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AMBITION IN BRICK; THE WILLIAM BROWN HOUSE, 1758-1785

University of Delaware (Winterthur Program)

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AMBITION IN BRICK;
THE WILLIAM BROWN HOUSE, 1758-1785

By
Margaret A. Brown

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Winterthur Program of Early American Culture.


December 1984

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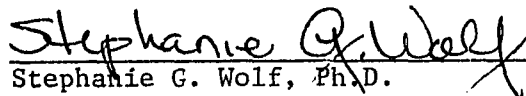
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Approved: Bernard L. Herman
Bernard L. Herman, Ph.D.
Professor in charge of thesis

The William Brown House, a two story, all header bond brick structure, was an extraordinary building for its time and place. The house was built between 1758 and 1764 in the tobacco region of Anne Arundel County, Maryland by a cabinetmaker William Brown. This study concentrates on William Brown the builder and first tenant of the house, exploring his original architectural message and what the concrete form of the building tells about him and the patterns at work in shaping his choices. It is the aim of this paper to combine the analysis of information actually contained in the physical structure of the building with the analysis of primary documentary evidence and a wide variety of secondary sources to examine the implications of the William Brown House as a specific, concrete, embodiment of a number of cultural options expressed through architecture.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter I: The Setting and Physical Description of the William Brown House	7
Chapter II: The History of William Brown	23
Chapter III: The Implications of Building in Brick	32
Chapter IV: The Floor Plan and its Significance as an Architectural Choice	47
Conclusion	57
Footnotes	81
Bibliography	89

TABLE OF CHARTS AND TABLES

Table I: 1798 Direct Tax Assessment	79
Table II: Four Room Plan Houses in Anne Arundel County	80

Perched on a bluff overlooking the South River near Annapolis, Maryland, stands the William Brown House, while below the sound of a modern gasoline powered, speed boat rips across the thick summer air. The last tangible structure from the once bustling port of London Town, the William Brown House sits back from the main road removed from the cluster of cramped bungalows that have come to cover the shores of the South River. The quiet that surrounds the salmon colored, brick house is the silence of time passing a house which has not only outlived its fellows, but survived the reshaping of the Chesapeake landscape as well. In the blare of television sets and the roar of power boats, it is the William Brown House which is an anomaly; not its modern neighbors. As the last surviving link with the eighteenth-century, tidewater port of London Town, Maryland, the William Brown House is an important historical document. The challenge of using architecture, and this house in particular, as historical evidence arises when one is faced with translating the physical evidence inherent in this remaining three-dimensional structure into abstract indications of cultural choice and influence.

Using architecture as a form of evidence to gain a better understanding of a particular culture is not a new idea. Buildings have long been recognized as a form of communication, whose meanings and messages are complex and simultaneously exist on several different

levels.¹ The study of architecture tends to fall into two major patterns of organization: the single building study, and the group survey. Neither of these categories of architectural study is the sole prerogative of any one discipline within the social sciences. However, certain disciplines tend to cluster either around single building studies or multiple structure studies, reflecting the types of interests and questions central to each branch of the social sciences. The examination of two or more structures grouped together either by geographic region, economic class, or specific building type is generally concerned with the problems of cultural diffusion, internal perceptions or structures defining building form, and questions of social class manifest through architecture. These studies are generally produced by scholars attached to the fields of ethnography, social anthropology, cultural geography, and American studies.² The more traditional approach to architecture has been the single building study. The structures that survive and which are consequently singled out for individual study tend to be spectacular, odd or visually engaging, and were usually built for--and used by--individuals at the upper end of the social scale. Traditionally, these studies have been undertaken by art historians and scholars of American studies, and reflect their concern with the patron, designer, and builder of a structure. Here the end product of reading the architecture is a heightened sense of the achievements of a particular individual in the context of his society.³ The goal of the present inquiry is to stretch the boundaries of the single structure study beyond the central patron,

designer, builder scenario in an attempt to explore some additional questions of how other types of cultural influences are manifest in architecture and what the interpretation of these influences can reflect back on our knowledge of Maryland tidewater culture.

The William Brown House had gone through several hands and its meaning, significance, and connotations have changed with the passage of time. Today we are faced with looking at the building through the many layers of meaning that have accumulated through the years. This study concentrates on William Brown, the builder and first tenant of the house, exploring his original architectural message and what the concrete form of the building tells about him and the patterns at work in shaping his choices. What follows fits the traditional image of a single building study in that the William Brown House is at the uppermost end of the architectural scale for its location and the time period of its construction, roughly from 1758 to 1764.⁴

However, by carefully reconstructing the architectural context surrounding the Brown House for the years in which William Brown worked, I hope to go beyond the traditional questions asked of this type of building. Too many assumptions have been made and maintained about domestic houses at the upper economic end of the colonial architectural scale, and their interpretation has been thought to be obvious and self evident to the casual observer. The questions usually asked of such buildings include ones concerning the aristocratic lineage of the client who had the house constructed, how closely the

house fits English design ideals expressed in published architectural design books, and how the life style of the Colonists in these large eighteenth-century houses met or failed to meet English aristocratic standards.⁵ Scholars of vernacular architecture have begun to investigate buildings at the other end of the spectrum, and hotly debate questions which strike at the deeper issues of architecture as a three-dimensional embodiment of cultural forces. What elements must be present in the "minimum house" at varying economic levels before it is considered substandard? How does the organization of space and the changes in that type of organization reflect social values in a culture? These are just two of the types of questions currently under discussion by scholars of the vernacular.⁶ This type of inquiry should not be the sole prerogative of scholars of vernacular architecture. The study of so called "academic" styles of colonial architecture could benefit enormously from this same sort of inquiry. Thus, it is the aim of this study to combine the analysis of the information actually contained in the physical structure of the building with the analysis of primary documentary evidence concerning the William Brown House and a wide variety of secondary sources to explore some of the implications of the William Brown House as a specific, concrete, embodiment of a number of cultural options expressed through architecture.

Any investigation of the physical evidence contained in the Brown House must include a close examination of the actual fabric of the building. What does the use of brick indicate about the William

Brown House and William Brown as an individual? In addition, what are the implications involved in the very complicated way in which the brick was manipulated? Other physical evidence must also be studied including an examination of the floor plan, its sources, and the reasoning behind the arrangement of interior spaces in the Brown House. The examination of primary documentary evidence involves looking at deeds, inventories, court records, newspapers, and tax records. These records in a sense help to fill the vacuum surrounding the William Brown House as it stands today. The primary evidence provides a context, a network of facts to weigh against the structure of the house itself. One of the most important primary documents used in this paper to provide a context for the house is the 1798 Federal Direct Tax Assessment.⁷ The detailed study of this tax assessment, which listed the material, number of stories, overall size of the floor plan, and monetary valuation in dollars for every house standing in Anne Arundel County, Maryland in 1798, is of crucial importance in reconstructing the probable architectural community that surrounded the William Brown House. The study of the Direct Tax Assessment is invaluable because it allowed a more accurate assessment of the Brown House and its place in an architectural scale by recording the hundreds of smaller houses which have since disappeared from the landscape without a trace. Secondary sources, such as Gregory Stiverson's, Poverty in the Land of Plenty, and Reiny Kelly's, Quakers in Anne Arundel County, provide the much needed information on the social and economic background surrounding the architectural community of which the William Brown House

was a part. In the end, these lines of inquiry must be woven together to produce a rich interpretation of the levels of meaning present in the William Brown House.

THE SETTING AND PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE WILLIAM BROWN HOUSE

The William Brown House, built between 1758 and 1764 is located in Anne Arundel County, Maryland just southwest of Annapolis on the site of the once bustling port of London Town. London Town, a designated port of entry, was situated on a small neck of land jutting out from the southern shores of the South River between Mitchell Creek and Shipping Creek. Often noted as just "London" on early maps of the Chesapeake tidewater area, London Town was created in 1683 after the "Town Act" was passed by the Maryland Assembly.⁸ Under pressure from Maryland's Proprietor Lord Baltimore II and his council, the Maryland Assembly passed the "Town Act" in an attempt to control the tobacco trade more closely through town development.

The county in which London Town is located, Anne Arundel, was founded in 1650. The rich sandy loam soil and several navigable rivers made the area an ideal location for the growing of tobacco. Anne Arundel County was rapidly settled during the seventeenth century through direct immigration from the British Isles, and by planters moving northward from more densely settled areas in St. Mary's County. Although the county was rapidly populated, settlements remained diffuse as planters, large and small, preferred to spread out and work the land separately rather than settle in villages or collectives.⁹ The scattered nature of this type of settlement made collecting

tariffs and taxes expensive and more burdensome on the proprietary government than the collection of taxes had been in the more densely settled areas of England. Thus, the "Town Act" was passed stipulating that all exports and imports would be required to pass through thirty-one designated sites in the colony of Maryland. One hundred acres were set aside at the site of each designated town, and commissioners were appointed for each county to carry out the organization and sale of lots under this new legislation.¹⁰

The Town Act, as an effort on the part of the Proprietor to centralize trade and to facilitate the task of collecting tariffs and monitoring customs regulations, was only moderately successful. Most of the designated town sites were so inconvenient for export traffic they never developed. Another element which lessened the impact of the Town Act was the fact that many planters with waterfront property continued throughout the first three quarters of the eighteenth century to load or unload cargos directly from their own docks.

Because of its central location in Anne Arundel County, London Town was one of the few designated sites actually to be developed. A court house was quickly completed in the early 1680s in an effort to settle the county legislature in London Town. Unfortunately for the subsequent growth of the town, in 1695 the county court moved from London Town to Annapolis.¹¹ After London Town lost its advantage as a political center to Annapolis, its main viability lay in its geographic location, serving as the terminus for seven roads which ran

through the county. The most frequented north/south land route for the first half of the eighteenth century ran up from Virginia through Anne Arundel County, and crossed the South River to Annapolis at London Town. The London Town Ferry was established in the 1690s and operated continuously into the mid-nineteenth century.¹² Outside of Annapolis, London Town was the major port for the loading of tobacco in Anne Arundel County for those planters located in the interior of the county who did not have access to waterfront property. The town enjoyed its greatest period of prosperity in the 1730s when it numbered forty houses, rivaling Annapolis both in population and in the number of ships anchored there.

By 1750 Annapolis began to overshadow London Town as the major port of entry in Anne Arundel County. The most crucial blow to London Town's development came with the passage of the 1747 "Tobacco Inspection Act." This act was passed to combat the severe depression in the tobacco trade which had dragged on throughout the 1740s. It was an attempt to raise the price of tobacco by regulating the quality of the crop exported from Maryland. The "Tobacco Inspection Act" stipulated that all tobacco would have to pass through appointed inspection stations where it would be processed for export, and all "trash" tobacco would be confiscated and burned.¹³ For unexplained reasons, London Town was not chosen as an inspection station. In a single stroke, the main justification for London Town as an urban center ceased to exist.

Thus, in 1758 when William Brown bought two lots from Steven West, Jr. for one hundred and fifty pounds and started work on his large brick house, London Town as a port of entry was already seriously overshadowed by Annapolis. One of the county's major economic figures, the Scottish merchant James Dick, continued to live and operate one of his warehouses in London Town despite the fact that he owned and operated a warehouse in Annapolis itself. Also, the fact that William Brown chose to build such a large house in the town indicated that hopes for London Town's viability were still held by some individuals long after the crippling "Tobacco Inspection Act" was passed. The William Brown House itself was large enough and startling enough when it was built to keep London Town a landmark on the South River.

The most striking aspect of the Brown House's architectural statement is its departure from the traditional building practices of the surrounding community. Community here is used loosely, starting with the town of London Town itself and expanding outward in ever enlarging concentric circles to include Anne Arundel County, the lower counties of Western Shore Maryland, and the tidewater counties of Virginia. In size, material, and plan London Town represented a break with the norm of other domestic houses in the local area of Anne Arundel County.

In sheer size, London Town was a rarity. According to the 1798 Direct Tax Assessment for Anne Arundel County, only 12% of all buildings had two stories. A study of the 1798 Direct Tax Assessment,

discussed in greater detail in chapter three, also revealed that the choice of brick as the main construction material places the William Brown House in the top four percent of all domestic building. At the time the Brown House was built, this percentage may possibly have been even smaller, as the 1798 tax assessment includes a thirty year accumulation of buildings erected after the Brown House, with survivals probably outnumbering disappearances of the brick buildings surveyed. The cross hall plan with an entrance, hall, and four corner rooms was an incredibly urban and modern statement placed in a building system dominated by one room plans, hall/parlor plans, and a newly emerging single pile symmetrical Georgian plan with a central passage dividing the hall and parlor. Thus, when built, the William Brown House was an architectural statement of startling magnitude.

Examining the Brown House in greater detail, one finds the house is a two-story, hipped roof, brick structure resting on a roughly coursed stone foundation. The building consists of a single block 50 feet by 40 feet and approximately 49 feet high measured from the ground level of the facade to the top of the chimneys. The fenestration on all four sides is symmetrically arranged with an exterior door piercing the first floor, central bay on each side. The seven bay facade is 50 feet in length, while the opposing wall (hereafter designated the garden facade) has only five bays with an additional door into the cellar under the central exterior door of the first floor. The two side walls are both of three bays each with a central exterior door on the first floor.

The brick walls of the Brown House rest on the stone foundation. The stone walls of the cellar and foundations for the house extend up about six feet from the interior floor level of the cellar, and are visible about one foot above ground level on the facade. The land slopes sharply toward the rear of the building exposing more of the stone wall until, on the garden facade, nearly the full cellar is exposed with its central exterior door.

The stone foundation is galleted on the interior cellar wall, and on the exterior of the building. It is not known whether galleting, the pressing of small rock chips into the mortar between the stones of a wall before it sets, was thought to be a practical strengthening practice or merely a decorative touch by eighteenth-century masons. Galleting frequently occurs in conjunction with all header brick work in Maryland.¹⁴

The exterior walls are laid entirely in all header bond, including the raised watertable which runs along all four sides of the house. All header bond entailed the use of only the short or butt ends of a brick to form an exterior facing. The raised watertable is capped by two courses of molded bricks again laid in a header pattern. Separating the first and second story visually is a four course, raised, header belt course. The projecting belt course is unusually low being separated by only one course of bricks from the top of the arches over the window openings on the first floor.

4.

The principal entrance found on the eastern facade is given primary decorative treatment. The central three bays of the facade project outward and are topped by a pediment. The pediment is pierced by a semicircular, lunette attic window. All of the windows on the eastern facade including the cellar windows are further distinguished by the use of rubbed and gauged brick jack arches. The gauged work is very fine on the jack arches consisting of alternating vertical rows of one long brick and one short brick. The long bricks were scored at one end and the scored line filled with the same lime putty used for mortar for the rest of the arch. This filled score line gave the appearance of a third vertical brick in the overall design. The window openings for the other three sides were all finished with less elaborate semicircular segmental arches. The shallow hip roof, sometimes called a deck on hip, is of principle pirlin frame construction. The original roofing material was probably wooden shingles.¹⁵

The two interior chimneys are three feet by eight feet laid in English bond except for the exterior stacks which are laid in all header bond. The chimneys are topped with a two course corbel cap and finished with a recessed course. The last course is modern on both chimneys and there is some debate over the accuracy of this arrangement.

In contrast to the finely executed exterior masonry elements, the exterior woodwork is much simpler in design. According to archaeological testing done in 1970, the steps to the front door were

constructed of brick and were the same width as the front entrance, approximately four feet, seven inches. The majority of the footing for the stairs was destroyed during the nineteenth century. The number of risers is purely conjectural as is the present open arch at the back of the stairs. On the river side of the building archaeological testing uncovered two small brick supports. It was conjectured that these piers were supports for the wooden posts that formed the frame and carriage structure of the stoop and steps. The decision to add a roof to this porch was not made in response to any authenticated sources of information. The design of the porch was clearly conjectural and follows fairly closely an earlier nineteenth-century porch removed during the restoration of the house.¹⁶ The design for the wooden post stairs over the cellar door up to the first floor on the garden side of the building is pure speculation. There were no uncovered post holes on that side of the building, and the ground around the area was very disturbed. It was reasoned that the back entrance would be of a simpler construction, and that led to the present design. The wooden steps on the south side of the house are again purely conjectural.¹⁷

The windows for the entire building excepting the cellar openings are framed single hung sash windows. The first floor windows had a nine-over-nine glass pane arrangement, while the second story windows being slightly shorter have a nine-over-six glass pane arrangement.

