely limited to the structure incorporating Feature 30, one of the earliest site components.

Feature 30 is a ten-by-six-foot cellar/pit approximately two and a half feet in depth. Paralleling the cellar was the remains of a linear feature containing ironstone debris (a naturally occurring ferrous rock). Although clearly linear in plan, the surviving portion of the trench was irregular and in some cases indistinct from surrounding subsoil. At one end of the cellar was a dark U-shaped stain (Feature 33) enclosing the burn area of the hearth. A cross-section of one portion the hearth feature revealed a clear half-round profile that extended approximately .3 feet into the subsoil. Though ambiguous, this trench is interpreted as the remains of the bottom half of a sill-on-ground earthfast chimney base.

The dimensions of the structure itself would have been approximately eight by twelve feet, with a single gable chimney projecting from the north end.

Diagnostic artifacts from the cellar include ceramics and tobacco pipe fragments that indicate that it was filled beginning in the 1660s and probably abandoned well before 1670. The cellar was filled relatively rapidly with large quantities of active fireplace ash deposits, and a remarkable quantity of faunal material, especially fish bone. A single leaded window came dated 1661 was recovered at the base of the cellar/pit and provides a *terminus post quem* for the filling of the cellar but not for its construction.

The dated window came is interpreted as construction debris from a nearby, unexcavated building. Other materials recovered from the Feature 30 cellar supporting the existence of a clearly more elaborate building include *moppen* yellow brick, a single frag-

ment of green *estrikken* floor tile, a large unglazed floor tile, and large quantities of hand wrought nails. The plowzone also produced large quantities of Dutch pantile fragments that may relate to another unexcavated building.

The building encompassing Feature 30 is considered one of the earliest structures yet found in Providence. Interestingly, it most closely resembles the Broadneck site in that it possessed a sill that was either ground laid or supported by a crude ironstone base.

The presence of another mid-seventeenth-century structure at Homewood's is clearly indicated by the construction debris encountered. It clearly contained the same Dutch trait bundle seen with the finishings at Burle's Town Land.
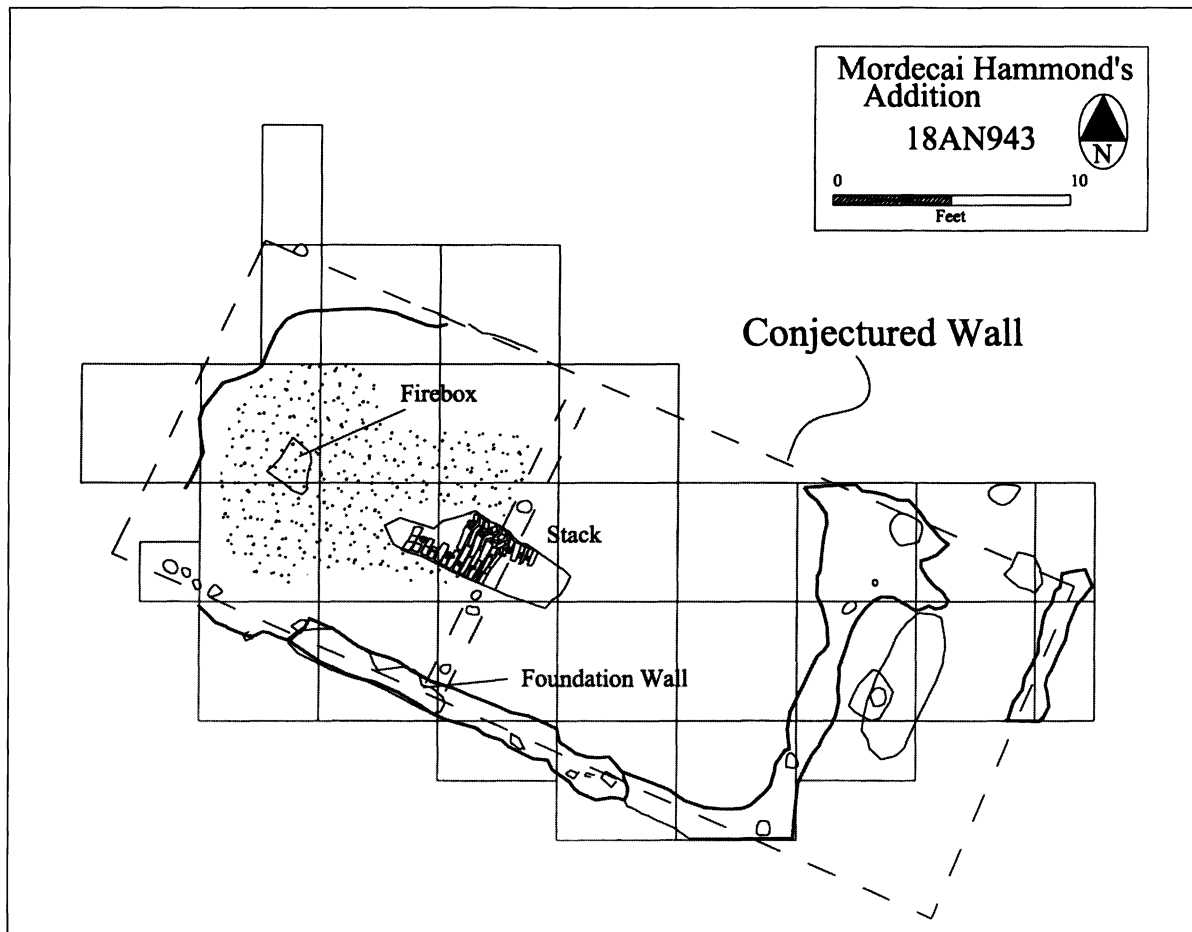

