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The Country's House: Examining Public Space and Community in St. Mary's City's Seventeenth-Century Town Center

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Abstract

Willoughby, Wesley R. The Country's House: Examining Public Space and Community in St. Mary's City's Seventeenth-Century Town Center

This dissertation examines the role social usage of Maryland's first statehouse played in mediating the formation of both community and socio-political order within this Chesapeake colony during the seventeenth century. This topic is examined through the archaeological study of the Calvert House Site (18ST1-13) in St. Mary's City. Constructed within the first decade of settlement to serve as the governor's house, in 1662 the site was purchased by the Legislature to serve as the official statehouse for the provincial government. At that time the site was renamed the Country's House to reflect its new government function. When the government moved into a new brick statehouse in 1676, the site became a full-time inn until it was abandoned ca. 1700. Scholars have long recognized the inherent connection between community and socio-political order. Without community, order, social discipline and viable government cannot exist. Historical references indicate that early public sites in the colonial Chesapeake provided important venues for communal interaction in a highly diffuse and overwhelmingly rural landscape; it brought individuals from widely scattered plantations together for all manner of business and entertainments during the periodic meetings of the courts and assemblies. This research analyzes ways in which these public interactions articulated within the built environment of the Country's House and how it may have facilitated processes of community formation and integration. Using a combination of distributional and comparative analyses, this research reconstructed the physical contexts of these interactions and associated activities and correlated these material remains with archival data and relevant social theory. Archaeological analysis revealed that special attention was taken to maintain an environment of greater formality

at the site during its government tenure, and it was this particular period that saw the greatest intensity of site use. Overall this revealed that the site served as both a significant political center and a vibrant social hub that fostered significant, large-scale social interactions. Public interactions within this context helped facilitate the negotiation and establishment of community, order and early political institutions in seventeenth-century Maryland.

The Country's House: Examining Public Space and Community in St. Mary's City's
Seventeenth-Century Town Center

by

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Problem Statement: Public Space, Community and Frontier Settlement

This dissertation examines the influence social use of public sites contributed to the colonial process in the Chesapeake through the historical and archaeological study of Maryland's first statehouse. In March of 1634 one hundred fifty or so British settlers landed on the shores of Maryland to initiate a new and novel social experiment; to establish a new community based on the ideals of freedom of conscience and conviction. Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, inherited this charge from his father George, first Lord Baltimore, who died shortly before receiving the Maryland Charter from Charles I in 1632. Devout Catholics in a country where 'Popery' was officially outlawed, both Calverts had developed distaste for the injustices done when religion was fused with politics (Jackson 2008: 5). While Maryland was certainly a commercial venture for the Lord Proprietor, it was also intended to be a more open society where religion and government would comprise separate institutions. Religion was to be no business of the government and would not warrant any restrictions with regards to public life. With this principle in hand, Cecil Calvert sent his agents, along with volunteers seeking new life and opportunity, to North America to form a new community where individuals could worship freely, hold public office, vote, and otherwise participate in the civil governing of the colony regardless of religious affiliation (Jordan 1987; Miller 1988; Jackson 2008).

Social historians have often characterized the seventeenth-century Chesapeake as politically unstable, disordered, socially weak, chaotic, and demographically disrupted (Horn 1994; Jordan 1979, Walsh 1988: 200). It is often juxtaposed with trends seen in the New England colonies where closed, corporate, homogenous and cohesive communities prevailed (Walsh 1988: 200), and mature and stable governing institutions were attained rather rapidly (Jordan

1979: 243). Scholars have explored some of the ways immigrants adapted to novel conditions associated with the colonization of the Chesapeake (Carr *et al*. 1991; Horn 1988, 1994). But how was social order established in new settlements such as Maryland? How did individuals of diverse origins find ways of cooperating and producing workable, stable, and long-lasting institutions (Carr 1978: 72)? These are poignant questions considering the many difficulties settlers to the region faced during the seventeenth century: extremely high mortality; no uniform, binding religion; striking social inequality; unbalanced sex ratios; lack of a well-developed institutional and economic infrastructure; the virtual absence of towns or even clustered settlements; and no organized standing military or police force (Walsh 1988; Carr et al 1991). Yet despite these many obstacles, Maryland offered social and economic opportunities, was able to grow, and eventually flourish. This research examines some of the mechanisms for establishing social order in this tenuous setting with community construction as the central focus of inquiry. Scholars have long remarked on the connection between community and social order. Main (1982: 42) has argued that with regards to seventeenth-century Maryland, the lack of well developed, settled communities was indeed a hindrance to the proper governance of the people. This reflects long-standing beliefs that a society lacking community or developed settlements would necessarily lack order, social discipline, and good government (Horn 1994: 235). From this perspective community and socio-political order are invariably linked and co-dependent. Thus how was a sense of community, and by extension, socio-political order, constructed in a newly established settlement such as colonial Maryland? What roles did public sites play in this process? How did public sites structure spheres of communal interaction and promote social intercourse?

The term 'community' is perhaps one of the most elusive, vague, and conceptually unclear in social science (Abercrombie et al 1984; Day 2006: 1; Little 2002: 1). Loosely conceived, it refers to those things which people have in common, which bind them together and give them a sense of belonging with one another (Day 2006: 1). Definitions have centered on forms of social solidarity based on similarity between individuals, collective engagement or coordinated action for the common good, sentiments of belonging together, mutual dependence, bounded entities forged through face-to-face interaction, and more (Arensburg and Kimball 1965; Canuto and Yaeger 2000; Durkheim 1964; Day 2006; Tonnies 1955; Weber 1978). Despite these varied conceptions of community, scholars have shown it to be one of the most important and meaningful contexts for social interaction (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 1), and it may very well comprise the fundamental core of society (Day 2006). It is not surprising that the nature of community has engaged thinkers from ancient times to the present. Keller (2003) notes Plato, Aristotle, de Tocqueville, Marx, Tonnies, and others have posed questions regarding how communities are created and maintained over time, and how human differences are bridged for the sake of the common good (Keller 2003: 13)? This research investigates this topic by examining the roles public space played in mediating processes of community formation.

I address this research topic through the study of Maryland's first official statehouse. Currently known as the Calvert House Site and located in St. Mary's City, the site was constructed sometime during the first months after Maryland's initial settlement in 1634 and originally served as the first gubernatorial residence (Figure 1-1). Although the Assembly periodically met at the site during this time, by 1661 it was determined that a structure was needed to more exclusively accommodate the government. The site was formally purchased by the Legislature in 1662. To assist with maintenance of the site the property was leased to an inn

keeper and operated as a government regulated inn/tavern, known as an ordinary, in addition to its official duties. By 1676, this original wooden structure was replaced by a brick statehouse located on the north end of the original town (Carr 1994; Miller 1994).
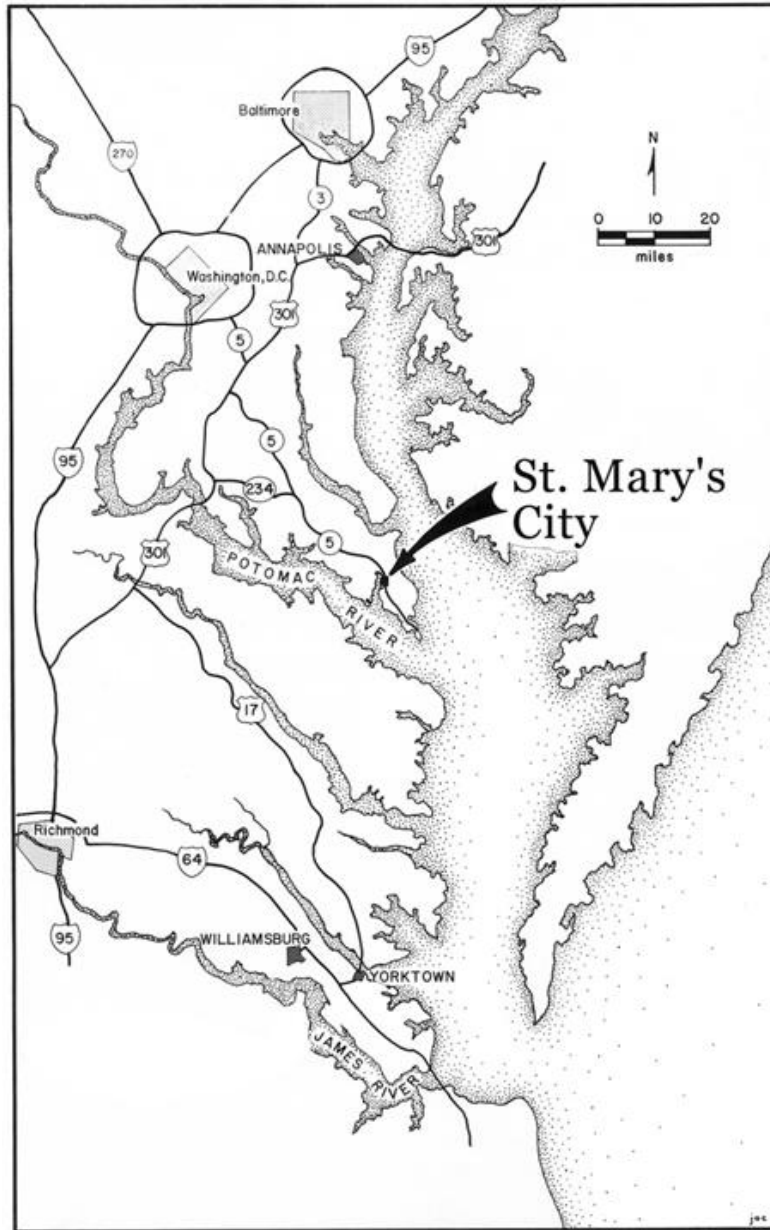
Figure 1-1: Site Location

Why Study the Social History of Government Sites?

Government sites are particularly significant to reconstructions of colonial society for a number of reasons. They are iconic in history because of their association with the birth and establishment of American democracy and governing institutions. In some of these sites, significant historical events took place that set precedents that later shaped and defined our nation. Such events include: the first meeting of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, 1619, establishing representative government in the American colonies; the passage of Maryland's Toleration Act in 1649, establishing freedom of religion and conscience; The Halifax Resolves, April 1776, constituting the first official government action calling for American Independence. David Jordan (1979: 245) has criticized historians for focusing too narrowly on such constitutional precedents and not giving attention to the broader social dynamics of politics. Besides historical significance, government sites occupied central roles in representing government authority, maintaining social order, and were key components in the establishment and maintenance of colonial and early American society. Recent research has begun to address the social aspects of government institutions and has suggested these sites served as important social centers and venues of community interaction as well (Lounsbury 2005; Willoughby 2007).

Very little, however, has been published on the social history of early American government structures. What little has been documented paints a different picture than how we typically view these sites today. Courthouses and State Houses in the present are almost exclusively used by the government for conducting business, passing laws, and resolving litigation; functions they have always served. There is virtually no social dimension to these structures in the present day. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, these types of sites served not only an official function, but frequently served their communities in a social

capacity as well. In a recently published architectural history of early Virginia courthouses, Carl Lounsbury (2005) remarks on how monthly court day brought citizens of all social classes together to transact a variety of business. This one-, two-, or three-day event transformed the courthouse grounds into a marketplace, playing field, and social center. This regular event provided an opportunity for members of local society to conduct business, sell goods, renew ties of friendship, or participate in other amusements (Lounsbury 2005). Lee Shepard (1995: 459) further notes that court day in Virginia counties not only drew individuals who had official business in the courthouse, "but also those who wished to attend elections, to buy, sell, or trade crops, horses, dry goods, and other items, or to be entertained by speeches, races, games of chance, or similar pastimes." He goes on to indicate that on court day (referring to Virginia), the major portion of a county's free white male population came together through a variety of activities to renew or refine a collective sense of belonging (Shepard 1995: 459). Gloria Main (1982) argues that court days, in addition to bringing the citizenry together, provided the most important social and political entertainment in the annual calendar (46).

In Marc Brodsky's (1986) report on the history of the Chowan County Courthouse in Edenton, North Carolina, he cites references for it being used for dances, receptions, and other entertainments (pp 39). The State Gazette of North Carolina reported in 1789 on what may have been an annual event when it told of a ball held at the courthouse in celebration of George Washington's birthday (Brodsky 1986: 39). Events such as plays, community meetings, and religious functions also occurred at the site from its beginning (Brodsky 1989: 48). One notable event that seemed to take place yearly was a July 4th celebration, which in 1808 consisted of a 2 PM dinner at the courthouse preceded by a ceremonial firing of cannon, and an evening ball in honor of George Washington's birthday (Brodsky 1989: 48). A similar event recorded in the

Minutes of the Delaware Legislature, June 22, 1782 talks of a celebration for the erection of a triumphal arch commemorating the war for independence, after which "the President and the Members of the Legislature, with several gentlemen of the army who were in town, and a large and respectable company dined together." After dinner, a series of thirteen toasts were drunk in honor of the occasion.

Recent archaeological research on the Chowan County Courthouse and the Delaware State House has revealed that these sites have a rich material culture that very well reflect this type of social use (Willoughby 2007: 107). Archaeological research on these sites, however, has been exceedingly rare and little has focused on America's seventeenth-century beginnings. Henry Miller (1988) has used archaeology to examine the placement of public architecture in St. Mary's City, demonstrating the use of sophisticated Baroque town planning in the layout and construction of the early capital. Drawing on this work, Mark Leone and Silas Hurry (1998) further suggest the use of baroque principals of power utilized in St. Mary's City's urban planning and public architecture was primarily to promote and solidify hierarchy. Additionally, Mark Leone (1995, 2005) has examined how the eighteenth-century Maryland Statehouse's position within Annapolis' baroque landscape helped naturalize and reinforce the state's authority. While each of these cases examine the ideological aspects concerning the placement and construction of public architecture on the landscape from an archaeological perspective, none explicitly address social use of early government sites and its potential role in the establishment of early American society. Yet from the above references, it is clear that public sites were important venues for communal interaction. The significance of this social interaction and how it functions in larger social processes, however, has not been fully realized. Overall this indicates the great potential illuminating the social use of these sites may have in producing a

more complete and nuanced understanding of the diverse role they played in the colonial process and its transformations. My research will speak to this potential and address gaps in this scholarship by directly investigating the social use of Maryland's first statehouse and examining its relevance in the establishment and development of community and socio-political order in Maryland's unstable seventeenth-century frontier.

Organization:

This dissertation is organized into several distinct parts. Chapter 2 outlines and discusses the intellectual context and theoretical perspective that guided the research approach and helped inform the interpretations of the archaeological and historical data. Chapter 3 presents the social and historical context of seventeenth-century Maryland as it applies to settlement, early community formation, and the development of early political institutions. Chapter 4 presents the historical background of the Calvert House Site. Chapter 5 provides an outline and discussion of the research design, including a description of the dataset, particular analyses performed, and their justifications. Results of the analyses are presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Chapter 6 summarizes the landscape analysis and reconstruction through time; Chapter 7 summarizes analysis of the artifact distributions by function and time period; Chapter 8 discusses both inter-site and intra-site comparative analyses. This is followed by a general discussion and synthesis of the results in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 presents a summary reconstruction of the site and its associated use during the period it served as the statehouse of the colony based on integrating the archaeological analysis with the archival data in order to establish the physical context that structured human interactions on the site during government meetings. Chapter 11 presents a discussion of the different government meetings that occurred on the site, the associated wider

public interactions that occurred, aspects of how they articulated in the built environment, and the theoretical implications these interactions had in facilitating community integration and the negotiation of political order and institutions. The Conclusion, Chapter 12, discusses the significance of this research and its contributions towards understanding the colonial process in early Maryland.

Chapter 2

Intellectual Context and Theoretical Perspective: Archaeological Approaches to Public Space and Community

Introduction:

With his 1632 Charter of Maryland, Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, sought to establish a new community with freedom of conscience and worship serving as a central tenets. This was a relatively novel idea at the time, and establishing a religiously plural community was fraught with numerous challenges. The term 'community' has always been conceptually vague in social science with no universally accepted definition (Abercrombie et al 1984; Day 2006: 1; Little 2002: 1). Definitions of community popular among anthropologists and sociologists have equated it with a bounded entity forged by shared values, common culture and shared experience, where face-to-face social interaction is essential (Day 2006; Canuto and Yaeger 2000). This is illustrated in the following varied definitions of community:

> Durant (1939) defines it as "a territorial group of people with a common mode of living striving for common objectives";
>
> Warren (1963) describes community as "a specific population living within a specific geographic area with shared institutions and values and significant social interaction (pp. 2)";
>
> Murdock (1949) characterizes it as "the maximal group of persons who normally reside together in face-to-face association (pp. 79-90)."

Others have stressed the idea of the "imagined community" where individuals are linked through shared identity, ideology, or understandings which provide a mental sense of horizontal comradeship (Anderson 2006; Edyvane 2007).

Despite these varied conceptions of community, scholars have shown it to be one of the most important and meaningful contexts for social interaction (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 1) and it could very well comprise the fundamental core of society and provide the key to understanding

the patterns of relationships and activities that structure culture and society (Arensburg and Kimball 1967; Day 2006). Some have argued that 'community' is indeed necessary for order, social discipline, and good government to exist in a civil society (Horn 1994). It may very well be an artifact of our evolutionary history and is an essential feature to our lives as social mammals. After all, chimpanzees, our closest living primate relative, have been described as living in communities (Goodall 1986). This implies, using arguments of phylogeny, its structural roots stretch far back along the human lineage. Regardless of the wide-ranging attempts to problematize the concept, and while it may never be universally understood, it is perhaps not surprising that the nature of community has engaged thinkers from ancient times to the present. As Suzanne Keller (2003) notes, Plato, Aristotle, de Tocqueville, Marx, Tonnies and others have posed central questions that absorb us still. Among them are: How are communities created and maintained over time? How is a "spirit of community" generated? How are human differences bridged for the sake of the common good? (Keller 2003: 13).

This dissertation addresses the above questions through examining the development of public sites in early Maryland. Certainly Lord Baltimore's New World Community was at least in part 'imagined' in principle by himself, but it was also one that came to fruition, albeit in a different form than originally intended or envisioned. While early Maryland was fraught with challenges and met with variable success, the fact that the colony's original guiding principles of representative government and freedom of worship are part of our national constitution more than three hundred years later bears testament to the merit of its ideals. How was a community, incorporating individuals of diverse backgrounds and religious convictions, established in early Maryland? How successful was this experiment? From an archaeological perspective, I am particularly interested in the material residues of community which are manifest in the supra-

household, public sphere. It is clear that public sites in the colonial Chesapeake provided important foci for collective and communal, ritual interaction among early settlers (e.g. Main 1982; Shepard 1995; Loundsbury 2005). Thus what role/s did the public landscape and built environment play in community development? More specifically, how did social interaction within the built environment mediate the formation of community and help establish social order in Maryland's unstable frontier society?

This chapter develops and summarizes a theoretical perspective aimed at informing the above research questions. I first briefly review previous archaeological research on colonial American public sites, along with their theoretical approaches, to address relevant gaps left to be addressed. I then examine archaeological approaches to community and, following current trends, outline an agency centered approach incorporating elements of practice theory as devised by Bourdieu (1977) and elaborated by Giddens (1984), as well as some elements of performance theory as outlined by Inomata and Coben (2006) and others. Archaeological approaches borrowing from practice theory certainly encounter limitations that need to be recognized. Given the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record, archaeologists lack the richly contextualized cultural settings enjoyed by cultural anthropologists where first-hand, detailed experiences of social agents can be observed and recorded (Barrett 2001: 143). However, archaeologists can uncover and reconstruct some of the spatial and material conditions that both resulted from and structured individual practice and interaction in the past (Barrett 2001; Canuto and Yaeger 2000). Through reconstructing these culturally constituted built environments through time, by contextualizing those physical venues of meaningful, communal interaction and examining its behavioral residues we can begin to understand more fully the impact public sites have on the development of community and social order. This research adds to the growing discourses of

community focused archaeology that recognizes that the archaeological identification and analysis of past communities should move beyond traditional socio-spatial, static models. Analysis instead should examine communities as dynamic and complex social institutions and must address their processes of construction and perpetuation in mutual action (Owoc 2005: 263, Canuto and Yaeger 2000).

Previous Research on Early American Public Sites

There has been a considerable historical research into early colonial America with some architectural and archaeological research focusing specifically on early government administrative sites (i.e. courthouses, offices, etc.) (e.g. Brodsky 1986, 1989; Wise 1978; Miller 1986, 1988, 1994; Leone 1995, 2005; Lounsbury 2005; Willoughby 2007). However, relatively little attention has been given towards examining the social history of these sites. What little attention has been given to social use has focused primarily on the eighteenth century, leaving its seventeenth-century origins and developments poorly understood. Overall the potential contributions social use of such sites made towards the establishment of community and development of early colonial American society has yet to be fully realized.

Pattern Studies

Some of the earliest archaeological research on colonial period public sites has embraced the scientific approach advocated by Stanley South in the late 1970s. In his seminal volume, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology (1977),* South outlined an analytical technique for pattern recognition intended as a method to identify regularities and variation in the archaeological record. Adopting a systemic view of culture popular with the processual school of

archaeology, the purpose behind recognizing these patterns was to aid in understanding the cultural processes at British colonial sites (South 1977: 83). South (1977) operated under the assumption that the larger system in which the British colonial system functioned would impose a degree of uniformity on each household in the relationship of its behavioral parts (pp 86). He postulated that British colonial behavior should reveal regularities in patterning in the archaeological record from British colonial sites (South 1978: 228). Identifying such regularities allows one to draw lawful generalizations about human behavior (South 1978: 228). He also postulated that specialized behavioral activities should reveal contrasting patterns on such sites.

With the above assumptions serving his frame of reference, South devised a functional classification scheme that placed artifacts into nine distinct categories thought to reflect different functional activities. South then quantified and examined the frequency variations of these groups from five British colonial ruins in the Carolinas. Through this method South identified a frequency range typical of British-American colonial period households in the Carolinas, defining this range as *The Carolina Artifact Pattern*. This pattern is generally characterized by a relatively large proportion of kitchen related material (*mean = 63.1%*) and low percentage of architectural material (*mean = 25.5%*).

South applied this same method to several other colonial sites that served as frontier forts and trading posts in order to test his original postulates. These sites showed an almost inverse ratio of kitchen and architecture group materials to that displayed by the *Carolina Pattern*. These sites, characterized by relatively low proportions of kitchen group materials (*mean = 22.6%*) and high frequencies of architectural materials (*mean = 52.0%*), formed the basis of what South (1977: 145) defined as the *Frontier Artifact Pattern*. South attributed these differences to the specialized characteristics of frontier sites. Generally, such sites endured shorter periods of

occupation than their established settlement counterparts, and were more remote from supply sources. Such characteristics would contribute to lower amounts of discarded kitchen refuse, thus increasing the relative frequency of architectural materials (South 1977: 146). This illustrates how such pattern analysis can help reveal the specialized nature of sites that might fit the typical profile of the British-American household. The specialized nature or function of sites is exactly what Cara Wise had in mind when she conducted some of the earliest archaeological research on early American government sites.

Cara Wise (1978) proposed what she called the *Public Structure Artifact Pattern* following her original analysis of material from the Delaware State House site (ca. 1720-1807). Interested in determining if the artifact signature from this site reflects specialized activity related to the public function of the site, Wise organized the artifacts into functional groups consistent with South's method and compared them with the *Carolina* and *Frontier* patterns. She found that a number of primary refuse deposits from the State House displayed a pattern distinct from those previously defined by South. Wise (1978) further compared these frequencies against those from two other sites identified as falling outside of the normal ranges for both the *Carolina* and *Frontier* patterns and found both to display very similar frequencies of functional artifact groups to those displayed by the State House. Both sites also functioned in a public capacity; one was used as a shop, the other was a brew house. Given the similarity exhibited by these sites, Wise (1978: 122) proposed that these sites may characterize a *Public Structure Artifact Pattern* that may be applicable to public offices, mercantile facilities, and manufacturing sites. Overall, this pattern is characterized by roughly equal proportions of kitchen and architectural materials (*mean = 51.3%* and *44.4%* respectively). Building on Wise's original analysis, I tested this pattern using data from the Chowan County Courthouse (ca. 1767) and found general support

(Willoughby 2007). Both government sites display similar frequencies of functional artifact groups (Figure 2-1). This suggests that overall, similar behavioral processes acted consistently on both sites and that this pattern indeed reflects some sort of specialized function.

To further assess the similarity in patterning between both government sites, the ceramics assemblages from each site were compared at the minimum number of vessels (MNV) level by ware and functional vessel type (Willoughby 2007). Previous analysis of ceramics from the Delaware State House that I conducted in 2005 found the proportions of vessel types from the site to fall outside normal frequencies displayed by a number of domestic sites in the Delaware Valley region (Willoughby 2005, 2007).

Proportions of Fucntional Groups
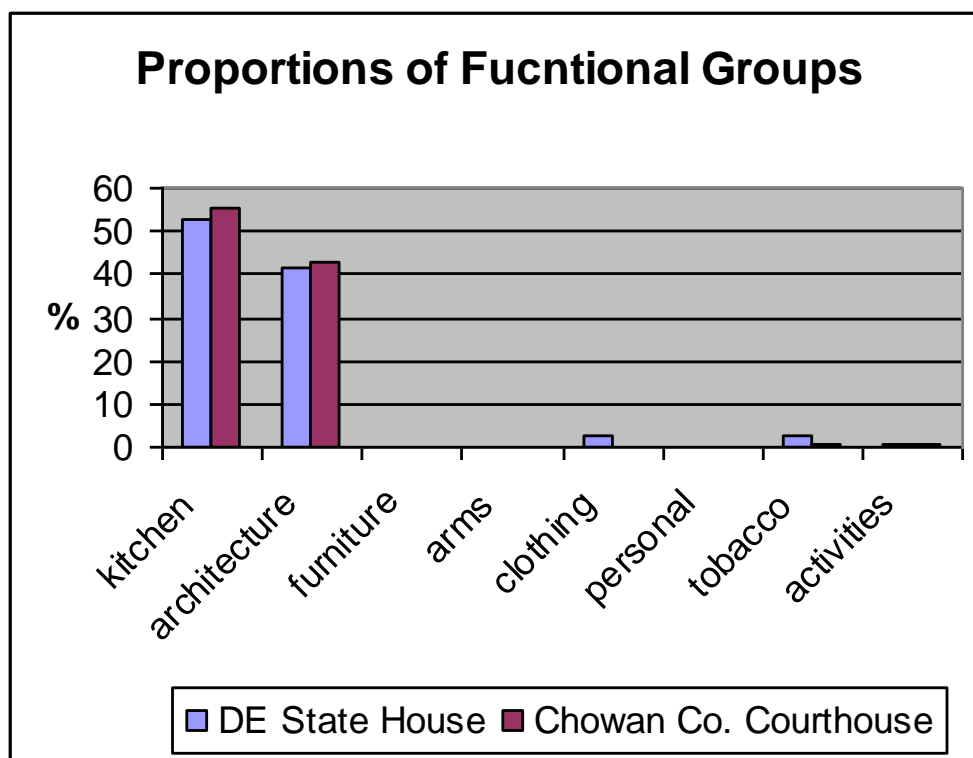
Figure 2-1: Bar Graph Showing Proportions of Functional Groups at 18th-Century Sites

It was hypothesized that such deviation may further reflect the site's specialized function and behavior particular to government sites. This was tested by applying the same minimum vessel analysis to ceramics from the Chowan County site. Both courthouse assemblages were then compared against each other, showing similar frequencies of vessels by ware type and functional form (Tables 2-1 and 2-2).

Table 2-1: Ceramic Vessels by Ware Type from Two Government Sites

	DE State House		Chowan Co. Courthouse	
Ware Type	*N*	*Percent*	*N*	*Percent*
Coarse Earthenware	53	23.8	19	15.6
Utilitarian Stoneware	8	3.6	6	4.9
Refined Wares	128	57.4	84	68.8
Porcelain	34	15.2	13	10.7
Total	223	100	122	100

Table 2-2: Ceramic Vessels by Functional Type from Two Government Sites

	DE State House		Chowan Co. Courthouse	
Vessel Type	*N*	*Percent*	*N*	*Percent*
Tea Wares	49	30.2	34	34.32
Other Drinking	9	5.6	8	8.08
Tableware	75	46.3	51	51.55
Multifunction	26	16.1	4	4.04
Hygiene	3	1.8	2	2.02
Total	162	100	99	100

Chi-square tests were applied to both groups to provide a statistical measure of similarity (Tables 2-3 and 2-4).