The first floor exterior doors were of raised fielded panels with sunken panels on the reverse side. All the doors have raised paneled jambs which correspond to the panel design of the door. The exterior facade door and opposing garden facade door had a ten panel arrangement, and the shorter two side doors had an eight panel design. The difference in height was partially offset by the presence of a four pane glass transom above each side door. The front and garden door were original as was the northern side door. The southern side door closest to the road, however, was a recent replacement and a direct copy of the other side door. The plain wooden surround of the front door is unusual on a house of this size and probably was meant to receive the nails for a more elaborate door surround. There is no evidence, however, of nail holes in the surround which suggests that the exterior decoration of the house was never completed.

The wooden cornice on the William Brown House is also somewhat idiosyncratic. The cornice's design of raised square panels separated by narrow vertical slots is unlike most other cornices on houses of a similar size in Annapolis and vicinity. The pattern is, however, very close to the cornice used on the Upton Scott House, located in Annapolis, except that brackets, not vertical slots, separate the raised square panels. This again points to the possibility that the cornice on the William Brown House was not finished and the vertical slots were meant to hold brackets.

If the exterior woodwork of the William Brown House was simply finished, the execution of interior details for the cross hall plan with its four corner rooms were even less elaborate. The full cellar was very simply finished with the exposed walls, beams, and floor joists whitewashed. A modern poured concrete floor has erased all traces of an earlier floor probably of dry laid brick or hard packed earth.¹⁸ The northwest, northeast, and southeast corner rooms were used for storage and each contained a relieving arch of brick for the hearths above. The southwest corner room, however, was treated differently. The ceiling was plastered over and in place of a relieving arch is a fireplace. The presence of a fireplace and plastered ceiling indicate that the room was probably finished for use as sleeping quarters possibly for Brown's servants or slaves. The room directly under the hall has a large fireplace, which suggests that this was the original kitchen for the house.

The walls of the first and second floors were finished in the eighteenth century with a multi-layered plaster coat directly over the brick. During the 1971 restoration, when the plaster was removed, it was discovered that the original coat of plaster continued up between the floor joists to the floor boards of the second story. The sections of plaster between the joists and above the line of the later plaster ceiling were covered with carbon particles. These carbon particles could only have been deposited by fires in first and second floor hearths if the ceilings had been left unfinished for some time.

Judging from the amount of carbon particles deposited, the ceiling probably remained unfinished for about ten years.¹⁹

Only one of the four interior doors used for the four corner rooms has survived. The interior door leading from the northeast corner room to the cross passage is original with a wooden six raised, fielded, panel arrangement. The interior doors now installed in the other three corner rooms are reproductions based on the northeast door.²⁰ An interesting note is the fact that William Brown altered the floor plan of the house approximately five to ten years after the structure was completed, bricking up the passage from the entrance to the northeast corner room. It was reopened during the 1971 restoration. The opening clearly had a lintel and sill, yet there were no nail holes in the nailers embedded in the jamb, suggesting that either the plaster walls wrapped around the opening without a jamb or that the wooden jamb was merely a board wedged between the sill and lintel. In either case there is no surviving evidence to indicate the presence of a hinged door. The opening into the southeast corner room from the entrance was also blocked off during the early part of the nineteenth century. Although there was some evidence of nail holes in the nailers under the jamb, it was left open so both northeast and southeast corner rooms have an open passage to the entrance hall.²¹

On the first floor there are five hearths, one in each corner room and one in the hall. The same pattern is repeated on the second story as well. In the cellar, as mentioned earlier, the main cooking

fireplace was located under the fireplace in the hall, and a smaller fireplace was located in the southwest cellar corner room under the hearth of the first floor southwest fireplace. The first floor fireplace openings are finished with a simple wooden surround four-and-a-half inches wide edged with a plain wooden bead. The inside opening of the fireplaces is in the form of a semicircular brick arch which was left exposed during the 1971 restorations. More common practice during the eighteenth century would have been to plaster the section of the arch not covered by the wooden fireplace surround.

The interior brickwork where exposed is English bond. This suggests that all the interior walls might be of English bond, which is made up of alternating courses of headers and stretchers, and is one of the strongest of all brick bonds.²² The stripped section also reveals the poor quality of the brick and crude masonry used for the interior walls, walls which were never meant to be exposed. The relatively soft or poor quality brick used for the interior walls often referred to as "same1" brick came from the extremities of the kiln or clamp and consisted of bricks which had not been fired as thoroughly as the bricks used for the exterior. The softer brick was used for interior work because it was easier to damage and less impervious to water, and on the interior it was relatively protected from the elements.²³ Again, this lesser quality brick was never meant to be seen.

The only fireplace to have a mantle is the one found in the hall. This mantle is modern and was not based on any physical

evidence found during the restoration. All four of the fireplaces in the corner rooms have a small alcove formed by a supporting arch in the brick wall closest to the interior of the house. The arch is substantially shallower in the northwest and southwest corner rooms since the same space also houses flues coming from the cellar fireplaces located directly under these two rooms.

An unusual feature of the fireplaces on the first floor and in the cellar is the slight cove where the chimney meets the ceiling. The cove to the ceiling is also present on the three corner room supporting arches in the cellar and may have been to lend additional support for the hearths above.

The (fireplace) hearths for all five first floor fireplaces are of squared slate blocks. During the nineteenth century all the hearths except the northwest corner room hearth were removed. The hearth in the northwest corner room had been laid in slate, and so the restoration team in 1971 decided to use slate hearths for the rest of the building.²⁴

The first floor windows are all nine-over-nine, frame, single hung, sash construction. Many windows still contain panes of hand manufactured window glass. The windows are set into deep wells which are framed on all four sides by boards four-and-one-half inches wide with mitered corners.

Not much of the eighteenth century interior woodwork has survived, but what remains is extremely simple. The northeast and northwest corner rooms and the hall were all missing their baseboards. The northwest corner room was also missing its chair rail. Due to the lack of any evidence to the contrary, the restoration team in 1971 replaced these missing parts with copies of molding and woodwork taken from other rooms.²⁵ The basic restored woodwork details for the first and second story are the same for all the rooms. The juncture of the wall to ceiling was finished with a half-inch rounded bead. The chair rail for each room was a flat board about four inches wide with two beaded edges. The other woodwork dating to the eighteenth century in the house are the two cupboards built into the supporting arches next to the fireplaces in the northeast and northwest corner rooms. Both cupboards have shelves with two raised panel doors. The panel arrangement on both consists of two raised panels one atop the other forming the top hinged door, and one large panel for the bottom hinged door. The cupboards were probably added sometime between 1780 and 1800.

The woodwork not found in the Brown House also sheds some light on William Brown's subsequent use of the house. After the plaster was removed from the interior of the house in 1971 nailers were revealed in all four of the corner rooms.²⁶ Nailers are pieces of wood roughly the size of a brick stretcher implanted in interior brick walls to provide a place where wood or plaster wall paneling could be secured into the brick walls. The presence of nailers suggests that

at one time the builder intended to fully panel from floor to ceiling the four corner rooms. The rooms were never paneled and the wooden nailers were covered over without ever receiving a nail. This again suggests the house was never fully finished on the inside during the eighteenth century.

The original random width wooden floor boards for the first and second stories were of pine, and were replaced during the 1971 restoration with eighteenth-century Georgia Pine random width floor boards moved from an eighteenth-century warehouse in Baltimore.²⁷

Most of the period hardware is reproduction, installed during the 1971 restoration. Two of the hinges on the one original interior door may date from the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The brass box locks on all four exterior doors are modern reproductions. The restoration team did uncover places for three large hooks for the hanging of lighting devices of some sort equally spaced in the ceiling of the long cross passage. The three-inch hooks now in use are also modern.

The Brown House, as we have seen, was a large and impressive domestic dwelling. It was well built and the exterior masonry was particularly fine in its execution, yet it had several important inconsistencies. The exterior wooden trim does not match the level of intricacy and craftsmanship of the brickwork, and the interior woodwork is still less ornate than the exterior. By focusing on William Brown's personal background and career, one can begin to explore the

reasons for the anomalies by considering the role of the house and where it fit into the pattern of William Brown's life. The knowledge of William Brown's background and economic activities can build on and help to flesh out the skeletal context for the house so far provided. With this added depth of context, one can then examine the implications inherent in the physical aspects of the house more closely.

THE HISTORY OF WILLIAM BROWN

Who was William Brown? In order to understand the significance of the Brown House and its underlying architectural message, it is important to examine the career and background of the man who built it. For one thing, the biography of William Brown may help to dispel some of the assumptions and myths about this type of large house, and the men who built on such a startling scale. As we shall see from our study of William Brown, not all who built large brick houses were rich, established planters descended from powerful well established families. Nor were all of the houses of this size and scale built as lavish displays of already accumulated wealth.

Unfortunately, throughout the eighteenth century there was more than one William Brown living in Anne Arundel County, and it is often very difficult to separate them in the legal documents. It seems most probable, however, that our William Brown was born in 1727, the younger son of a small, but moderately well-off tobacco planter named Robert Brown. During the late seventeenth century, the opportunity had existed for ingenious quick-witted individuals to make their fortunes in the production and sale of tobacco. However, erratic cycles of boom and bust in the tobacco market during the eighteenth century, had more or less closed this window of opportunity by mid century, and the surer road to wealth lay in a combination of

entrepreneurial ventures.²⁸ By the 1750s, wealth and land ownership in Maryland had become concentrated in a few hands. Over half of all heads of households were tenants, most of whom lived in poverty, barely raising enough tobacco to pay each year's debts.²⁹ This certainly held true for Anne Arundel County, an area almost solely dependent on the raising of tobacco throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. The cultivation and ownership of land continued to be a status symbol, but the road to wealth lay in mercantilism, land speculation, milling lumber, and tanning. William Brown's career is interesting because it reflects how an individual on a moderate scale set out to cope with this shifting, cyclical, economic situation.

As a younger son, it is probable that William Brown took up the trade of cabinetmaker because he stood little chance of supporting himself on his expected portion of his father's estate. William Brown's father, Robert Brown, was the only son of Abel Brown a Scotsman from Dumfries, Scotland, who had arrived in Anne Arundel County, Maryland by way of Bermuda as early as 1682.³⁰ He became High Sheriff for the county in 1691-1692 and a county justice in 1692 and 1694. When Abel Brown died in February 1701/1702, he left the tract where he resided, called "Harwood," containing 150 acres on the Road River in Anne Arundel County, and "Abell's Lot," 300 acres near the Bush River in Baltimore County, to his only son Robert.³¹ Robert Brown had twelve children with William being one of the youngest. Robert Brown died in 1769 long after William was established in London Town, and in

his will dated 1765, left one shilling to his son, William.³² Scottish ties, though never clearly stated, seem to have been an undercurrent in William Brown's life. In 1762, he sent his second son, William Brown, Jr., to Edinburgh, Scotland at the age of eleven. There is no surviving documentation for why the boy was sent or even for how long he stayed.³³ It is significant, nevertheless, that Brown had the ties and the financial wherewithal to send his son back to Scotland. In addition, one of William Brown's closest economic ties was to James Dick, a substantial merchant and member of a prominent mercantile family who arrived in Anne Arundel County from Edinburgh in 1734.³⁴ Little research has been done on Scottish influences in Maryland, but evidence related to William Brown makes it appear likely that Scottish ties were more widespread than once suspected.³⁵

The first records of William Brown living in London Town refer to him as a cabinetmaker.³⁶ No account books, ledgers, or furniture attributable to William Brown's shop have surfaced, so there is no direct evidence to clarify the size and extent of his business. However, there are a few documents which hint that it may, indeed, have been fairly extensive. Twice in the Maryland Gazette, William Brown advertised for runaway indentured servants. The first ad was in the June 14, 1753 issue and was for the recovery of two indentured servants, Philip Williams, a cabinet and chairmaker by trade, and Henry Gibbons, a carpenter. Brown advertised again in 1757 for a convict servant, Edward Merriott, a joiner by trade.³⁷ Convict and indentured servants are less expensive to employ than apprentices and journeymen,

yet, the fact that he needed this extra help may indicate a steady demand for Brown's services. A trespass case lodged against Brown in 1757 provides evidence that he ordered table hinges from Britain and that he did repair work as well.³⁸ Typical of other eighteenth century cabinetmakers, William Brown also made extra money at least in one case by providing a coffin and burying an individual.³⁹

Brown is referred to as a "cabinetmaker" and "joiner" right up to his death in the early 1790s. The use of the term "joiner" may indicate that William Brown expanded his woodworking activities to include architectural elements as well. In addition, the fact that he was sometimes referred to as a "carpenter" and employed an indentured carpenter may also imply that Brown worked on architectural projects. If the reference to "joiner" or "carpenter" meant that William Brown took on joinery of all kinds, there is very little evidence surviving to clarify whether he engaged in house carpentry as well. There is one reference, however, to William Brown in the role of "undertaker." A case was brought to Chancery Court in 1785 by the trustees of St. Anne's church in Annapolis over the failure of the "undertaker," a position similar to a modern head contractor, to complete the rebuilding of the church or to produce accurate records of his expenditures. Dr. Upton Scott testified that it was possible to produce accurate building records, as he had in his possession an account of his own house by Mr. William Brown.⁴⁰ The Upton Scott House is the closest in exterior treatment and floor plan to the William Brown House, and it is possible that Brown served as the undertaker for the house. The

Scott House was finished in 1764 at about the same time as the Brown House. Having assembled the workmen and materials for his own house it would have been relatively easy for Brown to organize the building of another similar house or vice versa. Although William Brown continued to be referred to as a "cabinetmaker" throughout his life, he quickly began to branch out into other fields after establishing himself in London Town in the early 1750s.

One of the first of his alternative ventures involved operation of the South River Ferry. During the eighteenth century, in this area penetrated by several rivers, ferries were a vital transportation link and therefore closely regulated by Anne Arundel County Courts. A ferry keeper was well paid and expected to provide a boat and two able hands for immediate passage of individuals from sunrise to sunset year round. Prices were fixed and the keeper was expected to maintain accurate account books for each year. The first surviving mention of William Brown in his new role is in an advertisement he placed in the Maryland Gazette in October of 1755:

Notice is hereby given, That the Subscriber, now living in the house at London Town, where Mr. West, deceased, formerly dwelt, has provided himself with good Boats and skillful Hands; as also with good Beds, Liquors, and Provinder for Horses; All Gentlemen who shall think for to favor him with their custom, may depend on a quick Passage over the Ferry good Entertainment, and civil usage, from Their Humble Servant

William Brown

N.B. He still continues his Business of a Joyner and Cabinet Maker, and can furnish any Body with the neatest and newest fashion'd Chairs, Tables, &c at the lowest rates.⁴¹

The first recorded license for keeping the South River Ferry was granted to William Brown and Jacob Lusby jointly in 1757. However, from the advertisement above it seems likely that William Brown was keeping the ferry earlier than this. William Brown continued to keep the South River Ferry, often jointly with Jacob Lusby, until he removed from London Town in the 1780s. Through the years the fee rose from about forty pounds sterling apiece a year, to almost seventy pounds a year per person. This was not a sum to be taken lightly.⁴² In addition to running the ferry, William Brown also took out an ordinary license, the first of which was granted in 1753. Brown continued to renew his license almost every year until 1771.⁴³

No complete records are available to determine how much income Brown derived from innkeeping or how many people he was actually required to house at any one time, but the two surviving ferry account books for the years 1778 and 1779 help to shed some light on this subject. In two years, only three individuals actually stayed overnight, and each time this was for only one night. The vast majority of the charges listed were for the selling of alcoholic libations to passengers waiting to cross on the ferry.⁴⁴ By law William Brown was required to provide housing for any passengers prevented from crossing the ferry by inclement weather. The ordinary or inn license might have been William Brown's way of combining the two to bring in extra cash.

