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Manipulating the Landscape: A Mark, Not Just on the Land, but on the Minds of Men

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Comparative studies of landscapes and architecture provide additional insights to research already available on mid- to late-18th-century plantations and the mindsets of the colonial elite who oversaw their construction. Many examples exist of plantation owners modifying landscapes rather than using natural topography, suggesting the plantation layout is a mirror of the owner's personal worldview or, on a deeper level, a projection of future aspirations. By mapping plantation landscapes and comparing spatial layouts, it may be possible to see patterns in the way planters structured themselves socially within their own class and used their plantations as a means to rise within their social circles. Background research on the owners, especially the social or political milestones in their lives, is necessary to understanding this link between plantation layout and social status. Does a change in one sphere mirror a change in the other? To begin this analysis, I compiled a list of 17 plantations constructed between 1740 and 1790, with an initial focus on Maryland. Some sites from Virginia that have been extensively researched were consulted for comparative data. While only a small number of plantations in Maryland and Virginia have been thoroughly mapped, comparison among plantation layouts has yielded positive results. Building a "plantation grammar," or set of elements and structures common to the plantations, provided insight into the mindset of Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland. The plantation grammar also brought into question a feature of his plantation that has, historically, been accepted by scholars. When considering all aspects of Sharpe's plantation, it is highly probable that the feature in question did not exist.

Les études comparatives sur les paysages et l'architecture apportent des informations supplémentaires aux recherches déjà disponibles sur les plantations du milieu ou à la fin du XVIIIe siècle et à la mentalité de l'élite coloniale qui a supervisé leur construction. Il existe de nombreux exemples de propriétaires de plantations modifiant les paysages plutôt que d'utiliser la topographie naturelle, ce qui suggère que la disposition des plantations est un reflet de la vision du monde personnelle du propriétaire ou, plus profondément, une projection des aspirations futures. En cartographiant les paysages de plantation et en comparant les dispositions spatiales, il est possible de voir des modèles dans la manière dont les propriétaires de plantations se sont structurés socialement au sein de leur propre classe et ont utilisé leurs plantations comme un moyen de se développer au sein de leurs cercles sociaux. Des recherches de base sur les propriétaires, en particulier les étapes sociales ou politiques de leur vie, sont nécessaires pour comprendre ce lien entre la disposition des plantations et le statut social. Un changement dans une sphère reflète-t-il un changement dans l'autre? Pour commencer cette analyse, j'ai compilé une liste de 17 plantations construites entre 1740 et 1790, avec un focus initial sur le Maryland. Certains sites de Virginie qui ont fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches ont été consultés pour obtenir des données comparatives. Bien que seul un petit nombre de plantations dans le Maryland et en Virginie aient été minutieusement cartographiées, la comparaison entre les dispositions des plantations a donné des résultats positifs. L'établissement d'une grammaire de plantation ou d'un ensemble d'éléments et de structures communes aux plantations a permis de mieux comprendre l'état d'esprit du gouverneur Horatio Sharpe du Maryland. La grammaire des plantations a également mis en cause une caractéristique de sa plantation qui a toujours été acceptée par les spécialistes. Lorsque l'on considère tous les aspects de la plantation de Sharpe, il est fort probable que cette caractéristique en question n'existe pas.

Introduction

Social and political hierarchy is an important topic in archaeological research, aiding in the understanding of community dynamics and cultural identity. Archaeologists and historians have demonstrated through studies of architecture, artistic programs, landscapes, and material culture that plantations built in colonial America were used as tools to exert the dominance and power of planters over their land managers and slaves (Kryder-Reid 1994: 135; Leone 1984; Leone and Shackel 1990: 164;

Leone et al. 2005). Previous comparative studies of social hierarchies present on colonial plantations have placed the planters into one homogenous group. However, the members of the upper echelon of colonial American society were not homogenous. There was a dynamic social hierarchy within their class which contributed to an atmosphere where competition could thrive. These types of hierarchical dynamics are seen in other classes as well. One such example can be found in enslaved populations on plantations where even in an atmosphere of oppression there was a marked difference between the position of an enslaved person working in the house versus an enslaved person working in the fields (Pavão-Zuckerman, this issue).

The tendency of archaeological investigations on colonial American plantations has been to research individual aspects of the sites. Examples of such research foci include slave quarters, the mansion, and the various industries performed around the plantation. While this research has been helpful and necessary, plantations were much more complex than individual aspects alone can show. As research on plantations continues, a more holistic view has been adopted, and publications have reflected this change. This comprehensive approach to colonial American plantations has allowed new research questions to develop. For this particular project, three different, yet intimately connected, research questions surfaced. Each question revolves around the built environment and its capacity to illuminate social trends and contemporary worldviews. First, when plantations are compared as whole entities to each other, can a "grammar" of common elements implemented by the planters in their architectural programs be identified? The process would be similar to the way Glassie (1976) approached middle Virginia vernacular houses. Second, could deeper insight into the minds of the people who built these plantations be gained by identifying the presence or absence of these elements? Third, can the planters' political and social goals be interpreted through their archi-

tectural and artistic programs? The first two research questions are addressed here as a preliminary report of findings, which could provide the basis for beginning to answer the third question. These preliminary findings will then be applied to investigations of a restored feature at Whitehall plantation in Anne Arundel County and an analysis of the social and political status of the owner, Governor Horatio Sharpe. Applying this process in future research may help identify patterns in the way planters organized their social circle and moved within their hierarchy.