Table 2-3: Chi-Square Distribution of Ceramic Vessels by Ware Type

	DE State House		Chowan Co. Courthouse	
Ware Type	*N*	*Chi Value*	*N*	*Chi Value*
Coarse Earthenware	53=*o*		19=*o*	
	46.5=*e*	.9086	25.46=*e*	1.6391
Utilitarian Stoneware	8=*o*		6=*o*	
	9.05=*e*	.121823	4.95=*e*	.22273
Refined Wares	128=*o*		84=*o*	
	137.03=*e*	.595059	74.97=*e*	1.0876
Porcelain	34=*o*		13=*o*	
	30.38=*e*	.43135	16.62=*e*	.78847
Total Chi Value				5.7948
Chi Distribution				*p = .122*

o = observed frequencies, *e* = expected frequencies

Table 2-4: Chi-Square Distribution of Ceramic Vessels by Functional Type

	DE State House		Chowan Co. Courthouse	
Vessel Type	*N*	*Chi Value*	*N*	*Chi Value*
Tea Wares	49=*o*		34=*o*	
	51.5=*e*	.121359	31.5=*e*	.198413
Other Drinking	9=*o*		8=*o*	
	10.6=*e*	.241509	6.45=*e*	.372481
Tableware	75=*o*		51=*o*	
	78.2=*e*	.130946	47.8=*e*	.214226
Multifunction	26=*o*		4=*o*	
	18.6=*e*	2.9441	11.4=*e*	4.80351
Hygiene	3=*o*		2=*o*	
	3.1=*e*	.003226	1.9=*e*	.005263
Total Chi Value				9.035018
Chi Distribution				*p = .06023*

Results of the Chi square test indicate that any differences between the ceramics assemblages were not appreciable enough to be statistically significant ($p<0.05$) suggesting that overall ceramics use at both sites was relatively consistent (Willoughby 2007: 102).

The consistent pattern of ceramics usage reflected in both government sites can be largely attributed to activities associated with food consumption behavior (Willoughby 2007). The MNV analysis of the assemblages revealed that refined tableware dining and tea drinking vessels comprise the predominant ceramic types, with characteristically low frequencies of coarse, food storage and preparation vessels. Data available from a number of domestic sites typically show an inverse ratio, where coarse utilitarian, storage and preparation vessels dominate assemblages. Most of these sites display much lower frequencies of refined tablewares. These data indicate that food storage and processing activities, regular features at domestic sites, were not among the activities carried out at government sites such as courthouses. Any activities involving ceramics at these sites in all likelihood centered on food consumption (Willoughby 2007).

Historic St. Mary's City

Henry Miller first examined the development of public architecture and space in Maryland beginning in the early 1980s (e.g. Miller 1983, 1986, 1988). Some of this research focused on reconstructing and interpreting the Country's House (also referred to as The Calvert House Site), which will be summarized in greater detail in chapter 4. Although it was initially constructed and used as a private residence for the first governor of the colony, the site subsequently served as the first statehouse of the colony, the largest public inn within the settlement, and served as the nucleus from which a formal town plan was laid out and developed.

In his initial analysis of material recovered in the 1981-83 excavations, Miller (1986) found that refuse disposal patterns on the site changed considerably through time, noting that distributions appear to reflect attempts to keep certain parts of the yard clean during the site's use as the statehouse. Later Miller (1994) raises intriguing questions contemplating the significance of such action. He asks: "Could it be that this maintenance of the landscape served as a sensory cue, a coded message about expected behavior (Miller 1994: 81)?" Did the site take on special meaning with different expectations and rules of behavior when it became a more formal, government site? How social behavior articulated within the site and its implications, however, has not yet been fully explored.

Miller (1988) has also examined urban planning and the placement of public architecture within St. Mary's City. While historical records detailing the development and structure of the town following its incorporation as the first official city in Maryland in 1667 are lacking, Miller presents a compelling argument that the town was organized and formally laid out using baroque principles of urban design. No map of the settlement survives, no detailed written descriptions exist, and courthouse fires destroyed most of the land records. From the few land records that survive, occasional references in other documents, and limited evidence about a few known archaeological sites, historians originally developed a tentative map of the settlement that suggested a widely scattered, haphazardly built community (Carr 1974; Miller 1988). Such an irregular form suggested organic growth rather than conscious design and was consistent with the forms of other known cities from the period (Miller 1988: 61). Careful analysis following an extensive archaeological survey of the town lands revealed something much different.

Miller (1988) found that the layout of the roads, located through a combination of historical documents, archaeology and aerial photography, were arranged in the form of two

rough triangles with the primary streets forming points and meeting at the town center. The arrangement of buildings located in the town center also appeared to reflect planning. The precise center of town included four structures: the Country's House, Smith's Ordinary, Cordea's Hope (a storehouse), and the Lawyer's Messuage, which was also later used as an ordinary. With the exception of the Country's House, all structures were built between 1667 and 1674 and are arranged in a square with the inside corners equidistant, set apart at a 125 foot interval. Also striking was the placement of the only known brick, public structures constructed in the original city. These include the brick statehouse built in 1676 to replace the Country's House as the main government meeting place, a large brick chapel, a prison, and "School of the Humanities" built and run by the Jesuits. Each of these structures (with the exception of the prison and school since minimal traces of these structures were found) is precisely 1400 feet from front door to the exact center of the square in the middle of town. Such an arrangement forms the corners of two triangles radiating from the center of town, closely following the triangular street plan. Additionally, the Chapel and Statehouse are precisely 0.5 miles apart, and the prison and possible school are 0.33 miles apart. Miller's (1988: 66) analysis reveals that rather than possessing a grid or irregular layout characteristic of most colonial cities of the period, St. Mary's City corresponds most closely to the characteristics of a precisely planned Baroque city.

This research represents a significant breakthrough in the understanding of town planning and urban development in colonial North America. Prior to this the earliest known cities in North America built using Baroque urban design were Annapolis Maryland, ca. 1695, and Williamsburg Virginia, ca. 1699 (Miller 1988; Kornwolf 2002). Miller (1988) also addressed a number of theoretical implications of such a built environment. Miller notes that urban forms express the traditions, economy, social structure and ideology of a given culture and provide

structure to a community. He suggests that not only were cities such as St. Mary's designed to serve as centers of political power and provide a setting within a rural landscape where political and social authority could be expressed. Miller (1988) argues that the placement of St. Mary's City's principle monumental structures (the statehouse and brick chapel) on completely opposite ends of town was a deliberate, symbolic reflection of certain ideological principles upon which Maryland was founded, the separation of Church and State. This contrasts with Annapolis where both the statehouse and Anglican Church were constructed side-by-side in two central circles from which the principle streets radiated. Annapolis was constructed when the Maryland capital was moved there from St. Mary's following a Protestant led rebellion that overthrew the proprietary council in 1689. Maryland became a royal colony for a time until 1715, when the Calverts were able to regain full proprietorship. During this time Catholicism was outlawed and the Anglican faith was mandated. This new side-by-side arrangement "can be interpreted as expressing the new, direct relationship between government and a state-supported religion (Hopkins 1986, quoted in Miller 1988: 68)." Almost certainly this represents an ideological shift that was encoded onto the landscape.

The Annapolis School

Mark Leone and his colleagues, sometimes referred to as the Annapolis School, have also examined urban planning and public architecture in Colonial Maryland and theorized about their ideological aspects. Building partially on the work by Miller (1988) cited above, coupled with primary research carried out within Annapolis, Leone and Hurry (1998) have used a Marxist perspective to argue that the use of Baroque principles utilized in the construction of both cities was primarily intended to promote and solidify hierarchy and political authority. They use the

idea taken from Zucker (1959: 233-235) that late baroque town planning and landscape architecture utilized lines of sight to direct eyes to points of reference in space that reflect and represent hierarchy, and monarchy in particular (Leone and Hurry 1998: 36). This type of urban planning is guided by the notion that society is comprised of individuals and it is these individuals for whom the baroque plan is designed and built. Through placing symbolically important structures (namely the Statehouse and Church) in visually prominent locations within a planned street network, and by creating and/or enhancing lines of sight to direct individuals' sets eyes to these structures, the urban designers of St. Mary's City and Annapolis ensured that both visitors and residents were aware of the power of the government and church, thus helping to naturalize authority and hierarchy (Leone and Hurry 1998, Leone 2005).

In a number of other publications Leone, with some of his colleagues, extends his analysis to other aspects of colonial Annapolitan society (e.g. Leone et al 1987, Leone 2005, Potter 1994). Leone and his camp are particularly interested in understanding why a city such as Annapolis, characterized by a pyramidal hierarchy where most of the wealth (85%) was held by only 20% of the population, was established and kept stable over time. Leone (2005: 24) asks: "Why don't people rebel against the conditions capitalist economies put them in, namely, exploitation?" Much of Leone's argument relies heavily on Marx's concept of ideology as defined by Althusser. According to Althusser, ideology is defined as the given, the obvious, and our ideas about things to be taken as natural (*i.e.* what we take for granted). It serves to naturalize and justify or mask the contradictions and antagonisms inherent in capitalism. This was accomplished, in part, by promoting ideologies associated with individualism (Leone 2005: 24-25). Leone then examines how ideologies of individualism were further constructed through the use of baroque design principles in private gardens, the adoption of standardized and segmented

dining services, and use of increasingly segmented and standardized printing formats. Through various strategies that promoted ideologies of individualism, Leone argues Annapolitans were led to unknowingly assume their conditions were natural and given.

The approach of the Annapolis School draws heavily from the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory. In general terms Critical Theorists view all knowledge as historically conditioned, that society is built around a series of conflicts and contradictions, and that ideology is used by those in power to hide or naturalize those contradictions in order to ensure the social reproduction of the *status quo*. However, critically evaluating the production of knowledge will allow the researcher to pierce through the masking ideology that conditions it. Doing so will result in the production of more reliable or 'less contingent' knowledge (Leone et al 1987, Hodder and Hutson 2003). The ultimate aim of such an approach is to produce enlightenment and emancipation from domination by generating a consciousness of ideology (Held 1980, Hodder and Hutson 2003: 219, Tar 1977, Leone et al 1987: 284, Potter 1994).

Limiting Considerations

Although not particularly widespread or extensive, there has been a diversity of approaches applied to the archaeology of early American public sites. Pattern analyses have illuminated some of the functional aspects of several of these sites. The work carried out by Miller and the Annapolis School made significant progress towards examining important ideological aspects of public architecture within the built, urban landscape. Few, however, have given adequate attention to the social use of these sites, how it developed, and its potential contributions towards the development of community and society in early Maryland and their other colonial contexts. With the exception of Henry Miller's work and Leone and Hurry's

analysis of St. Mary's City, much of this work has also focused on the 18th century when the institutional hierarchy associated with British imperialism and mercantile capitalism were already well entrenched, leaving its seventeenth-century origins and developments poorly understood. Additionally, the theoretical perspectives employed by researchers on colonial public sites also offer little avenue for informing questions of community development and its complex dynamics. Yet none are without their merits.

Miller's (1988, 1994) research takes significant steps towards examining meaning in the built environment and seamlessly demonstrates how archaeological data and social theory can be merged to challenge and augment the historical record where documentary data is lacking. His research provides invaluable information to aid in contextualizing the site within the historical landscape and demonstrates how ideological structures can be encoded on the landscape. However, little focus is placed towards exploring the potential impacts the built environment has on community development and dynamics aside from acknowledging that it helps structure it. The presence of the community is implicitly assumed as given without considering how it came to be. Thus, how were these structures negotiated and developed? How did individuals negotiate social relations within these structures? How did social interaction articulate within these structures? How did these interactions mediate community formation?

The approach utilized by the Annapolis School also spends considerable efforts towards examining meaning reflected in the built environment. However, such a Marxist approach presents a number of limitations and is somewhat insufficient for understanding community dynamics and interpreting the varied and complex social processes that created the material record, particularly in seventeenth-century Maryland. From this perspective, public architecture is viewed primarily as representations of elite dominance and control meant to reinforce and

solidify hierarchy (Leone and Hurry 1998; Leone 2005). This approach tends to overlook the potential significance social use of public, government sites have in social development. Instead, such treatments argue from a top-down perspective claiming that individuals allow inequality to persist through being blinded by ideologies perpetuated by dominant elites that mask or naturalize the hierarchy endemic within complex society. This paradigm largely assumes that individuals within society, subordinate groups in particular, generally lack awareness of their true social conditions. This is somewhat symptomatic of a larger trend in archaeological research on complex societies which has primarily focused on the role of elites in power systems that create and maintain inequality (Joyce et al 2001: 345). Concepts of power and ideology are presented primarily as tools controlled and manipulated by dominant groups to maintain the *status quo*.

Overall this top-down perspective tends to ignore the roles of subordinate groups in manipulating and/or actively negotiating ideologies and their associated power structures. Some researchers have drawn attention to the tendency of the Annapolis school to obscure the importance of agency in their archaeological interpretations. Wilkie and Bartoy (2000) present evidence based on archaeological and ethnographic work at a site in Louisiana which suggests individuals are social actors who are conscious of various constraints in social relations to differing degrees, and are capable of making informed decisions to change their conditions (Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). Matthew Johnson's (1993; 1996) works on the enclosure movement in post-medieval England also acknowledge agency and demonstrate individuals' capacity for conditional awareness. He notes that as feudalism gave way to capitalism and communal lands disappeared and became inaccessible from increasing restrictions imposed by wealthy landowners, subordinate classes actively resisted the imposed structural changes to the

landscape. Johnson (1993: 351; 1996) indicates that "ordinary people were well aware of the many changes going on around them…" and cites historically documented cases of public disorder, writings critical of enclosure, and various acts of symbolic inversion that grew in response to the movement. Some have also argued that dominant ideologies are rarely the direct reflections of elite interests imposed on subordinates, but are socially negotiated through the ongoing interactions of people of different social positions and often reflect some degree of compromise (Joyce et al 2001: 348). A greater consideration for agency and social negotiation among diverse groups bears particular relevance when considering seventeenth-century Maryland.

During Maryland's early colonial period, its society was comprised primarily by volunteer immigrants seeking to reap the benefits of unparalleled opportunities non-existent in the British homeland. In England the bulk of commoners struggled to maintain modest standards of living with little to no hope of improvement. In frontier Maryland, however, "there was no lack of land or work and upward mobility—from servant to tenant to freeholder and even to manorial lord—was a visible [if not attainable] reality" (Stone 1982: 48). These immigrants were able to negotiate new social relations, acquire status, adapt and modify British institutions to novel conditions, and contest imposed rules and structures. Rapid upward mobility eroded deference to the Proprietary Council and early meetings of the Maryland Assembly were often contentious, constitutional conventions (Menard 1975, Stone 1982). It is quite notable that at the 1638 meeting of the Maryland Assembly (the first for which any records survive), the entire body (which was composed of all the freemen of the colony able to attend), save for the Governor, Provincial Secretary and their proxies, unanimously rejected the code of laws sent over by Lord Baltimore and instead drafted their own (Stone 1982: 49). Various rebellions

attempted throughout the century, both external and from within, also threatened the political and social fabric of the colony. Power and hierarchy were thus tenuously negotiated through much of Maryland's fragile beginning. Rather than simply imposed by a dominant class and solidified through being written onto the landscape, power and hierarchy in early Maryland developed through long processes of complex social negotiation. This also suggests quite strongly that Maryland's immigrants not only were quite aware of their conditions to varying degrees, but that they actively sought to change them. One may even speculate that perhaps some of the awareness and resistance to the enclosure movement noted by Johnson (1996) played a role in motivating some of Maryland's early immigrants.

Implicit within these power negotiations are conflict and contradictions. However, it is notable that despite the various social and constitutional tensions in early Maryland, political accommodation kept the colony functioning and the colony was eventually able to grow and flourish. Stone (1982) cautions against overemphasizing the apparent divisions between the Proprietor's agents and the Assembly and notes that although disagreements on constitutional issues impeded the legislative process, they generally maintained an adequate working relationship through Maryland's formative years. Both sides knew they needed each other and through most of the year the freedmen of the colony collaborated to earn a living and were able to set aside their differences to keep the government and society functioning (Stone 1982: 50-51, 139). This tendency towards social and political accommodation relates directly to certain notions of community that reflect the ancient Greek notion of *polis*. Addressed in the writings of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and others, *polis* refers to an 'ideal' community that emphasized lawful self-government by all citizens. Its aim was the attainment of a just society able to reconcile the contradictory tensions between individual ambition and collective goals (Keller 2003: 17).

Citizens in the *polis* aspired to virtue, which was rooted in communal well-being. This rested on the ideal of an enlightened self-interest that rests on people's awareness that they need others and have a stake in each others' lives (Keller 2003: 21).

While the political community model may seem outdated, elements of it continue to influence social and political thought today (e.g. Little 2002). Such a model of community views social and political participation as requiring a degree of voluntary action, recognizing some level of conscious agency among its participants. It suggests, at least in part, that individuals willingly identify with and participate in communities, not for individual instrumental gain, but because one's well-being is tied to its flourishing as a whole (Mason 2000: 23, Little 2002). Self-serving interests thus become balanced by social obligations and the pursuit of collective interests. This alludes to some of the potential social and practical benefits of being a participating member of a community. Communities help provide group stability, provide increased opportunities for gratification through social intercourse, help ensure protection for its members, and they provide mechanisms for pooling collective resources and guaranteeing some level of access to the benefits of those resources (Murdock 1949). Charles Stanish (2004) suggests that this very well may help explain the evolution of ranked societies. Specifically dealing with the organization of labor in complex societies, Stanish suggests the benefits of cooperation are tangible; if a group works together, all individuals and households benefit through having access to goods, rituals, and services otherwise unavailable on an individual basis. Thus individuals and households are willing to sacrifice some level of productive autonomy as long as access to public benefits are ensured, and the costs of such a sacrifice are not perceived as too high (Stanish 2004: 15-18). Such a perspective has potential relevance when considering seventeenth-century Maryland. Immigrants to early Maryland had unparalleled

access to opportunities, political and economic, largely unavailable in England. Despite antagonisms among segments of the populous and constitutional conflicts with the Assembly, some level of collective engagement was necessary at times to ensure economic growth and provide for the defense of the colony (given very real threats from other colonial powers and Native American groups), and thus ensure access to those opportunities. This rested on the ability of early Marylanders to create a cohesive political community where individuals made strategic choices to balance antagonisms and individual interests with collective ideals and goals. Such theories of community warrant careful consideration when generating meaningful explanations concerning the formation of early colonial Maryland society.

Pattern studies have received considerable criticism. Bedell (1999: 70) notes that the concept of distinctive artifact patterns as introduced by Stanley South (1977) has largely been abandoned by historical archaeologists. Some archaeologists attempting to apply South's concepts to a wider range of sites in North America found it not to work well (Bedell 1999: 70). Timothy Thompson (1987: 113), after comparing the artifacts from the "Riseing Son" Tavern Site in Delaware to a group of other domestic and tavern sites, concluded that "the distribution of percentages of artifacts within South's Functional Types showed no clear patterning that could be correlated with site function, time, economic status or setting." Charles Orser (1988) has also criticized South for relying on a "whole culture" concept without giving sufficient attention to variation in geographic setting, functional differences, change over time, and variations in the quality of social relations (Bedell 1999). More recent archaeology has focused on examining the deeper meanings of artifacts and the complex relationships that exist between people and the things around them (Orser 2004: 47). From this viewpoint, few archaeologists think that South's functional categories have any inherent meaning (Bedell 1999: 70).

Although many archaeologists may sympathize with the above sentiments and feel that South's functional categories and patterns are bereft of any real, inherent meaning, his method, nonetheless, is still alive and widely practiced, at least in the Southeast. Charles Ewen (1997), in a review of the role of Brunswick Town in historical archaeology, suggests that South's work should inspire additional pattern delineation and testing. Thomas Beaman (2001) conducted such a study in which he tested whether or not the normative range of the Carolina pattern was sufficient to explain the cultural processes that formed the archaeological record from two elite eighteenth century households in North Carolina. A recent volume edited by Carl Steen and Linda Carnes McNaughton (2005) contains a whole collection of articles compiled from a session of the 2002 annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, a volume that is quite literally "In Praise of the Poet Archaeologist: Papers in Honor of Stanley South and His Five Decades of Historical Archaeology." While such processual type studies might not illumine all of the complexities of human interaction, or deeper meanings represented by discarded objects from the past, South's method, nevertheless, does remain useful as a tool for assessing inter-site variability. They highlight deviations from expected patterns, which cause us to ask questions we may otherwise have not considered.

I would argue that the consistency and regularity displayed by both the Delaware State House and Chowan County Courthouse is quite compelling and that such methods do have the potential of highlighting behavioral regularities at sites based on specialized functions or activities. Both sites served essentially identical functions. The fact that they display nearly identical frequencies of functional artifact groups and ceramic vessel types cannot be attributed to mere coincidence. At the same time, however, I see such functional-processual approaches and interpretations as extremely limited in their capacity for providing rich readings of the data

and it is unclear what and how community dynamics might be reflected in these patterns. I did speculate that the types of public social events noted in the Legislative Minutes of Delaware and cited by Brodsky could very well explain the material patterns found at these sites, but I avoided reflecting on their broader significance (Willoughby 2007). While I think pattern recognition studies do provide a useful framework for understanding some of the behavior reflected in the material culture of sites, I also feel that we should attempt to move beyond mere functional explanations of some of these patterns and uncover some of the cultural meaning that these patterns may reflect. At the very least these delineation techniques are useful tools for examining inter-site variability, which can be indispensable in contextualizing these public venues of communal interaction.

Overall the above approaches make a number of relevant contributions towards understanding colonial period public sites. Pattern studies helped illumine behavioral regularities at two colonial courthouses. Miller's analyses provide crucial historical information regarding the development of public space within St. Mary's City and he begins to discuss and speculate about some of the social meaning and ideology reflected in the built landscape. The work of Leone and the Annapolis School emphasize the role of public architecture in St. Mary's City and Annapolis had in solidifying power and hierarchy associated with capitalism. However, none of these studies explicitly address the social use of public space, community theory, or community dynamics and their potential relevance in early colonial processes. Despite this fact these prior approaches need not be outright rejected. Notwithstanding their theoretical limitations, pattern studies are useful tools for examining inter-site variability. They help contextualize sites and uncover some of the behavioral processes that created their material patterns. Miller's analyses provide crucial historical data for contextualizing and understanding the development and

evolution of St. Mary's City's early public sites. The Annapolis School's Marxist framework draws attention to the conflicts and contradictions within capitalist society, and history makes clear that seventeenth-century Maryland certainly weathered its share of social and political tensions. I argue, however, that these approaches should be expanded and complemented with a more nuanced examination that utilizes more diverse and agent-oriented theories of community. Such an approach should investigate more deeply community formation and its contribution to early colonial Maryland society and consider the role public sites played in mediating those processes. Rather than ask how public sites solidified hierarchy and asymmetrical power relations' we should balance this by asking how they helped solidify and integrate the communities they served through physically mediating meaningful social interaction.

The Archaeology of Community:

Archaeologists have often taken a special interest in communities. However, according to Marcello Canuto and Jason Yaeger (2000), few have problematized it as an object of study by asking the question: "What is a community?" Instead they often employ the concept as descriptive or analytical categories roughly analogous to the unit referred to as "the site" (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 3). These approaches have primarily followed a variation of Murdock's (1949) definition, where communities are viewed as homogenous social units maintained by residential proximity, shared culture, face-to-face association, and daily common experiences. Canuto and Yaeger (2000: 3) suggest this approach is particularly attractive to archaeologists because it includes a number of visible archaeological materials: discrete spatial patterning of activities, residential nucleation, and shared material culture. They criticize this type of focus, however, because it has led to the tendency of archaeologists to focus methodology on operational

recognition rather than analytical theories. Such approaches have often ignored issues of social creation, manipulation, and meaning (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 5).

Recent archaeological discourses on communities, however, have involved a wider recognition that the archaeological identification and analysis of communities must address their process of construction and perpetuation in mutual action (Owoc 2005: 263, Canuto and Yaeger 2000). These approaches have increasingly focused on processes of interaction using concepts of agency, practice, and structuration (Blanton 1994; Brumfiel 1994; Dobres and Robb 2000; Canuto and Yaeger 2000). This growing focus on agency and interaction emphasizes how individual actors are able to competently and strategically manipulate their place within multiple social contexts that are in turn contingent on agents' practice. Such approaches conceive the community as a dynamic socially constituted institution contingent on human agency for its creation and continued existence (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 5). This approach also recognizes that communities, in part, become manifest through material media—they become realized in daily routinization of passage through material settings, including buildings (Joyce and Hendon 2000; Bourdieu 1973, 1977). Thus in this sense, public sites were constitutive of some of the spatial and material conditions that facilitated and structured elements of human practice and interaction. Given the historical references to the various social and communal events at early public sites in the Chesapeake, applying such an approach to seventeenth-century Maryland would prove advantageous for investigating the role these spaces played in structuring community dynamics and facilitating community formation.

For the purposes of this study I adopt the moderate interactionist approach to the study of agency and community advocated by Canuto and Yaeger (2000). This approach borrows heavily from practice theory, a perspective which has emphasized interaction most strongly (Canuto and

Yaeger 2000: 3). According to this view individual practice is the locus for the production of the patterned processes that create and recreate society and it pays particular attention to the role spatial and material conditions play in structuring practice (Bourdieu 1973, 1977; Cunningham 1973; Giddens 1984; Canuto and Yaeger 2000). This attention to spatial and material conditions makes this perspective particularly relevant to archaeology. As Dobres and Hoffman (1994: 214) argue, because of its explicit focus on material culture, a broad range of social formations, as well as continuity and change over time, archaeology is uniquely situated to examine and exploit the potential of practice theory.

A Few Notes on Community:

As noted previously, definitions of community have varied considerably within the social sciences. A number of have noted that it may very well be impossible to develop an acceptable, non-ambiguous, non-contested definition for everyone (Little 2002; Plant 1974). The focus of this study is not to challenge previous concepts or offer new theories. Rather, I am interested in understanding community dynamics and some of the mechanisms that facilitated community formation and cohesion in seventeenth-century Maryland. This study places particular emphasis on examining the role the culturally constituted, public built environment played in mediating those processes. For matter of convenience I will borrow from widely accepted and utilized definitions without strictly adhering to a single, rigid model. Most definitions utilized within the social sciences possess some sort of common thread; viewing them as aggregates of individuals that share a common identity, culture, values, mutual dependence, sentiments of belonging, etc. (Day 2006; Canuto and Yaeger 2000). Also of relevance to this particular study is the concept of the political community. This model is particularly applicable in examining political dynamics at

the supra-household (i.e. community) level. According to this kind of definition, communities are comprised of individuals who identify with a group, either by choice or by birth, and participate not solely for individual, instrumental gain, but because one's well-being is tied to its flourishing as a whole (Little 2002; Mason 2000). Thus communities rely on the active participation and collective engagement of its members and it is within this context that community values and interests are negotiated and/or pursued. It is also within communities that power structures are negotiated, contested and legitimized. While I agree with Pauketat (2000: 19), that this concept should not be strictly reified into another social group or category, I also agree that we should recognize that all communities have a political aspect.

Key components to most of these models and definitions are interaction and identity. In these terms community can be seen as a social process of group-identity formation (Puaketat 2000: 19). It is a dynamic, ever-emergent social institution that is actively created and re-created by supra-household interactions (i.e. practice) that are structured by particular places within particular spans of time (Canuto and Yaeger 2000; Pauketat 2000). Recognizing community as a continuous social process that entails, in part, group identity formation, and which relies on the interaction of social actors in relation to social and material structures, allows one to operationalize the study of its formation. Such an institution is contingent on physical venues for repeated, meaningful interaction needed to create and maintain a community (Canuto and Yaeger 2000: 6). As archaeologists we can examine these venues of communal interaction and search for the residues of behaviors that fostered group identity formation. In doing this we can examine how behaviors and symbols of group affiliation and integration were structured by, and materially reflected in, the communal landscape (e.g. Pauketat 2000; Mehrer 2000; Preucel 2000; Yaeger 2000; Goldstein 2000). In short, while there may be some futility in developing an all-

encompassing, universal definition of 'community,' recognizing that communities entail processes of group identity formation contingent on human interaction, we can examine mechanisms (i.e. the material structures and residues) that facilitated those processes.