The need for working capital, always a problem in a single crop economy such as Maryland's, resulted in a complex economic system built on an intricate web of credit.⁴⁵ William Brown, like many of the rising entrepreneurs of his generation, engaged in borrowing and lending money. Sometimes this credit took the form of land indentures leading very easily to land speculation. The only evidence left for some of William Brown's activities are the court records, mostly in the form of deeds and the judgements handed down by the county court. If the surviving record is any indication, Brown must have spent a considerable amount of time in court. He is mentioned no less than ninety-eight times in the Judgement Records of the Provincial Court for Anne Arundel County. Thirty of the ninety-eight cases were the renewal of licenses for the ordinary Brown kept and for the keeping of the South River Ferry. Another fourteen judgements comprised miscellaneous civil cases. The rest, however, involved the collection of money by one party or another. The action "trespass on the case," for collecting debts, comprised more than ninety percent of civil suits for the colony of Maryland during the eighteenth century. This may indeed have been the inevitable consequence of a society which rested on a tissue of debt.⁴⁶ The cases of trespass against William Brown ranged from moderate sums of five pounds sterling up to one large sum of seven hundred pounds sterling William Brown owed the heirs of James Dick's estate in 1785. More typically, the sums borrowed fell between ten and forty pounds current money of Maryland.⁴⁷ It is important to stress that these records are incomplete. Cases are

sometimes written up only to be adjourned to the next court session and then obviously settled out of court, for they are never mentioned again. Also, the records seem to indicate that these cases were sometimes more involved than a simple two-way collection of a debt. In 1755, William Brown deeded some household furniture and some livestock to John Dorsey. John Dorsey had paid sixteen pounds current money of Maryland to a merchant Rowland Carnan for a debt William Brown owed.⁴⁸ Another example occurred in 1765 when Brown sold Samuel Chase esq. of Annapolis forty one acres of "Brown's Discovery" located on the South River for only two pounds seven pence sterling.⁴⁹ Going through the court records, one finds that Chase acted as Brown's attorney for several previous court cases and this transaction may have actually included what Brown owed Chase by keeping the price of the land low.

A good example of how land speculation developed from this type of credit can be found in a transaction involving a tract of land "Denton's Holme." In April, 1764, Joseph Gill a merchant from Dorchester County borrowed 420 pounds sterling from William Brown. Gill indentured a tract of land called "Denton's Holme" in Dorchester County as security in case he did not repay the debt by January, 1765. By 1767, Joseph Gill still had not paid the debt so William Brown had the property legally transferred to him in Chancery Court. Then, in 1768, he sold "Denton's Holme" to Joseph Cowman of Anne Arundel County for 600 pounds sterling, realizing almost 200 pounds sterling on the deal.⁵⁰ William Brown also joined the ranks of the moderately sized tobacco planters with his purchase, in 1763, of a 300 acre

plantation called "Covel's Cove" for the sum of four hundred and seventy pounds ten shillings six pence sterling.⁵¹

As already stressed, the court records may be only a partial picture of the complex system of credit operating in the Chesapeake during the eighteenth century. There may have been many more informal loans which were never recorded in court cases. However, the recorded court cases give some indication of the economic activities of an individual. All of this is important because it shows that on a moderate economic level William Brown could manipulate a complex credit system and accrue enough credit to build the Brown House. In 1758, for the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, he bought two lots numbered 84 and 72 in London Town from Stephen West, Jr. and by 1764 the Brown House was completed.⁵² What emerges from the study of county court records and land deeds is an indication that William Brown was not just a simple cabinetmaker, or innkeeper but a man who had many small investments. Brown was able to command enough credit to borrow 500 pounds sterling from the London Town merchant James Dick to build the Brown House.⁵² Five hundred pounds was a great deal of money in the eighteenth century and borrowing it was a large financial gamble. Obviously, this house was very important to Brown. Knowing this, what does the study of the house itself add to our understanding of William Brown.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF BUILDING IN BRICK

A careful examination of the elements which make up the three-dimensional physical structure of a house can reveal a great deal about the individual who had the house built, but to make deductions from the three-dimensional evidence to the cultural choices which influenced its physical structure, the house must be placed in the context of the built environment at the time of its construction. The phrase "built environment" is used here to mean not only the numbers and types of buildings standing in Anne Arundel County when the Brown House was built, but the cultural influences, traditions and innovations which were also present, if not always visible. In the two hundred and twenty years since the William Brown House was completed, the surrounding environment has changed dramatically and, with it, the subsequent interpretations of the Brown House. This chapter will deal primarily with the exterior of the Brown House and its implications.

The first step in assessing the exterior is to recreate, as accurately as possible, the building practices in Anne Arundel County at the time William Brown started his house.

The 1798 Direct Tax Assessment for Maryland was organized by counties, and each county was broken down by hundreds.⁵³ In Anne Arundel County, there were twenty such hundreds with a separate

commissioner appointed to survey each pair of hundreds. While the ten commissioners varied slightly in the depth of detail each recorded, the essential information for the direct tax assessment remained consistent from survey to survey. As already mentioned, each survey contained the size, number of stories, the type of fabric used for the exterior of a house, the number of outbuildings directly around the house, the number of acres the owner of the house possessed, and a value in dollars for the house and the land. From the available evidence it seems clear that brick was not a common building material in Anne Arundel County during the eighteenth century. A statistical study of the direct tax assessment revealed that out of 1,600 houses in Anne Arundel County only one in every twenty-five was brick (see Table 1). Yet, nineteen of approximately forty-six houses listed were still standing in 1976, according to an architectural survey of Anne Arundel County undertaken by the Maryland Historical Trust. In addition, two stone dwellings survive as do twenty one- or two-room houses now surrounded by later additions.⁵⁴ From the entries in the 1798 Direct Tax Assessment it is clear that the overwhelming choice for housing material was wood. Whether of frame or log construction, most of the small plantation houses did not survive into the twentieth century. What did survive were those oddities either engulfed by later additions or built in a more desirable material such as brick or stone. The question of survivals is important, for the disappearance of the lower three fourths of the architectural scale has dulled modern appreciation for how startling the Brown House was as an

architectural statement in 1764. Today it is compared, perhaps unfavorable, to the larger, and often later, houses of Annapolis. However, during the 1760s the Brown House would have been an incredible departure from the small, wooden, one-room or hall/parlor plan houses which surrounded it.⁵⁵

There is evidence to suggest that the use of brick was so limited that not all wooden houses even had the luxury of brick chimneys. One commissioner, when surveying for the 1798 direct tax, began to specially note which houses did have brick chimneys. Unfortunately, he did not continue to note this throughout his survey. Thus, it is impossible to gain an accurate percentage of wooden houses with brick chimneys compared to those without. At the very least, the fact that the commissioner found it noteworthy at all indicates that brick chimneys were not as generally used as modern architectural scholars might suppose. The prevalence of the use of wooden chimneys is also suggested in an editorial comment found in the Maryland Gazette after a notice of the burning of a quarter on the South River on May 10, 1759:

Yesterday Afternoon a Quarter on South River was burnt down, with a Carpenter's Chest of Tools some Paper Money, and every Thing in it. That such Accidents do not happen oftenner (as long as that ridiculous saving Fashion of building wooden Chimneys continues) is more to be wondered at than that they do now and then happen.⁵⁶

What were the factors that determined or restricted the use of brick? The first was economics. To build in brick was more expensive; first, because the basic material was more expensive than wood, and secondly,

because one had to employ expensive specialists, masons, to lay the brick. While brick houses were built on a much smaller scale than the William Brown House, there is a certain point on the architectural scale below which the use of brick was precluded because of its expense.⁵⁷ The second factor determining any choice of materials was the personal preference of the individual having the house constructed. The third factor restricting the use of brick was the availability of skilled brick makers and masons to produce and lay the bricks. The William Brown House was the result of an obviously favorable combination of the three factors. As discussed earlier, William Brown was not only able to command enough credit to undertake the building of this house, he was also committed enough to this style of building to invest heavily in it.

In England during the second half of the eighteenth century, brick was the favored material for the exteriors of the moderately sized four-room plan houses from which the design of the Brown House was derived.⁵⁸ By choosing to build in this material, William Brown may have been demonstrating his preference for the up-to-date English style over local building traditions. Building in brick also connoted not only economic status but cultural permanence as well. Recent field work suggests that Anne Arundel County had a tradition of "impermanent" wooden architecture, and the survival rate of buildings from the seventeenth century and eighteenth century to the twentieth is correspondingly low.⁵⁹ Brick architecture on the other hand has a higher survival rate of about forty percent in Anne Arundel County.

It is also interesting to note that in Anne Arundel County, it was the Quakers who first began to build in a more permanent style, often using brick.⁶⁰ The reason for such an early adoption by the Quakers of more permanent building methods has not yet been thoroughly studied. Tentative arguments have suggested that concern for establishing permanent roots in Anne Arundel County and throughout Maryland motivated the Quakers to build more often in brick during the colonial period.⁶¹ So far, there has been no documentary evidence linking William Brown to the Quakers or their sphere of influence in Anne Arundel County. Brown, if he is the son of Robert Brown, was baptized in an Anglican church. As an adult, he was also a member of All Hallow's Anglican church for much of the time he spent in London Town. His closest economic connections were with James Dick the Scottish merchant of London Town who was also a member of All Hallow's church. Thus, William Brown's choice to build in brick was probably more influenced by the current style prevailing in England than by a religious attitude toward permanence. As we have seen, William Brown had enough credit to build a large brick house. He also had a personal motive, probably stylistic, but possibly related to a desire for permanence.

The third factor in building a brick house lay in the availability of bricks and skilled craftsmen to lay them in Anne Arundel County during the eighteenth century. The actual production of bricks in the English colonies commenced soon after settlement. Bricks were being produced in the Virginia Colony as early as 1611 at Henricopolis,

a short distance south of Richmond, and were exported from Jamestown to Bermuda in 1621. Brick yards and brick kilns were also found in Massachusetts by the late 1620s.⁶² An early colonial writer John Lawson in his, A New Voyage to Carolina, first published in 1708 states:

Good Bricks and Tiles are made, and several sorts of useful Earths, as Bole, Fullers-Earth, Oaker and Tobacco-pipe-clay are in great plenty...⁶³

Three factors favored the early production of brick in the colonies. The first was the wide availability of suitable brick earths. The second was the simplicity and low cost of the tools needed to make bricks. Thirdly, the technology was there since the method of brick manufacture changed very little from the middle ages through the eighteenth century.

Basically brick earth or clay was dug up on a site and mounded into great heaps anywhere from one to three years before it was worked. Autumn was considered the optimum time for digging the earth. The earth was piled in heaps for the action of the weather, especially frosts, to break it down to some extent. A year was considered the minimal time a clay must sit. Incorporating took place in the spring and involved the kneading out of pebbles and other debris, usually through treading the clay with bare feet. It was essential to remove such debris to prevent the cracking and shattering of bricks when they were fired. The mixing or kneading process was also important for combining different clays or sand and clay. Often, the brick earth in a deposit was too plastic, which led to excessive warping and cracking in the firing process. To combat this, brick makers used a clay

containing sand, or sand itself was added to the batch. One reason for the small number of "how to" or instruction manuals published on brick making was that though there was a continual process of trial and error due to the individual nature of surface clay deposits the basic principles for brick making remained standard for hundreds of years.⁶⁴

After the clay had been suitably weathered and prepared, the molding process began, usually during the summer months. The brick maker worked at a table with a set of wooden molds. The bottom of the mold, or stock as it was called, was nailed directly to the top of the table. The sides of the mold fit down over the stock, and the top of the mold was left open. The mold and table were then sprinkled with water or wet sand to prevent the clay from sticking. When everything was ready, the molder threw a lump of clay into the mold with some force. He then sliced the surplus from the top of the mold with a stick known as a strike or with a cutting wire on a bow. The brick was slid off the stock and carried in the mold or on two narrow boards called pallets to the drying ground to be laid out in a herringbone pattern. The bricks were then stacked, with gaps for air to circulate, to a height of ten rows. The ten rows were then covered with straw to protect them from the weather, and the drying stacks of bricks were known as hacks.

Burning seems to have been done in simple kilns or in clamps. Clamp, in the modern sense of the word, is defined as "stacked unfired bricks interspersed with wood, brush, or other fuel, often with a

wooden roof covering the bricks set on rough log supports." For firing the brick, the entire clamp was burned to the ground. The fire was maintained for roughly three days after which the bricks were fired. Unfortunately, contemporary sources use clamp and kiln interchangeably, so it is difficult to know how often clamps were used. It has been theorized that clamp firing was probably the most common method of burning bricks, from the medieval period through the eighteenth century, due to the fairly mobile nature of the trade, and the many one-time commissions awarded.

In England, the manufacturing of bricks was not really organized or centralized until well into the nineteenth century, but in the eighteenth century there were a few centers of brick production, especially those that grew up around London, to serve the needs of that expanding urban center. Throughout the rest of the country there were many itinerant brick makers who moved from site to site and produced from start to finish all the bricks for a house right on the premises. This type of loose organization was repeated in the colonies.⁶⁵

Unfortunately, there is no account book which survives for the building of the William Brown House. Thus, one cannot say for certain where the bricks for the building were produced. The Brown House was built just at a period of boom experienced by Anne Arundel County and Annapolis in the building of large brick houses, starting in the mid 1750s and lasting until the Revolution. During this time, there were two known permanent brick yards active in the area.⁶⁶ The first was

William Logan's yard located outside of Annapolis and advertised in the Maryland Gazette in 1769. The second was James Maccubbin's brickworks, located on his plantation on the South River, which he advertised in the Maryland Gazette in 1771. The location of the Brown House on London Town's South River waterfront would have made it fairly easy to ship bricks by water up from Annapolis or from Maccubbin's yard also on the South River.

It is also possible that the bricks were produced on the site by an itinerant brick maker. In addition to the permanent yards, there were several itinerant brick makers who advertised in the Maryland Gazette during the boom years of this building activity. The most illuminating advertisement was placed in the Maryland Gazette by William Vennell, who in November of 1757 referred to himself as "a brick/maker living near Annapolis:"

Gives the Public Notice, that he will make Bricks, and Burn them, and stand to the Lots, at 2/6 per Thousand, the Employer finding him Provisions and Hands; the Hands consist of Two men and Three Boys.⁶⁷

The total price covers only his services, all raw materials, as well as hands, were to be provided by the employer. With the help of two adults and three children, contemporary sources claim that one man could mold in one day, from five in the morning until eight at night, three thousand bricks. Whether the bricks for the Brown House were produced in a brick yard or in a clamp on the premises, the bricks were probably

produced locally. They are of a light salmon color, characteristic of bricks produced in Annapolis and the surrounding area.⁶⁹

Not only did William Brown's decision to build in brick on such a scale set his house apart from its neighbors, his choice of style in the matter of laying the bricks was also expensive and out of the ordinary. All header bond was more difficult and more expensive to lay than other brick bonds because it required more cutting and fitting of the individual bricks. The added difficulty and expense gave status to those walls laid in header bond. Thus, William Brown created an added force to his architectural statement. To gain an understanding of how this extra status was meant to operate it is necessary to go back and look at the history of all header bond and its relationship to other decorative bonds used in England and the American Colonies.

All header bond was used extensively in Britain from the medieval period onward for solving the structural problems of curving garden walls, inner walls of circular towers, and the projecting curves in a brick structure. The use of all header as a decorative bond for the presentation walls of a house, such as the facade, evolved in England much later around 1700. The bond enjoyed a brief popularity in the 1740s and 1750s, but was never really a common choice as it is only mentioned in a single contemporary design book. Batty Langley in his, London Prices of Bricklayers' Materials and Work, published in 1748 stated that walls laid of all header brick are "especially

beautiful."⁷⁰ Outside of this one brief statement, not much is known about the use of all header bond in England.

All header bond as a walling material occurs in scattered cases from Pennsylvania southward through the Southern Colonies with the greatest pocket of all header buildings occurring in Annapolis, Maryland.⁷¹ On the Eastern Shore, there is another small cluster of header bond houses located in Chestertown in Kent County. However, the greatest number of all header bond houses occurs in Annapolis and surrounding Anne Arundel County. The earliest known house to use the bond is Cedar Park, where brick walls of all header were added sometime during the middle of the eighteenth century when the older wooden house was encased in a new brick shell.⁷² It was not until the 1750s that all header bond was used for the larger two story, four room plan houses. Again, the William Brown House was built at the peak of usage of all header bond for this house type.