Fig. 13.8. Plan View of Mordecai Hammond's Addition site (18AN943). Courtesy of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, the Lost Towns Project.

Mordecai Hammond's Addition

In the spring of 1993, construction activity led to the discovery and salvage of the Mordecai Hammond's Addition site (18AN943). Unlike the sites discussed above, Hammond's Addition is not considered a part of the initial settlement at Providence, although it was located in the Providence locale. Hammond's Addition probably was constructed about 1719, almost forty years after the disappearance of the town. Temporally diagnostic artifacts indicate that the structure was occupied between about 1720 and the 1780s. After its abandonment, the chimney toppled, falling into the interior of the building. Plowing destroyed only the uppermost exterior face of the chimney, while much of the articulated lower exterior of the chimney survived. Interestingly, the firebox and chimney stack combined red and yellow bricks in a manner not only functional but also decorative, with alternating bands of yellow and red.

The structure itself measured sixteen by twenty-four feet, with sills laid on native ironstone foundations (fig. 13.8). The firebox and chimney were the most interesting architectural elements at Hammond's Addition (fig. 13.9). The firebox was constructed with

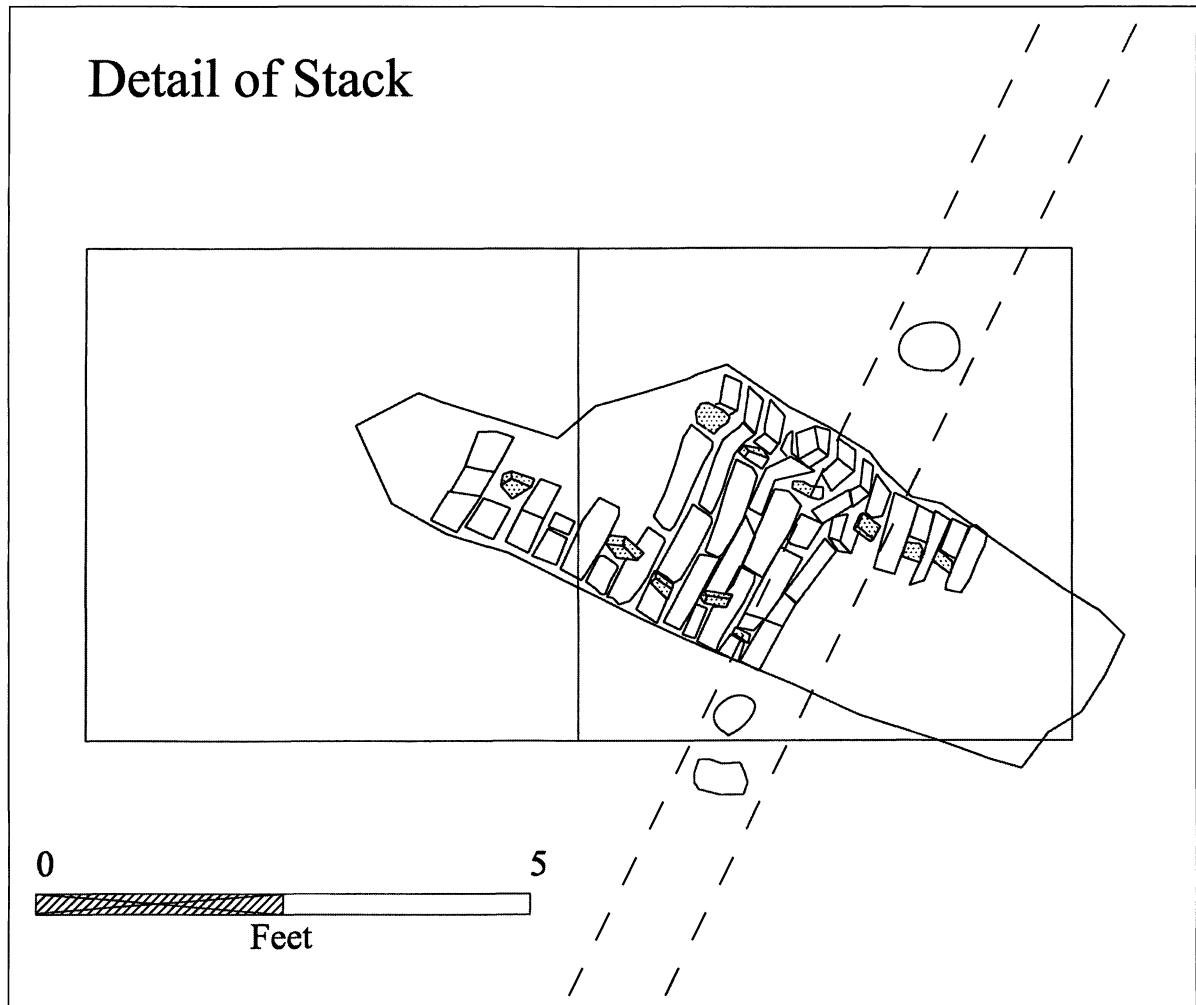Detail of Stack

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Feet