Agency and Practice Theory in Archaeology:

Ideas of personhood, volition, self-determination, and the nature of consciousness and reasoning can be traced back to ancient Greek philosophy. Later eighteenth and nineteenth century theorists, likely influenced by Enlightenment ideals, advanced philosophies of free-will, choice, and intentionality (Dobres and Robb 2000: 4). Prior to the 1980s, while advocated in some circles of inquiry, agency was most often only implicitly assumed in interpretations of the archaeological record. This was particularly characteristic of the processualism that grew out the New Archaeology. Through this paradigm, researchers viewed their subjects primarily as reactionary, if not passive, agents whose actions were viewed collectively as adaptive responses to environmental variables. All other social or ideological structures were secondary products of these responses (Hegmon 2003). With a dissatisfaction that grew from this paradigm and its largely androcentric bias that relegated women to roles of mere passive participants, feminist research in the 1980s began incorporating ideas of agency in gender focused research that sought to expose the active roles of women in the past (for example: the role of women "planters" in the origins of plant domestication) (Dobres and Robb 2000).

Definitions of agency and its application in archaeological inquiry have varied considerably. Common among many archaeologists employing agency theory, however, is the abandonment of the idea of the unfettered, unconstrained, uninhibited, free-willed individual. Instead, many have adopted various forms of practice theory as outlined by Bordieu, Giddens,

and others (e.g. Dobres and Robb 2000; Canuto and Yaeger 2000; Owoc 2005; Pauketat and Alt 2005; Dobres and Hoffman 1994; Dornan 2002). Rather than according human agents complete autonomy in choice and action, most scholars seek to examine the interactive relationship between the structures in which agents exist and simultaneously create.

Minimally defined, practice theory seeks to examine and understand human action in relation to structure (Ortner 1989: 12). Social structures are viewed as both the medium and the outcome of social interaction and are conceived of as the normative rules and social and material resources available to individuals and groups. At the same time, individuals are bound by tradition and the social collective. Thus structures both enable and constrain social possibilities and/or actions (Dobres and Hoffman 1994: 222).

The social sciences' first exposure to practice theory came in the form of Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, published in 1977. Conceptually some of the core elements of practice theory can be traced back to Marx's focus on *praxis*, or the role of human action and interaction in social reproduction. His theory views society as a plurality of individuals who exist by virtue of the relationships they generate during everyday material production (Dobres and Robb 2000: 5). While Bourdieu, like Marx, also focused on understanding social asymmetry and class inequalities, his theory of practice was primarily intended to examine how social practice shapes society by concentrating on the taken-for-granted routines of daily life within which people create and become structured by institutions and beliefs beyond their conscious awareness or direct control (Bourdieu 1977; Dobres and Robb 2000: 5; Dornan 2002: 305). Central to Bourdieu's theoretical position is his concept of *habitus*, defined generally as an individual's unique, unconsciously internalized system of dispositions produced by accrued life experience in relation to historically conditioned social structures (Bourdieu 1977). In effect, individuals'

dispositions and actions are determined by cultural traditions (often tied to group affiliations) and the social collective, and they govern how we perceive and act in the world we know, i.e. they limit our social possibilities (Dobres and Hoffman 1994: 222; Dornan 2002: 305).

While some scholars have argued that Bourdieu leaves room for individuals to intentionally affect larger social structures, Dornan (2002) has argued that his view of *habitus* is overly deterministic. According to Bourdieu's concept, individual habitus is entirely determined by experiences of the external world and is thus produced by the structures of individuals' particular social environments. It (habitus) is "a socially constituted system of cognitive and motivating structures…in which the agent's interests are defined" without "consciousness or will" (Bourdieu 1977: 76, 1990:56; quoted in Dornan 2002: 306). Because Bourdieu views human action on the whole as unconscious and determined largely by external conditions, he suggests that social change can occur only accidentally—when habitus is miss-mapped onto current social conditions (Dornan 2002: 306). Actors thus seem doomed to reproduce their world almost mindlessly, unaware of their true conditions and structures (Comaroff 1985; Dornan 2002: 306). While many acknowledge that there is a degree of automaticity in all of our actions, scholars have argued that all agents possess some capacity to consciously analyze, reflect upon, and strategically manipulate and navigate their structuring conditions (Giddens 1979; Dornan 2002; Canuto and Yaeger 2000; Joyce et al 2001).

Anthony Giddens' (1979) theory of structuration is often looked to for overcoming what has been viewed as Bourdieu's overly limiting notion of agency (Dornan 2002: 307). Giddens' (1979) structuration theory focuses attention towards both the constraining and enabling nature of social structures. Structuration refers to the social and material conditions that govern the continuity and transformation of structures (Dobres and Hoffman 1994: 222) Unlike Bourdieu,

Giddens does not view individual action as determined exclusively by unconsciously internalized structures and dispositions. He instead sees room in every instance of practice for creativity and innovation (Dornan 2002: 307). Instead of a mindless orchestration of human practice, Giddens (1979: 24) believes every individual knows how to act based on a practical consciousness, defined as "non-discursive, but not unconscious, knowledge of social institutions" that allows individuals to reflexively monitor their conduct (Dornan 2002: 307). He argues that no cognitive barriers which clearly separate discursive and practical consciousness exist and that even the most enduring of habits involves continual and detailed reflexive attention (Giddens 1991: 36; 1976; Dornan 2002: 307). Thus while Giddens recognizes that social structures heavily influence human practice and that there is a habituated level to much of everyday action, he also maintains that individuals consciously access and reflect upon the content and meaning of those habituated actions (Dornan 2002: 307). In effect all social action, individual and collective, is reflexive, meaning "Actors know something of the rules by which they are supposed to live, and they use that knowledge in daily interaction" (Dobres and Hoffman 1994: 223). This reflexive aspect of social action acknowledges that individuals can potentially exercise greater intentionality in shaping the world within which they function (Dornan 2002: 307). In short, just as structures pattern individual practice, they only exist as the reproduced conduct of situated actors and can change over time as reflexive agents consciously negotiate them and alter practice (Giddens 1976; Dornan 2002: 307-8).

The ability of individual agents to strategically negotiate and manipulate structure should not be overstated, however. As Giddens (1979, 1984) notes, to be aware of society's structures and resources, and to consciously manipulate them to an intended advantage, does not guarantee success. Individuals lack awareness of certain aspects of their actions, they possess imperfect

knowledge of any given situation, their actions are often met with counter strategies, and social

action often results in unintended consequences which can sometimes have significant,

unforeseen outcomes (Giddens 1979, 1984; Dobres and Hoffman 1994). Dobres and Hoffman

(1994) note that these factors can, and often do, operate simultaneously.

> Human agents constantly rationalize their actions and act strategically within historically specific contexts and within culturally defined boundary conditions, but other forces impinge on individual agency: (1) other actors and larger communities, groups, and affiliations; (2) the spatial contexts of the built environment; (3) history (antecedent social conditions); and especially (4) issues of power played out in the social arena (Dobres and Hoffman 1994: 223).

It is precisely this recognition of the connection between the social collective, individual

practice, and these other structural forces, which makes practice theory and structuration

applicable in archaeological approaches towards understanding past communities--their

processes of formation, reproduction, and change. Some have argued that practice is, in effect,

individual participation within communities (Owoc 2005: 263). In this way communities are

social constructs, constituted and continually reconstituted by, and thus contingent upon, its

members' practices (Yaeger 2000: 125). Put another way, individual participation in community

actively makes a community, just as community's embrace of its members as persons

shapes them into agents and actors (McGuire and Tuchanska 2000: 104; Owoc 2005: 263). As

Yaeger (2000: 125) notes: "by recognizing that the community is contingent upon the choices

and activities of its members, while it simultaneously structures those practices, we problematize

its origins and continued existence. What material and social conditions structure community

members' interactions? What practices serve to create, recreate, and reshape the community and

community identity?"

This study also incorporates elements of performance theory advocated by Inomata and

Coben (2006) to assess and inform interpretations of community interactions. Inomata and

Coben essentially take a practice theory approach to understanding explicitly public interactions.

However, rather than focusing primarily on the study of ordinary daily practice, they point out "that highly conscious acts in extraordinary circumstances, particularly those that contrast with and diverge from daily activities, are equally important in shaping the operation and organization of society" (Inomata and Coben 2006:21). Daily practices tend to reflect and create structures in relatively subtle manners. In contrast, these extraordinary events bring individuals together outside the norm of daily life and the participants often enact and experience ideologies, cultural ideals and traditions in uniquely explicit ways (Singer 1959; Inomata and Coben 2006: 22).

Such public events help make a community by creating objectifications of experience and making them accessible to others by transcending the limitations of individual experience (Inomata and Coben 2006: 24). This produces a state of liminality, or a condition outside or on the peripheries of everyday life, producing what Turner (1974: 46-47) refers to as *communitas*, or temporary social bonds that transcend the typical social structure. They further note that the effects of public events and performance in creating community also suggest their potential as tools for ideological and political unification and thus domination. They are particularly relevant in polities that lacked coercive force to control their population. In this sense they were tools used to integrate and build community while simultaneously establishing, affirming, manipulating, and maintaining power relations among and between elites and non-elites (Inomata and Coben 2006: 25-26). Incorporating such an approach towards interpreting the archaeological record in this study seems prudent given its explicit focus on assessing the contexts and significance of large-scale public interactions associated with government meetings at the site of Maryland's first statehouse.

Practice Theory, Community, and Archaeology at Maryland's first Capital:

In many ways the Country's House (aka the Calvert House) presents an ideal site for addressing the above questions and examining aspects of community formation and perpetuation. The founding of Maryland involved the negotiation and establishment of an entirely new community, constructed from scratch, by individuals of diverse backgrounds and origins. It is also clear from historical records that the Country's House provided a physical venue for communal and ritual interactions, upon which communities depend (e.g. court days, meetings of the Assembly, etc.), while simultaneously serving as the center of political authority for the fledgling settlement. Practice theory provides an advantageous framework for archaeologically examining how such a physical venue helped mediate and facilitate community construction in early colonial Maryland. Such an approach acknowledges the complex inter-relationship between agential practice and structure; recognizes individuals' potential to shape their social world; recognizes that communities both structure, and are structured by, individual practice; views social structures and power relations as negotiated, legitimized, resisted and or contested within the context of community interaction; and it gives explicit attention to the role material and spatial conditions (e.g. the natural and built environment) play in structuring the practices that shape community and community identity.

Chapter 3

Social-Historical Context: seventeenth-Century Maryland

Introduction:

This chapter outlines and examines the social background and historical circumstances of seventeenth-century Maryland in order to understand the characteristics that have often been cited as contributing to its unstable character. Aspects examined include the social and religious background of Maryland's immigrants, the demographic distribution of the colony, community structure, geography and settlement pattern, the economy, history of the government, as well as the history and development of the early capital. This chapter will also review historical and documentary sources regarding what is known about public interactions at court and assembly days in the early Chesapeake, and The Country's House in particular. Together this provides some context for later discussions and arguments regarding the significance of public sites in fostering social cohesion in Maryland's early colonial setting.

Early Establishment:

Maryland was a proprietary colony established by Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, following a grant received from King Charles I in 1632 (Land 1981). The initial settlement was established within a former Native American village purchased from the Yaocomoco Indians. Led by Cecil's younger brother, Leonard Calvert, the first English colonists landed at this site in March of 1634 (Miller 1986). The site was named St. Mary's City, after the Virgin Mary, and was established as the colony's first capital. The site currently sits approximately 60 miles south of Washington D.C. on a tributary of the Chesapeake Bay known as the St. Mary's River, about six miles north of its confluence with the Potomac River (Miller 1986).

Following the initial negotiation with the Yaocomoco, the 150 or so settlers moved into the natives' former houses houses and began construction of a fort. However, good relations with the local natives made the fort unnecessary and the colonists began dispersing along the shores of the St. Mary's River and other streams to establish private plantations expressly for the cultivation of tobacco, which was to become the chief domestic product and economic backbone of the colony (Miller 1986; Main 1982). Growth in the colony was slow, however, primarily due to political problems associated with the English Civil War. It was not until the restoration of Charles II to the throne of England in 1660 did conditions stabilize and Maryland began to experience rapid and sustained growth. In 1667 St. Mary's was incorporated as the first official city within the colony (Miller 1988: 59).

Maryland's Early Instability:

Historians have often characterized the seventeenth-century Chesapeake as politically unstable, disordered, socially weak, chaotic, and demographically disrupted (Horn 1994: 8; Jordan 1979: 243; Walsh 1988: 200, 1990). It is often juxtaposed with trends seen in the New England colonies where closed, corporate, homogenous and cohesive communities prevailed (Walsh 1988: 200), and rather mature and stable governing institutions were attained within just a few years of their founding (Jordan 1979: 243). Characterizations of disorder in Maryland have often focused on the major social upheavals that punctuated the seventeenth century, such as the collapse of Lord Baltimore's government between 1645 and 1647, and the overthrow of proprietary rule in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1689 (Horn 1994: 335). Other discussions have centered on aspects such as the disparate distribution of wealth in the colony, conflicts between

the different status groups serving the government, immigration and mortality, geography and population density; all of which contributed to Maryland's unstable character.

Class and Religion:

Michal Rozbicki (1988) suggests conflict between the proprietary elite of appointed officials and holders of huge land grants, forming the minority, and the independent planters and un-propertied freemen lacking the £40 estate required to vote (although it should be noted that the £40 estate requirement was not formalized and enforced until 1670 [Jordan 1987: 82]), was largely responsible for much of the political instability of the period. The proprietary party controlled several key aspects of the government, including appointments for offices such as justice of the peace, sheriffs, secretaries, surveyors, and councilors. They also represented those who collected taxes, rents and fees, which were often a serious burden for the planters (Rozbicki 1988: 49). Rozbicki goes on to suggest that many of the constitutional conflicts within the Maryland Assembly during the seventeenth century were expressions of fundamental antagonisms between the appointed officials occupying the Upper House, who sought to guard their private incomes and keep fees high, and the small planters represented by the Lower House who were unwilling to part with any share of earnings from their often variable tobacco product. These antagonisms were further compounded by religious differences. The proprietary elite were composed almost exclusively by Catholics who supported the Catholic proprietor. Despite freedom of worship being practiced from the settlement's beginning (and formalized in the Act Concerning Religion of 1649) as an attempt to attract both Catholics and Protestants to populate the colony, the majority of immigrants and planters were Protestant, whose interests were represented overwhelmingly in the Lower House (Rozbicki 1988: 49-50).

Such antagonisms borne along lines of religious affiliation are clearly illustrated by temporary overthrows of proprietary control by Protestants in 1652 and 1659 (Jordan 1987). Part of this period of conflict was a direct bi-product of the English Civil War (1641-1651) when the English monarchy was replaced by a commonwealth government run exclusively by Parliament in 1651. In September of 1651, two privateers by the names of Richard Bennett and William Claiborne received writs from Parliament to reduce the Royalist colony of Virginia. After subduing Virginia, these militant Protestants proceeded to Maryland where they overthrew the proprietary government and helped institute a new commission composed exclusively of Protestants who saw no role for Catholics in Maryland (Jordan 1987: 55). By 1657 Lord Baltimore was able to solicit enough support within the English government to have his proprietary control re-established and by 1658 a new assembly was elected (Jordan 1987: 57).

Following proprietary restoration, attempts were made to curtail further animosity by allowing full participation of Catholics and Protestants, recognizing much of the legislation enacted by the 'Commonwealth' government, as well as stipulating that there would be no political penalties for any individual involved with the recent rebellion. Despite these attempts, tensions along religious lines continued. Even with the generous terms of the surrender agreement, the proprietor could not easily erase hard feelings (Jordan 1987: 57). Passions against the proprietary government and Catholics continued to run high among the population at large culminating in a second brief overthrow of proprietary rule in 1659 (Jordan 1987: 57). Protestants within the newly elected Assembly following the restoration of proprietary control were able to garner the support of enough representatives to announce that the elected membership considered itself "to be a lawful Assembly without dependence on any Power in the Province (quoted in Jordan 1987: 58)", no longer recognizing the authority or privilege of the

Upper House of appointed councilors. This uprising was sustained for less than one year, however, and after alienating enough settlers not firmly bound to either side, the proprietary party was able to regain effective control of the provincial government by November of 1660 (Jordan 1987: 58-59). Although a period of relative stability followed, the above cases illustrate some of the political tensions within the colony during the seventeenth century that corresponded closely with religious differences.

Community Development:

Besides the constitutional conflicts among the Maryland Assembly noted by Rozbicki, a number of factors hindered the formation of the types of tightly knit neighborhoods and communities to which immigrants were accustomed to in England. This only served to place additional strain on the establishment and maintenance of social order and political authority. Several factors often cited as contributing to this hindrance include the lack of generational continuity created by extremely high mortality and constant immigration, low settlement density, and the lack of a common, binding religion (Horn 1988; Walsh 1988).

The lack of generational continuity was perhaps most paralytic. As Horn (1988: 149) states, "demographic disruption was probably the most serious problem faced by English settlers trying to put down roots in their new environment." Maryland throughout the seventeenth century was a society composed almost entirely of immigrants born and raised in England or the British Isles (Horn 1988). Growth of the colony was dependent on the constant influx of new settlers seeking new economic opportunity. Where immigrants thrived in the northern clime of New England, enjoyed a more equitable sex ratio, and were able to marry at a young age, families formed stable legacies and the region enjoyed a population growth unparalleled to that

of Western Europe (Main 1982: 12). This contrasts greatly with the Chesapeake where despite between 100,000 and 150,000 immigrants having arrived in the tobacco coast during the seventeenth century (Menard 1988: 103), less than seventy thousand whites were living there (with approximately 20,000 residing in Maryland [Jordan 1987: 64]) at its close (Main 1982: 12).

Rampant dysentery and malaria so greatly weakened many immigrants to the Chesapeake region that many succumbed to a number of diseases including typhoid fever, pneumonia, and influenza. Average age at death among adult white males in the region was twenty years less than the average enjoyed by New Englanders. Throughout the seventeenth century, a colonist at age 20 could only expect to live to his early forties, between 20 to 30 years less than his counterparts in New England (Jordan 1987: 71). Women were relatively scarce in the Chesapeake during the seventeenth century, being outnumbered by more than two and one half to one (Main 1982: 14-15). Besides the relative scarcity of women, with between 70 and 80 percent of immigrants arriving as indentured servants (Menard 1988: 106), those who were able to survive "the seasoning" and serve out their terms of service ended up marrying at a much later age than typical of English or New England society (Main 1982: 14). Over one fourth, however, never married at all (Main 1982: 14). The infrequency and often delay in marriage resulted in birth rates that did not exceed deaths, contributing little towards the growth of the colony and generating little sense of continuity between generations (Main 1982).

Demographic disruption was also intimately tied with the geographic dispersal of settlements and population mobility, factors both stemming from economic determinants associated with the tobacco economy. Tobacco provided the economic lifeblood of the colony. Planters sought fertile lands along the waterways, resulting in a highly diffuse, broad but thin

settlement pattern (Walsh 1988). Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore, remarked in1678

that:

> The people there not affecting to build near each other, but as to have their houses
> near the waters for convenience of trade, and their lands on each side of and
> behind their houses, by which it happens that in most places there are not fifty
> houses in the space of thirty miles (quoted in Stone 1983: 207).

Despite a few failed attempts at reproducing a manorial system of land tenure familiar to

immigrants native to England, whether freeholders or tenants, households tended to occupy

individual farms scattered along the sides of rivers and creeks (Walsh 1988). Carr et al

(1991:138) indicate that even by the 1660s, within the St. Clements area (an area in lower

Maryland settled early after initial colonization) the typical household would find only about

fifteen families within two and one half miles of the home farm, and about twenty five other

households within five miles . Walsh (1988: 219) suggests that since most transactions and

communications were oral, individuals' effective communication networks seldom exceeded this

five-mile area. Even St. Mary's City, Maryland's only town until the turn of the 18th century,

was described in 1678 as consisting of "not above thirty houses, and those at considerable

distance from each other" (quoted in Horn 1988: 165).

Besides the settlement distribution alone, other obstacles hindered the creation of

community networks. The numerous rivers and creeks bisecting the region presented a series of

barriers, while the scarcity of horses before 1670 and a poorly developed road network greatly

restricted travel and interaction (Walsh 1988: 218). The tobacco trade also required almost no

local infrastructure, with exchange often occurring directly between the planter and an English

merchant (Walsh 1988: 218, Main 1982). Economic transactions and exchanges of local goods

(other than tobacco) between planters were too infrequent to lead to the development of markets

or marketing networks. Such business was typically secured through word of mouth (Walsh 1988: 218).

Geographic mobility of large segments of the population also fed demographic disruption and hindered community formation. Those indentured servants who survived their term of service, after living in one area while fulfilling their contract (usually four to seven years), were free to uproot. While some stayed on as tenant farmers, others took up work elsewhere until generating enough capital to purchase freeholds of their own, where they would finally settle permanently. A headright system in effect from the colony's founding until 1681 had been established to attract immigration. This was meant to both persuade wealthy individuals to invest in the colony by bringing over servants, and to attract servant enlistment through hopes of opportunity. This system initially entitled investors 1,000 acres for every five indentured servants brought over (Stone 1982: 1). Fifty acres of land were entitled per individual contingent on paying patent fees (Jordan 1987: 16). Such a system allowed those with considerable wealth to acquire large tracts through the rights of their indentured servants while providing individuals of more modest means and servants able to serve out their indenture opportunity for acquiring their own land (Carr and Menard 1979, Jordan 1987, Menard 1988, Walsh 1988). Again citing St. Clements as an example, Walsh (1988:215) found that within a ten year period, of the number of freedmen residing as tenant farmers in the area around 1660, only 29 percent of those who survived had stayed put. Freedmen working as tailors, coopers, carpenters, and ordinary laborers, unencumbered by the burden of tending crops or livestock, often moved to wherever work could be found. Such individuals might live in the households of several widely scattered employers over the course of the year (Carr et al 1991: 139).

As one might assume from Rozbicki's discussion concerning antagonisms within the Assembly, wealth and status distinctions also created tension and hindered community development among the rural population. It is notable, however, that typical status distinctions found in English society were largely absent in the Chesapeake. Besides the initial years of settlement, the gentry and aristocracy of the Old World did not play a large role in colonizing the region (Horn 1988: 147). A great deal of homogeneity prevailed with regards to basic lifestyle, particularly around mid-century. Most colonists favored investment in land and labor over luxury. Expedient, cheap, temporary housing was the norm as planters often moved to different parts of their land as fields became exhausted from the extreme demands of tobacco cultivation (Horn 1994: 304). As a result little distinction was seen between the lower and middling free classes in housing and other material culture. As Jordan (1987: 66) notes:

> …few Marylanders enjoyed many of the normal accoutrements of wealth possessed by even the average seventeenth-century Englishmen. Inventories rarely included items that provided comfort, color, or diversion from the hard, drab life of most settlers. Homes provided protection against the worst elements of the environment, but did little beyond that. Furnishings were simple and sparse, clothing plain and practical. Personal property was minimal, and privacy almost an unknown concept. Only a very few colonists transcended this prevailing life style.

Most dwellings consisted of simple one or two room wooden-framed houses attached to posts set directly in the ground. Covering generally consisted of rough-hewn, riven clapboards. Floors were often beaten dirt with the occasional dwelling possessing wood planking. Occasionally clay chinking was used to help seal out the weather. Few houses had brick fireplaces or chimneys, while the vast majority had wattle and daub "Welsh" chimneys (Horn 1994: 302-303). Such earth-fast construction was generally considered a "quick and dirty technique" of raising a house, but even prosperous planters often built, occupied, and maintained such houses (Bell 2005: 450,

Kelso 1984: 76). Jordan (1987: 67) notes as well that most colonists resembled one another in only having minimal education. Illiteracy was high and few individuals in the colony enjoyed access to formal education.

While it may be easy to stress the homogenous character of some aspects of early colonial life in the Chesapeake, Horn (1994: 304) cautions against over-emphasizing commonalities and suggests that such similarities (or the lack of a native born aristocracy) do not imply that seventeenth-century Chesapeake society was egalitarian (Horn 1988: 147). While Maryland enjoyed a brief period of general prosperity around mid-century, scholars have noted that gaps in the distribution of wealth increasingly widened during the second half of the century (Main 1982) and clusters of wealthier and poorer colonists became more noticeable (Jordan 1987: 66).

Although status distinctions may not have been as pronounced during the seventeenth century or typical of English society, wealth still remained the primary determinant of social status. Despite the significant prospect of opportunity for individuals struggling in the homeland, the structure of the economy bred competition and fostered disparity in the distribution of wealth. At the bottom of the hierarchy were the indentured servants, who had no political power. This was followed by the small freehold planters who formed the largest segment of the population with any political rights. Political power, however, followed economic power. This was dictated by the rational that those with the greatest estates were best qualified to govern (Horn 1988: 147). Thus while a traditional ruling class was largely absent, wealth and capital helped establish a provincial elite among a small segment of holders of large grants. These status distinctions created social barriers that further restricted patterns of interaction. Servants could not leave the plantation without permission, nor could they relate to free individuals as equals. It

was also unlikely for common farmers to form close friendships with members of the provincial elite (Walsh 1988: 218).

From the above discussion it is clear that there were significant impediments to establishing community networks and social order in early colonial Maryland. Immigrants tended to come from a variety of rural and urban communities. Nucleated villages containing 12 and 50 households were especially common (Bell 2005: 449). Most of these communities had long histories, generational continuity, and were bound together through constant local interaction and strong kin ties. Such traditional forms of community remained largely absent in early colonial Maryland. Despite early attempts by a handful of wealthy investors to establish a manorial system modeled on forms found in rural England, such familiar rural communities proved short lived. Economic factors and geography favored a loosely scattered settlement pattern while mobility, mortality, and sexual imbalance hindered the development of lasting kin ties and generational continuity. Wealth inequality and religious differences fueled social and political tensions. Yet despite these difficulties, Maryland grew and flourished.

Establishing Governance: The Political Landscape

This section examines some of the major developments and general trends of establishing government in early Maryland with attention towards the material aspects of physically accommodating such institutions. Detailed histories of both the provincial and various county governments are beyond the scope of this paper. David Jordan's (1987) *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland 1632-1715* provides a detailed and balanced account chronicling the rise and development of the provincial assembly, portions of which will be referenced in the following. However, since my research is particularly interested in the social

use of public administrative sites, it is first useful to establish the setting in which this social use occurred and was structured.

From the outset, the Maryland charter received by Cecilius Calvert in 1632 contained provisions extending privileges of representative government to the colonists. Although the charter granted the proprietor extensive powers, Lord Baltimore's power to "ordain, Make and Enact Laws, of what kind soever, according to their sound discretions, whether relating to the Public State of the said Province, or the private Utility of the Individuals" required "the Advice, Assent, and Approbation of the Free-Men of the same Province, or the greater part of them, or of their Delegates or Deputies whom We will shall be called Together for the Framing of Laws (quoted in Jordan 1987: 1)." Recognizing the growing interests and expectations of the English in their own governance, the Lords Baltimore accepted the existence of an assembly in their colony. The assembly was, however, never envisioned to be a strong oppositional force to the proprietor's rule or a privileged legislative body, rather only to offer assistance and endorsements of proprietary actions. With developments of rudimentary assemblies in several other English colonies (i.e. Virginia, Bermuda, and Massachusetts), the Calverts realized that in order to attract immigrants they would have to offer an opportunity for the participation of the freemen of the colony (Jordan 1987: 5). This also served to offset potential distastes protestant immigrants may have for the powers of a Catholic proprietor. As the seventeenth century progressed, following Parliamentary precedents in England, the freemen and their representatives were gradually able to exert legislative influence that far surpassed the Calverts' original intentions (Jordan 1987: 5).

Early Political Institutions:

The government in the initial months of settlement was small and somewhat loosely structured. Of the 150 to 200 original settlers who landed in 1634, only sixteen were "Gentlemen Adventurers," a small number were free immigrants with moderate means, and the overwhelming majority were indentured servants (a trend which persisted throughout most of the century) (Jordan 1987: 13). Many of the early administrative responsibilities fell directly on Governor Leonard Calvert during the formative years of the settlement (Jordan 1987: 19). The governor interacted directly with most colonists, processing patents, mediating disputes, and addressing various problems characteristic of a new frontier settlement. The governor could easily summon the freemen of the colony together for any necessary business affecting the entire colony. At least three of the first seven assemblies were general meetings with all freemen called to attend. Each of these gatherings followed the arrival of new laws ('Conditions of Plantation') or a new commission sent by the proprietor (Jordan 1987: 19). As the population began increasing and settlements began dispersing along the waterways across a wider geographical area, assemblies composed of elected delegates became more common. When the Assembly met in 1642, 19 men cast proxies for at least 138 eligible freemen who chose not to be present (Jordan 1987: 20). These early assemblies consisted of single groups where all freemen, gentlemen and the recently freed, the educated and illiterate, Catholics and Protestants, voted side by side and sat together in the assembly (Jordan 1987: 21). However, this changed in light of rising antagonisms and competing interests between the small but wealthy elite and the growing body of small planters, the Assembly of 1650 was officially organized into two houses, establishing bicameralism that was to characterize the provincial government for the remainder of the colonial period (Jordan 1987). Modeled after Parliament's familiar structure, the upper

house consisted of councilors appointed by Lord Baltimore or the governor from among the wealthy elite, similar to the House of Lords. The lower house consisted only of the elected representatives, closely resembling the House of Commons.