How a regional style gets started is a fundamental question of material culture study and very difficult to answer. In this instance, the use of all header bond may have depended on one or two craftsmen who knew how to lay the difficult bond, or, as the use of brick was not common in Anne Arundel County, all header bond might have been seen as a way to give a local tradition or orientation to basically foreign (English) material. Until the entire building community of craftsmen and patrons in Annapolis and Anne Arundel County is studied in more detail, these tentative suggestions will have to remain just

suppositions. While the question of why header bond was such a favorite in the Annapolis area must remain unanswered, the way in which all header bond functioned can be explored by examining its relationship to other decorative bonds.

Despite the lack of specific information on the use of all header bond, it can be seen as part of the overall tradition of English decorative brick work. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, decorative brick work was used to indicate the importance or status of certain walls of a house. It was a way of differentiating the walls of a house hierarchically. Certain bonds such as Flemish or all header bond were considered decorative and were often used only on the facade of a house, with less expensive or less prestigious bonds reserved for the sides and rear.

All header bond is also closely related to the English use of glazed headers to form decorative patterns in brick work. When firing bricks either in a clamp or a kiln, the bricks closest to the source of heat often undergo a chemical change from the heat and ash. The heat not only causes partial vitrification but also changes the color of the brick to anything from a light blue to a dark purplish black.⁷³ These colored bricks were collected and could be arranged in a variety of patterns by a skilled mason. In the American Colonies, the single greatest concentration of pattern-end houses using glazed bricks were built in the eighteenth century in Salem and Burlington Counties in southern New Jersey. Here, the end walls facing the road were

decorated through the use of glazed headers with initials, dates, geometric patterns and figures such as hearts or crowns.⁷⁵ The facade too was often given special decorative treatment through the use of glazed headers in a Flemish bond checker-work pattern. Again, it was the facade and the side of the house that were decorated since they faced the road and were first seen by an individual approaching the house.

Traditionally, houses in the Chesapeake have the same kind of linear axis. Within this system of linear axis, only two sides received elaboration or architectural detailing. The first and foremost was the facade. To enter the house, the visitor had to use the front door, so that the facade acquired primary architectural importance. The choice of which of the other three walls received secondary attention depended on the geographic arrangement of the building. If there were formal gardens in back of the house, like those at Mount Clare in Baltimore and at the Hammond Harwood House in Annapolis, the garden wall or wall opposing the facade received more elaborate treatment. The two side walls were then left plain. Often the sides were of a less difficult or expensive brick bond, and lacked a raised watertable and belt course. The other alternative was to emphasize the facade and the side wall facing the road.

Larking Hill, a smaller story-and-a-half brick house built by John Larking sometime in the early eighteenth century in Anne Arundel County, follows the pattern of displaying all header bond on the

facade and the side of the house which faced the road. Another example is the Dr. Charles Carroll House in Annapolis, built in 1732. The house itself is frame with two brick ends and exterior brick end chimneys. One brick end and exterior chimney was of English bond, but the other end and exterior chimney which faced the road, was of all header bond.

The striking feature of the William Brown House, which separated it from this tradition of linear axis and only two decorated sides was the use of all header bond on all four sides of the house. Not only are all four sides all header bond, but the raised watertable and belt court extend around all four sides of the building. One explanation for the four sided nature of the Brown House may be its geographic location. Sitting as it does on a hill overlooking the South River, the house, in effect, had two entrances; one facing the water, and the principle entrance facing the road. The Brown House does follow tidewater building tradition in that the principle entrance facade, facing east, is given primary decorative treatment. The entrance facade is distinguished from the other three sides by a projecting central section topped with a pediment, and also by the use of finely executed rubbed and gauged Jack arches over all the windows on the facade. The other three sides are less important than the principle eastern facade. However, the other three sides are all equal, and project a great deal of status in their brick bond and in the raised elements they share with the principle facade. The northern side might have served as a side entrance for those coming up directly from

the waterfront. If this were indeed the case, then the principle eastern facade and the south wall would be decorated as the front and side wall facing the road forming one axis. The other secondary entrance on the north wall facing the water with the west wall could have been decorated as a second front and side wall axis pair. The hitch in this explanation is the fact that the northern wall is in no way distinguished or given added importance over the south and west walls. It is also possible to postulate that since exterior doors on all four sides of the building were tied to the cross hall plan on the interior, this is a case of a building with one principle entrance and three secondary entrances of lesser importance. In this way, William Brown was able to get the most status from the three lesser walls without totally erasing the distinction of the principle entrance facade.

One sees from an examination of the brick work for the Brown House that William Brown built not only a large brick house, uncommon in Anne Arundel County in the 1760s, but (as far as the masonry was concerned) a house whose walls contained the highest amount of status possible. Yet, as mentioned earlier the wooden trim and wooden exterior finishing elements are extremely simple in their execution. When examining the interior, one comes across the same sorts of contrasts. Contrasts which begin to indicate that William Brown may not have been able to maintain the level of the architectural message implied by the size of the house and by the choice of all header brick as a walling material.

THE FLOOR PLAN AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE AS AN ARCHITECTURAL CHOICE

The 1750s marked the beginning of a boom on Maryland's western shore in the building of the academic double pile, detached "Georgian house." To understand the underlying significance of this style of building and William Brown's decision to build outside of traditional Anne Arundel County architecture, one must look more closely at the components of this floor plan and its cultural antecedents.

In his book, American Buildings And Their Architects: The Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles, William H. Pierson, Jr. stated that the two-room deep, four-room detached house plan, with its central passage and symmetrical facade was a major contribution of the English middle-class society to the history of Western architecture.⁷⁶ The key words in that statement were "English middle-class society." While this style of building evolved at the end of the seventeenth century from rediscovered Renaissance models, highly influenced by Andre Palladio's work, it represented a reasonable application of these alien Renaissance principles to traditional English building practices. This reasonable application produced a house plan well attuned to the needs of the rising English middle class.⁷⁷ The rise of the middle class was the result of increased economic opportunities in England which brought new wealth to a growing number of merchants, bankers, and tradesmen. The new professional class tended to

concentrate in urban centers, particularly in London, and were supporters of Whig politics. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, it was the Whig aristocracy that dominated English artistic and intellectual pursuits. This group was marked by a characteristic dislike of the court taste of the previous half century, most things foreign, and anything in the nature of the Baroque.⁷⁸

What these people of middle rank valued most highly was a house of respectable size reflecting a degree of dignity and order that suggested some control over nature and an aloofness from all that was brutal and irregular.⁷⁹ The sense of order was reflected in the strict symmetry of the facades in this type of house, and in the organization of their floor plans. The four-room plan with a central passage allowed ease in the circulation of traffic, but maintained control of penetration into the house. The passage was inserted as an intermediary space preventing direct entrance from the outside into the rooms themselves. The four rooms on the first and second floor also allowed for greater specification in room use. However, as Dell Upton noted in his work on vernacular housing in Virginia, there was often some confusion in the colonies on what to do with the extra rooms.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, there is no inventory or any other piece of documentary evidence which would indicate room usage for the Brown House during the period of William Brown's occupation.

The raising of the first floor from direct entrance on ground level enhanced the feeling of aloofness and separation from nature.

On the more elaborate English Palladian houses the first floor was located over a full lower story or pinao-nobile, often rusticated to distinguish it from the more refined upper floors. On the smaller houses, especially those without wings, a basement only partly underground was substituted for a full pinao-nobile and the first floor entrance was reached by a short flight of shallow stone steps.

During the eighteenth century, there was little or no distinction between urban and rural country versions of this Georgian house. Many of these houses were built in the English countryside with underground kitchens and railed-in basement areas which gave them a strangely metropolitan look.⁸¹

All in all, these houses served the needs of the expanding middle class so successfully that it is estimated that by the end of the eighteenth century over one million had been built in England alone.⁸² By the time these houses began to be built in the American colonies, the components had been fairly set. They were two to three stories in height, often over a raised cellar instead of a full pinao-nobile. The entrance was almost never in the gable end, and, in both urban and rural contexts, these structures were detached single dwellings. In the colonies, they tended to fall in the upper quarter of the architectural scale. The scale, however, was an open ended one, and there were no real limitations on size and scale of a house. Through the effects of economics and tradition, in Maryland and Virginia they tended to be forty to seventy feet in length along the

facade, and thirty to fifty feet in depth. While in England this two-story four-room plan house was considered moderate in size, in the Maryland and Virginia colonies during the eighteenth century they were the largest, most impressive domestic architectural statements made.⁸³ Their association with the elite families of colonial Maryland and Virginia has, in the past, sometimes obscured their upper middle class origin in England. This confusion has also clouded the fact that this was a new style developed for a segment of the population, the middle class, which was gaining a new importance in England it had never held before. Colonial elites, both planters and merchants, were probably an overseas extension of the new phenomenon of the rising English middle class, rather than a parallel to English upper class.

The four-room, double pile, Georgian house plan was developed to suit the needs of the English upper middle class yeomen and merchants. Colonial planters and merchants, however, did not accept the design without reservation or local adaptation. As Dell Upton so successfully demonstrated in his work on Virginia's vernacular tradition, the use of international models, mostly through the widespread dissemination of design books, was accepted only where they fit the needs of the local population. Thus, Virginia builders adapted the ideas and concepts inherent in the foreign models and fit them into an existing system. The amount of penetration of the foreign ideas depended on how readily they fell in with already existing ideas and needs of the local building tradition.⁸⁴ In Maryland and Virginia, many of the ideas inherent in the new Georgian plan were accepted by local

populations looking for increasing order and stability in their environment. These ideas may not have been expressed in the slavish copying of buildings from design books, but they began to emerge in such small and creatively adaptive ways as symmetrical faces and center hall passages. Dell Upton dealt mainly with the way in which vernacular buildings were adapted from the international models. However, by looking at the William Brown House and other buildings of its size, it is clear that, even at the most academic levels, local intention had an impact.

It is curious to note that of all the two-story double pile, four-room houses in Maryland and Virginia, thus far only Mount Airy in Virginia has been positively attributed to a specific design source: James Gibb's, Book of Architecture.⁸⁵ Even in this design, the facade of Mount Airy had been shortened by one bay on each side. Being a cabinetmaker and having possibly "undertaken" a house or two, William Brown could have seen or been familiar with design books circulating in the colonies at that time. The distinctive cross hall plan of the Brown House, while similar to plans in several design books available at that time, was not an exact copy of any of them.⁸⁶ This adaptation of plans appears to have been the rule, rather than the exception, for most of these houses in Maryland and Virginia. Often, isolated finishing elements were borrowed from a design book, for example, the use of the venetian window and porch from Isaac Ware's, A Complete Body of Architecture, on Mount Clare in Baltimore in the late 1760s.⁸⁷ The elements, however, were isolated details which were then incorporated

with other elements to give each house stylistic characteristics of its own. It is true that in many ways the two-story, four-room plan was above regional variations, so that Mount Airy in Virginia looks very much like the stone house, Mount Pleasant, in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. However, there is enough impact of local intention to distinguish tidewater houses of Maryland and Virginia from those in Pennsylvania and New England.

The use of a separate kitchen structure was one of the distinguishing characteristics of houses of this magnitude in tidewater Maryland and Virginia. In Virginia it has been traced back to the end of the seventeenth century.⁸⁸ One theory is that the kitchen building evolved as an adaptation in the Southern Colonies to the climate. A second theory is that the tradition was brought to the tidewater region in the seventeenth century by Scottish immigrants and gained favor throughout the Southern Colonies because it was a practical solution for distancing the main working space for food preparation from the principle living quarters.⁸⁹

It is significant to note that, unlike other houses of the same size and time period such as Mount Clare or Belair (Prince Georges County, Maryland), the Brown House has an interior basement kitchen. While it is possible that a separate kitchen for the house existed, an archaeological survey of the property turned up no trace of any other structure around the house. It seems more likely that William Brown deliberately chose to stay with a closer interpretation

of English housing styles including a kitchen and possible servants' quarters in the basement. He, therefore, chose to reject the regional variation of a separate kitchen, although it was more practical, in order to make an added urban or English statement with his house.

Later in the 1770s, houses such as the Brice House in Annapolis were constructed with kitchens included in hyphenated wings, following the English preference for integrating the dependencies into an overall design. Many houses in the 1770s and 1780s which had separate kitchens added hyphens to join the kitchens and other dependencies to the main block of the house. This five-part plan became so popular in Maryland that it has often been mistaken to be characteristic of all Maryland houses of this size.

Separate quarters for the servants formed another characteristic of Maryland and Virginia houses of the upper half of the architectural scale. The move to separate the servants from the daily life of the family can also be traced back to the seventeenth century, developing slowly in the eighteenth century as the need for privacy and distance from the lower classes increased.⁹⁰ Although there is no evidence of separate quarters for the Brown House on the property, William Brown owned another house, and a shop in London Town and it is possible he used these as quarters. In addition, the corner room with a fireplace and plaster ceiling in the cellar of the Brown House may have served as servants' quarters. If it did, this room usage

reaffirms the urban/English nature of the house design already implicit in the presence of a basement kitchen.

The other way to separate servants from the main rooms of the house was through the use of a back stairs. A second set of stairs for servants that kept them from traversing the main rooms during their daily duties, was not incorporated into two-room deep, four-room, center-passage plans until the second half of the eighteenth century. In Maryland, the segregation of servants began slowly and concrete evidence of this shift appears first in the back stairs added to Mount Clare in 1768, and the back stairs added to the Paca House sometime after it was built in 1765. In 1768, hyphens were added to Mount Clare connecting both the kitchen and an office to the house. Back stairs were added that ran from the first floor of the east hyphen up to the second landing of the stair in the house. A door cut through the wall provided access from the landing to the service stair. At the Paca House, a door was cut in a closet to allow the back stairs to run down to the kitchen hyphen wing on the right of the house. To provide the necessary head room for the stairs, a wooden pent with a window also had to be added to the right hyphen. The total separation of servants in the main block of the house through the use of back stairs and servants' quarters in the attic and cellars was slow coming to the tidewater area, perhaps because the owners felt they were distanced enough by being housed in separate quarters. In William Brown's case, he chose to follow English design sources more strictly in his use of a full cellar with

underground kitchen and servants' quarters. Perhaps he intended to align himself more closely with the image of a successful English entrepreneur and planter through the architectural statement of his house.

In America, the type of four-room floor plan represented by the Brown House has been associated in the twentieth century with the typical plantation house. However, as we have seen from the 1798 Direct Tax Assessment, this house was actually atypical for Anne Arundel County. Many rich merchants and planters chose to live there in traditional houses, and those who did choose this new building type were not simply established men displaying their wealth. Many, including William Brown, had to borrow to build these houses, and were trying to separate themselves from the traditional community, asserting their identification with a certain image through their choice of architecture. One of the largest and most remarkable houses in size and scale of elaboration was Rosewell, built in 1726 by Mann Page, and never really finished. The house stood incomplete at his death in 1730 because of the staggering debt he accrued in undertaking to build a house of this size. Though the house was lived in after he died, the interior was never finished to match the magnificent exterior he had begun.⁹¹

Architectural evidence supports the suggestion that William Brown's actual lifestyle never matched the implied message of his house. If most of the four-room, center-passage, plan houses of the

tidewater area were essentially identical in their component parts, what set one house apart from its brethren was the elaboration of its decorative details. This may, in fact, explain why the architect William Buckland enjoyed a considerable popularity in Annapolis during the 1770s. While Buckland undertook the complete building of only a few houses, he had redecorated or updated rooms in several other houses. Buckland's real forte was his creative adaptation of English designs for the decorative wood work of his Maryland and Virginia buildings. The William Brown House falls far short of other "four-room plan" houses in the Annapolis area, in terms of decorative finish. While the exterior masonry is very finely executed, the wooden exterior trim and the inside finishing are, by contrast, very simple. This may indicate William Brown's uncertain financial status during the seventeen years that he lived in the house. On the other hand, William Brown might simply have not been interested in finishing the house once the exterior statement had been made. Obviously, he invested a great deal to produce such a grand architectural statement. Yet, while he had to have been aware to the intensity of the statement he was making, he may not have been equally aware of all the subtle nuances implied by such a statement.

The underlying orientation of this paper in respect to William Brown has been toward his role as client in the building of his house. With the paucity of surviving written material, the role of Brown as "builder," in the sense of having something built, is the easiest to discern. One may never understand the less tangible facets of William Brown's personality, his role as a father, a husband, or an individual, yet the magnitude of the architectural statement he made in his house, the twenty years he lived there, and the financial investment he made, indicate that it played an important part in his life. Understanding of this role has revealed significant patterns in Brown's actions.