Fig. 13.9. Detail of the chimney stack at Mordecai Hammond's Addition site (18AN943). Courtesy of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, the Lost Towns Project.

courses of large red brick stretchers alternating with courses of Dutch yellow *klinker* bricks laid on edge in rowlock fashion.[37] The remaining length of yellow rowlock bricks projected into the interior of the firebox. Yellow bricks were then mortared into the interior rowlock bricks on their stretcher edges, forming an interior entirely faced with yellow brick, and an exterior of horizontal red and yellow stripes.

Twenty-six courses of articulated brick from the chimney stack were also excavated. In this case, two red brick stretchers and a half-yellow brick on edge, as a "queen closer," formed each course. Bricks in the adjacent courses were laid in the reverse pattern, forming a square stack approximately twenty-four by twenty-four inches. There is no indication that the building materials used at Hammond's Addition were salvaged from another site.

This uncommon use of brick fulfilled both functional and aesthetic considerations. The only other examples of horizontal red and yellow striped masonry

of which the authors are aware occur in Christiana, Norway. One building built in 1714, and located at building number 213, in Dronningenst 15, is the oldest example of its use within the town.[38] Builders in the city attempted to emulate this style, even painting timber buildings to achieve the same effect. Many of the builders of Christiana were reputed to be workers imported from Denmark or Germany. Whether this includes Dutch workers is unknown.