The initial administrative and electoral unit during the first two decades of settlement consisted of civil subdivisions known as 'hundreds,' modeled after an ancient English jurisdiction (Jordan 1987, Land 1981: 26). Common practice was to elect two burgesses from each hundred (although this varied somewhat during the early years given the relatively informal nature of elections) (Jordan 1987: 20-21). After mid-century, due to growth of the colony, the county replaced the hundred as the standard electoral district (Jordan 1987: 80). Although standard ratios of representatives to voters were never fixed prior to the 1670s, counties typically elected 2 to 8 delegates, with ratios of taxable population to elected assemblyman ranging from 75:1 to 200:1, depending on population density (Jordan 1987: 81). In the 1670s representation was set at two elected delegates per county (Jordan 1987: 82).

County courts consisting of a bench of officials appointed by the governor and council were assigned jurisdiction over local administrative concerns (Horn 1994: 190). Manor courts were established in several of the hundreds early on. Modeled after the feudal system in England, these essentially entailed periodic meetings in the manor homes of local elites where the head of the estate would preside over local disputes. With the collapse of Maryland's short-lived-manorial system, however, by 1660 manor courts ceased to play a role in local affairs and were superseded by the jurisdiction of the county court (Jordan 1987). Local county courts soon began playing a crucial role in settling local disputes and maintaining the peace, as well as providing official records of residential affairs. Perhaps most important for the provincial administration

was handling and recording local land transactions(*i.e.* recording patents, headrights, sales and leases), all which helped ensure an avoidance of a chaotic land rush (Horn 1994: 191).

In several ways the establishment and development of government in early Maryland followed English precedents. As noted above, the provincial assembly came to be modeled closely after familiar parliamentary forms. Beginning in the sixteenth century in England, the county was also becoming more important as an administrative unit as the central government began strengthening the authority of local rulers appointed by the state. The crown's courts and officers (*i.e.* lord lieutenant, sheriff, and justice of the peace) emerged as the primary means of maintaining law and order and enforcing policies of the central government (Horn 1994: 189). While manor courts in Maryland were short-lived and replaced by the county unit, their influence as local authorities in England was also diminishing (Horn 1994). It is perhaps not surprising that early colonists to Maryland partially adapted new governing institutions from familiar precedents already established in England. However, the development of the government in early Maryland also followed a unique trajectory in several ways.

With freedom of conscience established early on, government in Maryland was perhaps the only one within the English realm where both Catholics and Protestants participated openly, voting side by side. Catholics, as well as freed servants, were also able to hold local office and titles such as justice of the peace, sheriff, county secretary, surveyor, etc., offering a degree of opportunity unparalleled in the British homeland. History cites numerous cases where individuals were able to survive long enough to serve out their indentures, acquire property, and rise to hold local office and/or even serve on the local bench or provincial assembly (Carr et al 1991, Jordan 1987).

Government Accommodations:

Accommodating government in early Maryland also diverged from English precedents. At the time the Chesapeake region was colonized, England already had a well-established institutional infrastructure. Its roots stretch back to the 11th century when William the Conqueror's royal bureaucrats built the first castles to be used as local administrative centers (Graham 2003). The assize courts served as the principal system of justice for English provinces from the thirteenth century up into the 1970s. The counties were grouped into six circuits to which the common law judges would circulate through twice a year to hear civil and criminal cases (Graham 2003: 455). These courts, as well as local assemblies, would generally meet within one of the already extant public municipal buildings with rooms outfitted for the occasion. Such accommodations included shire halls, town halls, market, or even guild halls. Although such accommodations began being modified or replaced by structures with more function specific, purpose built court rooms towards the end of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries (Graham 2003), a network of public buildings had long been well established to serve local administrative and business needs.

The newly established Chesapeake region, however, was slow to build a well-developed administrative infrastructure. Courts and assemblies frequently met in taverns or prominent officials' residences before the construction of courthouses (Lounsbury 2005, Horn 1994: 190). Both the Maryland and Virginia capitals during the seventeenth century lacked purpose built, dedicated government structures for 30 to 40 years after initial settlement. Jamestown, established in 1607, did not see its first purpose built government accommodation until the 'Country's House' was constructed to house the governor's council and court in 1643 (Kelso 2006: 196-197). Prior to this the government met in the loft of the 1617 church, and later in

Governor Harvey's house, where the House of Burgesses continued to meet until a more permanent Statehouse was constructed in 1663 (Kelso 2006). Maryland's first purpose built statehouse was not constructed until 1676. Before that time the assembly frequently met at the governor's or provincial secretary's house. In 1662 the legislature purchased the governor's house for more exclusive accommodation for the assembly. However, they also leased the structure to an inn keeper and it also served concurrently as the largest tavern in the fledgling capital (Miller 1986, 1994; Carr 1999).

County governments in the Chesapeake followed a similar pattern seen in the provincial capitals noted above. As counties became newly established, courts frequently rotated among prominent plantation owner's houses or cross-roads taverns (Lounsbury 2005). Towards the end of the seventeenth century, dedicated civic buildings and courthouses were constructed to serve as exclusive accommodations. Given the lack of any well-developed network of towns throughout the seventeenth century, locations were usually established based on centrality and geographic accessibility (Lounsbury 2005). The government complex typically consisted of the courthouse, a gaol (jail), possibly a clerk's office, perhaps outhouses, and a stocks and pillory. While taverns often served as ad hoc courthouses prior to the establishment of purpose-built civic accommodations, the tavern remained an essential complement to the courthouse complex, even into the nineteenth century (Lounsbury 2005). Taverns provided indispensable services during court proceedings by offering overnight lodgings, food and drink to the various officials and public who would descend upon the courthouse grounds (Lounsbury 2005: 267). These tippling houses also acted as a business exchange, and was the venue for polite and raucous public entertainments such as assemblies, theatricals, lectures, gambling, and sporting activities (Lounsbury 2005: 265). Often several taverns, as well as the occasional shop and dwelling would

accompany the courthouse complex, producing a small semblance of a town. However, such small clusters built primarily to support the business of the court could hardly be equated with the densely settled towns and nucleated communities familiar to most Englishmen. The colonist familiar with well-developed towns containing all manner of civic buildings and institutions, active marketplaces, townhouses and tenements, offices of merchants and traders, etc., would be hard pressed to find such a setting in the seventeenth century Chesapeake. Even the provincial capitals of Maryland and Virginia were barely developed towns. At its peak St. Mary's City contained scarcely 30 or so houses (Horn 1988). Jamestown never developed more than a few dozen houses (Lounsbury 2005: 53). Instead, the majority of the population remained thinly scattered over the landscape. Colonists in the Chesapeake were faced with the task of adapting English institutions to novel settings and creating civic architecture in rural settings (Lounsbury 2005: 49-50).

It was these public centers that punctuated the rural landscape and provided focal points for communal gatherings during the periodic, semi-annual meetings of the court. Given the references cited earlier concerning the diverse and rich interactions associated with court days, their importance cannot be understated. Certainly these public civic centers served an essential administrative function, and, as some scholars have argued, may have helped naturalize and solidify the socio-political hierarchy (e.g. Leone and Hurry 1998; Leone 1995, 2005) by imposing order and power on the landscape. However, it is also clear that these sites provided one of the most important venues for social interaction during this early colonial period.

Even though traditional forms of community were not replicated in this new, frontier setting, scholars note that new patterns of association were forged (Carr, et al 1991: 137, Walsh 1988: 217). Despite considerable distance between households, neighbors provided company and

recreation, helped in periods of crisis, kept watch and ward, mediated in local disputes, lent money and tools, exchanged produce, and built other informal ties (Horn 1994). A seventeenth-century visitor to the region remarked how "People spend most of their time visiting with each other…When a man had fifty acres, two men-servants, a maid and some cattle, neither he nor his wife do anything but visit among the neighbors" (Walsh 1988: 233). Neighbors relied heavily on each other at times for work, such as engaging a neighbor for aid in house or barn construction. However, these informal networks rarely exceeded a five mile radius and perhaps twenty or so families (Walsh 1988, Carr et al 1991). Essential for tying these diffuse networks together were periodic events such as militia musters and court days that drew individuals out of their usual 'neighborhoods' (Walsh 1988: 227), linking informal local communities with the larger world beyond (Horn 1994: 234). Arensburg and Kimball (1965: 106) suggest the rural county of the Old South, with its Tidewater origins, was its own distinctive form of community that was connected at its center by the county seat. "Dispersed a day's ride in and around the county seat, that community assembled planter and field- or house-hand from the fat plantations, free poor white or Negro from the lean hills and swamps, for the pageantry and the drama of Saturdays around the courthouse, when the courthouse, jail, the registry of deeds, and the courthouse square of shops and lawyer's row made a physical center of the far-flung community (Arensburg and Kimball 1965: 106)." Court days and their associated civic complexes thus provided a critical venue for communal interaction and linked the various scattered communities together. Walsh (1988: 201) suggests that the only collective action many residents had in common was their periodic attendance at meetings of the county court. Loundsbury (2005), Main (1982), Shephard (1995) and others also note that, apart from meetings of the court, court days provided one of the

largest arenas for wider social, ritual and communal interaction on the rural population's regular calendars.

Public Interactions at the Country's House

> *Once every year within this Province is an Assembly called, and out of every respective County (by the consent of the people) there is chosen a number of men, and to them is deliver'd up the Grievances of the Country; and they maturely debate the matters, and according to their Consciences make Laws for the general good of the people; and where any former law that was made, seems and is prejudicial to the good or quietness of the Land, it is repeal'd. These men that determine on these matters for the Republique, are called Burgesses, and they commonly sit in Junto about six weeks, being for the most part good ordinary Householders of the several Counties, which do more by a plain and honest Conscience, that by the artificial Syllogisms drest up in gilded orations.*
> George Alsop, "A Character of the Province of Maryland," 1666, (in Jordan 1987: 63)

Two types of government meetings occurred at the Country's House that likely drew significant crowds to the fledgling capital: (1) meetings of the Provincial Court, and (2) meetings of the Lower House of the Assembly. Apart from court proceedings and legislative minutes detailing cases and policy negotiations, no historical or archival accounts exist for the period in question detailing associated social interactions. However, a number of accounts survive from the Chesapeake and Mid-Atlantic region dating to the 18th century, describing public gatherings associated with government meetings as significant social events for the wider, surrounding community (e.g. Cooke 1708; Lounsbury 2005; Shepard 1995; State of Delaware Legislative Minutes 1782). These accounts indicate that by the 18th century, the grounds around public buildings in the Chesapeake and other rural areas in the Mid-Atlantic were significant centers for social activity during the periodic meetings of the courts and legislatures, transforming the courthouse grounds into a marketplace, playing field, and social center; bringing together

citizens of all classes to conduct business, sell goods, renew ties of friendship, or participate in other amusements (Lounsbury 2005). No accounts exist that directly indicate this type of interaction for the seventeenth century. However, given the likelihood of some continuity existing between the seventeenth-century origins of government institutions and associated public interactions carrying into, if not being elaborated upon in the 18th century, it is reasonable to assume that early use of the Country's House and other seventeenth-century government structures in the region provided historical precedents and established traditions that evolved into the scenes described in 18th century accounts. These 18th-century accounts thus provide useful analogues for activities that likely developed and took place at these sites in the seventeenth century.

Court and Assembly Days: Public Interactions at the Country's House

As stated previously, at least two explicit government activities took place within the Country's House during the government period (ca. 1662-1676), meetings of the Provincial Court, and meetings of the general assembly. Surviving documents detailing the proceedings of the Provincial Court, as well as the proceedings of the Upper and Lower Houses of the assembly indicate when and how frequently government meetings occurred, what officials were in attendance, as well as policy negotiations and voting outcomes. In the case of the Provincial Court, plaintiffs and defendants are also recorded along with details of their litigation.

The Provincial Court:

The Provincial Court was made up by the governor and members of his council. The council consisted of officials appointed directly by the governor or Lord Baltimore and generally

consisted of large landholders loyal to the proprietor (Jordan 1987). Generally considered members of the provincial elite by the general population, these officials mostly oversaw and ruled over controversies appealed from lower levels of administration, such as county courts, and at times from prior Provincial Court rulings (Jordan 1987: 69; Md. Archives). The Provincial Court generally met several times per year and lasted for two to five days. There was often a meeting of the Provincial Court in the days preceding meetings of the general assembly (Md. Archives). This makes practical sense since the Provincial Court was made up of members of the upper house of the assembly. Given the distance and time commitment to gather officials (as well as plaintiffs and defendants) to St. Mary's from the surrounding area and counties, it would be advantageous to accommodate both civic endeavors at or around the same time.

The Assembly:

Meetings of the Assembly were the second major civic engagement that took place at the site during the government period. The Assembly typically met once a year during this period with meetings generally lasting for several weeks (about three on average) depending on the amount of business and negotiating needed to conclude legislative actions. The primary function of the assembly was to make and enact laws, ratify laws sent from the Lord Proprietor, and it also heard and ruled on appeals of Provincial Court cases. There are years within this period with no records of the Assembly meeting. This is likely due to occasional years when there was insufficient government business that needed legislative action, although the governor seems to have unilaterally set some policy during these off years without consent of the assembly. For example, in 1670 he set limits on voting rights to freemen who owned at least fifty acres of land or had estates valued at a minimum of forty pounds sterling (Jordan 1987: 82). There are also

several years where the Proceedings of the Upper House are the only records that exist even though both houses met indicating the surviving records are incomplete. Nevertheless, journals of the legislative proceedings for most of the sessions appear to have survived, providing significant insights into the policy debates and law precedents of the time. Unfortunately they provide few clues regarding the social interactions associated with these legislative meetings.

Since 1650 the legislature had been organized into two distinct houses. The upper house consisted of councilors appointed directly by the governor (from which the Provincial Court justices were drawn), forming a proprietary party (Jordan 1987). Between the period 1662 and 1676, the upper house ranged in membership from between five and eight persons with plantation holdings exceeding 1000 acres (with one-third to one-half often exceeding 3,000 acres). The lower house consisted of elected burgesses from each county. This body ranged in size from between 17 and 31 individuals during the period. These delegates generally had estates of between 200 and 1,500 acres, with the majority holding less than 1,000 acres. These men were generally considered 'ordinary householders' and most often identified in contemporary records as 'planters' (Jordan 1987: 76).

What is uncertain is how often both houses of the assembly met in the Country's House during legislative sessions. The lower house certainly used the Country's House as their primary assembly location since the archives specify no alternative meeting locations. What is less certain is if and how often the upper house utilized the building. Proceedings of the Upper House of the Assembly do not always clearly specify where they were meeting other than "at St. Mary's (Md. Archives)." Legislative proceedings for both houses discuss specific actions of taking draft resolutions, proposals, bills, etc. to the other house for consideration, debate or ratification. This implies that the upper house was meeting at a different location, although almost certainly within

the town lands. Perhaps at times they met within another room within the Country's House. If there was a distinct space set up as a court room, they likely met there, particularly since the upper house also served as the provincial court. However, reference is also given to the Council meeting in the Office Chamber of the Secretary's Office in 1665, which was located on the lot immediately north of the Country's House property (Md. Archives III: 522). By 1677 this property was leased by a Dutch immigrant named Garret van Sweringen who eventually established and operated an exclusive lodging house. References indicate the Council retired to the arbor at Van Sweringens following assembly meetings on a somewhat regular basis by 1680 (King 1990: 73; Md. Archives VII). It is uncertain if this space was used by the Upper House habitually prior to 1680, but it is certainly possible.

Busy Times: Government Business and Site-Use Intensity

Regardless if both houses of the assembly frequently met at the Country's House, the building served as the government seat during this period and was a center of significant activity, if by the Lower House if no one else. The extent of social interactions among the burgesses can only be speculated, but indications suggest assembly meetings were vibrant affairs no doubt facilitated by the site's alternate function as a public ordinary. In a "Complaint from Heaven with a Huy and crye," issued in 1676, indicates the burgesses "are called Deligates, but the Country calls then Delicats, for thy gladly com to such Christenings at St. Mary's *where there is good cheere made*, and the poore Country payes every time, one two or more hundred thousand pounds of tobacco for it" (in Jordan 1987: 95). The document further complains that the upper house dictated what actions the lower house were to take, and if there were any protests "*then perswadinge spirits goe forth…*"(in Jordan 1987: 95). This suggests that spirits and likely other

victuals were significant features of assembly meetings and that alcohol was apparently used in attempts to mediate tensions among members and between both houses. This emphasis on drinking during these meetings may explain the higher proportions of table glass fragments recovered from the Northeast Midden, which is largely associated with use of the great room (see Chapter 8, pp. 205-206 for discussion).

While the above reference indicates alcohol consumption was likely a significant component of assembly proceedings during this period, evidence indicates that tavern activity was also a significant element of burgess interactions during periods of adjournment, particularly in the evenings. A number of payments to inn keepers who leased the structure are recorded in the archives for lodging and feeding burgesses (Md. Archives II). Given the site's status as the largest ordinary in the city (and province) it is likely a majority of the burgesses used the site for their lodging and were some of the primary patrons of the site. Alcohol consumption was apparently no unusual feature of these tavern interactions as well. On May 1st, 1666, a merchant named Edward Erberry was prosecuted by the Upper House for verbally insulting the assembly the night before in the company of a number of burgesses. Apparently Erberry "did call the whole howse Papists, Rogues, Turdy rogues, &c…" and that he "called the whole howse a Turdy shitten assembly…" and "sayed wee are a Company of Turdy fellowes and were ashamed of the place from whence wee came…" among other indictments conveyed by those in his company the night before (Md. Archives II: 55-56). Upon answering the charges Erberry indicated he had no recollection, that "after the Charge being read vnto him he answered that he Remembred none of those words as is alledged only he Confesseth that he was in drinke…" (Md. Archives II: 56). This was apparently not an adequate defense and the assembly ordered that "he be tyed to the Apple tree before the howse of Assembly & be there publickly whipt vpon the bare back with

thirty nine lashes…" (Md. Archives II: 56). While it seems alcohol consumption was a significant component of after-hours interactions, this seems to be a rare instance when it came to such verbal assaults on members of the government.

A few other passing references in the archives provide additional indication that assembly meetings were busy times for the Country's House and the developing town of St. Mary's. On April 11th of the 1666 session of the assembly a Marmaduke Snowe petitioned the Upper House to hear him dispute "Errors" assigned against him by Thomas Gerard on that particular day "forasmuch as your Petitioner being lame and sickly & the Ordinary at this present so full of People that Accommodations are wanting to your Petitioners Condition in reference to a Continuance…" (Md. Archives II: 11). This reference clearly indicates that Mr. Snowe hoped for an immediate audience rather than a continuance since no suitable accommodations were available to him. The "Ordinary" referenced in the account is almost certainly the Country's House since it was the only official one in operation at the time (until Smith acquired a lease and established Smith's Ordinary later that year).

On April the 19th of the 1666 session there is a reference given that both houses were considering how to proceed with addressing a contract made with William Smith previously to build a new State House, which he apparently failed to do even though he accepted some payment for it. Both houses agreed to repeal the Act for the contract as long as Smith repay the Tobacco "he hath already received towards the building of the Great Stadt House" but that "further both houses do think of some way to provide an House merely to hold Courts of Assembly apart from any victualling House whatsoever…" (Md. Archives II: 28-29). This provides some indication of the awkwardness caused by the concurrent function of the site as assembly place and public ordinary, and that it was deemed necessary by both houses to have a

separate meeting place exclusively for government business. This was eventually alleviated by

the construction of the brick statehouse, begun in 1674 and completed in 1676.

One final reference from the 1666 proceedings of the upper house regards a lease granted

to William Smith by the assembly for an additional three acres of the "Country's Land" (Md.

Archives II: 51). In the response to the request given to the Upper House, the Lower House

indicated that it

> …doe Consent that Wm Smith may haue three acres of the Countrys land for one
> and thirty yeares to him & his Executors to be layd out by the Governor, provided
> the sd Smith & his Executers be obliged to build a new howse thereon at his owne
> Costs & charges & keep ordinary therein for the Countrys service & for the
> entertaynment of all psons whatsoever attending Pro^{all} Courts & Assemblys or
> vpon their other necessary occasions at other tymes…(Md. Archives II: 51)

This reference clearly indicates the recognized need for public accommodations for individuals

attending meetings of the government. Although it mentions 'other necessary occasions at other

times,' the specific mention of the necessity for the 'country's service' and for the 'entertainment

of all persons attending Provincial Courts and Assemblys' provides some indication that

meetings of the government were especially busy times in St. Mary's.

Government-Associated Public Interactions:

Though a few passing archival references indicate meetings of the Provincial Courts and

Assemblies were certainly among the busiest, most widely attended events within the small but

significant early capital, as indicated before, what is not recorded are details concerning the

extent and nature of the larger public interactions that grew in association with these events. The

earliest description of such public activity in Maryland comes from a satirical poem published by

Ebenezer Cooke in 1708 entitled *"The Sot-Weed Factor: or a Voyage to Maryland. A Satyr. In*

which is describ'd the Laws, Government, Courts and Constitutions of the Country, and also the Buildings, Feasts, Frolicks, Entertainments and Drunken Humours of the Inhabitants of that Part of America." Cooke was a London-born lawyer and land agent who came to Maryland in 1694 and resided in St. Mary's City for a short time. He was apparently so appalled by the conditions he encountered that he thought it fitting to record his experience there in satirical verse. Though it must be taken with some level of skepticism, several passages illuminate the public scene at government meetings by the turn of the 18th century. In one verse he describes the scene he comes upon as he enters a town on court day:

> Scarce had we finish'd serious Story,
> But I espy'd the Town before me,
> And roaring Planters on the ground,
> Drinking of Healths in Circle round:
> Dismounting Steed with friendly Guide,
> Our Horses to a Tree we ty'd,
> And forwards pass'd among the Rout,
> To chuse convenient *Quarters* out:
> But being none were to be found,
> We sat like others on the ground
> Carousing Punch in open Air,
> Till Cryer did the Court declare;
>   (Cook 1708)

The town was apparently so busy on this day that he and his guide could not find suitable quarters and thus joined in with the crowd of roaring planters drinking punch in the open air. He goes on to discuss the scene at the inn following the court's adjournment for the day:

> The Court adjourn'd in usual manner
> In Battle Blood and fractious Clamour;
> I thought it proper to provide,
> A Lodging for myself and Guide,
> So to our Inn we march'd away,
> Which at a little distance lay;

Where all things were in such Confusion,
I thought the World at its conclusion;
A Herd of Planters on the ground,
O'er-whelm'd with Punch, dead drunk, we found;
Others were fighting and contending,
Some burnt their Cloaths to save the mending.
A few whose Heads by frequent use,
Could better bare the potent Juice,
Gravely debated State Affairs.
Whilst I most nimbly trip'd up Stairs;
Leaving my Friend discoursing oddly,
And mixing things Prophane and Godly;
Just then beginning to be Drunk,
As from the Company I slunk,
[Pg 17] To every Room and Nook I crept,
In hopes I might have somewhere slept;
But all the bedding was possest
By one or other drunken Guest:
But after looking long about,
I found an antient Corn-loft out,
Glad that I might in quiet sleep,
And there my bones unfractur'd keep.
I lay'd me down secure from Fray,
And soundly snoar'd till break of Day;
(Cook 1708)

Again the reader is left with impression of a crowded, drunken scene with accommodations left

wanting. Apparently the inn was so crowded the only suitable place Cook found to sleep was a

corn loft. While no doubt somewhat exaggerated, it is precisely this type of scene one is left with

the impression of from the passing archival references mentioned above. Snowe's petition

mentions the lack of available accommodations during assembly sessions, several references

indicate the need for additional ordinaries and a separate place for the courts and assembly to

meet, and certainly Erberry's case alludes to the potential drunkenness that was associated with

government meetings just thirty-five years earlier. What these passages also do is give the

impression of the public crowds that attended these government events. It also speaks of

individuals 'fighting' or 'contending' as well as some debating politics or 'state affairs.' While no direct descriptions exist for the seventeenth century, it is reasonable to assume that a similar scene developed in and around the Country's House during the government period.

A number of historians write that in the Chesapeake, by the 18th century, the courthouse and surrounding grounds served as the focal point for the local community (Shepard 1995: 462). Referring to Virginia, which was culturally very similar to Maryland given their shared tobacco economy, Carl Lounsbury (2005) notes how monthly court days brought citizens of all social classes together to transact a variety of business. This one, two, or three-day event transformed the courthouse grounds into a marketplace, playing field, and social center. Lounsbury (2005: 5) goes on to discuss how county court day provided an opportunity for most segments of society to gather to transact business, make and renew social acquaintances, and participate in various events that affected the community. He notes that country vendors often set up temporary booths to cater to the hunger, thirst, or other material wants of the crowd giving the courthouse grounds the appearance of a bazaar. Horseraces, games of fives or other ball games, games of chance, cock-fighting, brawls and other past-times were also regular features of the gathering (Lounsbury 2005: 5-8, Shepard 1995; 459-465). As Lounsbury (2005: 38) puts it, "punctuating the isolated routine of rural life, court day was great social event, providing the opportunity for members of local society to renew ties of friendship over a drink in the tavern or participate in harmless amusements." These community gatherings associated with court day continued to remain a prominent regular social event into the 20th century (Lounsbury 2005, Shepard 1995). Although likely not quite as crowded or busy during the seventeenth century given differences in population size, the photograph shown in Figure 3-1 from a court day in a Virginia county in

1909 displays what the courthouse grounds may have looked like in the Chesapeake during the colonial era.

Thus while there is little surviving from the seventeenth century regarding the social significance of court and assembly days, it is clear that by the 18th century these government meetings served as important anchors for facilitating a broad range of social activities and brought large cross-sections of the local population together as a community. It is reasonable to assume that some continuity existed in these events between the seventeenth and 18th centuries. The passing archival references that mention activity at the Country's House certainly suggest that provincial court and assembly days were busy and crowded multi-day events. I would argue that the precedent for these events becoming a tradition vital to community social life within an extremely rural population was likely set during the seventeenth century. It is also likely that although these government meetings

![Court Day in Warsaw County, Virginia, 1909]

Figure 3-1: Court Day in Warsaw County, Virginia, 1909 (from Lounsbury 2005)

were significant social gatherings during the seventeenth century, they were perhaps not an altogether unfamiliar scene to those immigrants from Europe and the British Isles. Market fairs, public festivals, carnivals and other community gatherings in central market squares were regular features of European villages (Stallybrass and White 1986). Graham (2003: 42)) also notes that by the 16th century, some shire towns in England had managed to acquire some privilege of self-government, including the right to hold their own courts, which were often associated with fairs and markets. Graham (2003) goes on to point out a description of the assize court, which was the principle judicial institution outside of London. As Graham notes, Douglas Hay indicates that:

> the assizes were a formidable spectacle in a country town, the most visible and elaborate manifestation of state power to be seen in the countryside, apart from the presence of a regiment. The town was crowded, not only with barristers and jurors, but with the cream of county society, attending the assize ball and county meetings, which were often held in the same week. Tradesmen and labourers journeyed in to enjoy the spectacle, meet friends, attend court and watch the executions (in Graham 2003: 77).

The above account sounds very similar to scenes that characterized court day in the Chesapeake by the 18th century and these may well have served as early and familiar precedents for court and assembly days that were adapted to new social conditions that developed in the tobacco coast. However, I would argue that given the extremely rural nature and unique frontier conditions encountered in the Chesapeake during the seventeenth and 18th centuries, court and assembly days were much more vital and significant for community formation and social reproduction than in the older and more nucleated communities that were characteristic of much of England and Europe at the time. The following Chapter will briefly review the history of the Calvert House Site in order to contextualize it within this socio-political landscape.