The Brown House was an extraordinary house for its time and place, and yet William Brown was not from one of the wealthy, well-established Maryland families that formed the political and social power base of the colony. By building such a structure, however, he projected the image of a man of substance. Individuals most concerned with redefining social status are not necessarily the richest,⁹² and other houses in Maryland of similar size and plan to the Brown House reveal clients from three occupational categories. The first group tends to be composed of individuals involved in manufacture, tanners and iron-mongers, for example. The second group is involved in mercantilism. The third group is made up of those individuals who

derive their main income from agriculture on a large scale, depending on the labor of tenants and/or slaves. In real practice, these categories are not so clear cut. Samuel Galoway, for example, was a successful Quaker planter who became a merchant while continuing to maintain his large plantation and tobacco production. Charles Carrol amassed his fortune from inheritance, land speculation, and an iron works he helped start outside of Baltimore. He was also active in law and politics in Annapolis, and his country residence, Mount Clare, was one of the earliest of these large four-room plan brick houses to appear in the area. William Brown was also involved in land speculation, in addition to being a joyner, cabinetmaker, ferry keeper, innkeeper, and a small scale planter. The pattern of entrepreneurship indicates that, for the most part, these men were trying to amass and manipulate money in whatever way possible in order to establish their positions. Their houses were built in anticipation and promotion of status rather than social wealth and prominence achieved. Another trait shared by these men was the conceptual vision that resulted in the choice of this particular house type. As we have seen, this type was associated in England with rising Whig professionals of the English middle class. William Brown may have tried to reinforce this identification still further by building a very urban, or English, four-room plan house with its cellar kitchen and servants' quarters. However, it is too simple to see this as the only option for a merchant class struggling to gain legitimacy and social standing through architecture, in a conservative hierarchical

society. Not all wealthy merchants chose this style of architecture. William Brown's major creditor, James Dick, the Scottish merchant from Edinburgh, whose holdings were large and varied enough to make him one of the most influential men in Anne Arundel County, lived in a much smaller, more traditional house. When all these factors are taken together, one can build a case for this style of architecture as an expression of the beginning aspirations of a particular professional class; one which, in the mid to late eighteenth century, was searching for a separate identity of its own. Not only did this group of individuals seek its separate identity by choosing a nontraditional form of housing, it chose a style that identified it with its English counter part, the rising merchant and professional middle class.

The date at which Brown made his architectural statement is also significant. In 1764, when the Brown House was built, it was on the cutting edge of the rise of the two-story, four-room plan house. Tulip Hill preceded London Town by eight years, and Mount Clare, in Baltimore, by six. However, the major flowering of this style did not occur until the late 1760s, and most of the well-known major houses in Annapolis postdate the William Brown House. The ability to accumulate capital and, more importantly credit, may explain the intensification of building in the county during the 1760s. A complete survey of Anne Arundel County has yet to be undertaken, but preliminary study indicates that the Brown House may represent the extreme upper end of the rebuilding scale in the county that was just getting under way during the late 1750s and early 1760s (see Table 2). In Robert

Machin's article, "The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment," the ability to accumulate credit was a basic precondition in allowing English yeomen to build in a more permanent fashion. Machin also found that rebuilding occurred in cycles according to the ups and downs of the agricultural economy. It took, in Machin's estimation, at least five years of good harvests for an individual to build up the necessary credit to embark on building a house.⁹³ The Chesapeake had suffered through a long and severe depression in the tobacco trade during the 1740s due, in part, to a glut of tobacco on the European markets, and to the increasing vulnerability of American shipping during the French and Indian War. With the end of the war the tobacco trade began to revive, and there was a series of good harvests starting in the mid 1750s. By 1760, sufficient credit was accumulated to set off the building activity of the 1760s, activity which continued until the 1780s despite economic disruptions caused by a change in the cyclical nature of the Maryland tobacco economy.⁹⁴

The Brown House represented William Brown's ability to manipulate large amounts of credit, and at the same time reflects back on one of the possible motivations Brown had for building the house. The house, built on credit when its owner was in his late thirties, was an architectural statement of aspiration rather than a display of already accumulated wealth and social status. Traditionally, these large colonial Georgian houses have been viewed in rather static terms as self-evident indicators of rich and successful men. While this may have been the case for many, it did not always hold true. The

building of the Brown House was a gamble, which Brown either lost or abandoned after the Revolution. Matthias Hammond, a young lawyer, built the "Hammond-Harwood House" in Annapolis in the early 1770s at the time of his engagement. Local legends have it that his fiancée ran away with another man. He never married and he never lived in the house. The house was soon sold to another Maryland family. This provides another example of the fact that the original statement, although paid for, might never be successfully asserted by the original client. Other clients, such as Dr. Upton Scott and John Ridout, were more successful in living up to the level of implied status in the architecture of their prospective houses. These buildings, therefore, represented an architectural gamble on status, a gamble William Brown was willing to undertake, but one which he ultimately abandoned.

In 1782, James Dick died and by 1785 William Brown was living in Annapolis, but the documentary evidence is extremely ambiguous in terms of a casual link in the chain of events between these two dates. The first, and most generally accepted, interpretation is that William Brown was unable to pay the 731 pounds sterling money he owed to James Dick's heirs. They, in turn, brought him to court in a series of actions that resulted in Brown's losing his property in London Town and his three hundred acre plantation on the South River known as "Covel's Cove." The court records reported, however, that Brown actually made several payments on the original 1764 mortgage before Dick died.⁹⁵ Another interpretation of the loss of his house is more general, and based on a variety of county court Judgements.

Increasingly after 1769, cases before the court in which Brown owed money outnumbered those in which Brown collected money owed him. Thus, Brown appears as a man who was already in financial water over his head when his creditor died, and could not pay the remainder of his large debt which was suddenly called in. The final suit was brought against Brown in 1785, and the first line read:

This Indenture made this second day of May in the year of our Lord 1785 Between William Brown of the City of Annapolis Joiner of the one part and Mary McCulloch, Charles Stewart, and James McCulloch executors of the last will and Testament of James Dick late of Anne Arundel County Merchant deceased on the other part....⁹⁶

William Brown, in all probability, was already living in Annapolis by the time he lost his house. In 1781, he advertised to rent, lease, or sell the London Town property in the Maryland Gazette.⁹⁷ There is also a deed, recorded in 1785, for a property in Annapolis sold to a "William Brown of the city of Annapolis Gentleman," who was already occupying the site.⁹⁸ While one cannot be certain that this is the same William Brown, the documents do suggest the possibility that William Brown had to turn his house over to Dick's executors after unsuccessfully trying to sell it.

The fact that the finishing touches were never completed on the house, again, are ambiguous. The unfinished work is a strong indication that William Brown had over extended himself in building such a large house. On the other hand, it also may be interpreted as indicating Brown's indifference to smaller more subtle architectural

messages, once the grand exterior statement had been made. Finally, London Town was a ghost of its former self. After the Revolution, Brown could have reevaluated his options, and decided that the house, once the focus of considerable financial and creative effort, no longer fit his needs, and moved on to Annapolis. At the crux of either interpretation--William Brown the unlucky economic gambler, or Brown as a man who deliberately chose Annapolis over London Town--lies in the fact that he left the Brown House sometime in the early 1780s, never to return.

Just as one can never know why William Brown abandoned a project, once so important to him, it is equally impossible to understand why he chose specific often contradictory variables out of an infinite variety, such as all header bond for the walls of the house or a simple slot and panel molded cornice, to make his house an individual architectural statement. However, by looking at the overall choice of materials, size, and floor plan, and comparing these to the range of domestic architecture in Maryland and Virginia certain patterns emerge. The William Brown House appears as an architectural aspiration, or gamble, based on an intricate manipulation of credit. It was built by a man who was one of a number of individuals in a complex group striving for upward mobility. This was a group that placed importance on architecture as a status statement, and invested heavily in that statement in its struggle to establish its social and economic identity.



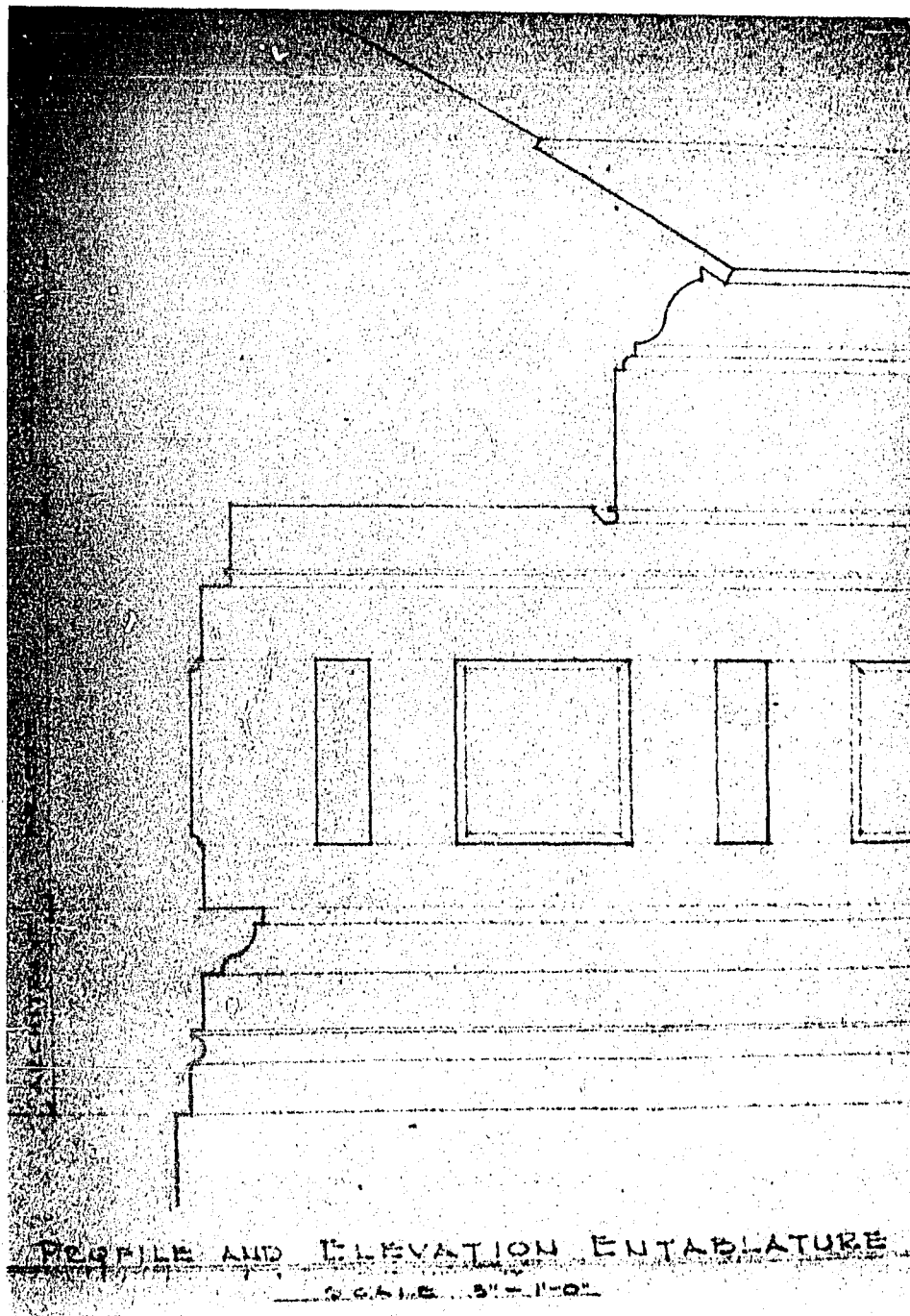
Detail from "A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole Province of Maryland." This map illustrates the superb position once held by London Town on the North-South road system of the province. The chart was drawn by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson in 1775, and published by William Faden, Geographer to King George III.



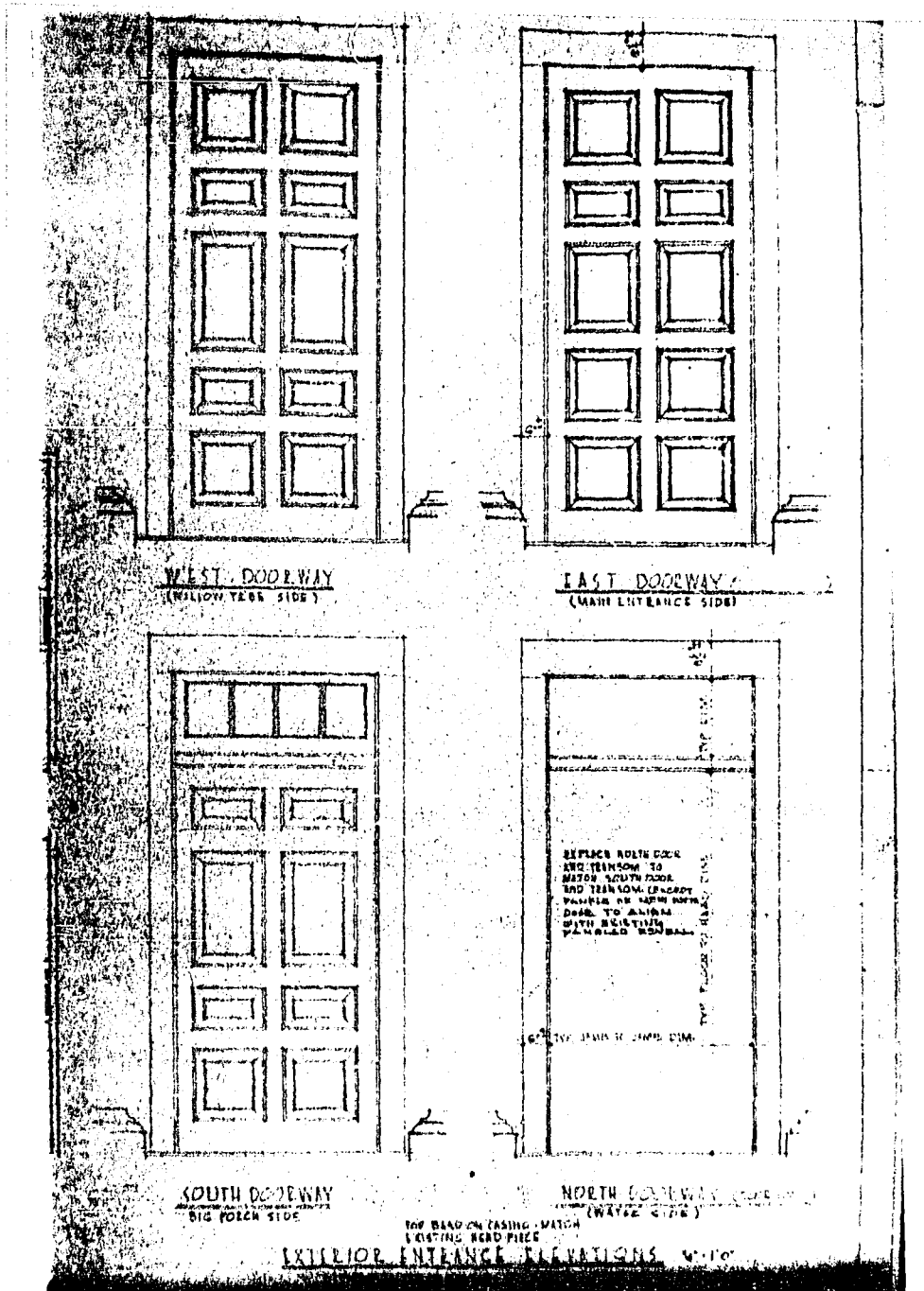
Principal facade of the William Brown House.