At least one Dutch painting entitled *The Courtyard of a House in Delft,* painted in 1658 by De Hooch, depicts an archway with alternating bands of red brick and blocks of white stone, or mortar (fig. 13.10). This painting, while not the same as the buildings in Christiana, Norway, or at Mordecai Hammond's Addition, creates a similar visual effect.[39]

Summary and Conclusions

The structures located through archaeological investigations at Burle's Town Land and Town Neck represent variations of hole-set earthfast architecture differing in terms of plan, construction technique, building materials, and comprehensiveness of finish. Architectural evidence from Broadneck and Homewood's Lot indicate the presence of further variations, presumably of earthfast "ground laid sill" construction. Finally, the Mordecai Hammond site evidences continued emphasis on unusual, decorative brickwork that may relate to Dutch influences first seen at Providence with sites like Town Neck.

Despite their close temporal and spatial relationships, these buildings exhibit considerable distinctiveness. The principal dwelling at Burle's Town Land, however, is extraordinary. Although earthfast in construction, the plan and the Dutch "trait bundle" of roof pantiles, *estrikken* floor tiles, yellow bricks, and blue and white Delft fireplace tiles set it apart from every other building in seventeenth-century Maryland (fig. 13.11), except perhaps the unexcavated structure at Homewood's Lot. Robert Burle's substantial and unusual building may have its closest parallel in Structure 115 in Jamestown, Virginia, a five-part townhouse block similar to "townhouses" in England.[40] Robert Burle may have built a townhouse on his "town land."

Fig. 13.10. Pieter de Hooch, *The Courtyard of a House in Delft,* illustrating decorative archway, 1658. Courtesy of the National Gallery, London, England.
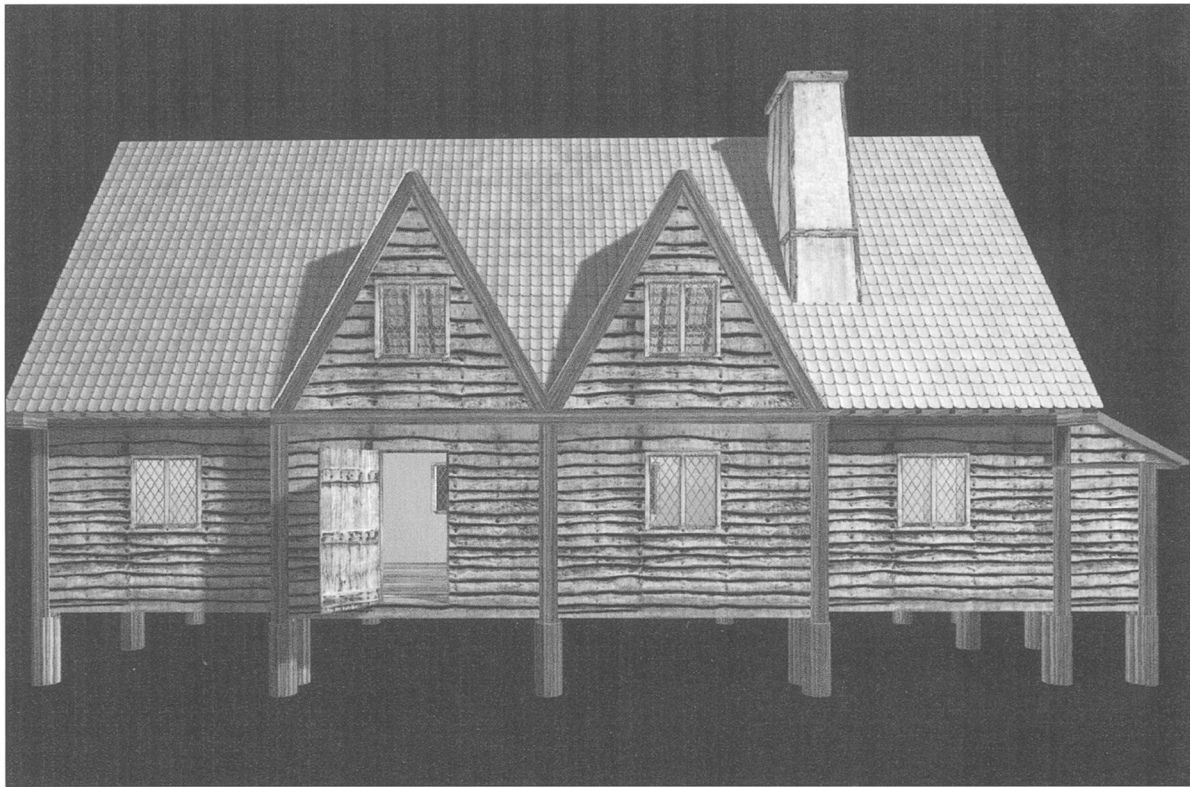
Fig. 13.11. Artist's reconstruction of Robert Burle house based on archaeological evidence. Courtesy of animators Tracy Corder and Carl Gehrman.