Chapter 4

Historical Context: the Calvert House Archaeological Site, 18ST1-13

Introduction:

The Calvert House Site represents a prime reflection of the gradual development and adaptation of English governing institutions and their accommodations in the early colonial Chesapeake. Initially built as a private residence, the site was purchased by the legislature in 1662 and was simultaneously leased to an inn keeper, serving as both the first official statehouse of the colony as well as the largest public ordinary in the colony. In 1676 a new brick statehouse was constructed to exclusively serve as accommodations for the government. Until that time, the Calvert House Site served as the regular meeting place for the Assembly (Carr 1994; Miller 1986; 1994), which functioned as the provincial government as well as the local government for the county of St. Mary's (Jordan 1987: 17). This makes for an ideal site and situation for examining the development of public space in the early colonial Chesapeake.

House Lot History:

Construction of this building occurred within the first decade of settlement. Governor Leonard Calvert surveyed and patented the parcel on which the building stood and the surrounding 100 acres in 1641 (from then on referred to as Governor's Field). It is possible the structure was already standing on the lot by this time. In 1636, Lord Baltimore had authorized grants of town land on the "fields of St. Mary's" on special terms to help encourage development. From between 1639 and 1641, the early leaders of the colony took up parcels, but most of these were surveyed around existing structures (Carr 1994: 1). Calvert quickly developed

the land and by the early 1640s it was a working tobacco plantation (Miller 1994: 65; Stone 1982: 21).

In 1645, amidst a brief rebellion stemming from developments of the English Civil War, Governor Calvert fled the colony and the property was occupied and held in trust by the rebel Nethaniel Pope. During this period a fortification was constructed around the structure, referred to in the records as Pope's Fort. This brief turmoil, known as Ingle's Rebellion, represents a period of disorder with no certain government or associated records for the 22 month period. In 1644, Richard Ingle, a ship captain prominent in the tobacco trade and a strong supporter of Parliament, had quarreled with leaders in Maryland and had evidently escaped certain imprisonment. In February 1645 Ingle returned carrying letters of mark from Parliament and raided the colony, using the pretext that Maryland Catholics supported King Charles I. He and his men, with some local Protestants, looted and burned the Jesuit chapel and vandalized the homes of some of the colony leaders. Governor Calvert escaped to Virginia and Nethaniel Pope, one of the Protestant ringleaders, occupied his house. By December of 1646, Leonard Calvert was able to return and retake control of the colony, once again occupying his home for a brief period until his death in 1647 (Carr 1994).

After Calvert's death, the new Governor, William Stone, occupied the house and used it as his residence until his death in 1659 (Carr 1994; Miller 1994: 66). The Governor's Field property and its house were supposedly sold to Governor Stone in 1650 by Leonard Calvert's executrix, but the transaction was apparently never finalized. Following his death in 1659, Stone's heirs were unable to lay claim to the property and Leonard Calvert's son William was able to successfully reclaim it in 1661 (Carr 1994: 4). William immediately sold the tract to an

inn keeper named Hugh Lee, who operated an ordinary[1] in the house until his death sometime towards the end of 1661. His wife continued the ordinary and offered to sell the house and tract to the Province (Council Proceedings, Feb 19, 1661). The Assembly was already periodically meeting there around that time and was looking for more permanent accommodation. After some debate, the provincial government accepted the offer and purchased the building in 1662 for use as the first official statehouse of Maryland (Carr 1994; Miller 1994; Council Proceedings June 6, 1662). Thereafter, since the property was acquired for public use, it was named the "Country's House" (Miller 1994: 66). This site also became the nucleus around which formal layout of the city of St. Mary's began as attempts were made to transform the surrounding rural town lands to a more urban, planned landscape (Figure 4-1) (Miller 1988, 1994: 65).

Although purchased to officially serve as the statehouse, the General Assembly and courts met for only short periods each year. To help avoid maintenance costs, the legislature leased the structure to innkeepers who were made responsible for its upkeep (Miller et al 1986: 13, Miller 1994: 66). Thus by the early 1660s the structure underwent a fundamental functional change from private residence to public inn and government meeting place (Miller 1992: 66). From this period, for the last third of the seventeenth century, the Country's House was the largest public inn or "ordinary" in Maryland, and a series of innkeepers leased the property.

Among the innkeepers who leased the property and kept ordinary in the structure are: William Smith (1665-1668), Daniel Jennifer (1668-ca. 1670), Richard Moy (ca. 1672-1675), and John and Elizabeth Baker (1678-1693). Throughout this period the Country's House was a popular establishment and it attracted a large portion of the hotel business in St. Mary's City. Following construction of a new brick statehouse in 1676, most governmental functions were

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[1] *Ordinary* was simply the term common throughout the seventeenth century and much of the colonial period to describe tippling houses in the Chesapeake, often which were government regulated. By the middle decades of the eighteenth century *tavern* began supplanting *ordinary* in the local vernacular (Lounsbury 2005: 265).

transferred from the Country's House, although committees still occasionally met there (Miller 1994: 66).
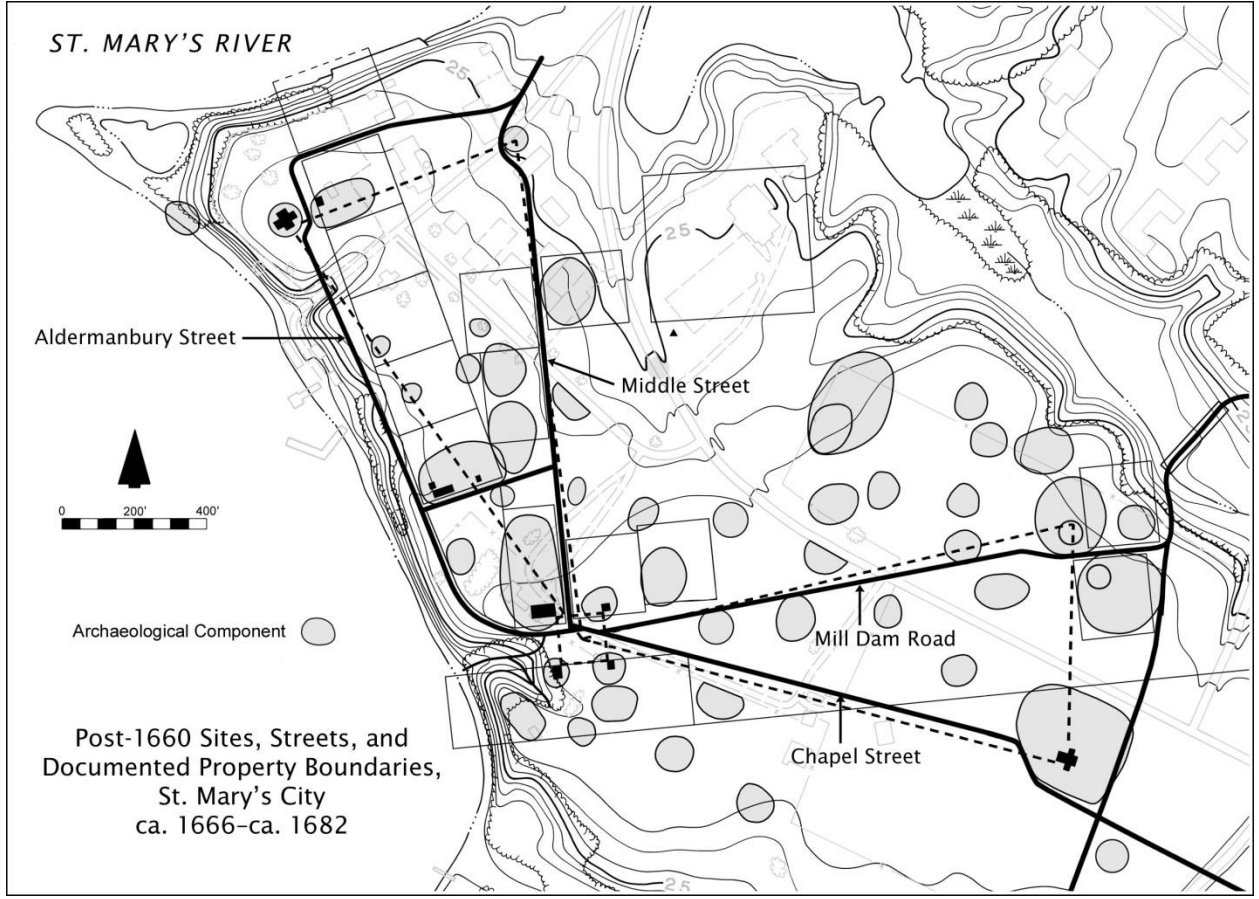
Figure 4-1: St. Mary's City ca. 1666-ca. 1682 (Courtesy HSMC)

The last known title belongs to a Charles Carroll, who acquired the lease from Elizabeth Baker in 1695. Carroll petitioned for and received a 21 year lease in return for making extensive repairs to the extant structure (Carr 1992: 6).

However, following a Protestant revolution in 1689, Maryland became a royal colony for a time and the capital was moved to Annapolis in 1695 (Miller 1988: 59). Without the business

of government, St. Mary's had no economic basis and most of the settlement was abandoned (Miller 1988, 1994). As a result, the Country's House fell into disrepair and collapsed or was demolished in the early eighteenth century (Miller 1994: 66). The surrounding lands were soon converted into tobacco and wheat fields. In 1841 Dr. John Brome constructed a large mansion on the site partially covering the footprint of the original structure. The site was acquired by the State of Maryland in the 1980 as part of developing the original city of St. Mary's into an outdoor living history and archaeological park. In January of 1994 the 1841 Brome house was removed from the site. The site was rediscovered by archaeologists in 1981 and has seen several seasons of archaeological exploration in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s (Miller 1983, 1986; Riordan 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013). It currently serves as an ongoing archaeological exhibit representing various phases of research and development.

Archival Descriptions:

Documentary descriptions of the Country's House are minimal and much of what is known of the structure's appearance and surrounding landscape comes from the ongoing archaeology. The first descriptive reference comes from Leonard Calvert's probate inventory following his death in 1647. This lists "a large fram'd howse" and values it, with the rest of his 100 acre estate, at 4000 lbs. of tobacco (Carr 1994: 10, Miller et al 1986). One document of April 19, 1661 consisting of a certified copy of an agreement concerning recovery of the property by Calvert from Pope indicates that the house was being re-roofed and either repaired or expanded just prior to Leonard Calvert's death (Carr 1994; MD Archives XLI: 454). The lease to William Smith in 1666 indicate several outbuildings extant on the property, including not only the "Mansion or dwelling house of the said William Smith," but also "the orchard Garden and all

outhouses in the said Orchard and Garden" (Carr 1994). The earliest detailed information

describing the number, names, and functions of the room comes from a 1668 inventory of

William Smith. It consists of a room-by-room listing and mentions a "Lodging Chamber" that

contained a "Parlor" and a "Bed chamber," a "Hall," a "Kitchen" and adjoining store room and

wine and meat cellars, and rooms over the lodging chamber and hall. Also mentioned is "the

Great Roome called St. Mary's," which contained one fireplace. The inventory also indicates that

there was a smaller chamber directly adjacent to the St. Mary's room, which served as a "cellar"

or storage room (Miller 1994: 67-68). The council proceedings of 1669 indicate that inn keeper

Daniel Jenefer removed a partition between the court room and the St. Mary's Room. A survey

of 1678 indicates that the house had a porch which was very close to the southern bound of the

lot (Carr 1994: 10). Finally, the lease granted to Charles Carroll in 1695 states that "one side of

the said house and the whole covering is now quite decay'd and unless speedily Repair'd will

quite fall to the Ground" (MD Archives 19:120). Carroll's petition for lease of the site also states

that Baker, and after him his wife, had "expended above thirty thousand pounds of Tobacco in

making Brick Walls and Chimneys and other Reparations" (from Carr 1994: 10).

Descriptions of the landscape and boundaries of the lot are also minimal. The earliest

description of the lot comes from William Smith's 1666 lease:

> It is understood that by this lease William Smith is only to have as much ground
> within that Payle which comes from the now Ordinary House to the high Way to
> the Secretaryes Office and so from the Corner of the pale till it reach the said
> Office pale and from there a straight line to be drawn where the pales formerly
> were which the late Secretary Boughton caused to be taken up till it meets with
> the Pale which comes from the North Side of the said Ordinary (Prov. Ct. Proc.
> 10: 351-352).

This description mentions a series of paling fences defining the lot boundaries, but gives no

precise measurements or cardinal directions. Subsequent archaeology and analysis has been able

to correlate this description with a number of physical features uncovered on the sight (see

Chapter 6). The second description of the lot boundaries comes from John Baker's 1678 lease of

the property:

> Beginning at the stake in the ground over a Street called Middle Street it being on
> the western side of the land laid out for Mark Cordea called Cordea's Hope, Rune
> 2° S of W and without the porch of the Countrey house 8 perches 6 feet to a stake
> near the land of Garrett Vanswearingen to and from thence with a line 2° N over E
> until it intersects with a line 2° W of N from the first stake (Pat. Lib. 20:381).

Unlike the Smith lease, the Baker lease includes compass bearings and measurements in addition

to cultural features. This defines a tract approximately 1.25 acres, measuring roughly 138 feet by

396 feet (Carr 1994; Miller 1986:32). Subsequent archaeological analysis conducted for this

dissertation has been able to correlate this description with a number of archaeological features

and generate a fairly complete reconstruction of the lot (see Chapter 6).

Previous Archaeology:

Large-scale excavations were first carried out on the site in the early 1980s as part of a

large NEH funded survey and excavation project designed to locate and define the seventeenth-

century town center (Miller 1986). During this four year project 715 excavation units consisting

of 5 x 5 foot squares were excavated within the original town-lands (Figure 4-2), locating and

uncovering portions of a number of significant sites, some of the original roads, and helping to

identify the core nucleus of the original town center (Miller 1986: 6). The Country's House or

Calvert House site was among the significant sites located and partially excavated during this

project. Archaeologists uncovered a significant portion of the house foundations (Figure 4-3) and

located features related to numerous outbuildings, fences and other landscape features on the

site, allowing this complex site to begin being deciphered (Miller 1986).

Calvert House/Country's House Architecture:

This early archaeology of the Country's House site has added significantly to the sparse documentary record. Excavations in the 1980s have revealed that the structure was one of the largest and most complex buildings in seventeenth-century Maryland and recovered more than 15,000 artifacts associated with its occupation (not including the many thousands of brick, mortar, shell and plaster fragments) (Miller 1994: 67, 1986: 16).
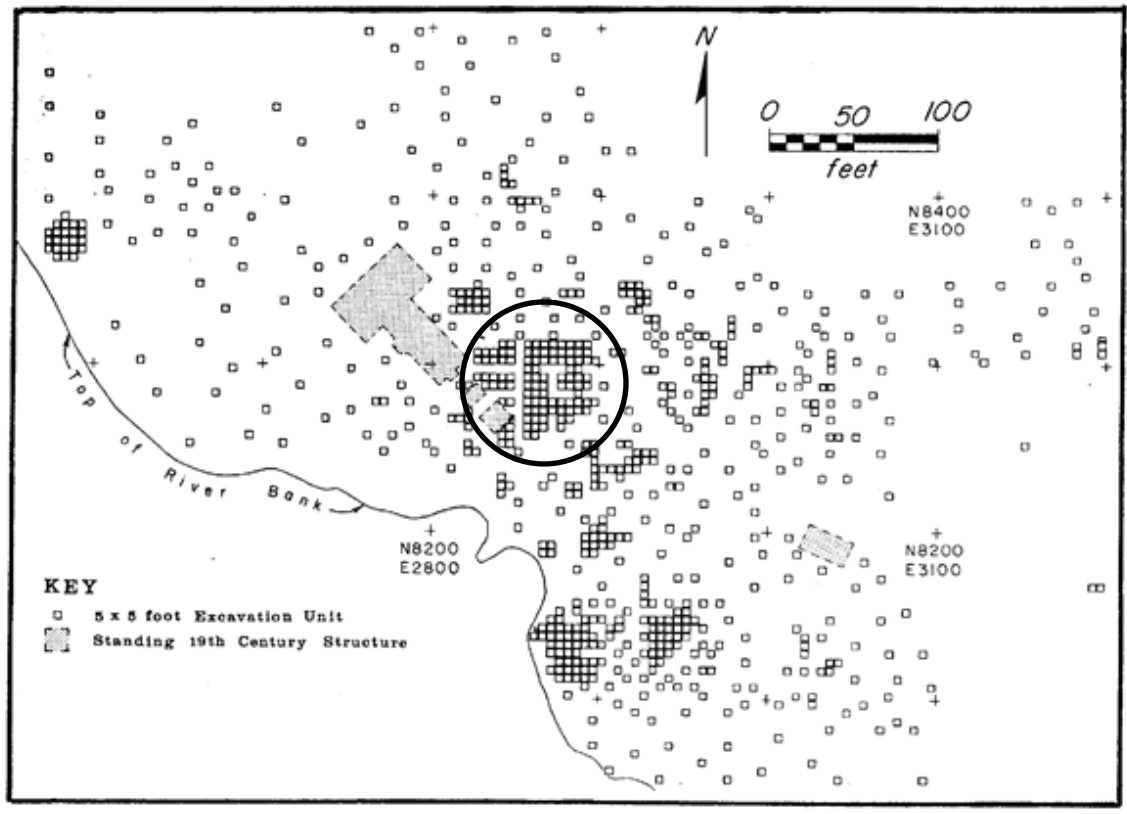
Figure 4-2: Town Center Survey Excavation Units, 1981-1984 with approximate location of the Calvert House encircled (Miller 1986)
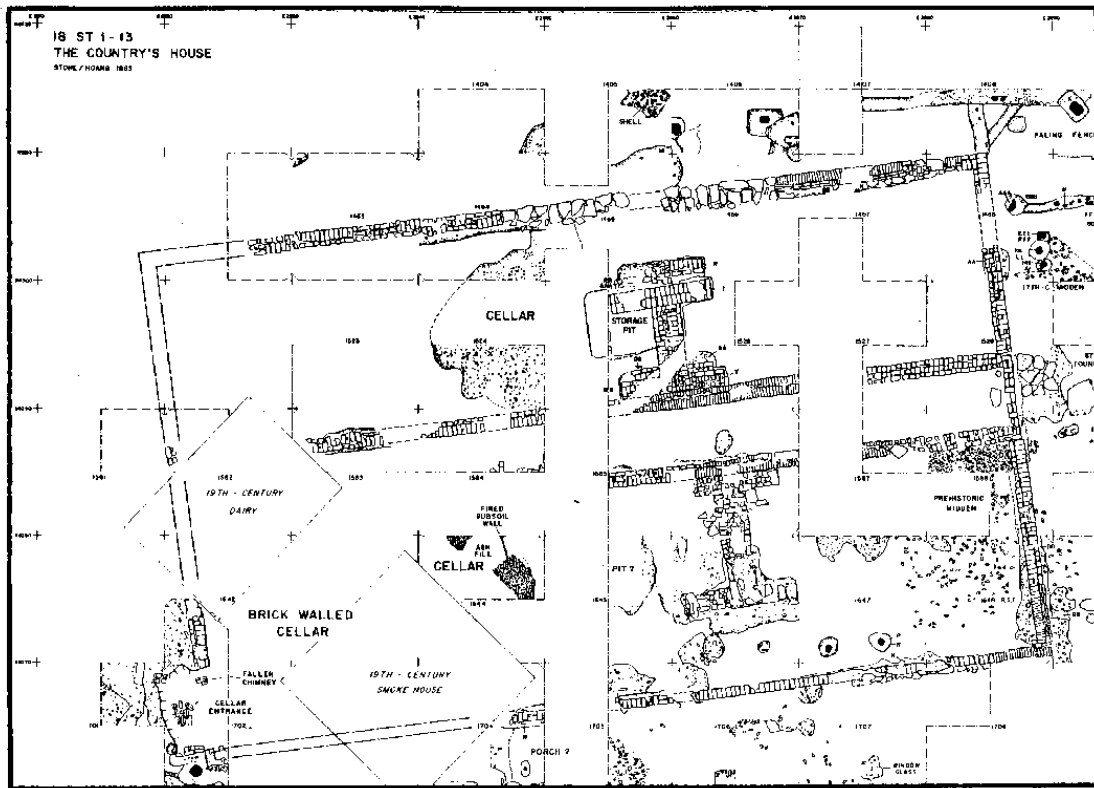
Figure 4-3: Calvert House Foundations uncovered in 1984 (Miller 1986)

The remains of a brick and stone foundation outline the footprint of a building 40 feet wide and 67.5 feet long. The surviving brickwork indicates that the interior was divided into two rows, or banks, of rooms separated by a central passage. This layout suggests that it was a double gable structure, one covered with two parallel A-frame roofs (Miller 1994: 67, 1986: 18; Stone 1982: 378). Several generations of H-shaped brick chimney bases also remain indicating a number of room divisions. Archaeologists have also identified two large cellar features from different periods under the western end of the structure (Miller 1994: 67).

Miller (1986, 1994, per. com. 2008) and Riordan (2012) have indicated that given the complexity of the site and limited funds for analysis, the architectural evolution of the structure is not yet fully understood. Despite a few additional short field seasons conducted on the site in the 1990s and 2000s, this material still awaits detailed analysis and has yet to contribute

significantly to the overall understanding of the site. Much additional excavation and analysis is still needed. However, by meshing the available archaeological data with the documentary evidence, some stages of its architectural development have been deciphered (Miller 1994).

It is unclear whether or not the double-bayed layout was constructed during the same building episode or not. Early archaeological testing on the site led scholars to believe the structure may have been built over the course of two distinct construction periods (Miller 1986). Some evidence indicates that the original building may have only consisted of a framed, hall-and-parlor house measuring 18 by 50 feet with a central H-shaped fireplace. Evidence includes an early cellar with fired clay walls under the southwest end of the building, as well as very early artifacts located under the north half of the structure, indicating the south half to likely be the original building (Miller 1994: 67). Garry Stone, former Chief Archaeologist for St. Mary's City, has speculated that this original portion of the structure may have been constructed as early as 1635 for Lord Baltimore according to instructions he gave the colony leaders at their original departure for Maryland (Carr 1994: 11). At the time, Lord Baltimore had planned to come to Maryland himself but was unable to make it due to political problems in England. Instead it is apparent that Governor Leonard Calvert took up occupation of the house, formally acquiring the lot in 1641.

If not constructed over a single primary phase, archaeological evidence indicates that the structure was enlarged to its full maximum 40 by 67 ft. size by a relatively early date. Much of this evidence comes from the placement of Pope's Fort (constructed in1645). The location of the fort palisade and ditches, as well as the bastions, indicate that the 40' by 67' structure was used as the focal point for the fort's construction. The north and south ditches of the fort are equidistant from the north and south walls of the structure, respectively, and the east bastion of

the modified triangular fort is clearly centered on the east wall of the structure (Miller 1986, 1994). It is possible this expanded section was constructed in response to an act passed by the Assembly in 1639 that ordered the construction of a "Townhouse" to be built for government use (Md. Archives I: 75-76). No other documents reference this "Townhouse," but the assembly did begin meeting at Calvert's home in 1642 and it is possible the structure was enlarged in accordance with the above act in order to accommodate these government proceedings (Miller 1994: 67; Stone 1982: 381).

Riordan (2012), however, uncovered evidence during testing in the 1990s that may indicate the full footprint was constructed in a single building episode. If the southern bay was constructed first, there should be evidence of a foundation running along the central axis that would have formed the north wall of the original structure. Two test units placed along this axis in the 1990s failed to locate any evidence of an earlier foundation, either extant or robbed out. It is possible that the entire structure was constructed following the fore mentioned 1639 act calling for a "Townhouse." Only further excavation will confirm which case it is. Regardless, evidence indicates that the enlarged layout was in place by at least 1645 when Pope's Fort was constructed.

The architectural plan revealed thus far by the archaeology suggests that most of this northern addition/bay likely corresponds to the "Great Roome" indicated in Smith's 1666 inventory. Measuring 22 feet by 45-50 feet, this single room was more than twice the size of the average colonist's home and is most likely where the Assembly met (Carr 1994: 13; Miller 1986: 21, 1994: 68). Archaeology has also revealed several internal divisions delineated by the brick-work likely associated with the Bakers' renovations, which occurred sometime around 1680. A long passageway ran down the central axis of the building and was connected to external

doorways at each end. He also added a large double chimney that split the St. Mary's Room in half. Excavations in the southwest corner of the structure also uncovered an external bulkhead entrance leading to a brick-lined cellar. It, along with a porch on the front of the building, was probably added before 1680 (Miller 1994: 68). Artifacts dating to the 1680s and 1690s suggest a new doorway was added to the backside of the building near the northeast corner prior to the structure's abandonment (Miller 1994: 68). Figure 4-4 shows a conjectural sequence of the architectural evolution of the site based on early analysis. Figures 4-5 and 4-6 display conjectural reconstructions of the building as it may have looked in the 1640s and 1690s.