Adding Meaning to Architectural Grammar

Architecture can be a medium through which ideology is consciously projected. Ideology embodies a worldview or a particular outlook that can be a complex mixture of thoughts and approaches to life. Therefore, it is not just about the meaning of one particular architectural feature, but the message conveyed by the whole architectural program. The use of architecture in this capacity is seen in the present built environment as frequently as it is in the historic. A contemporary example is the Mormon temple just outside Washington, D.C. The Mormon temple has been a highly visible landmark since its initial construction and can been seen from the main highway miles away. At a distance, it seems to be built in the middle of a forest and produces a sense of awe when it first comes into view. The temple is a direct representation of Mormon ideology; built to represent a beehive with individual rooms it gives congregants the personal experience or meditation they seek, rather than the communal experience most often associated with churches (Leone 1997). The arrangement of the interior and a prohibition on admission of the uninitiated speak to identity and worldview.

An effective way to decode ideology is to compare documentary evidence to the built environment. Archaeologists can track past alterations of mansions and landscapes made

in response to changes in social environments. An example of the correlation between architectural changes and social status can be seen at Upper Fort Garry, home to the Hudson Bay Company and the administrative center of the Red River settlement from 1836 to 1882. The fort went through a series of renovations that have been linked to social changes in the settlement and the attempt by the leaders of Hudson Bay Company to "maintain or increase their competitive advantage" (Monks 1992: 37). Monks (1992: 45) has shown that the fort doubled in size as economic hardship and social unrest challenged the Hudson Bay Company's dominance of trade. The expansion was accompanied by construction of an impressive stone gate to reinforce the company's supremacy over the indigenous population and trade competitors. Access to the fort was further restricted by creating a separate civilian entrance in the outer wall. These physical features contributed to social and cultural barriers. A second example is the historic Sherburne House in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The Sherburne House was remodeled several times, with each remodel marking a time when Joseph Sherburne achieved social advancement. The last renovation was in the Georgian style and took place at a time that corresponded to Sherburne's appointment to the King's Council in 1733 (Stull 2000: 7).

These examples are just a few of many that demonstrate people altered the built environment as a means of displaying a shift in their ideology and perceived status. The Georgian architectural movement in colonial America exhibited such a shift, as home layouts moved away from reflecting and encouraging communal experiences to emphasizing the individual (Deetz 1996). Similar analyses can be applied to colonial plantations. Architecture can go far beyond reflecting ideology subconsciously and was used actively by the planters as an effective tool for social advancement.

A Time of Change: 1740–1790

Opportunities for social advancement may present themselves during times of political change and may then act as a catalyst for architectural and landscape change. Research into the phases of architectural and landscape programs on plantations frequently does not immediately consider political correlations. Yet ideology is repeatedly implemented in governmental architecture and city planning, such as Sir Francis Nicholson's design for the capital of colonial Maryland, Annapolis (Leone and Shackel 1990: 154). The design highlighted the State House and Anglican church by placing them at a higher vantage point than the rest of the city. The political system of colonial America drastically transformed between 1740 and 1790, sending ripples of change through all aspects of life. If minute changes in the common patterns present on plantations can truly indicate the planters' aspirations or desires for social advancement, then this time period is ideal for identifying those alterations. An architectural grammar could assist in this process by providing an established baseline for customary elements, which would help decipher the ideology behind the architecture.

Prior to the Revolution, government positions were appointed with some positions providing additional sources of income. This meant that respect and approval from colleagues could prove lucrative for colonial planters even beyond the simple attainment of prestige. Giddens (1937: 164) points to the advice that Cecilius Calvert, advisor to Lord Baltimore in England, gave to Maryland governor Horatio Sharpe in a letter dated 17 March 1761, which stated that "health, ability, nearness to Annapolis, family connections, and proper attachment to the Proprietor's rights should be considered in selecting persons for the council." Therefore, the impression a planter made on the governor was an important factor in his promotion within the government, and investment in this impression could eventually yield profit. Although architecture and landscape were a means to convey planter's power to slaves, it is possible that additional social groups were also targeted audiences. Many planters owned homes in towns but plantations were considered their country

seats where they received visiting peers for lengthy periods of time. Their hospitality, the architecture of their homes, and the efficiency of their households would recommend them to their peers as capable men perfectly suited for administering government offices.

After the Revolution, however, positions were filled through democratic vote. Within a short period of time, the planters' target audience changed drastically. The audience grew to include other social circles, such as merchants, meaning that the message presented by the plantation had to be adapted. It was no longer about superiority among peers but "equality" among men or, at the very least, the appearance of it.