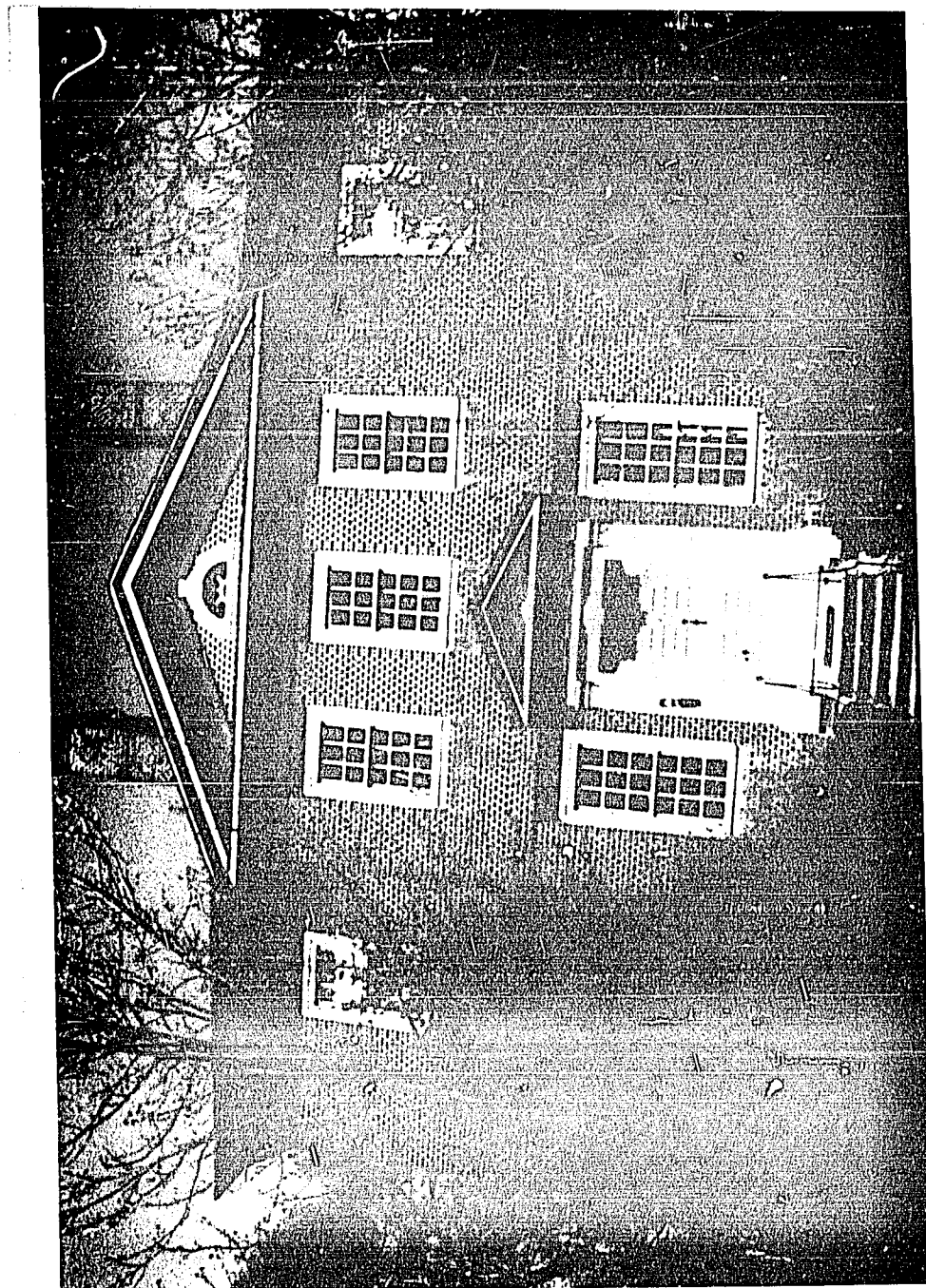
The double course of molded bricks, which cap the raised watertable, is one example of the finely executed exterior masonry.



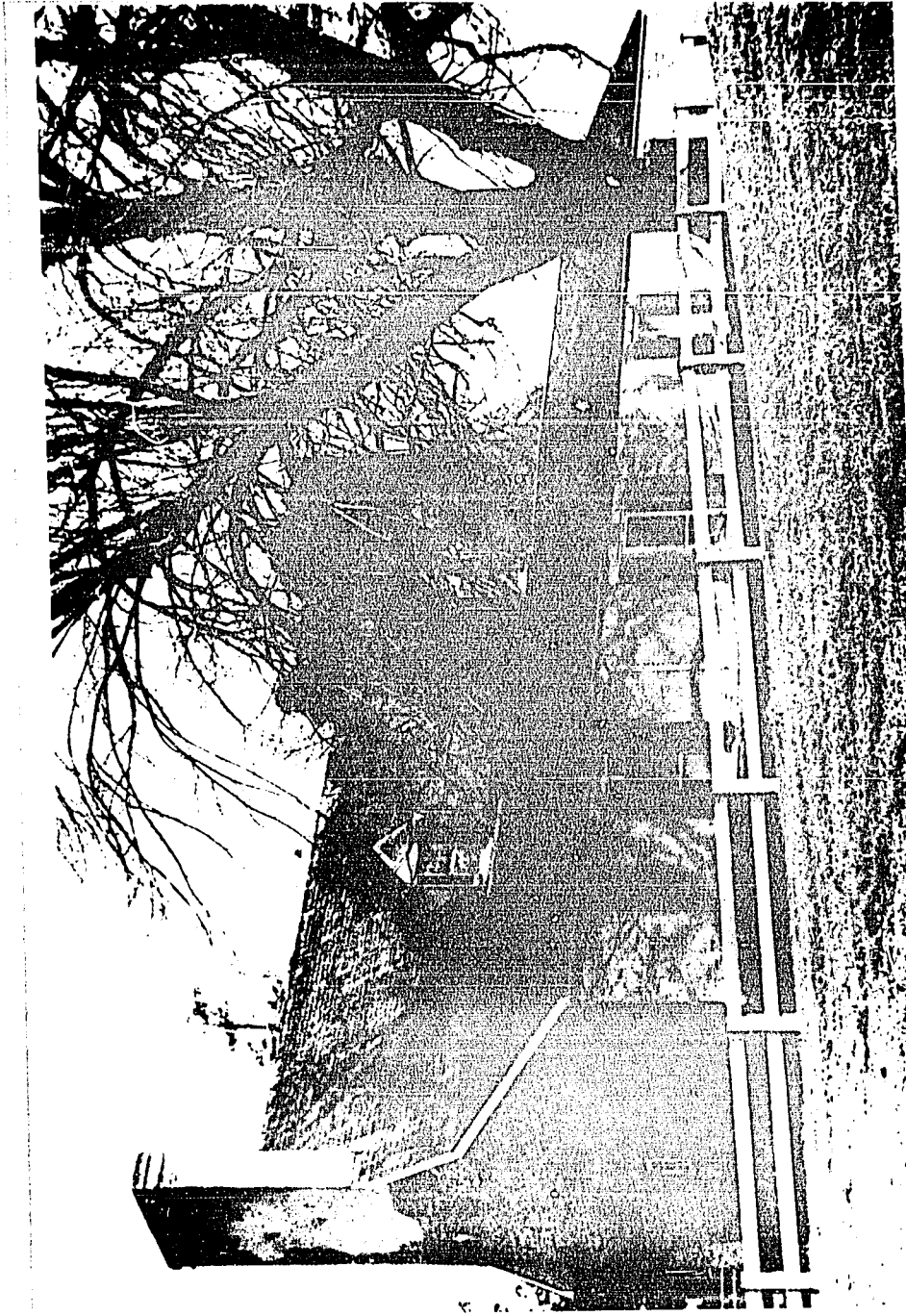
Detail of the exterior cornice of the Brown House. The drawing was done by the architectural firm of Ellis and Davis, Annapolis, Maryland.



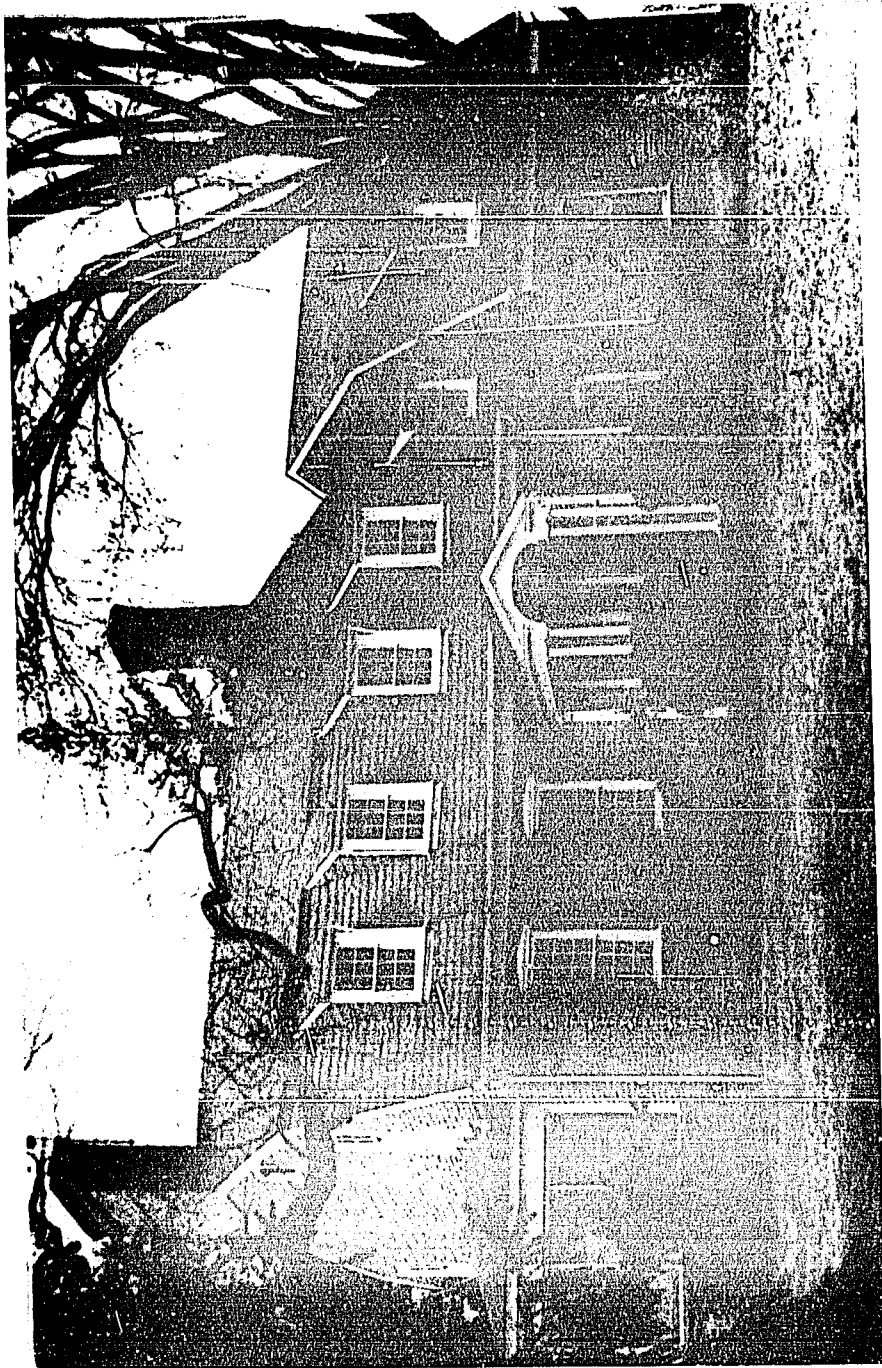
Detail of an exterior door drawn by the architectural firm of Ellis and Davis.



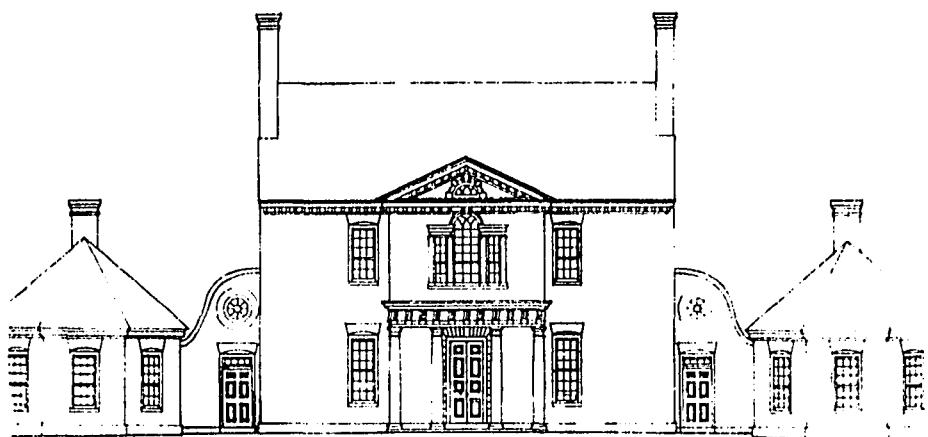
The Upton Scott House, located in the city of Annapolis, Maryland, was built in 1763.



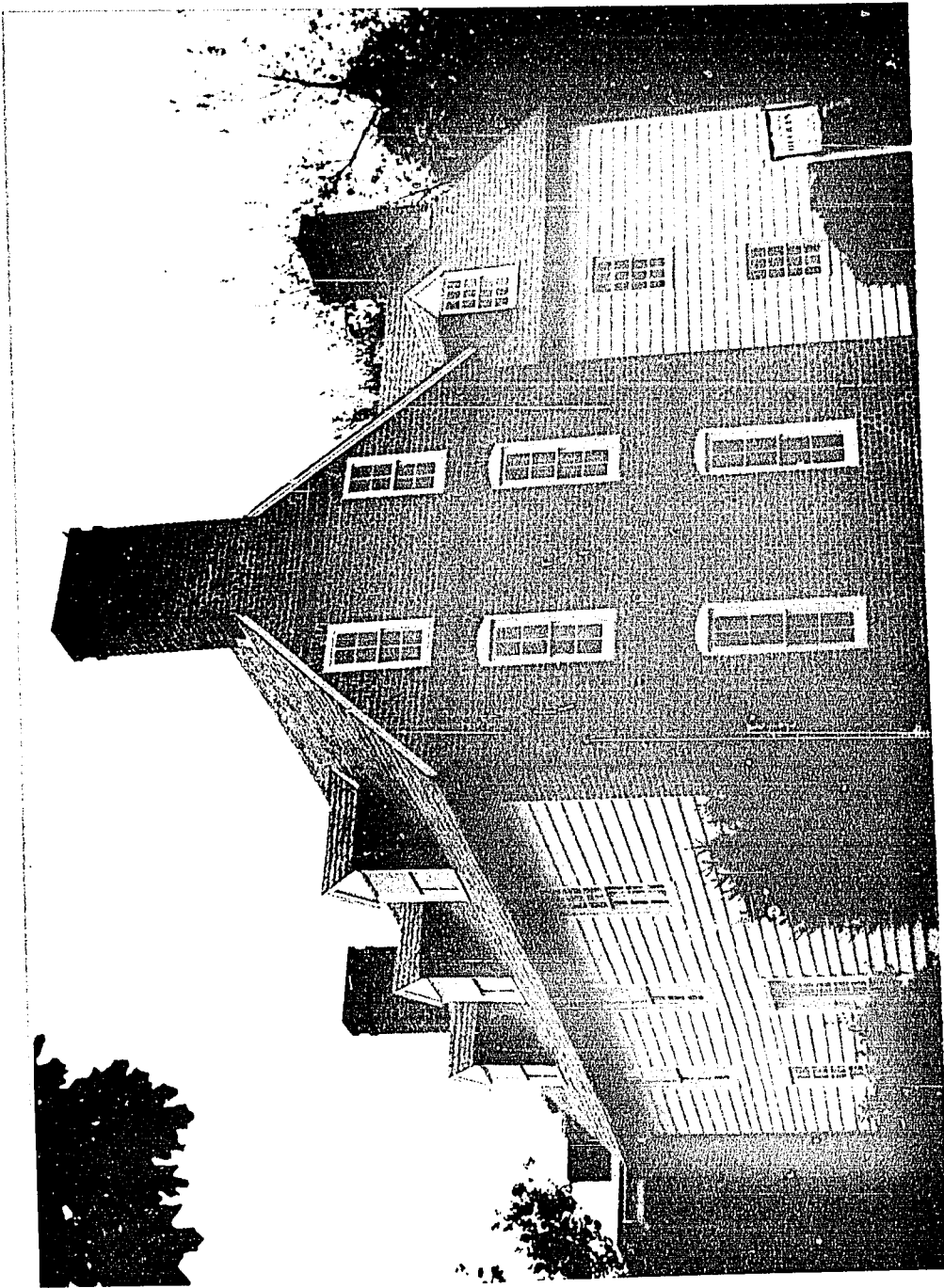
Cedar Park was first built as a wooden structure. In 1720 the exterior was incased in an all header brick shell.