The architectural materials recovered from Town Neck also suggest sophisticated finishing detail. While Town Neck did not possess a tiled roof, it had a potentially elaborate brick chimney, or possibly a brick gable end, and a substantial wood-lined cellar.

Such finds from the excavations at Providence are clear evidence that Chesapeake, and presumably English, architectural traditions were hybridized with extensive Dutch finishings. This is perhaps attributable to Puritan/Protestant connections with the Netherlands during this period.[41] The artifacts recovered from Providence indicate extensive Dutch trade connections. This is supported by documentary evidence from the Dutch Notarial Acts, which indicate Chesapeake planters engaged in a substantial trade with Amsterdam and Rotterdam, between 1620 and 1653.[42] In 1648, over 35 percent of the vessels trading to the Chesapeake were from the Netherlands.[43] In addition to Dutch building materials, excavations at Providence have recovered numerous examples of Dutch utilitarian goods such as tobacco pipes and ceramics. The presence of refined Dutch building materials and a Chesapeake earthfast framing tradition suggest a unique blend of architectural styles forming a distinct vernacular tradition at Providence.

Portions of this "Providence" building tradition may have persisted locally into the early eighteenth century. Evidence supporting this is inconclusive; however, excavations at Mordecai Hammond's Addition document an unusual type of decorative brickwork that may have origins in earlier Dutch masonry styles. This brickwork may also relate to similar examples found in Christiana, Norway, the earliest of which dates to about 1714, predating the construction of Hammond's Addition by approximately six years. Red brick and several varieties of yellow brick recovered from Town Neck

(including some with *dodekop* staining) suggest some form of masonry patterning on chimneys in the same region nearly seventy years before.

Not surprisingly, the architectural survey of standing structures in the Providence area has failed to locate any extant examples of buildings dating to the seventeenth or even to the first half of the eighteenth centuries. Intensive archival research, although successful in reconstructing the general layout of Providence, has been able to yield few details about domestic, commercial, or industrial architecture. Archaeological excavation and analyses have proven to be the only means of studying early Providence architecture which, to date, has all been earthfast. The results, however, do not fully conform to the paradigms concerning this construction type that have developed over the past twenty years.

Given the known conventions of earthfast construction, Providence households appear to express far more variability than might be expected. Such finishing materials as roofing and floor tiles, and even decorative fireplace surround tiles, seem to belie the interpretation of earthfast buildings as impermanent structures intended to last no more than a generation in a swidden-based agricultural system. Archaeological investigations of the dwelling houses of Robert Burle, and Ralph Williams beg the question: why were their dwellings so elegantly finished while those of most other Chesapeake inhabitants, including members of the planter elite, were not? Perhaps Robert Burle and Ralph Williams envisioned a town reminiscent of those in Great Britain. The very names of their lands convey an optimism for urbanity. Burle's household on Burle's Town Land and Ralph Williams's Town Neck both imply if not the presence of town, then at least aspirations for a formal town. Perhaps they thought their "town lands" would eventually stand in the middle of a densely populated urban center.