The plantation homes themselves were, for the most part, static and unmovable statements. As archaeologists continue to research, excavate, and map individual aspects of plantations around the mansions, it becomes more apparent that these sites as complete entities were constantly evolving microcosms and economic systems involving agricultural, social, and cultural subsystems (Pogue 1994: 101). Archaeologists at George Washington's Mount Vernon have demonstrated three distinct phases of change in the plantation's landscape. Each relates to Washington's social and political desires at a particular time. In the first phase Washington sought to establish himself as a member of the gentry with his ambitions represented in the architecture of his home and the layout of the buildings, grounds, and gardens (Pogue 1994: 106). This was achieved by applying a highly geometric Georgian plan in the architecture of the house and "presenting an ordered façade to anyone approaching from either land or water sides" (Pogue 1994: 106). By incorporating this specific style of architecture, Washington was participating in the latest trends of English fashion and emulating contemporary elites. The effect of this was reciprocal reification between projected identity and architecture. Reciprocal reification reinforces an idea through repetitive use of an object that initially embodied that idea. Material culture and the built environment are

actively constructed because people choose the elements of material culture or built spaces that reflect their identity. Through repetitive use and routine, artifacts and features anchor the identity they originally represented and this becomes accepted as truth rather than projection (Gardner 2007: 64, 66). The second phase involved an effort to move toward self-sufficiency by diversifying his industries to include fisheries, cloth production, and cash crops other than tobacco (Pogue 1994: 106). This was a smart financial move that contributed to his stability within his class. The third phase attempted to reinforce his status by adopting the newest styles in landscaping, which saw a change from rigid geometric designs to undulating and fluid forms. The example of Mount Vernon shows the ways a plantation can be modified and how changes to the natural and built environments can be linked to social and political status.

Although social and economic changes were occurring at a seemingly accelerated rate during this time period, the aspirations and self-perceptions of wealthy planters in the mid-18th century were rooted in the academic pursuits of the previous century's gentry. As archaeologists, we recognize that social and political events are not isolated occurrences but pieces of a complex worldview that shape how people behave, think, and feel. The historical events that began in early 17th-century England continued to affect the lives of 18th-century planters in the American colonies. In the 1630s, England was still largely an agrarian country just starting to build a name for itself as a capable sea power and contender in New World exploration (Hutchison 1976: 18–20). By the mid-17th century, however, England saw an explosion of innovation and scientific exploration. During that time an English group of scholars, labeling themselves the "virtuosi," emerged. The term "virtuosi" derives from Italian and fuses together the characteristics of scholar, scientist, and appreciator of the arts. They were well versed in Latin, conducted science experiments, practiced architectural design, and researched horticulture. In

essence, they were what are referred to today as "Renaissance men". Scholars included: John Napier, inventor of logarithms; Edward Gunter, inventor of the slide rule; and Henry Briggs, the first to use decimal notation (Hutchison 1976: 28). The virtuosi of the mid-17th century sought after knowledge with a passion and curiosity that inadvertently resulted in setting a standard for the gentlemen of their day. This was a standard that planters in colonial America avidly pursued and used to prove themselves to their perceived equals.

Architectural design was one of the scholarly pursuits that could immediately impress colleagues upon their arrival at a plantation. It was, therefore, an indispensable subject in a gentleman's studies. The high regard this subject continued to garner during the 18th century is aptly articulated in Richard Neve's (1726) *The City and Country Purchaser and Builder's Dictionary: The Compleat Builders Guide.* Neve first published his book in 1703 with a second edition written specifically for gentlemen published in 1726 (Neve 1726). In that volume Neve states that "[a]mongst those many arts which Divine Providence hath been pleased to endow mankind with the knowledge of, this of Architecture is none of the least, and therefore may well challenge a place amongst the Primary, and most necessary, if not the Pre-eminency of Rank" (Neve 1726: i–ii). Writing for the gentlemen of the day, Neve reflects and reinforces their perception of architecture in his choice of words. If architecture did indeed deserve the "Pre-eminency of Rank," then a gentleman would be remiss in ignoring his study of such a lofty subject and opportunities to display his pursuit would not be wasted. The plantation home became the natural choice of canvas for exhibiting architectural prowess.

Architecture as a Tool

A step in the pursuit of architectural prowess involved studying the masters of the artform. One of the main artists that planters

in England and America consulted was Andrea Palladio. Palladio was an Italian architect who lived in the 16th century. In his designs, the structural purpose and landscape setting were intimately intertwined. Palladio designed villas for gentlemen as escapes and places for rest, conscious of the spacious and ornate rooms they would need to properly entertain guests (Leapman 2003: 46, 51). His legacy of attention to detail in design can be seen in the notes of one of his 18th-century disciples, Inigo Jones. In Jones's notes on his personal copy of Palladio's designs he states that the "chambers for summer must be large and laid toward the north and those for the winter little and toward the south or west. The chambers for the spring and fall placed towards the east and that they look on gardens. Studies and libraries likewise" (Leapman 2003: 51). Through this arrangement, chambers for summer would remain cooler during the day due to their size and indirect position in relation to the sun. The chambers for the spring and fall would benefit from the warmth of the sun through prolonged exposure. The orientations and settings of plantation mansions were, therefore, very important, and the seasons and position of the sun were taken into consideration.

Palladio is also credited with the innovative use of temple architecture in domestic settings. Elements, such as pillars, porticos, and pediments, were now readily accessible in the artistic realm of the architect, who was often the colonial planter himself. This speaks volumes in relation to ideology and symbolism. Temple architecture was reserved for religious buildings and connected closely with the gods of classical civilizations. As an extension of this association, using identical design elements in effect elevates the occupant to the status of the divine. Men of wealth and status in colonial America capitalized on these design elements, which send messages of power and permanency.