Additional excavations and analysis are ongoing and needed to produce a more thorough and complete understanding of how the structure developed and was modified over time. However, preliminary analysis of the 1980s excavations, combined with the limited documentary references, has revealed some of the basic nature of this structure and provided evidence of some of its architectural changes over its more than 60 year continuous occupation. Whether built in a single episode or enlarged in the early 1640s, the building was one of the largest in Maryland at the time. It evolved from a semi-private residence, to a government structure and public inn. Even when the government moved to the brick statehouse in 1676, the structure remained the largest public inn in early Maryland until its abandonment around the turn of the eighteenth century.
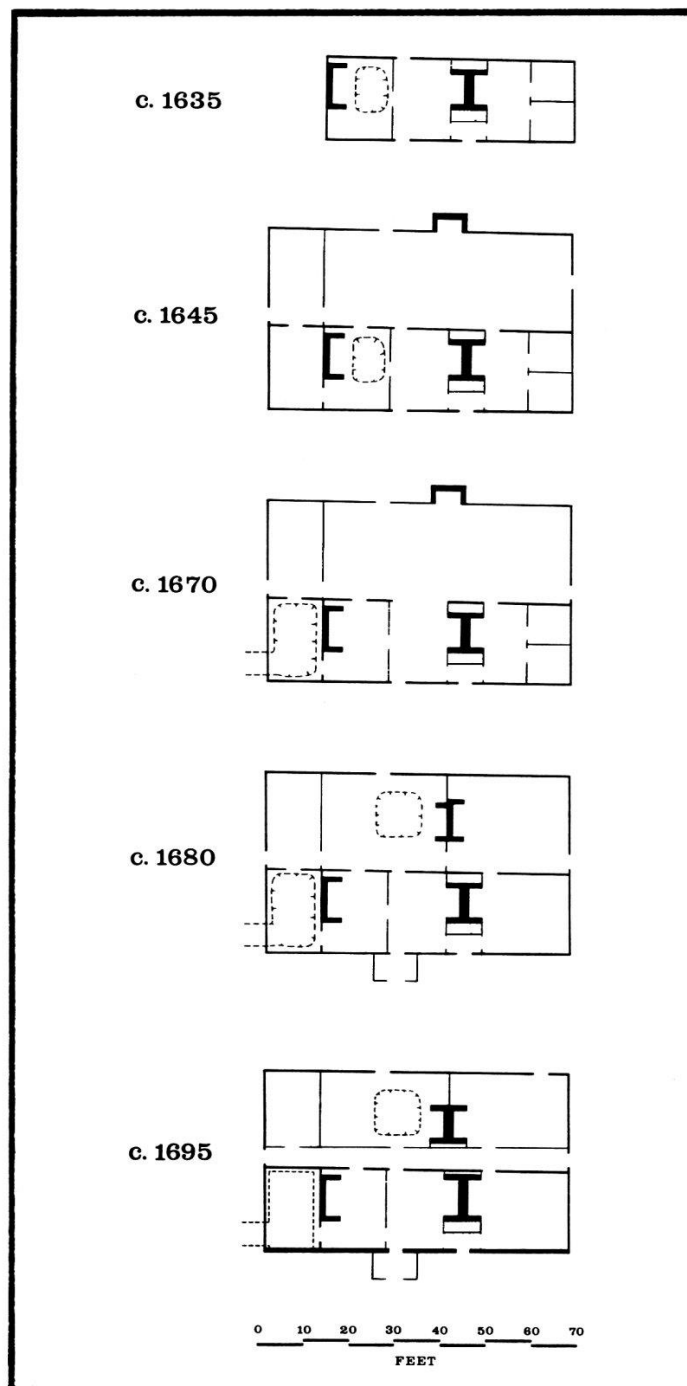
Figure 4-4: Conjectural Architectural Sequence based on 1980s Excavations (Miller 1986): Note, heavy black lines indicate fireplaces, dotted lines indicate cellar-holes or root cellars.
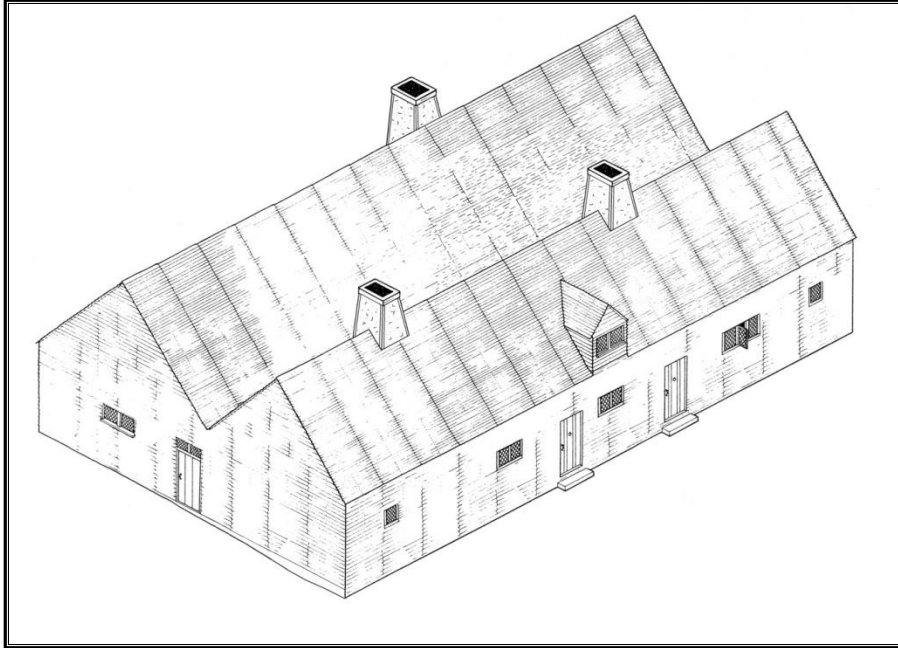
Figure 4-5: Calvert House ca. 1640s (Miller 1986)
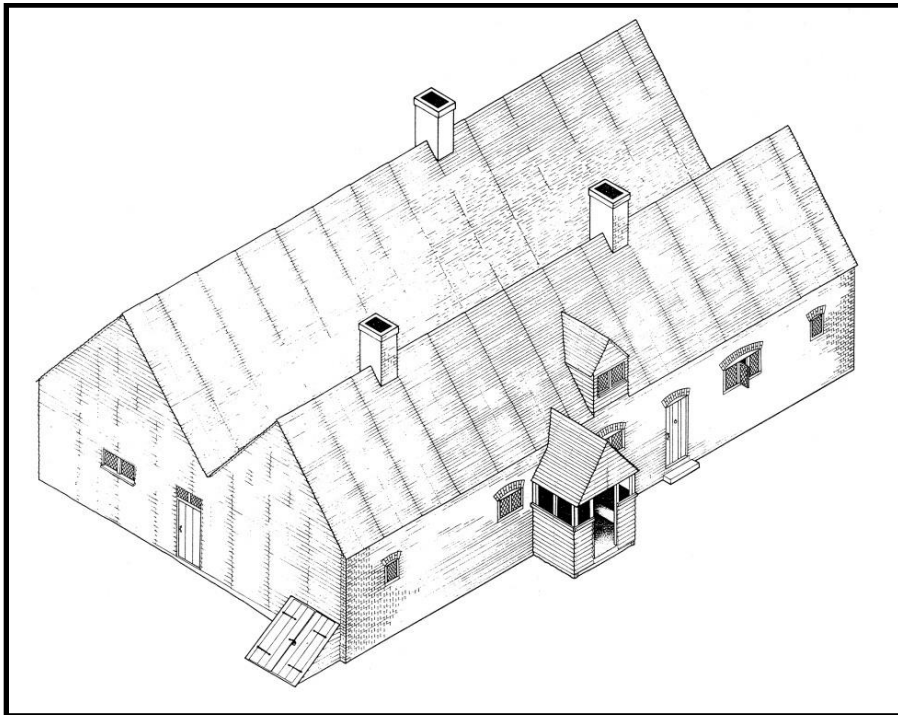
Figure 4-6: Country's House ca. 1690s (Miller 1986)

Landscape and Boundaries:

Although sampling at 7% was conducted, excavations in the 1980s could not access all areas of the site since the Brome house and several outbuildings were still covering a significant portion of it. Nevertheless, this work recovered evidence of the landscape and built environment surrounding the Calvert House. Numerous outbuildings were associated with the Country's House throughout its existence, including stables, tobacco houses, work structures, and possibly servants' quarters (Miller 1986, 1994: 69). These excavations uncovered structural traces of at least six outbuildings within the house lot. Evidence of fencing, crucial for understanding how colonists ordered their space, were also identified in the yards surrounding the main structure. These include traces of paling, palisade, and post-and-rail fences. Some of these structures and fences had been tentatively dated based on the combination of superposition of features and preliminary analysis of temporally diagnostic materials. The earliest outbuildings appear to date to the 1640s or 1650s. Others appeared initially to date to later periods of occupation. In addition to fences and outbuildings, archaeologists also discovered evidence of tree plantings in the northern section of the lot, which may well be associated with the 'orchard' mentioned in William Smith's Lease (Md. Archives II: 351-352; Miller 1986, 1994: 71). Many details concerning the extent and function of these landscape features were poorly understood at the time and in great need of additional excavation and analysis to develop an adequate reconstruction of the site through time. Nevertheless, archaeologists at the time offered a dynamic conjectural reconstruction of the lot surrounding the Country's House (Figure 4-7). More recent excavations in the late 2000s have uncovered a multitude of additional data with which to refine this model. Analysis of this recent data formed a significant element of this dissertation research and has provided a much more accurate sequential reconstruction of the

built environment surrounding the original building. This is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 6.
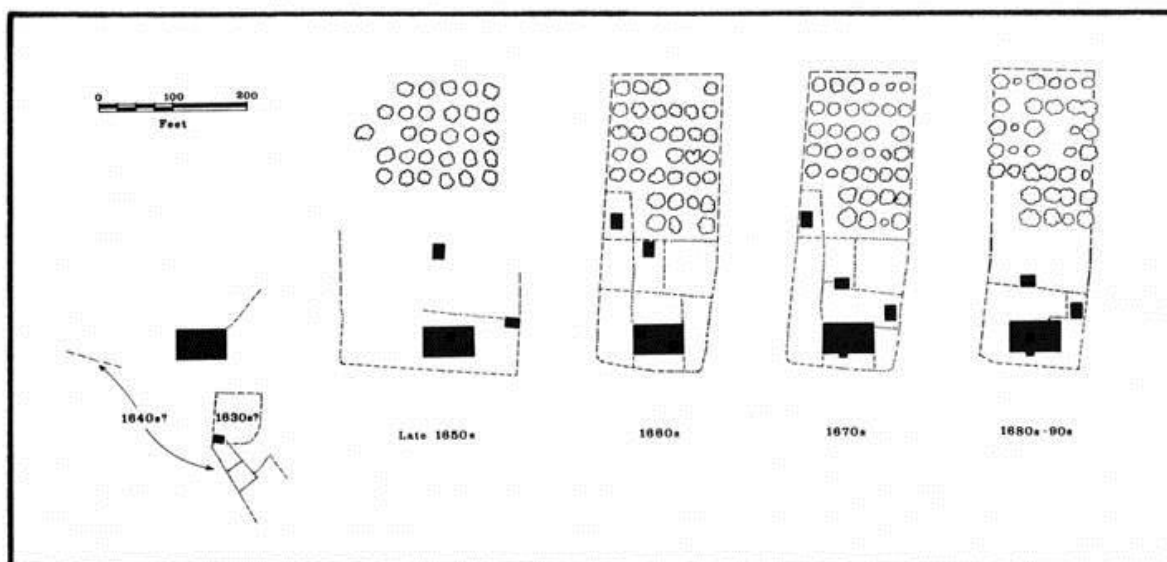
Figure 4-7: Conjectural Landscape Sequence based on 1980s Excavations (Miller 1986): Note, solid black objects are buildings, dotted lines are fences, and irregular circular objects are trees.

Preliminary Artifact Analysis:

Preliminary analysis examining artifact distributions on the site were also carried out in the 1980s. This had several primary goals: to begin discerning functional differences of areas of the house and yard; to determine the functions of some of the outbuildings; to trace activities and disposal patterns; and to begin examining changes in activities and site use over time. It should be noted that only a limited portion of the site had been excavated at the time of this analysis and some areas of the site were more heavily sampled than others. Results were thus preliminary. Nevertheless, preliminary distributional data did allow archaeologists to identify some general trends related to various activities on the site.

Based on the premise that different activities will leave different archaeological signatures of those activities, archaeologists examined the distribution of four functionally distinct artifact groups to begin identifying specialized activity areas on the site (Miller 1986, 1994). Concentrations of table glass, white clay tobacco pipes, tin-glazed earthenwares, and course utility wares were mapped using a computer graphics program that produces a contour map of artifact densities over a site. Table glass represents formal dining and the social consumption of alcohol. Tobacco pipes indicate where leisure time was likely spent. Tin Glazed earthenware represents a fine ceramic with most vessel forms representing dining and beverage consumption activities. Utility wares consist of coarse vessels typically associated with dairying, food storage, and cooking activities. Density maps reveal table glass concentrations restricted closely around the main structure. Tobacco pipes tend to have a more broad distribution but, apart from a refuse dump to the west of the structure, tend to occur mostly in the east and southeast yard of the structure. This concentration all around the east end of the structure suggests this is where frequenters of the site did much tobacco smoking (Miller 1994: 74). Tin Glazed earthenware is concentrated in clusters to the south of the main structure. This contrasts significantly with the utility wares that display the densest concentration located well to the north of the main structure near the locations of outbuildings. Although preliminary, such data suggests that activities were spatially segregated on the site (Miller 1986, 1994: 74). Food processing and storage likely occurred in the outbuildings located to the north of the main structure. Food and alcohol consumption clearly occurred in the main structure. Tobacco smoking occurred within the main structure and the east yard. Further analysis of these and other groups of artifacts (as well as material recovered from more recent and ongoing excavations) will

help expand and enhance these initial findings and lead to a better understanding of how the colonists used the site (Miller 1994: 76).

While distributional data indicate certain activities on the site were spatially segregated, Miller (1986, 1994) also examined temporal changes in artifact distributions. Since historical, architectural and fencing data indicate the Country's House site changed considerably over its long occupation, similar changes in the way space was used on the site can also be expected over time (Miller 1994: 76). A number of temporally diagnostic materials were divided into three phases spanning the site's occupation. Materials were primarily retrieved from plowed soils leaving many materials (i.e. bottle glass, nails, bone, etc.) unusable since precise dates are unknown for many of these. However, a number of ceramics have well known dates of manufacture and availability, allowing them to be distinguished temporally. Tobacco pipes were used to supplement this data since bore size is also a useful temporal indicator. The three phases are: Phase I, including materials primarily available between 1635 and 1660; Phase II, including materials available between roughly 1660 and 1680; and Phase III, defined by materials that begin showing up on sites in the Chesapeake around 1680.

In general, distributions (Figures 4-8 through 4-10) indicate a general disposal pattern typical of Chesapeake sites during the seventeenth century, where refuse was typically thrown directly out the door. Early period (Ph. I) materials concentrate along the immediate front and rear of the structure, with smaller clusters appearing approximately where outbuildings were located. Late period (Ph. III) materials display a similar distribution with clusters along the south of the main house and around known outbuildings, although concentrations in the rear yard appear less dense. Notable, however, is the distribution of Ph. II material (ca. 1660-1680). Materials during this period tend to be distributed heavily to the east and somewhat to the west.

Distinctive of this phase is the virtual absence of material in the front yard and a reduced
quantity in the rear yard of the house. Based on this preliminary analysis, Miller (1994) suggests
this is an indicator that greater control was exercised over trash disposal during this period.
Coincidently this shift in disposal occurs during the period the structure served as the State
House. Miller further speculates that this may be an artifact of the government function of the
structure. This may reflect a conscious effort to keep specific areas of the yard clean when a
more formal space uncluttered by trash was thought appropriate (Miller 1994: 79).
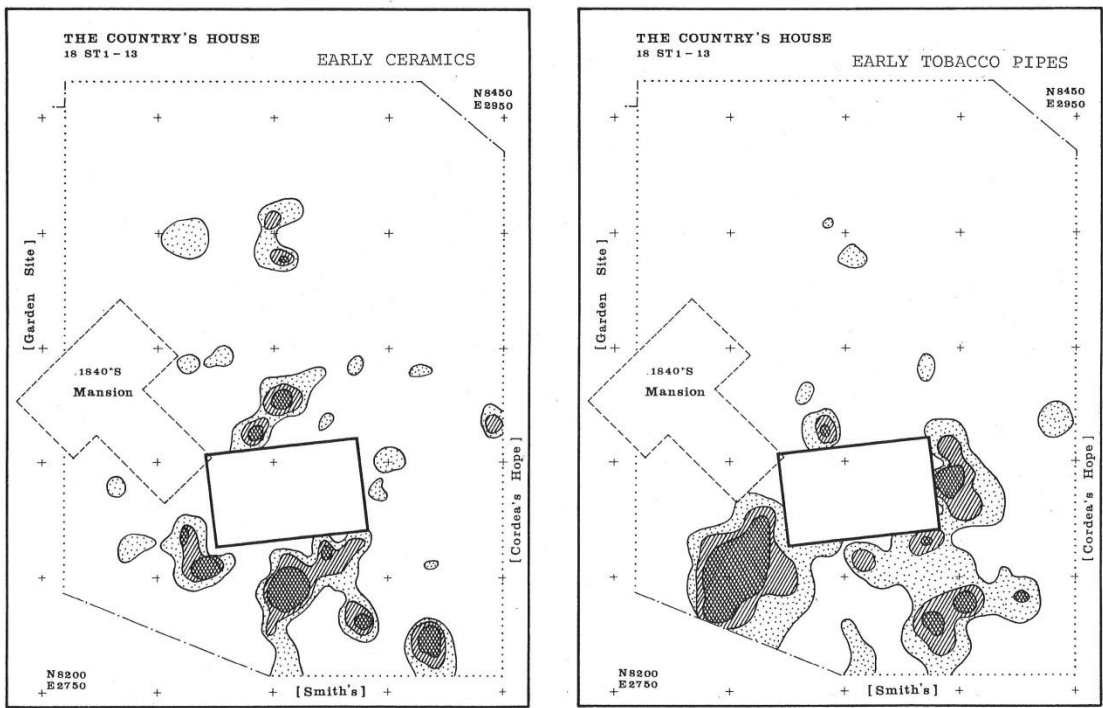
Figure 4-8: Preliminary Distributions of Phase I Materials (Miller 1986, 1994)
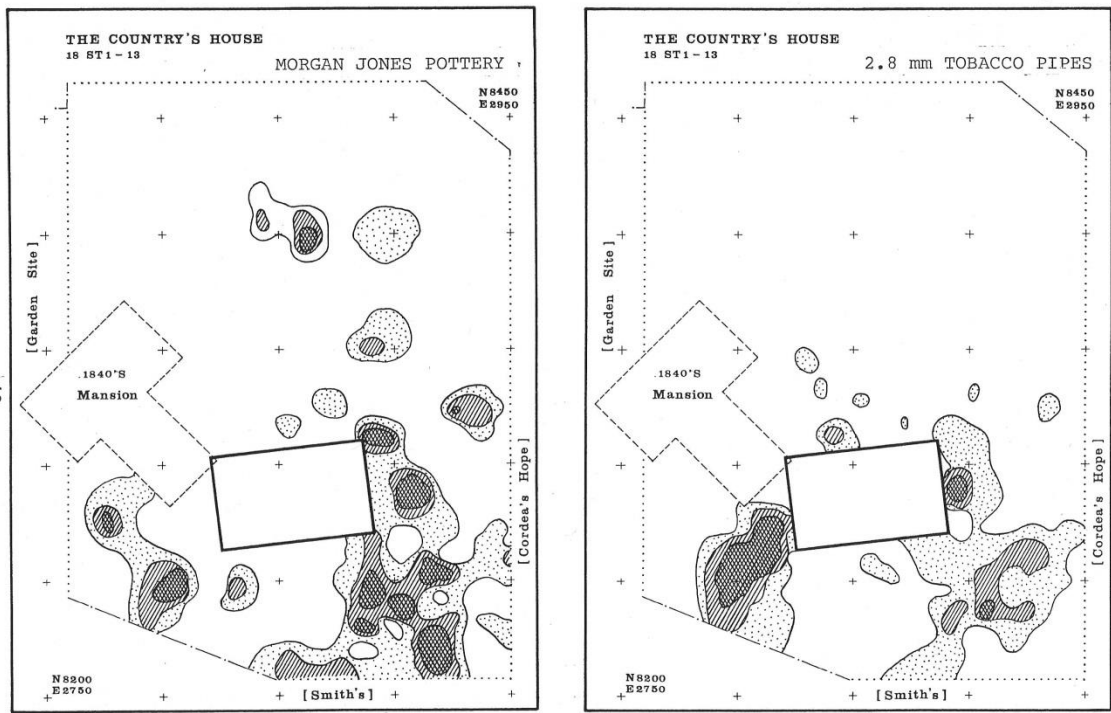
Figure 4-9: Preliminary Distributions of Phase II Material (Miller 1986, 1994)
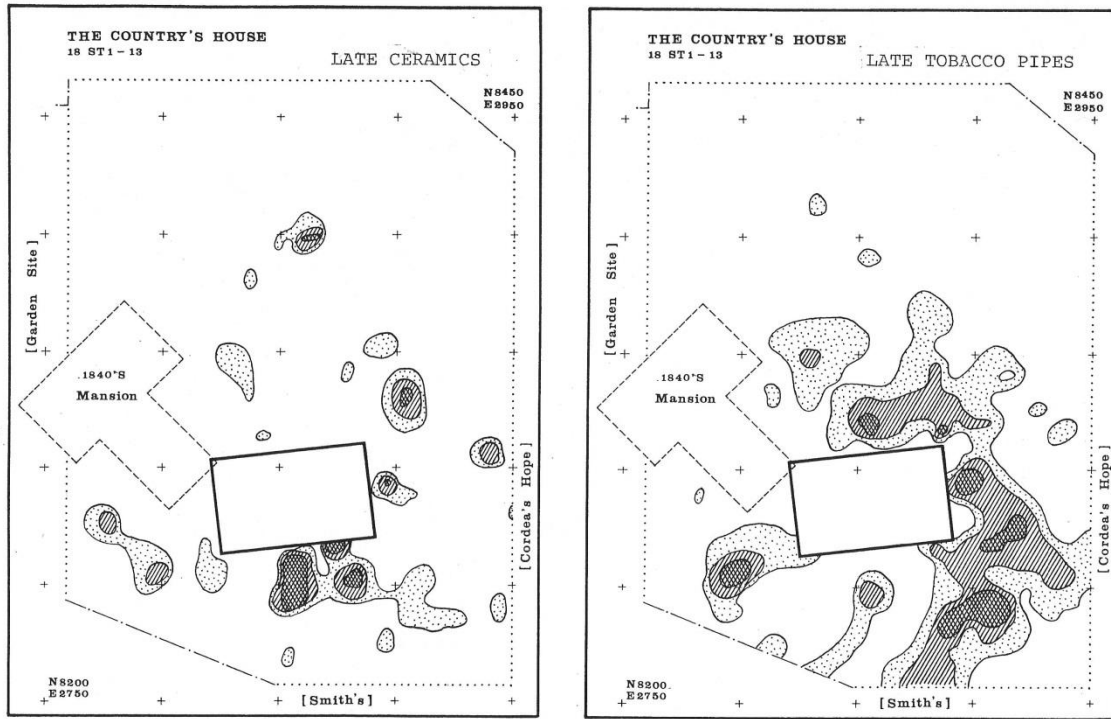
Figure 4-10: Preliminary Distributions of Phase III Material (Miller 1986, 1994)

Country's House Summary:

It is clear from the documentary and preliminary archaeological data the Country's House changed considerably over time and was surrounded by a dynamic landscape. Some of the most notable changes began during the 1660s during a time when the site evolved from a semi-private residence, to a government dwelling and inn. Documentary descriptions and the limited fencing data suggest the lot was well defined and activities were spatially segregated during this period. Particularly notable is the change in disposal behavior seen during the ca. 1660-1680 period, indicating that greater care was taken to keep certain parts of the yard clean of refuse. Following this period, when the government moved to a new structure, it served as an inn only and waste disposal reverted back to a trend more consistent with domestic and commercial sites of the period. While clearly history and archeological data have begun to reconstruct the site and understand its dynamic landscape, much of the site remains poorly understood. Questions remain concerning the basic sequence of construction, whether the full plan was built at once or over two separate periods. While the layout and identity of some of the rooms had been tentatively identified, additional excavation and analysis were needed to precisely identify the structure's spatial and functional organization. Many details concerning the surrounding yard and outbuildings also remained to be answered to adequately reconstruct the site over time. Additional excavations were conducted in the 1990s, 2000s, and are still ongoing, targeted towards addressing some of these gaps. A significant part of this dissertation research analyzed a large portion of this more recently recovered material and integrated it with research carried out in the 1980s in order to refine these early models, further test these interpretations, and produce a more detailed and thorough reconstruction of the site and its spatial context through time. This will be detailed in subsequent chapters.

Concluding Thoughts:

Miller (1994) has remarked that although the basic physical structure of the landscape remained much the same during the ca. 1660-1680 period, such a subtle change in the way certain space was used and maintained likely signaled the more serious and formal purpose the site took on during that time. Miller (1994) raises the question: "Could it be that this maintenance of the landscape served as a sensory cue, a coded message about expected behavior (81)?" When used as a statehouse, did the site take on new meaning with different expectations and rules of behavior? Certainly there are theoretical implications to be explored here. A number of scholars have argued that built environments are symbolic media; inscriptions of cultural meaning that can be used to communicate codes of behavior, negotiate social relations, codify forms of community, and serve various other cultural purposes (e.g. Rappaport 1980; Puaketat 2000; Joyce and Hendon 2000; Hodder and Cessford 2004; Hodder 2006).

Historical and early archaeological data make clear that when the function of the site shifted from that of private residence to a public, government facility and ordinary in the early 1660s, it was the largest public site in the colony. Also of significance was the move during this time to urbanize the young, rural capital. It was this period that a formal street plan was laid out, and two imposing brick buildings were either built or under construction. The Country's House served as the nucleus from which urban development sprang. In 1667 the small capital was formerly incorporated as the first 'city' in the colony, and by the mid-1670s, a formal town plan that employed Italian baroque ideas of urban design was in place with the Country's House at the absolute center (Miller 1988, 1994). Thus for a time it served simultaneously as the authoritative and largest social center within the only urbanized, formally planned town in Maryland. Even when the Brick Statehouse was completed in 1676 to replace the Country's House, the structure

continued in operation as the largest ordinary in town, offering indispensable services during meetings of local court and provincial assembly.

It is also evident from historical references that court day provided one of the most significant venues for offering communal gatherings among a diverse population living in a highly diffuse, unstable frontier. Such gatherings linked individuals and their informal local networks with the larger world. What has not been examined, however, is how this interaction articulated within this dynamic and changing built environment. How did communal gatherings within the built environment mediate the formation of community and socio-political order? How were social relations negotiated on the site? How did the built environment structure communal interactions? What types of integrative activities are reflected on the site? How do these compare with other ordinaries and private inns within the town? By reconstructing the development of this site and contextualizing it within the surrounding landscape, and by triangulating this with historical data and relevant social theory, we can begin to answer some of these questions.

Chapter 5

Research Design: Reconstructing the Spatial Contexts of Public Interaction at the Country's House

Introduction:

As outlined in previous chapters, this research examines the contributions early public sites played in mediating community formation in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. Using Maryland's first statehouse as the primary site of inquiry, research focused on assessing how the built environment structured community interactions. Using an approach informed heavily by practice and structuration theory, archaeological analysis focused largely on reconstructing the historical and spatial/physical contexts of the site during the period it officially served as the state house. This approach sought primarily to illuminate and understand aspects regarding the dynamic connection between structure and practice through studying the behavioral residues of practice with reference to the material conditions that structured it.

Methodologically my archaeological analysis had two main goals: (1) to reconstruct the material conditions, (i.e. the building and surrounding landscape) that structured communal practice on the site, and (2) to analyze the behavioral residues of that communal practice within the context of those structuring conditions. Archaeological approaches to practice theory are certainly limited by the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record. However, despite lacking the richly contextualized, observable settings enjoyed by cultural anthropologists, archaeologists are able to uncover and reconstruct the spatial and material conditions that both resulted from and structured individual practice and interaction in the past (Barrett 2001; Canuto and Yaeger 2000). Through reconstructing these culturally constituted built environments through time and contextualizing those physical venues of meaningful, communal interaction and examining its behavioral residues,we can begin to understand more fully the impact public

sites have on the development of community and social order. By coordinating these archaeological data and social theory with the documentary record, more nuanced interpretations regarding the diverse roles public sites played in community formation in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake can be developed.

Addressing these goals entailed three phases of analysis: (1) examine and document diachronic changes to the structure and surrounding landscape associated with the site's transformation from semi-private residence (ca. 1640-1659) to public building (1662-1676), (2) examine artifact distributions across the site to identify specialized activity areas and change in behavior through time, and (3) limited comparative analysis was conducted to illuminate further differences and similarities between assemblages both within different areas of the site, as well as against other sites. This revealed significant insights into how the Country's House was used over time, how the built environment changed according to different needs and functions, how different activities were spatially segregated around the site, and how certain activities on this site compared to other public taverns; overall revealing aspects concerning the more formal nature of the site during the period it served as the provincial seat.

Standard Excavation and Laboratory Methods:

All excavations within Historic St. Mary's City (HSMC) are conducted using a standard set of excavation methods developed over 40 years of research (HSMC 1998). Standardization ensures data compatibility between different sites, or different seasons of excavation within the same site. Horizontal control is maintained using a 10 foot grid based directly on the Maryland State Grid System. Each 10 x 10 ft. square is identified by a unique sequential number within the grid. Each of these squares is divided into four smaller 5 x 5 foot quadrants. Excavations are

conducted by natural stratigraphic levels. Each level within each 5 x 5 foot quadrant receives a unique stratum or provenience letter designation. All soils are screened through quarter-inch hardware mesh. Feature excavation is done by cross-sectioning the feature to provide a profile view. Each feature is recorded in plan and profile views. Elevation data, along with soil and stratigraphic descriptions are recorded for each excavated stratum.

After excavation, retrieved materials are brought back to the laboratory for standardized processing. All materials are cleaned, labeled and catalogued by individual provenience. During cataloguing, materials are sorted by both class and individual type. Each artifact type is counted and recorded on a standard summary sheet. Diagnostic materials, such as ceramics and decorated or marked tobacco pipes, personal items, furnishings, and other unique or unusual items, receive individual alpha letter designations and are fully described. Bulk architectural and faunal remains are weighed in grams in addition to standard counts. Catalogued materials are then entered into a computer database to allow them to be grouped and summarized in a variety of ways while maintaining all relevant spatial information.

Nature of the Dataset:

This analysis integrates data recovered from the 1981-1984 excavations with additional data retrieved during the 2008 through 2011 Summer Archaeological Field Schools conducted on the site. At the time of this analysis (2011), a total of 416 excavation units have been excavated within the site boundary, 372 of which were originally excavated in the 1980s. A large proportion of the excavations during the 2008-2011 field seasons was directed towards uncovering and more fully defining fence-lines and portions of outbuildings to refine the landscape model proposed in the original 1986 report. This recent work has resulted in much

broader coverage of the site and a much more thorough reconstruction of the yard/lot layout than previous models proposed.

Landscape Analysis:

The first phase of analysis focused on documenting and reconstructing diachronic changes to the immediate landscape associated with the site's transformation from (semi)-private residence (ca. 1635-1659) to public structure (1662-1676). Archival sources, including probate inventories and legislative minutes, indicate a number of improvements/renovations occurred on the property during its tenure as a public site (e.g. Miller 1986, 1994, see also chapter 3). These included changes to the internal layout of the structure and immediate yard areas. However, the exact extent and nature of these changes and improvements are unclear from available descriptions and require archaeological verification. Currently additional data regarding the interior and architecture of the main building is largely unavailable. Additional excavations on the main building have been carried out in summers 2012 and 2013, but have not significantly altered our overall understanding of the architecture of the structure from results of excavations in the 1980s and 1990s. Since this data was not available when analysis was carried out in 2011-2012, my study focuses primarily on the yard and lot surrounding the main building. Structural and landscape features (i.e. fence-lines, outbuildings and other features) were located, dated, and reconstructed using a combination of superposition and seriation.