The architectural variability of Providence suggests its inhabitants achieved some of their urban ambitions, though perhaps not the cosmopolitan prospects they initially imagined. Providence, at least the portion of Providence north of the Severn River, never developed into more than a dispersed hamlet. After the 1680s, as the population of town core declined, the focus of urban settlement shifted to the south side of the Severn River. The general assembly designated as an official port of entry in 1669, that part of Providence south of the Severn River. Named Arundelton, and later Anne Arundel Town, this area was the direct predecessor of the town of Annapolis. It was here the spatial organization, specialization, commercial prominence, craft-specialization, and administrative importance first envisioned by the original Providence settlers were achieved.

Notes

1. Dennis J. Pogue, "Calverton, Calvert County, Maryland: 1668–1725," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 80 (1985): 271–76; John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972); Joseph B. Thomas, *Settlement, Community, and Economy: The Development of Towns on Maryland's Lower Eastern Shore, 1660–1775*, Volumes in Historical Archaeology 38, ed. Stanley South, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1997).

2. Carl R. Lounsbury, ed., *A Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993), 126.

3. Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in Southern American Colonies," *Winterthur Portfolio* 16 (Summer/Autumn 1981): 138.

4. Lounsbury, *Glossary*, 126; Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture," 174–75.

5. H. J. Heikkenen and Mark R. Edwards, "The Key-Year Dendrochronology Technique and Its Application in Dating Historic Structures in Maryland," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 25(3): 3–25.

6. Donna M. Ware, *Anne Arundel's Legacy: The Historic Properties of Anne Arundel County* (Annapolis, Md.: Anne Arundel County Office of Planning and Zoning, 1990).

7. Lorena Walsh, "'Till Death Us Do Part': Marriage and Family in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," in *The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society* (New York: Norton, 1979), 128.

8. Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture," 171.

9. Dell Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture in Southeastern Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., Brown Univ.), 1981.

10. Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture," 141.

11. Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture."

12. Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture," 153.

13. Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture"; Henry M. Miller, *Discovering Maryland's First City: A Summary Report on the 1981–1984 Archaeological Excavations at St. Mary's City,* St. Mary's City Archaeology Series No. 2 (St. Mary's City, Md.: St. Mary's City Commission, 1986); Fraser D. Neiman, "An Evolutionary Approach to Archaeological Inference: Aspects of Architectural Variation in the 17th-Century Chesapeake" (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1990).

14. Al Luckenbach, *Providence 1649: The History and Archaeology of Anne Arundel County Maryland's First European Settlement* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives and the Maryland Historical Trust, 1995).

15. See Pogue, "Calverton, Calvert County, Maryland," on defining towns in terms of function, rather than population density.

16. See Luckenbach, *Providence 1649.*

17. Registered archaeological sites are number based on the U.S. National Museum system. In the trinomial designation system, 18 is for Maryland, AN stands for Anne Arundel County, and 826 refers to the specific site number.

18. Most surviving documents postdate the restoration of power to Lord Baltimore.

19. The postholes are interpreted as associated with a nearby mid-eighteenth-century site.

20. Puncheon set posts, or a series of closely placed posts driven directly into the ground, are uncommon in the Chesapeake region. For further description of puncheon set posts, see Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture," 148.

21. This may also partially be the result of the deflated nature of the archaeological deposits.

22. Orlando Ridout V, personal communication with author, Mar. 11, 1999. The use of thatched roofs in the Chesapeake is documented as early as the journals of Capt. John Smith and could be found on Virginia's eastern shore in 1640, Kent County in 1656, and Somerset County in 1682.

Some examples of thatched roofs have been documented as late as the twentieth century.

23. Carson et al., "Impermanent Architecture," 141.

24. Ibid.

25. Alan D. Beauregard, Al Luckenbach, Anthony Lindauer, and James Kodlick, *Phase II Archaeological Evaluation: The Ralph Williams Site (18AN944), Athletic Facilities Construction Project Naval Radio Transmitter Facility Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, Maryland,* Report to the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md. (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: KCI Technologies, 1994), 32.

26. Beauregard et al., *Phase II Archaeological Evaluation,* 55.

27. M. J. Becker, "'Swedish' Colonial Yellow Bricks: Notes on Their Uses and Possible Origins in 17th Century America," *Historical Archaeology* 11 (1977): 114; and Joseph S. Sopko, *An Analysis of Dutch Bricks from a 17th Century Structure within the Site of Fort Orange at Albany, New York* (Waterford: New York State Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation Bureau of Historic Sites, 1982), 37.