The availability of Palladian designs in print aided the rapid adoption of this style of architecture. The designs and styles had existed for about a century but were now

easily obtained by colonial gentlemen, allowing them to master architecture simply through concentrated study. Most designs were published around 1715, shortly before mid-18th-century colonial plantations were built. Lord Burlington, one of the main patrons of architecture in England, assisted in the publication of these designs (Kimball 1950: 58). Two influential architects of the day were able to publish their designs with Lord Burlington's support and encouragement. These were Colin Campbell, who in 1717 published his great design book, titled Vitruvius Britannicus, and the aforementioned Inigo Jones, who published his designs in 1727 (Kimball 1950: 58). Kimball (1950: 60) mentions that copies of architectural works from England often found their way to the colonies within a few years of their publication dates. The eagerness of New World planters to obtain the latest designs reflects their hopes for recognition within their social circle by adhering to England's latest trends. William Eddis, a loyalist to the British crown living in colonial America before the start of the Revolution, published letters he wrote to his colleagues in Britain (Eddis 1792). These letters described the government and culture of colonial America. In one letter, he commented on this zealous adoption of trends in 1771, stating that "the quick importation of fashions from the mother country is really astonishing. I am almost inclined to believe that a new fashion is adopted earlier by the polished and affluent American, than by many opulent persons in the great metropolis; nor are opportunities wanting to display superior elegance" (Eddis 1792: 112; Edgar 1912: 249). One opportunity presented itself in the form of the designs chosen for the plantation homes.

The location of the mansion also contributed significantly to the display of superior elegance and knowledge. The choice of where to build relied on research, surveying, and engineering. If possible, the mansion was placed at the highest elevation available. When Charles Carroll, Barrister,[1] inherited his father's plantation near Baltimore, he demolished the existing one-and-a-half-story house in order to build Mount Clare on the same site. The site overlooked the Chesapeake Bay and provided beautiful vistas. More importantly, Mount Clare, coupled with its symmetrical row of outbuildings, created a balanced composition and presented an impressive sight to passing ships (Trostel 1981: 11). Thus, high ground was valued not only for its aesthetic nature, but also for the exposure and prestige it provided.

In order to build on an elevated site, the location had to be leveled to accommodate the foundation, an engineering feat exemplified at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello (Kelso 1990: 9). At Monticello, however, Jefferson created a different effect by manipulating the approach to his mansion. The route shielded the mansion from view until the guests were in close proximity, providing them with ample opportunity to view Jefferson's property and displaying his wealth and lands (Upton 1990: 84). This culminated in the grand sight of Monticello, which was designed to leave viewers awestruck and filled with admiration for the owner and architect.

Landscape Architecture and Horticulture as a Tool

Much like identity and aspirations, the built environment can be layered and complex. The planter's display of knowledge was exhibited as extensively and effectively in the garden as in the mansion. The planter's mansion, therefore, cannot be the sole focus of study when assessing a site and investigating the social ideology to which the planter subscribed. Landscape architecture and horticulture functioned as tools alongside architectural design, and a planter could employ them to fashion his environment as he desired. Landscape architecture involved familiarity with engineering and

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1. Between 1737 and 1782 there were several Carroll men with the first name Charles (Lee 1896: 75). Charles Carroll, Barrister (1723-1783) was a cousin of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. He studied law at Cambridge University in England and was a member of the United States Congress (Lee 1896: 75; Leonard 1918: 24).

geometry, while horticulture required understanding the sciences involved in cultivation. In order to grow mature plants successfully, a suitable environment was necessary. The soil had to be replenished with appropriate nutrients and ornamental gardens required proper water management. To achieve a well-maintained garden, the planter had to research and apply the knowledge he gained from sources on horticulture.

At most plantation sites, garden terraces were added after the construction of the main house. The terraces were used to display a combination of exotic and domestic plants in intricate designs. At first glance these terraces seem to be an element that simply added beauty to the property. The visiting elite, however, would have recognized the skill and wealth involved in executing these plans. Their execution would have required enslaved labor to remove soil and define the terraces; only the very wealthy gentry were able to produce such results. The moment the terraces first appear in the historical or archaeological record should be noted as a sign of expendable wealth and prestige that indicates upward social or political movement.

Once the natural environment was altered, the planter used his knowledge of geometry to impress his contemporaries by applying the rules of perspective to his artistic program in the garden. Perspective could be used to manipulate the viewer by directing his or her attention to a focal point of the planter's choice. In essence, the planter was treating the space as a volume rather than a plane (Leone and Shackel 1990: 153, 163; Leone et al. 2005: 140). The rules of perspective could be seen at Mulberry Fields, where the distance between trees increased by a factor of four as one moved away from the house and toward the river (Weber et al. 1990: 140). The orchards at Mount Clare were planted in a diagonal line, giving the impression that the gardens were larger than they actually were (Weber et al. 1990: 140). This impression was extremely effective and elicited admiration, considering one of the main forms of wealth was land ownership.

The planters used tricks of perspective in the designs of their city homes, as well, and these sites serve as an important body of comparative data for understanding the application of mathematics to landscape architecture during this time period. At the Carroll House in Annapolis, owner Charles Carroll of Carrollton used principles of plane geometry when designing his garden. Carroll drafted a grid over the design for the garden space that was proportionate to the length of the house and used the basic geometric figure of a 3-4-5 right triangle (Leone and Shackel 1990: 163). The Carroll House's terraces decreased in length as they descended away from the house. The same element can be seen in the first three terraces at Mount Clare, which was owned by Charles Carroll, Barrister. To the visitors of Carroll House objects on the river appeared to be closer than they were, providing a much better vista. To passengers traveling by boat on the river, the house appeared to be farther away than it was, which instilled a sense of loftiness to the mansion and, possibly, a sense that this lifestyle was unattainable. This one trick of perspective evoked a different response from each group and reinforced accepted social divisions.