Basic superposition allowed structural outbuilding and landscape features to be sequenced relative to each other. Although sparse, documentary descriptions allowed some to be correlated with specific, dated improvements. Diagnostic materials within the fills offered additional evidence to help sequence the features and correlate them with documentary evidence.

Ceramics provided the best temporal indicators. While certain types were generally available through much of the seventeenth century, several ceramic types can be attributed to specific periods and can aid in temporal distinction. Salient examples include: Border Wares (or Surrey Ware) tend to show up on sites in the Chesapeake before ca. 1650 (Miller 1983); North Devon Sgraffito wares tend to occur after ca.1650 and continue into the first third of the 18th century (Miller 1983); Morgan Jones coarse earthenware is perhaps the most tightly dated type in St. Mary's City, produced by a local potter between the early 1660s and late 1670s. Several other types become common in the 1670s or later and continue well into the 18th century. These include North Devon Gravel Tempered ware, Staffordshire Slipware, Manganese Mottled ware, and English Brown stoneware (Grigsby 1993; Hildyard 1985; Hume 1970; Philpot 1985). White clay tobacco pipes can also provide helpful temporal indicators, including bowl form, bore diameter, and maker's marks (e.g. Hume 1970; Oswald 1975).

Artifact Distribution Analysis:

The second phase of analysis consisted of examining artifact distributions across the site. This was conducted in conjunction with the basic landscape analysis, but was also intended to aid in answering a number of other questions concerning site use over time. This analysis involved generating a computer database of select artifacts from the site by provenience. Due to limited funds and time for analysis, a sampling strategy was employed to make this phase of analysis manageable. A combination of systematic and judgmental sampling of all available excavation units within the site boundary was utilized. Typically every third excavation unit was selected for inclusion, although portions of the site less heavily excavated had additional units selected to ensure broad and relatively even coverage. Figure 5-1 shows the location of the units

sampled for analysis. A total of 151 excavations units of a possible 416 were selected yielding a

36% sample overall.
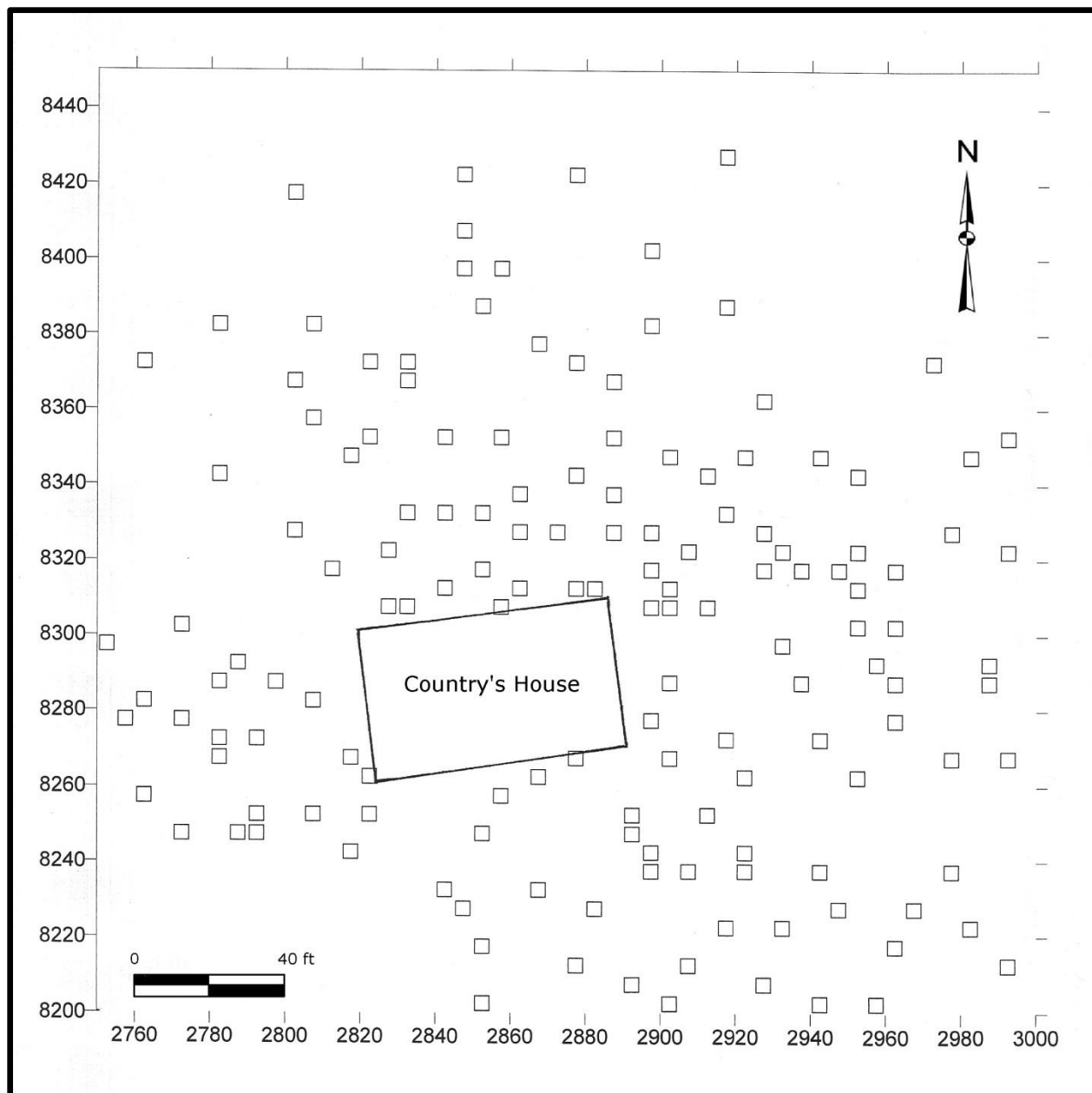
Figure 5-1: Sampled Unit Locations

The database was then imported into the Surfer ® computer program to generate artifact density maps of the site. This program generates contour maps and can map concentrations of artifact densities by substituting artifact counts for elevation data. Observing densities across the site allowed primary and secondary refuse middens (surface trash deposits) to be identified. Secondary refuse middens represent the concerted disposal of household garbage through cleaning efforts. Primary refuse deposits represent lost or haphazardly discarded items or specialized activities and generally consist of tightly clustered concentrations of small but significant numbers of artifacts (King 1990: 113). This distributional data was generated primarily from plowed deposits since the site was in agriculture for most of the 18th and into the 19th centuries. While plowed contexts are disturbed, much research suggests plowing does not relocate materials significant distances away from their original location of deposition and thus the general relationships between artifact use and deposition remain largely intact (King and Miller 1987; King 1988, 1990; Riordan 1988). Some areas had preserved original topsoil layers below the plowed levels that were also incorporated into the distributions.

Two phases of distribution analysis were carried out. The first involved identifying primary and secondary refuse deposits in order to identify specialized activity areas within the site. This is based on the assumption that trash generated by various activities was tossed into surface middens in close proximity to the original point of use. This is supported by archaeological data and historical information concerning disposal practices during the seventeenth century (King 1988: 33). This analysis built on and refined a pilot study conducted on the Country's House lot by Henry Miller (e.g. 1986, 1994, see chapter 4 for summary). Preliminary analysis examining artifact distributions on the site were carried out in the 1980s.

This had several primary goals: to begin discerning functional differences of areas of the house and yard; to determine the functions of some of the outbuildings; to trace activities and disposal patterns; and to assess and reconstruct changes in activities and site use over time. It should be noted that only a limited portion of the site had been excavated at the time of this analysis and some areas of the site were more heavily sampled than others. This current analysis utilized sampling of a broader coverage area, incorporating additional material recovered from 2008-2011. Overall the analysis yielded general support of Miller's (1986) original analysis and helped refine his earlier models. Several classes of material, representing day-to-day activity on the site, were mapped individually and compared. The premise was that functionally related material should display similar spatial patterning, whereas functionally unrelated material should tend not to cluster together. Vessel Glass, Ceramics of different types and Tobacco pipes were among the classes mapped and compared. Details and results are discussed in Chapter 7.

The second phase of distributional analysis focused on identifying temporal change in site activity over time. This builds on Miller's (1986) original analysis discussed in Chapter 3 using coverage from additional excavations between 2008 and 2011. Temporally diagnostic ceramics and tobacco pipes were divided into three major temporal phases: Phase I, ca. 1640-1660; Phase II, ca. 1660-1680; and Phase III, ca. 1680-1700. This analysis was primarily designed to elucidate changes in activity and disposal behavior specifically during the period the site served as the statehouse, and to more fully understand the changing nature of activity on the site. Mapping these materials revealed distinctive temporal shifts in disposal behavior, which are also detailed in Chapter 7.

Following this analysis, the distribution maps were overlaid with the different phases of the landscape reconstructions to assess the potential relationships between structural changes in

the lot organization and disposal behavior. This was facilitated using the GIMP graphic imaging program. The individual landscape and distribution maps were set to the same scale and then combined. This helped demonstrate how features within the built environment segregated and structured activity areas and how changes in the built environment coincided with and/or structured evident changes in the artifact patterning through time. Overall this provided a much more comprehensive reconstruction of the evolving nature of the site through its shifting occupations.

Comparative Analysis:

The final phase of analysis consisted of comparative assessments, both intra-site and inter-site. The distribution analysis identified five distinct midden clusters or sub-assemblages across the site. Some appear to be temporally isolated to particular phases of occupation, some were clearly areas of disposal throughout most of the site's seventeenth-century occupation. Three different comparative assessments were conducted.

The first consisted of comparing temporally diagnostic material from each sub-assemblage to assess and verify the temporal contexts in which each sub-assemblage formed. Artifacts evaluated consisted of temporally diagnostic ceramics and tobacco pipe stems. This allowed changes in activity over time and space to be elucidated and allowed several contexts of activity that date to specific phases of occupation. This also revealed significant change in site-use intensity that appeared to be correlated with the site's shifting functions.

Following the temporal assessment, intra-site assessment was conducted by comparing proportions of functional materials from each sub-assemblage against each other. This approach was based somewhat on South's (1977, 1978) method of comparative pattern recognition

pioneered on 18th-century sites in the southeast United States. Though not without legitimate critique (see Chapter 2), this method serves as a useful tool to examine variation among different assemblages based on the assumption that similar activities will produce similar patterned residues; dissimilar practices result in different archaeological patterns. For this analysis five broad classes of material were selected for comparison: Ceramics, Table Glass, Bottle Glass, Tobacco Pipes, and Bone. These categories were selected because they are indicative of regular or more typical day-to-day use of the site or daily practice. Architectural material was omitted since it tends to represent isolated construction or destruction related activity. Oyster shell was also omitted for several reasons. An uncertain amount of it is prehistoric and thus not relate to the colonial habitation of the site. Also, oyster shell can represent both architectural material and/or food waste, which is unclear in plowzone contexts. Lastly, it is so numerous in certain contexts it can completely overshadow other classes of material within a given assemblage. Other categories, such as arms, clothing, personal items and furniture were also omitted given their relatively low representation within the assemblages. Overall this analysis revealed both differences and regularities among the sub-assemblages and helped produced a better understanding of how different types of activities were distributed across the site at different times. Functional and behavioral variation between the sub-assemblages was further assessed by comparing ceramics and vessel glass from each cluster, revealing additional insights regarding the distribution of activity across the site and through time. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8.

The final phase of comparative analysis consisted of comparing material from the Country's House against material from the Smith's Ordinary site. Using the same approach as above, broad functional categories as well as individual classes of material from the Country's

House sub-assemblages were compared against Smith's Ordinary to further assess and elucidate potential specialized behavioral practices associated with the government function of the Calvert House. Smith's Ordinary represents a more typical tavern/inn assemblage from the 1660s and 1670s. Since the Country's House simultaneously served as an ordinary during its government tenure, a typical ordinary assemblage serves as a baseline that can be used to assess if anything distinguishes the early statehouse from other taverns; differences that may reflect its more specialized function and status as a government site. Again this is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8.

Overall these analyses helped produce a dynamic reconstruction of the Country's House site through time and how different activities articulated within the site through different phases of occupation. Most importantly these analyses reconstructed the physical context of the built environment during the period it served as the official statehouse of the colony and some of the behaviors and interactions that occurred there during this crucial period. These data were then integrated with archival sources, other historical material, and social theory to examine the significance these interactions had for facilitating community formation and negotiating early political institutions and order. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 present detailed summaries and discussions of the primary phases of archaeological analysis outlined above.

Chapter 6

The Calvert House Lot: from Frontier Plantation to Urban Center

Introduction:

Archaeological traces of fences provide some of the best evidence for determining home-lot size, layout, and social and functional organization of colonial house lots through time. Several decades of excavations on the Calvert House Site have revealed a dynamic landscape around the main structure that changed considerably throughout its more than 60-year occupation.

Archaeologists first began piecing together the development of the Calvert House lot and surrounding landscape in the 1980s when a large survey was conducted to identify and trace out the principle buildings and layout of the town center. It is during this survey the Calvert House was originally located, identified and portions of the structure and surrounding lot excavated (Miller 1986). During this early work the remains of numerous fences were identified and, in some cases, sampled. Analysis of these data, combined with historical documents, allowed for a partial reconstruction of the lot configuration through time and a conjectural model of its overall evolution was developed (see Figure 4-7). Many details concerning the extent and function of these landscape features, however, were poorly understood.

Additional work in the 2000s has been undertaken to rectify gaps in these data. Since 2008, the HSMC Summer Field School in Historical Archaeology has spent every summer field season on the site with considerable focus spent on further identifying and tracing out fence-line segments. At least 51 new segments have been identified representing at least 20 different fences dating to various periods of occupation (Riordan 2009, 2010, 2011). Despite the sizeable focus of the recent archaeology towards understanding the surrounding landscape of the Calvert

House, there still remain significant portions of the lot where fence data are incomplete. Nevertheless, analysis of this recent work in the 2000s, combined with data retrieved in the 1980s and historical documents, has allowed a much more refined reconstruction of the basic lot configuration through the site's shifting occupations to be generated. The reconstructions presented in the proceeding discussion are based on a combination of my own feature analysis, archaeological excavation reports from recent seasons of work (e.g. Riordan 2009, 2010, 2011), and documentary sources.

The most prevalent and archaeologically visible evidence for fences on the site consists of fence ditches, some with visible molds, for palisade and paling type fences. Several isolated, smaller postholes uncovered on the site likely represent the remains of post-and-rail fences as well, but overall evidence for this type is minimal. The third type of fence that likely saw wide use during the early colonial period is the split rail fence. Also known as a worm or snake fence, this type consists of surface-laid rails alternately stacked on top of one another. Sometimes shallow support posts were used to help hold the rails in place. These produce little to no archaeological signature (Miller 2007). Thus what is currently known of the lot configuration through time comes primarily from evidence of paling and palisade type fences which appear to have seen widespread use on the site throughout its entire seventeenth-century occupation.

It should be noted that yard development was likely a continuous process, making every step impossible to precisely date using archaeological data (Miller 1986). Nevertheless, using a combination of superposition, temporally diagnostic materials from sampled portions, as well as examining alignments and orientations, has allowed a relative sequence to be generated. A number of the evident changes to the Calvert House lot structure correspond to historical developments and shifts in the function of the site through time. It is clear the lot was repeatedly

reorganized to suit the changing needs, circumstances, aspirations, and perceptions of the site's occupants and patrons. The lot configuration can generally be divided into five distinct phases of development and use.

Early Period, ca. early 1640s

During this period the house served as the private manor house for Governor Leonard Calvert and his surrounding plantation. Evidence for yard organization during the first decade of settlement is minimal. It has been suggested that this lack of evidence may be due to the colonists using shallow, wattle fences, the traces of which have since been destroyed by plowing (Miller et al 1986: 27). An early fence enclosure in the rear yard (north side) of the structure are indicated by several segments of paling fence ditches that clearly pre-date all other features associated with the house lot given their stratigraphic position. Numerous later period fences bisect this early fence in several places, as well as portions of the ca. 1645 Pope's Fort ditch (see below), which provides a well-established *TAQ*. One segment begins at the northeast corner of the house, runs diagonally to the northwest for approximately 30 feet where it then begins to curve gradually towards the north. Evidence of two generations of this fence were uncovered just off the northeast corner of the main house, indicating it was repaired at least once (Riordan 2009). This fence-line appears to match a segment of fence located approximately 40 feet to the north of the northwest corner of the house. Also exhibiting a diagonal orientation to the main house, this segment runs roughly northeast for approximately 40 feet where it begins to curve eastward and terminate at a small posthole, likely representing a gate-post. Figure 6-1 shows the general configuration. The solid segments are archaeologically verified portions of this fence. The dotted line is a conjectural approximation. Parts of the yard above the northwest corner of

the house are heavily disturbed from later features and construction of the Brome-Howard House and its associated utilities. Large portions of the northeast section of the lot also remain unexcavated, leaving the exact trajectory of this portion of the fence unknown. Negative evidence, however, suggests the fence is confined within this general area.

Evidence of another fence dating to this early period was found 30 feet to the west of the main house. It consists of a short segment of paling fence-ditch running parallel with the long axis of the structure. It was located beneath part of a large midden that saw repeated use through most of the occupation of the site. Virtually no artifacts were found in the fill except for a handful of prehistoric materials, suggesting it was constructed prior to the accumulation of historic materials in this area. Unfortunately no other associated segments of this fence have yet been identified making its overall layout largely unknown and unverified.

Evidence of one other fence enclosure likely dating to this early period was identified in the 1980s, located approximately 120 feet to the south of the house. It consists of a semi-rectangular enclosure oriented at a southeast-to-northwest angle to the main house. Stratigraphically it pre-dates later fences that appear to have been constructed prior to the development of the town center in the 1660s (Miller at al 1986: 27). Particularly striking about the yard layout during this early period is the seemingly random alignment and orientation of visible landscape features. The rear yard enclosure is oriented at a somewhat northeast angle to the main house, follows a somewhat meandering course, and follows an arc as opposed to displaying right angles. The enclosure identified to the south, while it does appear to exhibit right angles and a somewhat rectangular form, it is also oriented at an angle diagonal to the main house. This period corresponds to a phase when the site served primarily as the manor home of the governor's working plantation some years prior to any attempts to urbanize the settlement.

This unusual, somewhat haphazard arrangement may represent a more organic yard development out of practical necessity. A 1640 Act For Fencing of Ground stated that "Every man shall fence his corne and other ground against cattell at his own perill…" reflecting a widely recognized need for protecting fields, gardens and yards from free-grazing cattle and livestock (Maryland Archives Vol. 1: 68). On fairly isolated homesteads in this early period it appears that practical expediency may have outweighed concerns for displaying status and formality. However, it should be noted that this phase of yard development at the site is the least well understood. This is largely due to the subsequent Pope's Fort period, which significantly disrupted the landscape (see proceeding discussion). A massive moat ditch was constructed around the structure, moving large amounts of soil and artifacts in its path. Reconstruction of this early phase fence arrangement is still somewhat tentative and requires additional archaeological verification.

Evidence of at least two outbuildings dating to this early period was also uncovered (Riordan 2010, 2012). One is located off the northeast corner of the main house, though it is not well defined. Located east of the fence, it is represented by 9 postholes and a rectangular pit feature. It follows the same general orientation of the fence-line, averaging 40 degrees east of north. This outbuilding could measure anywhere from 12 to 19 feet long and 10 to 15 feet wide (Riordan 2012a: 18). The building partially overlaps the fence-line, suggesting the fence likely pre-dates the building. Perhaps this portion of the fence was dismantled when the building was constructed, and the northwest wall was integrated into the existing fence-line. Additional excavation in this portion of the yard will help clarify this structure.

A second outbuilding is centrally located to the north of the main building. Located 13 feet north of the main house foundation and oriented with the structure, it is represented by four postholes outlining a structure measuring 7 by 8 feet. Within the footprint is located a pit feature
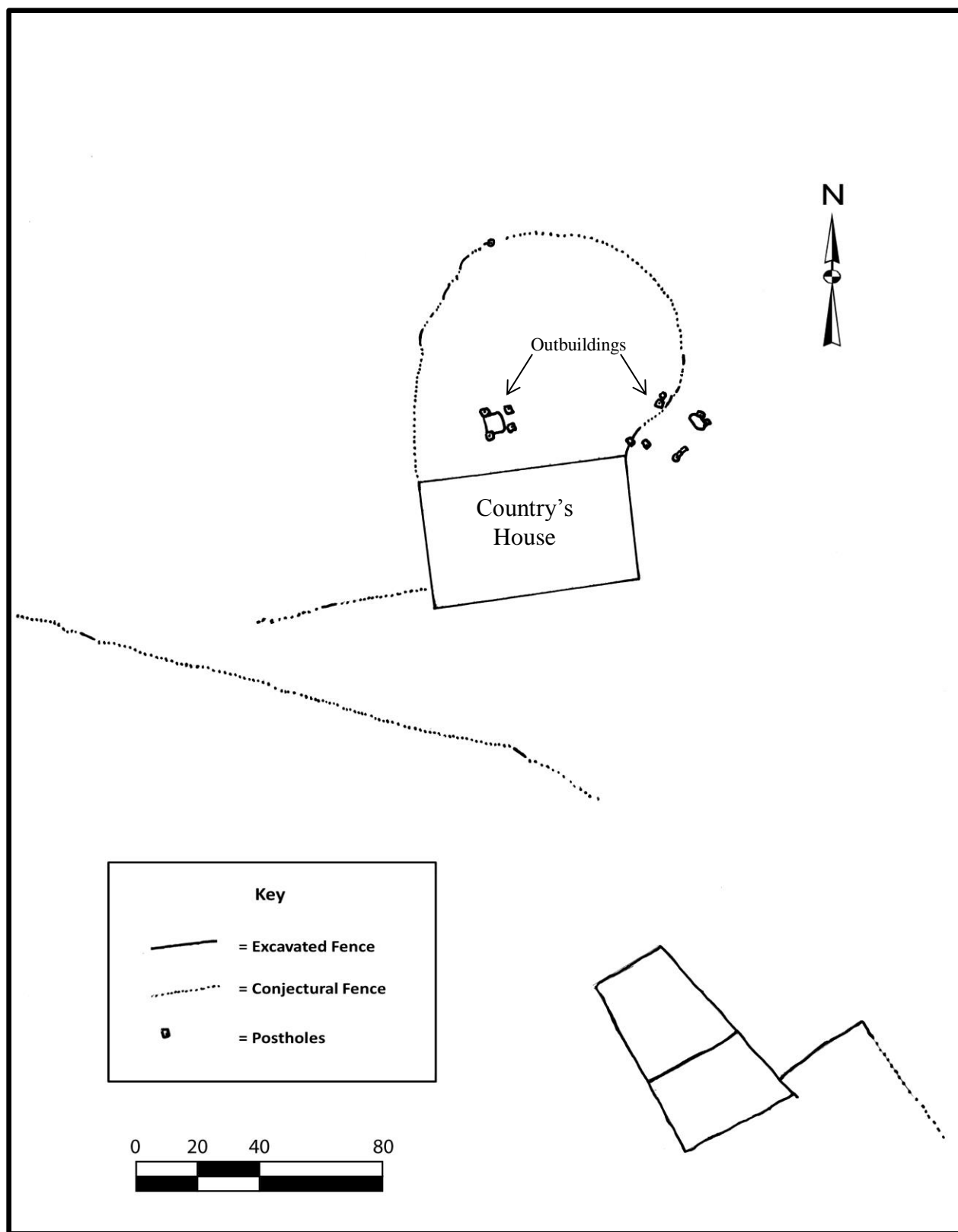
Figure 6-1: Calvert House Landscape ca. early 1640s based on Archaeological Excavations

with eroded edges measuring roughly 6.5 feet by 6.5 feet. Evidence of a palisade ditch that was

likely associated with Pope's Fort, constructed in 1645, appears to abut the east wall of the

outbuilding at its northeast corner, indicating it was likely standing prior to the fort's

construction and may have been integrated with the fort wall (Riordan 2012a: 19-20).

Pope's Fort Period, ca. 1645-1648

Following a decade of economic growth and relative prosperity, the colony was briefly

interrupted and nearly destroyed from events that transpired as the English Civil War briefly

spilled onto Maryland's shores. In 1644, Richard Ingle, a ship captain prominent in the tobacco

trade and strong supporter of Parliament, had quarreled with leaders in Maryland and had

evidently escaped imprisonment on charges of sedition against the King (Carr 1994; Miller 1986:

47; Riordan 2004). The following year Ingle returned with a small force carrying letters of mark

from Parliament intent on sacking the Catholic Royalist colony. In February, 1645, Ingle sailed

into the St. Mary's River, captured a Dutch merchant ship and several other vessels, and seized

St. Mary's City. Governor Leonard Calvert, not expecting an imminent attack, was unable to

raise troops from the outlying plantations and organize a defense of the colony and quickly fled

to Virginia (Miller et al 1986: 47; Riordan 2004). Ingle and his men, along with some local

Protestants, then proceeded to burn several buildings, possibly including the Jesuit chapel, and

looted the homes of some of the colony's Catholic leaders in what is colloquially known as the

"Plundering Time" (Carr 1994; Miller et al 1986; Riordan 2004). Ingle departed for England in

April and left the colony in the hands of a group of Protestants loyal to Parliament. One of these

was Nathanial Pope, a local planter and merchant, who occupied Leonard Calvert's house in

1643. By December of 1646, Leonard Calvert was able to return and retake control of the colony. Calvert re-acquired his house and lived there until his death in 1647 (Carr 1994).

During this period a fortification was constructed around the Calvert House, referred to in the records as Pope's Fort (after Nathanial Pope). Portions of this fortification were originally traced out and tested in the 1980s and appears to have undergone two phases of construction. The original fort consists of a modified triangular form with three bastions with the north and south walls centered on the main house (Figure 6-2). It consists of an outer ditch or moat with an interior palisade that may have had an earthen embankment piled along its perimeter based on the eroded fills evident during excavation of several sections of the ditch (Miller 1986). At some point the fortification was modified and expanded, evidenced by portions of a new ditch and palisade along the east end (Figure 6-2). Three brief passages in the court proceedings from1648 mention Pope's Fort, but no descriptions are given or mention of its modification (Maryland Archives IV: 383-424), leaving the date for the second phase of construction unknown. Artifacts from portions of the ditch indicate a fill date in the late 1640s or possibly the early 1650s (Miller et al 1986: 53). It has been suggested that perhaps this later modification was carried out by Leonard Calvert's successor, Governor William Stone, in response to tensions that persisted in the aftermath of Ingle's rebellion. These tensions culminated in a battle known as the Battle of the Severn in 1655 in which Governor Stone organized a militia force and sailed to present day Annapolis to engage a force of Puritans who had settled in the area and refused to recognize proprietary authority. Stone was defeated and it was not until the Restoration of King Charles the II in 1660 was Lord Baltimore able to firmly secure control of the colony (Miller et al 1986). It is also possible the modification and subsequent dismantling and filling of the ditch occurred within a relatively short period, possibly when Leonard Calvert reclaimed the colony in 1647,

and the fort was abandoned by the late 1640s shortly thereafter (Carr 1994: 19). There are no documentary references to the fort after 1648, which might indicate it was no longer extant on the landscape (Md. Archives IV: 423-424, Carr 1994, Miller 1986). Surviving documents from this period following the rebellion are sparse, however, leaving the current data inconclusive.
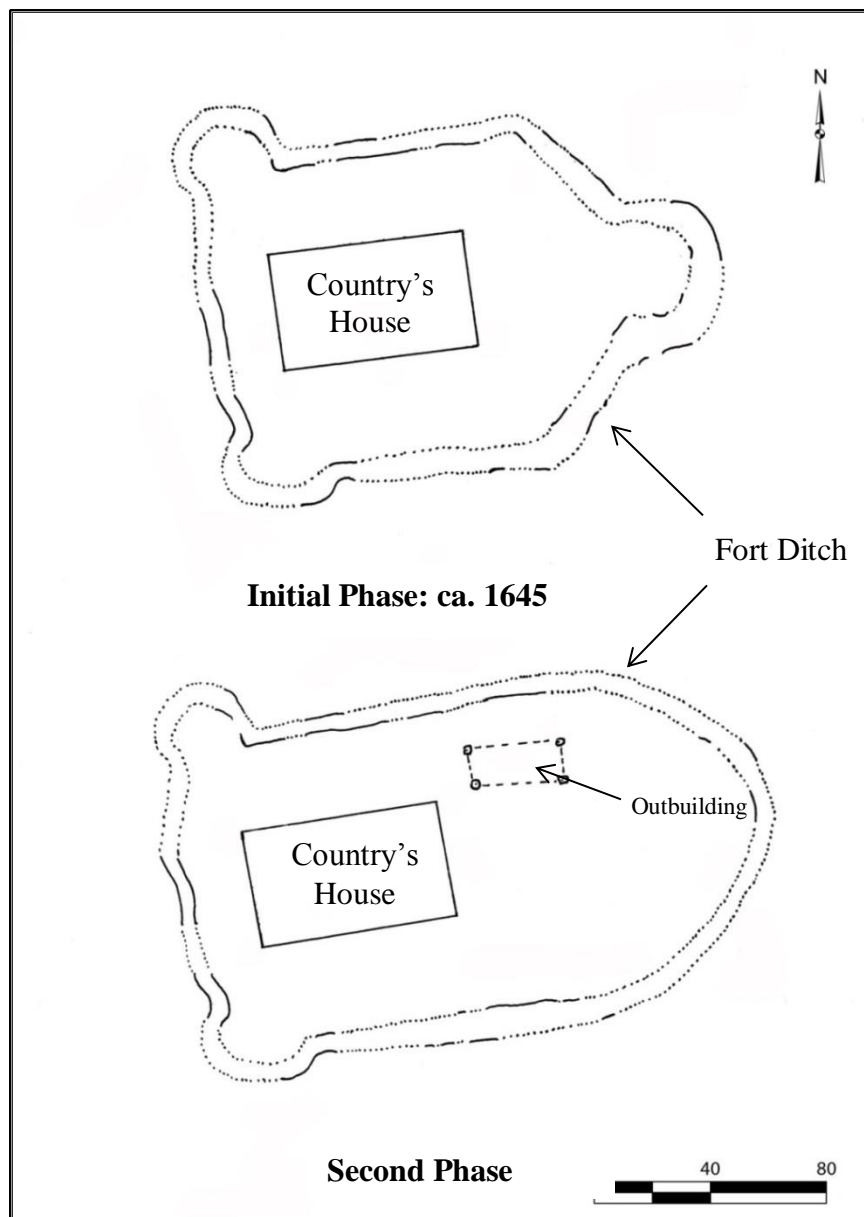
Figure 6-2: Pope's Fort showing both Phases of Construction; based on Archaeological Excavations

The yard during this period is dominated by the presence of Pope's Fort. It is possible the enclosure located to the south (see Figure 6-1) remained into this period. There is archaeological evidence that an outbuilding may have been constructed after the fort was modified and enlarged. This is indicated by two large postholes located 45 feet east of the main house. They are spaced 15 feet apart and are oriented with the main house. Both intrude the early phase fort ditch. Two other postholes were uncovered 30 feet to the west of the above that could be associated with the ones intruding the fort ditch.