28. Sopko, *Analysis of Dutch Bricks,* 37.

29. The presence of large quantities of brick probably indicate that building materials were not salvaged from the site following its destruction.

30. Beauregard et al., *Phase II Archaeological Evaluation,* 69.

31. Silas D. Hurry, *Masonry Roof Tile from the St. John's Site (18ST1-23) in St. Mary's City, Maryland,* unpublished manuscript, St. Mary's City Commission (1980), 5–10. Fragments of pantile roofs have been recovered from excavations at Jamestown, Virginia, and St. Mary's City, Maryland, including the State House, St. Johns site, and the Mattapony-Sewell site. All were occupied by prominent individuals, including the Calvert family.

32. Paul R. Huey, *Archaeological Testing at Philipse Manor Hall, Yonkers, N.Y.* (Waterford: New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation Research Unit, Bureau of Historic Sites, 1996), 9. Two Friesland archives documents dated 1614 and 1662 describe floors paved with yellow and green glazed tiles called *estrikken.* These tiles were more common in Friesland and less common in North Holland.

33. J. B. Kist, *Jacob De Gheyn: The Exercise of Armes* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971).

34. Gary Wheeler Stone, *Seventeenth-Century Wall Tile from the St. Mary's City Excavations, 1971–1985,* St. Mary's

City Research Series No. 3 (St. Mary's City: Historic St. Mary's City, St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1987), 1–2.

35. Susan Hanna, Barry Knight, and Geoff Egan, "Marked Window Leads from North America and Europe," unpublished manuscript, Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland, 1992.

36. Al Luckenbach and James G. Gibb, "Dated Window Leads from Colonial Sites in Anne Arundel County, Maryland," *Maryland Archeology* 30, no. 2 (Sept. 1994): 23–28.

37. Al Luckenbach, "The Excavation of an 18th-Century Dutch Yellow Brick Firebox and Chimney Stack in Anne Arundel County, Maryland," *Maryland Archeology* 30, no. 2 (Sept. 1994): 9–22.

38. Letter and photographs from Patricia Reynolds, July 11, 1995.

39. Donna R. Barnes and the Hofstra Museum, *The Butcher, the Baker, the Candlestick Maker: Jan Luyken's Mirrors of 17th-Century Dutch Daily Life* (Hempstead, N.Y.: Hofstra Museum, Hofstra University, 1995), catalog for an exhibition of drawings and prints at the Emily Lowe Gallery, 17 September–31 October 1995, curated by Donna R. Barnes, Ed.E., reports on p. 37 that Bentheim sandstone from Germany and Italian marble were also used for facade ornamentation.

40. John L. Cotter, *Archeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia,* rev. ed. (Richmond, Va.: Archaeological Society of Virginia, 1994), 121–29; and Edward Chappell, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, personal communication with author, 1998.

41. James G. Gibb and Al Luckenbach, *Ceramic and Tobacco Pipe Seriations of Five 17th Century Domestic Sites in Anne Arundel County, Maryland.* Anne Arundel County's Lost Towns Project, Annapolis, Maryland. Submitted to the Maryland State Highway Administration, Baltimore, Maryland, 1997, 19.

42. Jan Kupp, "Dutch Notarial Acts Relating to the Tobacco Trade of Virginia, 1608–1653," *William and Mary Quarterly* 30(4): 653–55.

43. Sopko, *Analysis of Dutch Bricks;* Jan Kupp, "Dutch Notarial Acts Relating to the Tobacco Trade of Virginia; Karina Paape, "From Nansemond to Providence: The Quest for Piety and Profit in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake" (master's thesis, Univ. of Maryland–Baltimore County, 1997), 8–9; Sopko reports that most Dutch sailing vessels used "Dutch" yellow brick as ballast, which could be sold with the cargo. He suggests that the frequent Dutch trade vessels arriving in the settlement may have supplied a sufficient quantity of yellow brick for use in construction during the early years (*Analysis of Dutch Bricks,* 46–48).