Exotic plants provided another means for planters to elicit admiration. Through the cultivation of nonindigenous species, a gentleman could display superior knowledge and great wealth. The benefits of a garden, then, went beyond providing sustenance or beauty. Orangeries were considered a status symbol and luxury only found among the extremely wealthy. Mount Clare (1763), the plantation of Charles Carroll, Barrister; Governor Sharpe's Whitehall (1765) in Annapolis; and Edward Lloyd IV's Wye House (1781) in Talbot County each boasted such a feature (Trostel 1981: 13). Orangeries highlighted their owners' access to rare resources and their "ability to protect, conserve, or use them at their will" (Yentsch 1990: 169). The orangery found at the Calvert's property in Annapolis included a hypocaust to control the climate for the orange trees; an example of adapting Roman technology for agricultural

purposes (Yentsch 1990: 169). The use of ancient technology provided the Calverts with an opportunity to discuss their knowledge of ancient Rome, horticulture, and engineering. The understanding and successful execution of this knowledge served to promote their position as a capable, prestigious, and innovative family.

Classical elements of Georgian architecture contributed to the prestigious image of these families. Classical architecture created an association with the wealthy, powerful, and influential cultures of ancient Greece and Rome (Kryder-Reid 1994: 132). This leant credibility to perceptions or claims of elite heritage, whether true or not, and suggested the planter naturally belonged with the influential men of his day. The importance of this impression lies in the fact that most of the wealth the planters had accumulated thus far was relatively recent compared with that of the gentry of England. Second sons, usurped lords, and merchants

were settling in the colonies to start building lives and establishing family seats. The image of an illustrious family tree was just another goal or desire projected through the built environment by the historical associations attached to the architectural program. On an even deeper level than ancient family connections was the association with the gods of the ancient world through temple architectural elements.

An extension of this association with "god-like" power was the impression that the planter could control the natural environment. This was achieved through the manipulation of the seasons, perspective, and movement through the landscape. The construction of a greenhouse, which created the right conditions for plant growth, demonstrated control over the natural world, as did the perceived increase in land through perspective. Another example is the control over the movement of people through the manipulation of pathways and entrances (Kryder-Reid 1994: 141). Formal

Table 1. Maryland plantations constructed in the mid-18th century.

|	Name of Plantation	Owner of Plantation	Year of Construction
1	Belair	Governor Samuel Ogle	1745
2	Compton Bassett	Clement Hill IV	1783
3	Concord	Zachariah Berry, Sr.	1790
4	Doughoregan Manor	Charles Carroll III	1780
5	Harmony Hall	Walter and John Addison	1760
6	His Lordship's Kindness	Robert Darnall	1780
7	Montpelier	Thomas Snowden	1783
8	Mount Clare	Charles Carroll, Barrister	1763
9	Mulberry Grove	John Hanson, Jr.	1744
10	Oxon Hill Manor	Thomas Addison	1767
11	Rose Hill	Dr. Gustavus Richard Brown	1783
12	Squirrel Neck (Java)	Nicholas Muccubin	1747
13	Thomas Stone House	Thomas Stone	1773
14	Tulip Hill	Samuel Galloway III	1755
15	White Hall	Captain William Cottman	1785
16	Whitehall	Governor Horatio Sharpe	1765
17	Wye House	The Lloyd family	1781
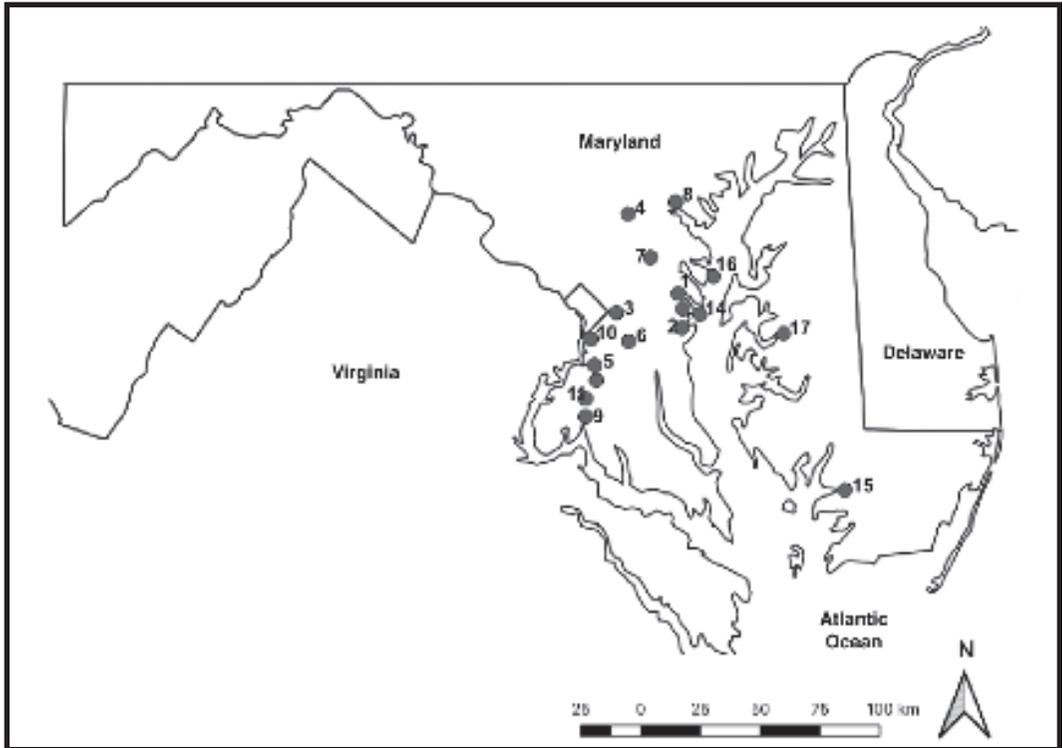
Figure 1. Map showing the approximate locations of the mid-18th-century Maryland plantations listed in Table 1. (Map by Kathleen E. Clifford, 2018.)