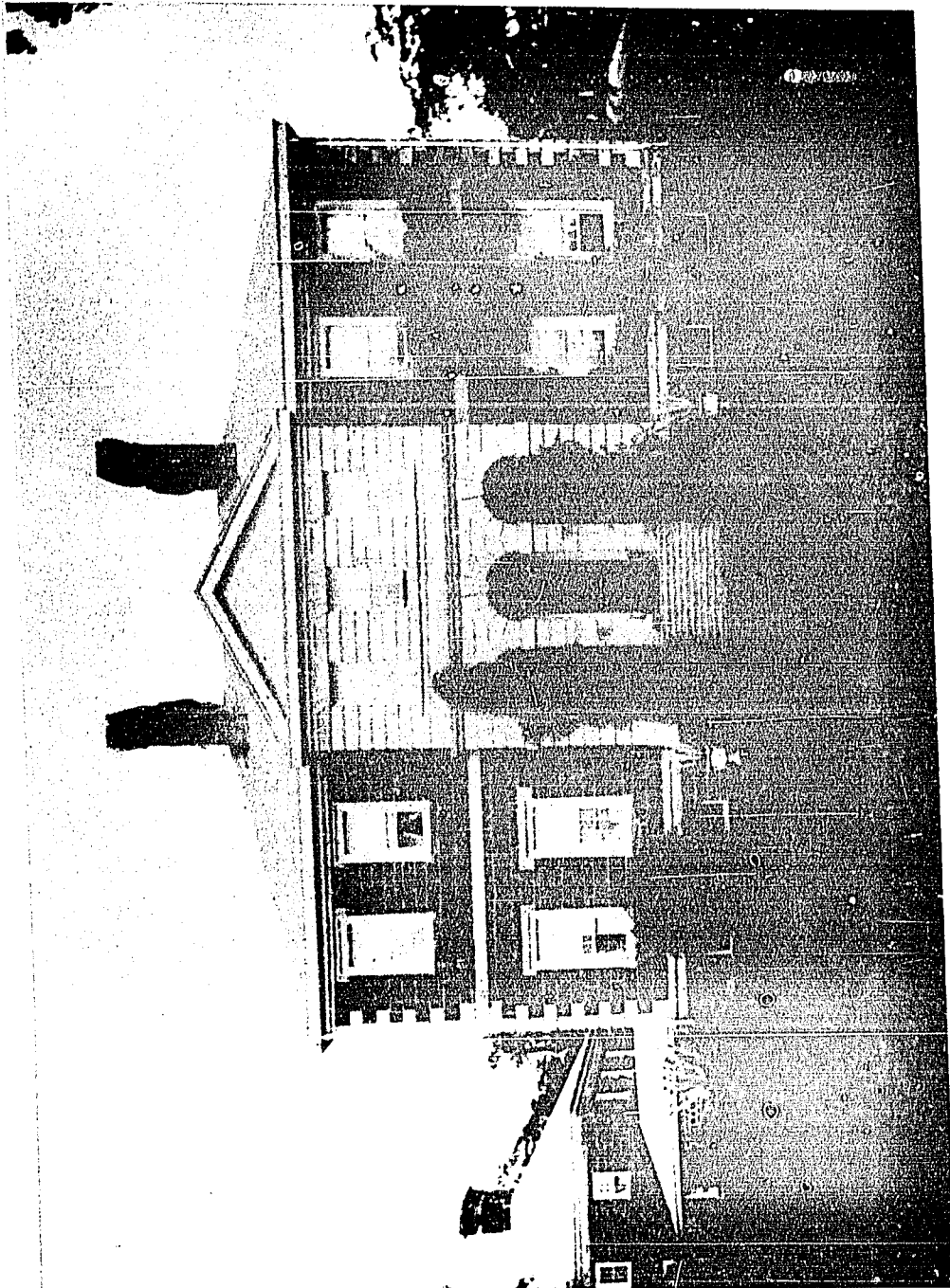
Larking Hill was completed in the second or third quarter of the eighteenth century. The principal facade and one side wall are of all header bond.



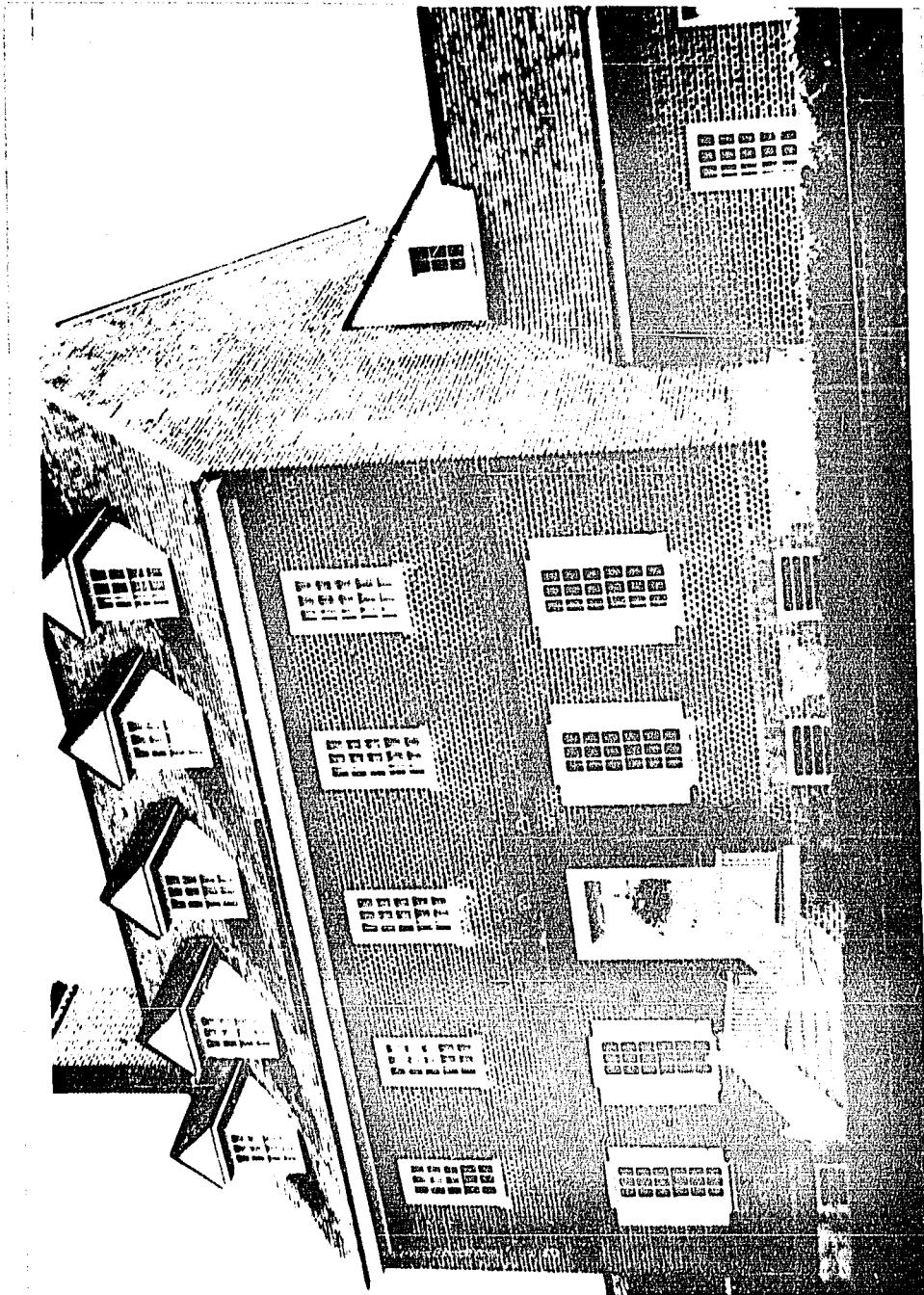
A view of the north elevation of Mount Clare, as it appeared in 1770.
The drawing is by Michael E. Trostel, A.I.A.



The Dr. Charles Carroll House in Annapolis, Maryland was built during the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and has a facade and one side wall of all header bond.



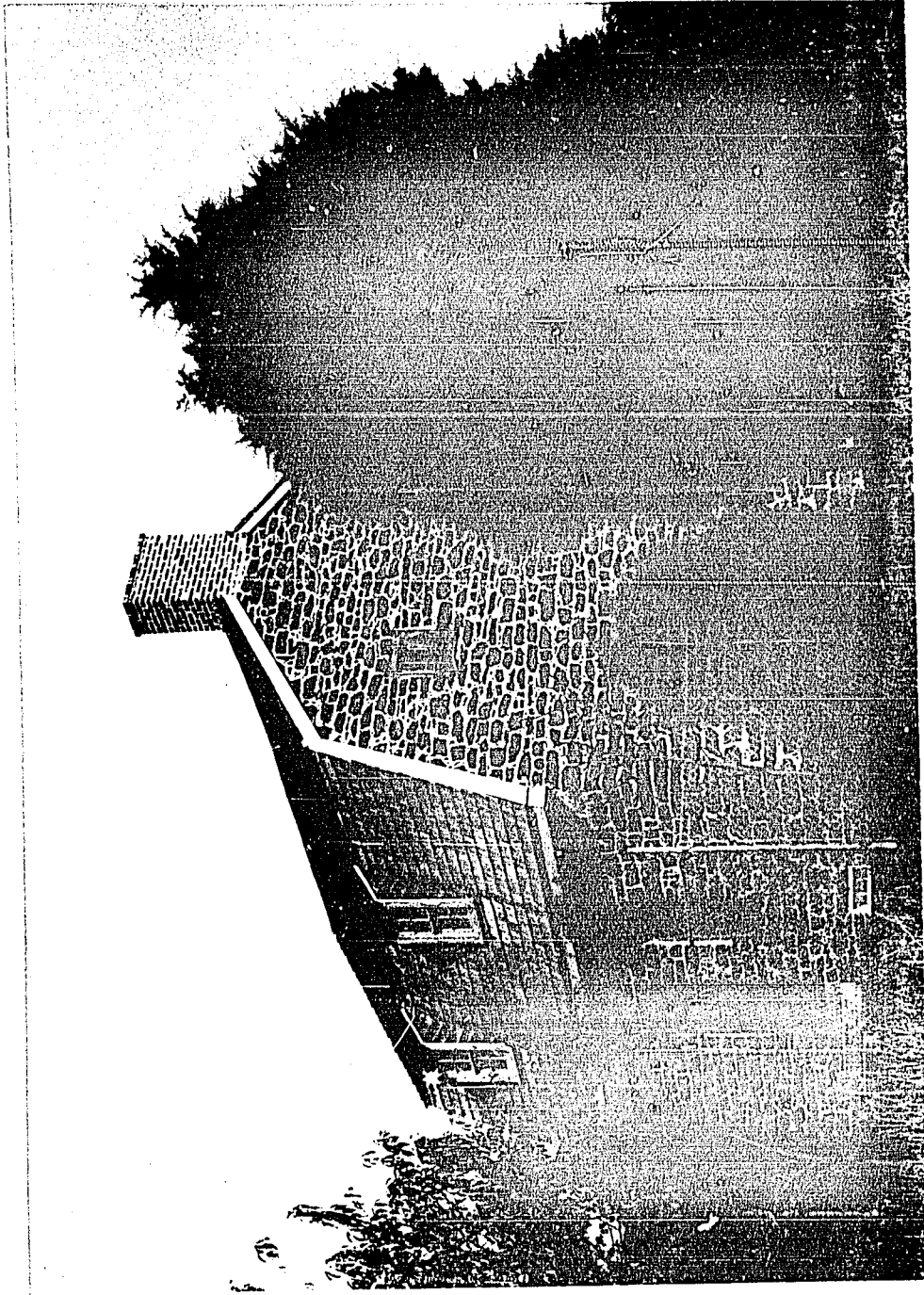
Mt. Ary is one of the few Virginia houses known to be directly taken from an English architectural design book.



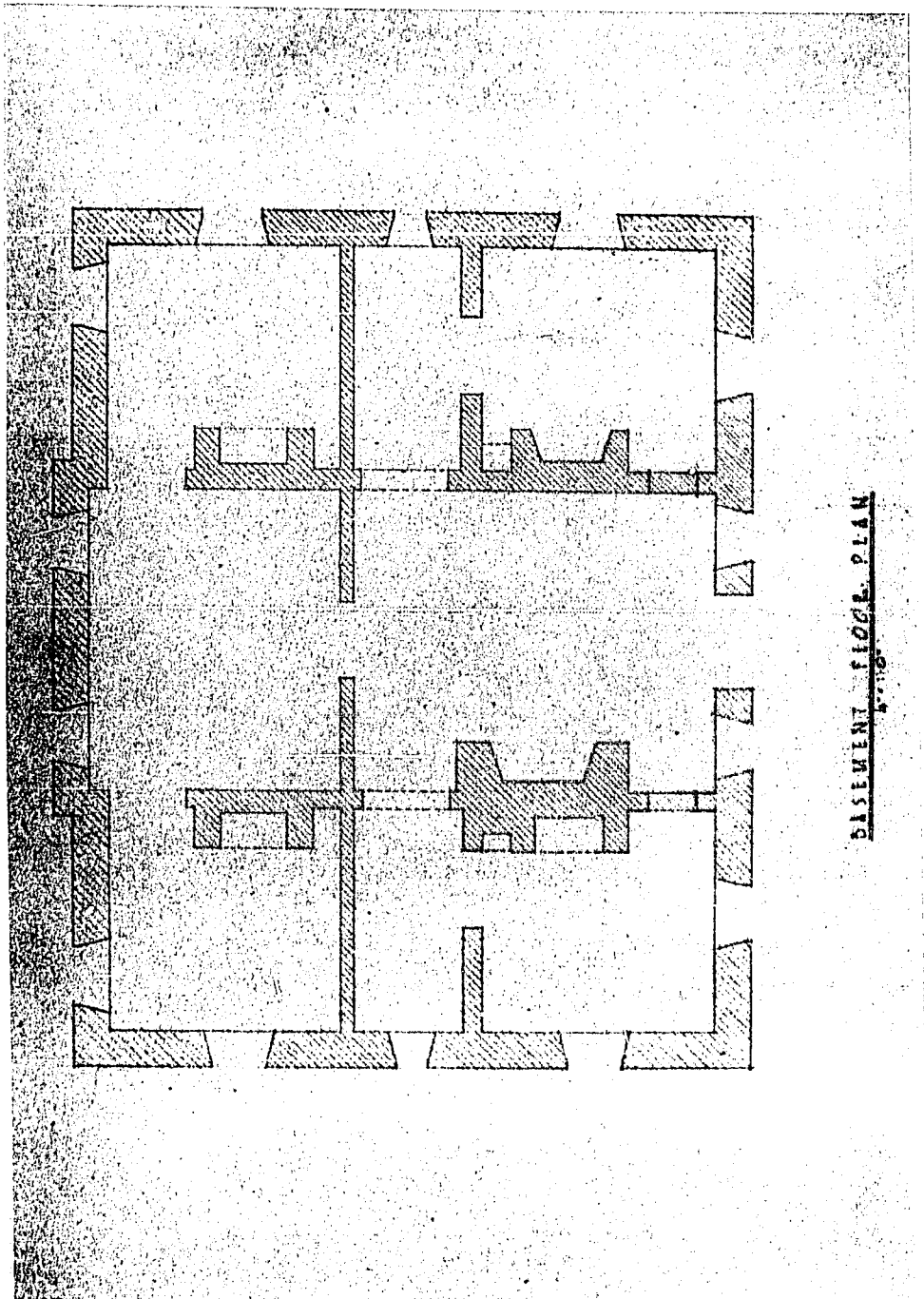
The William Paca House, located in Annapolis, Maryland, was finished in 1765. The small pent on the right side of the house was added later to accommodate a backstairs created by cutting through a wall after the house was completed.



A detail of the galleting from "Handcock's Resolution," a planter's house from the 1760s in northern Anne Arundel County.



An exterior view of "Handcock's Resolution."



An interior floor plan of the William Brown House drawn by the architectural firm of Ellis and Davis, Annapolis, Maryland.