entrances were provided for those deemed "worthy", as opposed to servant entrances used to perpetuate subjugation and diminish self-worth. All these elements combined to present the planter as lord over his world: the plantation. These manipulations reinforced social relations and made them appear natural and inevitable, which directly reflected the planters' ideology (Leone 1984: 26). Should the planter's physical world seem well-ordered and his command over the environment exemplary, his peers would place him among those at the top of their hierarchy.

Architectural Grammar: Methods and Initial Results

Plantations built between 1740 and 1790 were analyzed in order to observe nuances of change in architectural styles due to changes in the political and social environment. The initial area chosen was Maryland with the intent of eventually applying the same methodologies to multiple regions, performing comparative analyses between those regions, and producing a comprehensive body of research. The resulting list comprised 17 plantations (TAB. 1 and FIG. 1). This list is not exhaustive and will, no doubt, continue to grow.

I collected various types of data relating to each plantation in order to place the site within its spatial context. Topographic maps of the sites provided information on elevation and natural features. Light detection and ranging images (LiDAR) helped to highlight archaeological features not readily visible to the eye and often provided sharper images of the terraces. Satellite images supplied information on the extent of visible remains and the surrounding environment of the plantation. This information was supplemented by

the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) forms and cultural resources management (CRM) reports where these were available. The HABS forms often provided background information on the history of ownership and any subsequent alterations to the mansion after initial construction. The CRM reports contained maps that helped locate dependencies, such as slave houses and industrial buildings. The cardinal orientation of the plantation was noted to determine adherence to Palladio's comments and designs. The number of terraces were recorded as an indirect gauge of expendable wealth. When the information was available, the number of slaves present at the site was recorded, which speaks to wealth.

To date, the results of this research are promising. Comparative analysis of the Maryland plantations showed trends in architecture and landscape design that can aid in constructing a grammar and revealing ideology. The benefits of identifying these aspects of colonial life lie in a further, nuanced understanding of the colonial world, which could provide helpful insights into the reasoning behind events or individual actions. Archaeologists are consistently abandoning binary models used in outdated anthropological approaches, such as primitive versus cultured, and more frequently exploring the complexities of social interaction between and within groups. A set grammar for plantations would contribute to this movement. This grammar would include the presence of Georgian architecture, terraces, ornamental gardens, and tricks of perspective. All elements were at the colonial planters' disposal and formed a type of grammatical "toolkit".

The importance of Georgian architecture for this study lies in its use of geometry and its presentation of an ordered facade. A gentleman could boast of his knowledge of geometry and mathematics through the design of his home and present an ordered facade that contributed to the perception that he operated a highly organized microcosm. The remod-

eling of a mansion into the Georgian style, or the style's initial presence, should be noted in the historical and archaeological record. Remodeling in the Georgian architectural style, as seen at the Sherburne House, is especially important because it indicates a possible change in social or political status, as well as potential growth in monetary wealth.

Terraces are grammatical elements replete with sociological undertones. These undertones are twofold and involve both interactions between social equals and those between the oppressor and the oppressed. The engineering involved in creating level terraces along a hillside and an understanding of the necessities of drainage or nutrients for ornamental gardens are elements required for the planter to make a successful impression among his peers. However, terraces are also evidence of wealth manifested in the acquisition of slaves and the ability to devote their labor power to terrace construction. To the colonial planter the successful construction of terraces indicated proper management of money, resources, and people. The appearance of terraces, therefore, is an important indicator of social position. Terraced gardens are present at 15 of the 17 plantations. The absence of terraces at Wye House in Talbot County is due to topography, but it is surrounded by water, which increases its visibility. Mulberry Grove, constructed in an elevated location, currently also lacks terraces. This is an example of the absence of a feature that should illicit archaeological interest. The promontory on which Mulberry Grove sits overlooks Port Tobacco. With a surrounding viewshed that includes the once-thriving commercial town, the addition of terraces would have only added to its grandeur. Only archaeological investigation will be able to show whether terraces ever existed there. If they never existed, then further research into John Hanson, Jr., owner of Mulberry Grove, may shed light on his reluctance to follow fashionable standards of the day.

Ornamental gardens should be considered separately from terraces, although when both

are present they can be intimately entwined. Different essential characteristics of a gentleman can be seen in the maintenance of ornamental gardens. This included the ability to control his environment. While the presence of ornamental gardens could contribute to the planter's social standing, orangeries or greenhouses would lend greater prestige to the owner. The application of science and engineering in the construction of orangeries and greenhouses and the availability of fruits or flowers outside their seasons of growth would draw elation and admiration from colleagues.

An interesting attribute that most plantations shared was the placement of dependencies along the approach to the mansion. This could, therefore, join the growing list of grammatical elements. The position of these dependencies was meant to display wealth in the form of slaves and industry, and power through discipline. The divergence of the layout of dependencies from the standard could indicate different worldviews or attempts at altering the perceptions of visiting peers. For example, at the Compton-Bassett plantation (National Register of Historic Places 1983), owned by Clement Hill IV, the dependencies are not along the approach. Instead, individual dependencies are located at the corners of the house. How does this speak to Hill's worldview? At the very least, this arrangement changed how Hill moved about his plantation as compared with contemporary planters. Although movement may seem unimportant, it is influenced by how one's microcosm is organized, and, therefore, relates to the perception of one's role in the world. Further investigation would be needed to unravel how Hill viewed his role in the world and how this view affected his position in society.

Whitehall Plantation

The application of this grammar can go beyond analysis of social aspirations. In fact, this research has already aided archaeological investigations at Whitehall, the plantation of colonial Maryland governor Horatio Sharpe in Anne Arundel County. Sharpe arrived in Maryland in 1753 (Giddens 1937: 83). He was 35-years old at the time of his arrival and acted as governor for close to 16 years. His brothers in England were in favor with the 6th Lord Baltimore and able to assist in the administration of Maryland through their influence (Giddens 1937: 158). They were his public-relations team; able to extol his accomplishments and intervene on his behalf in his absence. This may have contributed significantly to the success and longevity of his governorship. However, his character also seems to have secured his success. The impression he made on the general public seems to have been one of a brave, good-natured man capable of navigating government offices skillfully (Giddens 1937: 83). A soldier at Fort Cumberland described him as "a very good soldier; cheerful and free, of good conduct, and one who won't be trifled with" (Papenfuse et al. 1985: 726). Daniel Dulany the Elder, a prominent politician in Maryland, wrote that the governor seems to be of a "frank, open temper and free from affectation, and far from being greedy" (Giddens 1937: 83).

Whitehall was constructed in 1765. Sharpe designed the mansion and its gardens himself (National Register of Historic Places 1966). Built in traditional Georgian architectural style, the mansion was based on a Roman country-house design, variations of which were found in the popular architecture books of the day. The entablature, which is Corinthian in style, is modeled after plate 18 in *The Modern Builder's Assistant*, published in 1757 (Halfpenny et al. 1757; National Register of Historic Places 1966). The portico is a full temple portico, the grandeur of which clearly conveyed his status. Here was a planter and government official that had reached the pinnacle of his career and he chose to adopt the complete temple style for his home's architecture. While others were reaching for social preeminence, Sharpe had already attained that goal. It is significant that this mansion was

Figure 2. Governor Sharpe's Whitehall plantation in Maryland showing the bastion. (Photo by Kathleen E. Clifford, 2016.)

built at the end of his career. It was originally intended as a place to entertain guests seasonally, but soon became his retirement home (National Register of Historic Places 1966). In a sense, it embodied the culmination of his accomplishments into the built environment. To add to his prestige, he imported rare plants and flowers from Holland, England, and France (Edgar 1912: 189). Upon his death, his secretary, John Ridout, inherited Whitehall. Whitehall remained in the possession of members of the Ridout family until they sold it in 1895 (National Register of Historic Places 1966).

The historical restoration of Whitehall began in the 1950s, initiated by its owner at the time, Charles Scarlett. Scarlett researched the site in order to reconstruct Whitehall in a manner as historically accurate as possible. In his zealous pursuit of the mansion's original

glory, Scarlett came across architectural plans initially proposed to Sharpe. These have been attributed to Joseph Horatio Anderson based on the similarity of his handwriting in a business letter to that present on the plans (Anderson [1763-1780]; Beirne 1960: 191; National Register of Historic Places 1966). The architectural plans include the only historical mention of a feature Scarlett chose to include in his restorations. The feature was an earthwork bastion on the land-approach side of the mansion (FIG. 2). While recognized by archaeologists as an anomaly, this feature has been largely accepted as historically accurate and has even been proposed as a legitimate defense system against the mounting threats of indigenous attacks during Pontiac's Rebellion (1763–1766) (Edgar 1912: 200). However, a comparison of Whitehall with the architectural grammar of contemporary plantation layouts

shows the feature to be blatantly unique, to the point that further investigation is warranted.

The wording of the document clearly indicates that the plans had not yet been executed. In describing another feature, separate from the earthwork but included in the same plan, the architect says "it can be made without one nail" (Anderson 1763-1780). There is no other mention of the earthwork in subsequent documents or descriptions of Whitehall. In the early 20th century Lady Matilda Edgar, an historian and relative of the Ridout family, described Whitehall in a chapter of her book, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland: Horatio Sharpe and His Times 1753–1773* (Edgar 1912). In the same chapter there is a description of the indigenous attacks and Pontiac's Rebellion, yet there is no mention of the earthwork (Edgar 1912). The sheer ineffectiveness of the earthwork as a fortification adds to the absurdity of its presence. It was constructed low to the ground, close to the house, and could only "protect" one of its four sides. The waterside approach to Whitehall was left wide open to attack. As a military man, Sharpe would have seen the fortification as a farce.