Table 1
1798 Direct Tax Assessment

Geographic Area	Number of Houses	Wood Houses (%)	Brick Houses (%)	Stone Houses (%)	Combination Houses (%)
Anne Arundel County	1,666	88%	9%	2%	.9%
Anne Arundel County excluding Annapolis	1,425	93%	4%	2%	.5%
City of Annapolis	241	61%	35%	4%	3.3%
<u>Remainder of the County by Hundreds</u>					
Lyons Creek & Herring Creek	85	94%	5%	1%	
Patuxent & Huntington	233	93%	5%	2%	
Broad Neck & Town Neck	80	95%	4%	1%	
Severn River & South River	198	94%	4%	2%	
Potapsco & Magothy	161	95%	2%	3%	
Upper & Lower Road River	167	90%	9.5%	.5%	
West River & Herring Creek	128	99%	1%		
Upper Fork & Bear Ground	135	92.5%	3%	3%	1.5%
Elkridge & Elkridge Landing	195	90%	4%	3.5%	2.5%
Middle Neck	29	83%	17%		

Table 2
 Four Room Plan Houses in Anne Arundel County
 Date of HOUSES OF CENTER HALL FOUR ROOM PLANS
 Completion IN ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY
 for House STILL STANDING

1735

1740

----- McDowell Hall (Bladens Folley) 1742

1745

----- Squirrel Neck 1748

1750

1755

----- Tulip Hill 1756

----- WILLIAM BROWN HOUSE 1758-1764

1760

----- Mount Clare 1760

----- Upton Scott 1763

1765

----- Ridout House 1765, Paca House 1765

----- White Hall 1766

1770

----- Brice House 1772, Maryland State House 1772

----- Hammond Harewood House 1773

1775

1780

NOTES

In citing unpublished primary sources the location or repository of these sources follows the citation and has been identified by the following abbreviations:

MHR - Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland
MHS - Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland
MHT - Maryland Historic Trust, Annapolis, Maryland

¹ The amount of published material on architecture is vast. Interpretations of architecture range from the political, Henry A. Millon, and Linda Nochlin, eds., Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1978), to the traditionally historical, John Gloag, The Architectural Interpretation of History (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1975). This paper is closest to the philosophy of Henry Glassie summed up in his preface to, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: "Architecture studied as an expression of personality and culture may provide us with the best means available for comprehending an authentic history." Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), p. vii.

² The works of Peirce F. Lewis, "Common Houses, Cultural Spoor," Landscape 19, no. 2, 1-12, Charles Dornbusch and John K. Heyl, Pennsylvania German Barns (Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 21, (1956), Allentown: Schlechter's, 1958), and Fred Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 26 (1936): 179-193 are excellent examples of the diverse directions multiple building studies can take.

³ Three good examples of the more traditional single house study genre are: George Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), Nicholas B. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), and John A. H. Sweeney, Grandeur on the Appoquinimink (Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1959).

⁴ The documentation which survives concerning the house fixed the date of construction between the time William Brown bought the lots in 1758 (Provincial Court Deeds Lib. B.B. no. 2, p. 215. MHR, Annapolis, Maryland) and the mention of a new large brick house by William

Brown in his indenture to James Dick in 1765 (Provincial Court Deed Lib. D.D. no. 3, Part 11. MHR, Annapolis, Maryland).

⁵ Katherine Scarborough's, Homes of the Cavaliers (New York: Macmillan, 1930), Addison F. Worthington's, Twelve Old Houses West of the Chesapeake Bay (Boston, 1918), and Everett B. Wilson's, Maryland's Colonial Mansions And Other Early Houses (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., Inc., 1965) are three examples of works which repeatedly draw analogies between large Colonial houses and the castles, mansions and palaces of English Aristocracy.

⁶ Dell Upton's, "Towards a Performance Theory of Vernacular Architecture: Early Tidewater Virginia as a Case Study," Folklore Forum, 12 (1979), and Henry Glassie's, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1975) are both examples of the type of deep theoretical questioning going on in the field of Vernacular Architecture today.

⁷ The 1798 Federal Direct Tax Assessment was undertaken by the thirteen new states in an attempt to establish some kind of working estimation of real property within each state. The data from the assessment would help the federal and state governments in devising a tax system to raise badly needed revenues. The actual execution of the Assessment varied greatly from state to state. Scholars concerned with Maryland are fortunate in that the Maryland survey was consistent, fairly detailed and survives almost intact.

⁸ Donald Shomette, London Town A Brief History (Edgewater, Maryland: London Town Publik House Commission, Inc., 1978), 6.

⁹ Carville V. Earle, The Evolution of A Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783 (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Department of Geography, 1975), 5.

¹⁰ Shomette, London Town A Brief History, 7.

¹¹ Shomette, London Town A Brief History, 13.

¹² Shomette, London Town A Brief History, 38-42.

¹³ Carville Earle, The Evolution of A Tidewater Settlement System (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Department of Geography, 1975), 96-98. Trash tobacco was that tobacco usually considered seconds. It was made up of the smaller leaves picked from the base of the tobacco plant, or those leaves which were insect or weather damaged.

¹⁴ Though galleting has frequently occurred in conjunction with all header brick work it is also found in Annapolis on buildings of other brick bonds. In addition, "Handcock's Resolution" a small story

and a half stone house built in the 1760s in the northern tip of Anne Arundel County has all four stone walls entirely covered with galleting.

15 The original roofing material was probably replaced in 1858 with a tin roof by orders of the trustees of Anne Arundel County Alms House. (Anne Arundel County Minute Books, MS 24, 2 vols., 1820-1871, MHS, Baltimore, Maryland). It is also likely that the roof line was first altered when the 1858 tin roof was installed. A pent was erected at the top of the roof between the two chimneys. Later during the twentieth century, slate shingles replaced the old tin roof. Extra principle posts were added at this time to support the extra weight of the slate shingles. During the 1971 restoration the slate shingles were removed and replaced by concrete shingles. So far no written statement has come to light on why the change was made. Oral tradition has it that the concrete was supposed to more closely resemble wood shingles than the slate.

16 The old porch is clearly visible in a picture of the William Brown House (labeled the Old Burgess House) published in Elihu S. Riley's, A History of Anne Arundel County in Maryland (Annapolis, Maryland: Charles G. Feldmeyer, Publisher, 1905).

17 Glen Little, "Building Archaeology At London Town Publik House, ca. 1755-1764" London Town Publik House Commission, London Town, Maryland, 1971, p. D1-D5. Photocopy.

18 Little, "Building Archaeology At London Town Publik House," 31.

19 Little, "Building Archaeology At London Town Publik House," 25.

20 Little, "Building Archaeology At London Town Publik House," 36.

21 Little, "Building Archaeology At London Town Publik House," 26-27.

22 Ronald Brunskill & Alec Clifton-Taylor, English Brickwork (London: A Hyperion Book, 1977), 69.

23 Jane A. Wight, Brick Building in England from the Middle Ages to 1550 (London: John Baker, 1972), 36.

24 Gladdis Nelker, "National Register Nomination" (London Town Publik House Commission, Edgewater, Maryland, 1972), 7. Photocopy.

25 Little, "Building Archaeology At London Town Publik House," 36.

26 Nelker, "National Register Nomination," 7.

- 27 David T. Brown, "London Town Publik House General Information Report: Restoration 1967-1973" London Town Publik House Commission, London Town, Maryland. Photocopy. p. 1.
- 28 Earle, The Evolution of A Tidewater Settlement System, 63.
- 29 Gregory A. Stiverson, Poverty in the Land of Plenty (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), xi.
- 30 "Sidelights on Maryland History--The Browns of Dumfries," Baltimore Sun, June 7, 1903.
- 31 Abel Brown was made High Sheriff in 1691-92 (MHR, Md. Archives, xiii, 266). He was a Justice of the County in 1692 (MHR, Md. Archives, viii, 324) and in 1694 (MHR, Md. Archives, xx, 107). His will leaving everything to Robert Brown is registered in the Maryland Hall of Records (MHR, Annapolis Lib. 11, fol. 215).
- 32 Wills, Annapolis Lib. 37, fol. 6. MHR.
- 33 Protestant Episcopal Church Records, All Hallow's Parish Register, (12202). MHR.
- 34 Protestant Episcopal Church Records, All Hallow's Parish Register, (12202). MHR.
- 35 In addition to James Dick other prominent Marylanders emigrated directly from Scotland. Dr. Upton Scott and Dr. Alexander Hamilton are two well known Scotsmen who settled in Annapolis. Also, when looking at land deeds there were several tracts of land named "Scotland" or "New Scotland" hinting at the presence of Scottish planters in the county.
- 36 Anne Arundel County, Provincial Court Judgements ISB1 MdHR 879, p. 627 and 646. MHR.
- 37 Maryland Gazette, June 14, 1753, and March 10, 1757.
- 38 Anne Arundel County, Provincial Court Judgements BT no. 3, 1757 to 1759. MHR.
- 39 Anne Arundel County, Provincial Court Judgements ISB3 MdHR 881, p. 798. MHR.
- 40 Provincial Court Chancery, 2942. MHR.
- 41 Maryland Gazette, October 18, 1753.
- 42 Anne Arundel County, Provincial Court Judgements IMB2 MdHR 888, p. 112, and I MdHR 893, p. 59. MHR.

- 43 Anne Arundel County, Provincial Court Judgements ISB2 MdHR 800, p. 719, and EBY MdHR 891, p. 295. MHR.
- 44 London Town Ferry Accounts MS. 1687. MHS.
- 45 Aubrey C. Land, Colonial Maryland A History (Millwood, New York: KTO Press, 1981), 228.
- 46 Land, Colonial Maryland A History, 228.
- 47 Anne Arundel County, Deeds B.B. no. 1, May 31, 1755. MHR.
- 48 Maryland Provincial Court Deed, Anne Arundel County, Lib. D.D. no. 4 (17268). MHR.
- 49 Maryland Provincial Court Deed, Anne Arundel County, Lib. D.D. no. 3 (17267), p. 313. MHR.
- 50 Maryland Provincial Court Deed, Anne Arundel County, Lib. B.B. no. 3, p. 51. MHR.
- 51 Maryland Provincial Court Deed, Anne Arundel County, Lib. B.B. no. 2, p. 215. MHR.
- 52 Maryland Provincial Court Deed, Anne Arundel County, Lib. D.D. no. 3, part II. MHR.
- 53 Land, Colonial Maryland A History, 26. The organization of an area into "Hundreds" stems from an ancient English jurisdiction of civil subdivisions called "Hundreds." By the eighteenth century this subdivision had nothing to do with population numbers and was not drawn up around groups of one hundred people as commonly believed.
- 54 Survey of Anne Arundel County, Maryland Historic Trust, 1976. MHT.
- 55 From the study of the Federal Direct Tax Assessment the mean size plantation house was approximately 24 feet by 30 feet suggesting one room or hall/parlor floor plans.
- 56 Maryland Gazette, May 10, 1759.
- 57 An examination of the Federal Direct Tax Assessment for Anne Arundel County, excluding Annapolis, revealed that brick houses did not occur below the valuation of 100 dollars. Usually at that price the building was described as old, sad, or out of repair. The mean price for brick buildings in Anne Arundel County was 550 dollars.
- 58 John Woodforde, Georgian Houses For All (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), 12.

⁵⁹ Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheller Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," Winterthur Portfolio 16, no. 2/3 (1981): 138-196.

⁶⁰ J. Reaney Kelly, Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County Maryland (Baltimore, Maryland: The Maryland Historical Society, 1963), 100-104.

⁶¹ Kelly, Quakers, 105.

⁶² Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Weiss, Early Brickmaking in New Jersey (Trenton, New Jersey: New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1966), 3.

⁶³ John Lawson, A New Voyage to Carolina, Edited by Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), 89.

⁶⁴ John Woodforde, Bricks to Build A House (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1967), 15.

⁶⁵ John Woodforde, Bricks, 23.

⁶⁶ Maryland Gazette, February 2, 1769, and January 10, 1771. There has never been a study of the building trade and allied craftsmen for Annapolis and Anne Arundel County. One is dependent in a study like this on advertisements in colonial papers to find and identify craftsmen. Thus, there may have been other brick yards in operation in the area, however, these are the only two known because they advertised.

⁶⁷ Maryland Gazette, November 10, 1757.

⁶⁸ Thomas Cooper, Esq., The Emporium of Arts and Sciences, 4, no. 3 (Philadelphia: Kimber of Richardson no. 237, Market St. 1814), 394.

⁶⁹ In their book, English Brickwork (London: Wardlock Limited A Hyperion Book, 1976), Ronald Brunskill and Alec Clifton-Taylor state:

The effect of a high iron content in the clay is to produce ferric oxide in an oxidizing atmosphere, making the brick salmon pink at 900° C.... p. 13.

This may be one possible reason for the characteristic salmon pink color of many Anne Arundel County brick houses as the county has a very high iron content in its soil. However, it is often hard to determine just what gives a batch of clay its distinctive color when fired. The ultimate color of a brick can be influenced by trace elements in the clay, the type of sand used, the type of fuel used, and the temperature reached during firing.

- 70 Nathaniel Lloyd, A History of English Brickwork (London: H. Greville Montgomery, MCMXXV), 66.
- 71 Michael F. Trostel, A.I.A., Mount Clare (Baltimore, Maryland: National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland, 1981), 16.
- 72 Cary Carson, et al., "Impermanent Architecture," 188.
- 73 Alec Clifton-Taylor, Pattern of English Building (London: BT. Batsford Ltd., 1962), 225-226.
- 74 Paul Love, "Patterned Brickwork in Southern New Jersey," Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, 73, no. 3 (July 3, 1955), 183.
- 75 Paul Love, "Patterned Brickwork," 187-190.
- 76 William H. Pierson, Jr., American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976), 66.
- 77 Harry Forrester, The Smaller Queen Anne and Georgian House (Chelmsford, England: J. N. Clarke & Co. Ltd., 1964), vii.
- 78 John Summerson, Architecture In Britain 1530 to 1830 (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1953), 189.
- 79 Woodforde, Georgian Houses For All, 3-4.
- 80 Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth Century Virginia," Winterthur Portfolio 17, no. 2/3 (1982), 108.
- 81 Woodforde, Georgian Houses For All, 15.
- 82 Woodforde, Georgian Houses For All, 2.
- 83 Pierson, American Buildings, 73-78.
- 84 Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth Century Virginia," 96.
- 85 Thomas Tileston Waterman, The Mansions of Virginia (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946), 253.
- 86 Helen Park, "A List of Architectural Books Available in America Before the Revolution," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 20 (October 1961), 115-130. The four room plan with central hall, and one or two cross halls on either side of the central hall, can be found in several English pattern books such as William

Pain's, The Builder's Pocket Treasure, or Palladio Delineated and Explained, London, 1763, Robert Morris', Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture, or a Parallel of the Ancient Buildings with the Modern, Shewing the Beauty and Harmony of the Former, and the Irregularity of the Latter, London, 1728, and a number of extremely similar floor plans occur in Isaac Ware's, A Complete Body of Architecture, 2 vols., London, 1756.

87 Trostel, Mount Clare, 36-37.

88 Cary Carson, "Segregation in Vernacular Building," Vernacular Architecture 7 (1976), 28.

89 Cary Carson, "English Vernacular Architecture Gone Native," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 34, no. 4 (December, 1975), 299.

90 Carson, "Segregation in Vernacular Building," 24-29; idem, "English Architecture Gone Native," 288-299. In his work on seventeenth-century building in Virginia Cary Carson discovered that the Virginia Colonists chose to build certain types of houses from a broad spectrum available to them not for climatic circumstances, but as a way of separating themselves from their servants.

91 Waterman, The Mansions of Virginia, 111.

92 Bernard Herman, "The Material World of Thomas Mendenhall, 1780-1820" (Paper delivered to the Queens College Seminar, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. Johns, March 1982), 10.

93 Robert Machin, "The Great Rebuilding: A Reassessment," A Journal of Historical Studies, (November, 1977), 48.

94 Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System, 215-216.

95 Maryland Chancery Records 1787 Liber 16, p. 333-338. MHR.

96 Maryland Provincial Court, Deed Lib. T.B.H., no. 1 (17271), p. 431. MHR.

97 Maryland Gazette, September 6, 1781.

98 Maryland Provincial Court, Deed Lib. T.B.H., no. 1 (17271), p. 404. MHR.

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