While Charles Scarlett was an excellent researcher and did his due diligence in attempting an accurate reconstruction of Whitehall, he failed to consider aspects of Sharpe's life beyond his military career and the plantation architectural design as a whole. Here is an example where awareness of an established architectural grammar may have helped. Understanding which grammatical elements are present at Whitehall (e.g., the full temple portico) and the ideology behind the elements (e.g., ultimate social and political attainment) could have provided deeper insight into Sharpe's social and political position. The extremely conservative style of Whitehall implies an appreciation of tradition by Sharpe. When considered in conjunction with the silence of the historical documents, comparisons with the canon of plantation grammar, and Sharpe's practical character, the likelihood that the earthwork fortification was built at the time of Whitehall's construction

lessens. The built environment of a site and historical personas cannot be reconstructed or analyzed in isolation, or details will be missed and misinterpretations may abound. Each phase of a site needs to be understood within its larger cultural context, which should include the architectural grammar, events in the owner's life, and events in the surrounding social or political environment. This approach is one that archaeologists and historians have been applying to newly discovered sites, but sites for which the research is outdated could benefit from a fresh perspective.

Future Research Directions

A type of "grammar" began to emerge when analyzing the available layouts and data on mid-18th-century Maryland plantations. However, it is necessary to take the research a step farther. The planter's life, as it relates to the plantation's construction timeline, must also be researched and put into context. Looking at descriptions of Governor Sharpe's character and status politically and socially at the time Whitehall was constructed helped determine the historical accuracy of a restored "feature". Subsequent research could investigate to a greater degree the planters' lives and major social or political milestones, and whether they coincide with major alterations on the plantations.

The timeline of construction and alteration episodes at individual plantations could be compared to contemporary plantations. The planters not only displayed their academic knowledge to their peers through architecture and landscape, but they also consulted with each other on these subjects. Comparison of plantations may show when a particular element or trick of perspective appeared. If subsequent planters incorporated the same element, it may be an indication of the respect and regard contemporaries had for the planter they imitated. For example, Washington's Mount Vernon resembles the Fairfax family home, Belvoir. Belvoir was completed by 1741, which was 17 years before Mount Vernon was con-

structed. Washington spent a good deal of time there since the families were close friends (Pogue 1994: 106). The admiration Washington felt for his family friends could have influenced Mount Vernon's architecture in addition to the social prestige associated with the architectural elements. At Mount Clare, the giant pilasters rising the full height of the mansion were distinctive features of the terrace facade. Such pilasters were first seen, however, at Squirrel Neck, which was built by Nicholas Maccubbin, the brother-in-law of Charles Carroll, Barrister (Trostel 1981: 17). Nicholas Maccubbin was an extremely successful merchant in Annapolis. When Carroll incorporated the same design element into his plantation home, he made his capitals more detailed and prominent than those at Squirrel Neck. This act could easily be interpreted as competitive and an attempt to garner greater prestige.

The main challenge moving forward is that not all plantation layouts have been mapped, even though many of the plantations have been extensively researched. If research is to progress with comparative analysis, it is essential to map these sites and publish excavation reports. As more layouts are mapped and the body of data grows, alternative approaches to analysis could be explored and possibly lead to innovative revelations. One such interesting approach may be to view the plantation as a volume, rather than a geometric plane, since most plantations were built at elevated locations. Colonial planters thought of the terraced gardens as a three-dimensional space, with depth and slope determined by terrace widths and elevation changes (Leone and Shackel 1990: 163). By treating plantations as a volume, the types of features present at different elevations can be observed, and patterns, tendencies, and, possibly, the cultural importance of specific features, discerned.

Conclusion

Although archaeologists have traditionally focused on plantations, and scholarship on this subject is seemingly saturated, these sites still have much more to contribute to our understanding of the people who built them and the society in which they lived. Recent research has focused on comparing individual aspects of sites, such as slave quarters, between contemporary plantations. It is true that such research has yielded important insights into the lives of people living in the 18th century. The potential is great, however, for further development of the subject when the research on individual features is combined and a comprehensive approach is implemented. This comprehensive approach would include investigation into spatial patterning, the landscape, and architectural programs at plantations, which would allow archaeologists to expand comparative analyses and produce new results. We have seen that a standard architectural grammar can be identified for 18th-century plantations. By connecting the presence or absence of these grammatical features with the social or political advancement of the owners, we can map group dynamics and expose the complex social interactions of these men. While Whitehall's design may represent an elite at the pinnacle of his social and political career, the architectural program is a prime example of elements mirroring worldview or group dynamics. The architectural features imitate designs reserved for the classical gods and the ornamental gardens announced to visitors that he was a knowledgeable man. Sharpe's choices not only showed his rank among his peers, but also his view of his place in the world. This is just one of many examples that conveys the possibilities of this process. Collectively, the results from different sites can provide a more nuanced understanding of past events. A lesson gleaned from observing the effect of the virtuosi on 18th-century planters is that events have lasting implications. As archaeologists and historians, we know that the more we understand about the past, the more equipped we are to provide insight into connected and subsequent events. Herein lies the benefit of revisiting these sites and unpacking the social complexities of 18th-century plantations.

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