This would form an outbuilding measuring roughly 30 feet by 15 feet, located fifteen feet east of the northeast corner of the main house. The two eastern-most posts occur outside of later period yard enclosures, indicating it likely dates before the 1660s. Unfortunately none of these postholes have been excavated leaving their potential association largely speculative.

While overall the yard is relatively confined by the fort during this ca. 1645 to 1648 period, the fort ditch provides a useful temporal indicator for understanding the overall yard development sequence. Fences underlying or bisected by parts of the fort clearly date before its construction while features that intrude the fort can be firmly placed in the sequence after the fort. In general, however, the yard around the Calvert House during this phase clearly reflects a brief but significant period of turmoil and uncertainty in the colony's early history.

Post Fort Transition Phase, 1650s-early 1660s

The period following Ingle's Rebellion and lasting through the 1650s is not well documented from surviving records (Carr 1994). In the aftermath of the rebellion a period of

instability ensued. For a time the government was controlled by a group of Protestants who refused to recognize Proprietary authority.

Sometime after the fort fell into disuse, a long enclosure was constructed in the rear yard with at least one partition (Figure 6-3). It is represented by paling fence ditches that begin at the north corners of the building and run northward in line with the east and west walls of the structure. This enclosure is at least 110 feet in length based on excavations, but its full extent has not yet been precisely determined. There are a series of cross fences that have been detected in this end of the yard representing multiple generations of fences. It is possible one of these represents the end of the main enclosure, or simply another partition sectioning off portions of the yard. Two generations of fences following this configuration were detected indicating that this arrangement was maintained on the property for quite some time, perhaps into the 1660s. They are connected by a cross fence located 80 feet north of the main building, the west end of which clearly articulates with the west fence-line running north off of the northwest corner of the house. It is possible that this configuration was begun by Governor Stone, perhaps to produce a more ordered environment following the chaos and tensions that persisted following the Plundering Time. It may also have developed in response to new lots in the developing town-lands being occupied and a need to clearly demarcate lot boundaries. Unfortunately no documentary references from this period provide any descriptions of the lot. However, both generations of fences clearly cut through the Pope's Fort ditch, firmly dating their construction after the fort was dismantled and ditch filled. One segment of the west fence was excavated which contained several sherds of North Devon Gravel Tempered ware ceramic, a type which tends to show up in the Chesapeake region after ca. 1650 and does not become widespread until the last quarter of the seventeenth century (Hume 1970: 133). This segment of fence could be
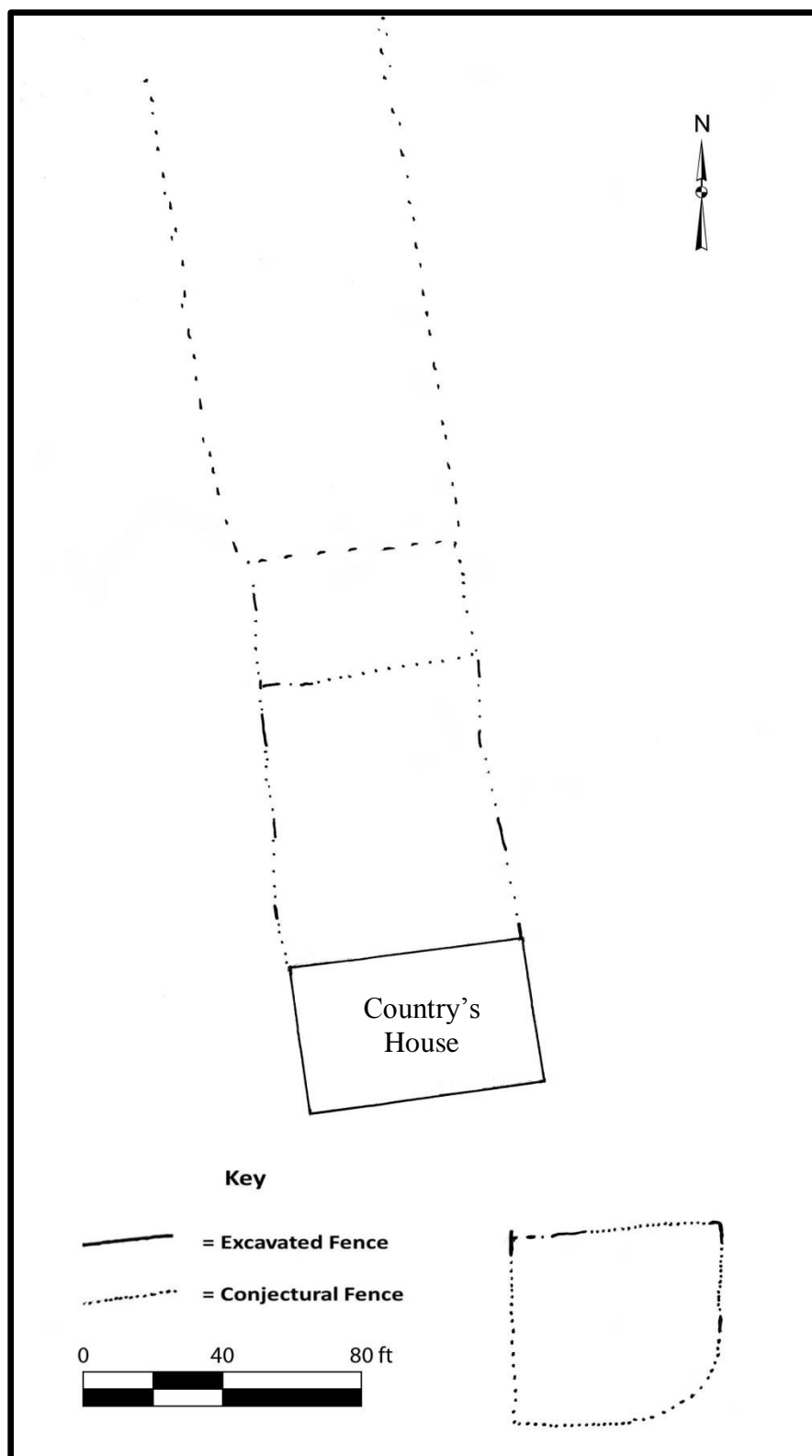
Figure 6-3: Calvert Lot ca. Late 1650s or Early 1660s; based on Archaeological Excavations

one of the later generations, however. Another segment produced a sherd of Merida-like ceramic which also tends to date after the 1640s on Chesapeake sites. Taken together, this evidence supports a date of construction possibly beginning as early as the 1650s. Excavation of additional segments of these fences will help resolve this uncertainty.

Early Statehouse and Inn Period, ca. 1660s-1670s

This corresponds generally with the period the site officially served as the statehouse, ca. 1662-1676. Purchased by the legislature and re-named the Country's House to reflect its new function, the site was simultaneously leased to inn keepers and operated as an ordinary in order to assist with general maintenance. At this time the site served the duel function as the paramount political and social center within the colony. It was also during this period that St. Mary's City was officially incorporated as the first city in the colony and the first steps to urbanize and establish the baroque town plan were undertaken. During this phase there is archaeological evidence indicating substantial efforts made to reorganize and structure the yard around the house.

At some point during this phase the rear yard enclosure was modestly enlarged towards the east (Figure 6-4). This is indicated by a fence trench that extends eastward for 30 feet from the east wall of the house just south of the northeast corner. This abuts a fence trench running northward from there. This extends the overall width of the enclosure to 97 feet over the original 67 foot width of the earlier enclosure shared with the length of the main house. A cross fence, indicated by paling ditch segments, was also added 55 feet north of the main house, roughly 20 feet closer to the earlier partition. Just north of this partition was added an outbuilding represented by a small cellar hole , measuring roughly 7.4 feet by 7.6 feet, surrounded by a series

of postholes. This building feature clearly cuts through the earlier paling fences that ran

northward from the northeast corner of the main house (Riordan 2011: 14). As above, the overall

length of this enclosure is unknown, but runs at least 110 feet north of the main house. The front

yard of the structure was also enclosed by this time, indicated by a number of paling ditch

segments that run parallel with the front wall of the structure, eventually connecting with the

fence-line running east from the northeast corner of the building (Figure 6-4).

This configuration appears to correspond well with the earliest documented descriptions

of the property dated to 1666 when William Smith received a lease for the property. The bottom

of the document states that:

> It is understood that by this lease William Smith is only to have as much ground
> within that Payle which comes from the now Ordinary House to the high Way to
> the Secretaryes Office and so from that Corner of the pale till it reach the said
> Office pale and from there a straight line to be drawn where the pales formerly
> were which the late Secretary Boughton caused to be taken up till it meets with
> the Pale which comes from the North side of the said Ordinary (Prov. Ct. Proc.
> 10: 351-352).

This description matches well with the fence that comes east 30 feet off the east wall of the

house and turns north where the approximate location of Middle Street is. The reference to the

pale on the north side of the ordinary corresponds with the west fence-line that intersects with the

northwest corner of the house. Since the approximate location of the secretary's office is known

from historical and archaeological data, this also indicates that the enclosure was between 350 to

400 feet in length. Precise dimensions are currently unknown due to lack of excavation data in

the far northern portion of the Calvert House lot. Other passages in the lease mention:

> the Mansion or dwelling house of the said William Smith with the orchard Garden
> and all outhouses in the said Orchard and Garden…(Prov. Ct. Proc. 10: 351-52).

This provides additional clues about other elements forming the landscape of the lot. It indicates

that all of the outbuildings were apparently contained within the garden and orchard and not the
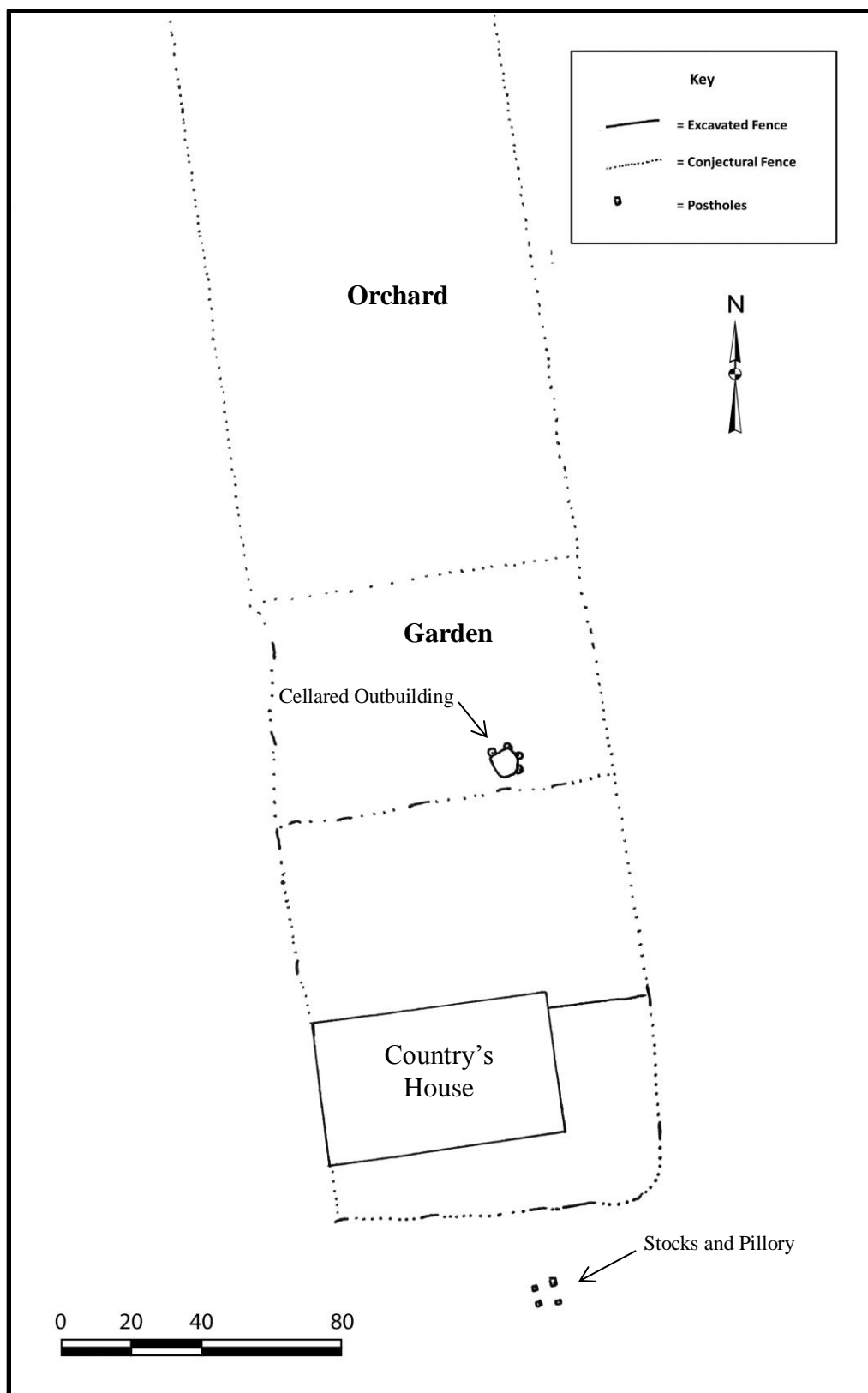
Figure 6-4: Calvert House Lot ca. 1666 based on Archaeological and Documentary Evidence

immediate vicinity of the house. It also indicates that there was an orchard on the lot. Archaeologists in the 1980s did find several features in the area 150 plus feet north of the main house that appeared to be the remains of amorphous root molds within areas largely void of artifacts (Miller 1986). This may represent evidence of the orchard covering the northern portion of the lot. A structural posthole was also uncovered in this area indicating the presence of at least one outbuilding (Miller et al 1986: 30). The layout shown in Figure 6-4 presents a conjectural configuration of the Countries House lot ca. 1666 based on the combined available archaeological and historical data (though only clearly defined outbuildings are represented). The enclosed area immediately north of the house consists of an open yard. The first cross-fence separates this from the garden and other work areas where the cellar outbuilding is located. A structural posthole approximately 20 feet northwest of the cellared building suggests at least one other outbuilding was also located in the garden area, but as of yet remains largely undefined. Cross-fences an additional 50 feet to the north mark the southern boundary of the orchard.

The final set of intriguing features that appear to date to this phase of occupation consist of an arrangement of four small postholes set 40 feet to the south of the main building. Oriented with the structure, they form a small square 5.5 to 6.0 feet on a side. Two of the posts clearly intrude the filled fort ditch, and one intrudes the paling fence that formed the ca. 1650s semi-rectangular enclosure seen in Figure 6-3. Too small to form an outbuilding other than perhaps a small shed, this is unlikely given its location in the central plaza of what became the town center during this period. Given its orientation and location in front of the main building in full view of the central plaza, a more reasonable interpretation is that this arrangement of posts represents a stocks-and-pillory and whipping post formation, a common feature of courthouse lots during the colonial period (Lounsbury 2005; Semmes1938). Stocks, pillories and whipping posts were

common instruments of punishment for various crimes. Stocks were formed by one or two posts set into the ground with two boards set between, hinged so they could open, with hopes cut to secure the legs of the offenders. A rail was set with the narrow edge up for offenders to sit on. Offenders were required to sit anywhere from five minutes to as much as a day as the court deemed sufficient. This was generally reserved for minor offences such as public drunkenness, public profanity, insulting the court, etc. The pillory, consisting of a single post with an attached headboard roughly at chest height, was reserved for more serious offences such as rapists, thieves, adulterers, etc. The headboard was hinged and had holes cut for the placement of the head and both hands. Offenders' ears were often nailed to the headboard. The whipping post generally consisted of a single post for securing and whipping offenders and was often used in conjunction with the pillory. Along with the physical pain of the punishment came humiliation from the large crowds that frequently gathered and taunted the punished (Lounsbury 2005: 225-228). We cannot say for certain that this arrangement of posts represents these devices of punishment, but there are references to the use and installation of these devices in the archives. In 'An Act for punishing some other Offences' passed in 1650, punishment is specified that "Every one giving false witness vppon oath or perswading or hiring another to give such false witness vppon oath shalbe naylcd to the Pillory and loose both his Eares or put to other corporall shame or correction not extending to life… (Md. Archives I: 286-7)." In the proceedings of Sept-Oct. 1663 the Assembly specified that there should be "Pillory and Stocks att every Courte (Md Archives I: 461)." Presumably the statehouse and provincial courthouse set the example, and the small arrangement of posts in the front plaza represents the best physical evidence of such devices uncovered thus far on the site.

Perhaps most notable during this period of occupation is the maintenance of the ordered, more symmetrical lot configuration possibly begun in the 1650s by Governor Stone. Earlier fence configurations (see Figure 6-1) display seemingly random orientations and somewhat haphazard placements. Although possibly begun as early as the 1650s, clearly by the 1660s there appears to be an effort to more formally order the lot space around the structure. Fences from this period are oriented directly with the structure and display right angles at intersections. Part of this likely reflects efforts to clearly define the lot boundaries as the town began to develop around the Country's House during this period. In 1667 St. Mary's was incorporated as the first official city in the colony (Miller 1988: 59, Maryland Archives 51:64). During this period an urban plan began to develop and a number of buildings appeared on the landscape (Miller 1988), creating a need to formally divide and define lot boundaries. There is also a reference to a highway in Smith's lease which was used as a landmark in the description of the lot boundaries, which is helping to orient the landscape. This configuration may also reflect attempts or a perceived need to create and maintain a more formal environment to reflect the site's new function as provincial statehouse.

There also appears to have been a clear effort to segregate certain activity areas on the lot during this phase. In earlier periods (i.e. the 1640s-50s) when the house served a more domestic function, all known outbuildings were located in close proximity to the main structure. Smith's lease indicates that the outbuildings were located farther from the main structure during this later period, which is also supported by the archaeology. The cellared outbuilding located in the probable garden area is clearly north of the first cross-fence partition. This building may have been a dairy or perhaps the "meate" cellar indicated in Smith's probate inventory (Test. Proc. 3: 127-159). Such a building and the associated garden area constitute "work" areas. There is also

evidence of a building located in the orchard area, represented by the single structural posthole so far uncovered, is of unknown function. Currently it remains undefined, but given the low artifact density in this portion of the site, Miller (1986) suggests this building may have served as a stable. Regardless, it seems that there was a clear effort to physically separate work areas away from the immediate rear yard that may have served as a more formal courtyard or space for patrons or burgesses to congregate.

Post-Statehouse Inn Period, ca. 1676-1695

This landscape corresponds with the period following construction of the new brick statehouse in 1676, effectively removing all primary government functions from the site. It should be noted, however, that the site still hosted occasional committee meetings and the entire legislative sessions of 1678 and 1688 were apparently held in the Country's House (Carr 1994: 12). Its primary service during this period was as a public ordinary and it continued to be the largest in the settlement throughout the period.

This phase is the only one for which there is precise historical evidence regarding the lot's size and layout. John Baker and his wife leased the property from 1678 to 1694. Unlike Smith's 1666 lease which exclusively used cultural landmarks as reference points to define the boundaries, the 1678 Baker lease indicates compass bearings and measurements in addition to cultural features (Miller 1986:31). The lease states:

> Beginning at the stake in the ground over a Street called Middle Street it being on the western side of the land laid out for Mark Cordea called Cordeas Hope, Rune 2° S of W and without the porch of the Countrey house 8 perches 6 feet to a stake near the land of Garrett Vanswearingen to and from thence with a line 2° N over E until it intersects with a line 2° W of N from the first stake (Pat. Lib. 20: 381).

This defines a tract approximately 1.25 acres, measuring roughly 138 feet by 396 feet (Carr 1994, Miller 1986: 32).

Recent archaeology has revealed a number of significant changes to the lot configuration during this latter phase of occupation and generally supports the description in the lease. The overall lot enclosure was expanded to the west, south and east sides of the property in this period. Part of this expansion included enclosing portions of the side and front yards within the overall main enclosure. This is indicated by several new segments of paling fence. The largest uncovered consists of a long segment of fence ditch located roughly 30 feet to the west of the main structure. This fence-line clearly cuts through the large midden located in the southwest corner of the yard. Several segments of this fence have been sampled yielding several sherds of late seventeenth-century ceramics (including Morgan Jones and Proto-Buckley) and 2.4 mm pipe stem fragments indicating a construction sometime during the 1670s or later. This fence appears to match up with a paling ditch running perpendicular, eastward across the front of the house until it turns and runs northward. Both the west and east fence-lines appear to diverge at slight angles as they run towards the north. Portions of two cross-fences were also detected archeologically. One is located approximately 120 feet to the north of the structure, in the same vicinity where there is evidence of earlier fences that demarcated the orchard boundary. Another cross-fence is located approximately 50 feet north of the main building. This fence is oriented with the grid rather than the building and other fences, however, which may indicate a later date of construction than the other fences from this period. One other late period paling ditch was uncovered off the northeast corner of the house. This fence runs east and intersects with the east bounding fence-line.

Although the fence configuration from this period generally agrees with the description in the lease, it does not precisely match. The archaeology indicates that the fence enclosure was only 120 feet wide at the south end of the lot and expands to approximately 140 feet as it moves north. The full length of the lot enclosure was not verified archaeologically due to a lack of testing in the far north end of the property, leaving the lease and the known location of the Van Sweringen Site the primary indicators of the overall length of the lot. Figure 6-5 shows the lot configuration based on available archaeological and archival evidence.

Perhaps the most interesting feature on the lot dating to this period consists of an oval trench located 50 feet north of the main building (Figure 6-5). Measuring 33 feet by 23 feet, it consists of a trench measuring roughly 2 feet in width (Riordan 2011). The center of the northeast wall is interrupted by a gap approximately 2.0 feet wide, flanked by two small postholes. Excavations of one segment of the trench revealed a series of paling molds angled slightly outward (towards the center of the feature)**.** Directly in the center of the oval feature is a rectangular posthole measuring 2.0 by 1.5 feet, containing a central post-mold measuring 0.7 by 0.9 feet. This feature clearly cuts through multiple earlier fence-lines running north off the northwest corner of the main building (see Figures 6-3 and 6-4). The excavated segment yielded 2.4 and 2.2 mm pipe stems and sherds of Staffordshire Slipware, a ceramic that tends to date after 1675, firmly placing its construction in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Based on historically known and archaeologically uncovered examples in England and Williamsburg, Virginia, Riordan (2011) has interpreted this arrangement as a cock-fighting and animal baiting pen**.** Cockfighting and animal baiting reached their height of popularity in England during the Restoration of Charles II and many rural English inns and taverns developed facilities for this activity. The fighting area generally consisted of a circular, square or rectangular or oval pen

with a boarded fence ranging in size from 8 feet to 24 feet (Collins et al 2005; Gilbey 2005; Nicholson 2005; Riordan 2011; Ruport 2006). Sometimes an anchor post was set in the middle for the securing the baited animal that was forced to fight dogs let loose in the pen. This unique recreational feature may signal a shift in what was perceived as appropriate or acceptable behavior at the site when official government functions largely ceased.
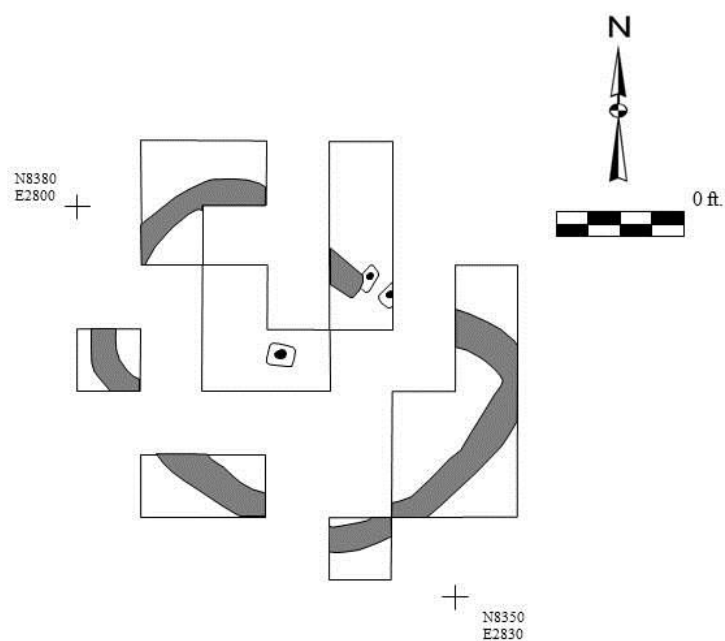
Figure 6-5: Planview Map of Cock-Pit Feature (form Riordan 2011)

Evidence of outbuildings during this latter phase of occupation is sparse. No doubt the lot

contained outbuildings to support the inn functions, but their location is uncertain based on

currently available evidence. It is possible the cellared outbuilding remained in use for some time

during this period. Artifacts in the cellar indicate it was filled in sometime during the second half

of the seventeenth-century. Pipe stems in the fill range between 3.2 mm and 2.0 mm, but tend to

cluster around 2.8 mm (ca. 1660s-1670s). Sherds of North Devon Sgraffito and North Devon

Gravel Tempered ceramic indicate a fill date after ca. 1650. Intriguingly, the upper fills of the

cellar contain large quantities of rough-coat and finishing plaster, wrought nails, and other

architectural debris (Figure 6-6)**.** This material likely came from one of the renovations

documented on the site during the later phases of occupation. The council proceedings of 1669

indicate that innkeeper Daniel Jenefer removed a partition between the court room and St.

Mary's Room (the assembly room), which could account for a high volume of plaster that could

have been disposed of in the abandoned cellar. The artifacts generally support a ca. 1669 time

period of deposition. However, Riordan (2011) notes that during excavation of the final level of

deposition on the cellar floor he recovered 18 large pipe stems and stem fragments that were

resting directly on the subsoil floor of the cellar. These ranged in size from 2.8 mm to 2.4 mm

with 2.6 displaying the highest frequency ($n = 9$). This suggests the cellar was filled later than

1669. This may indicate the architectural debris filling the cellar relates to a later

Figure 6-6: Profile of Cellar Fill
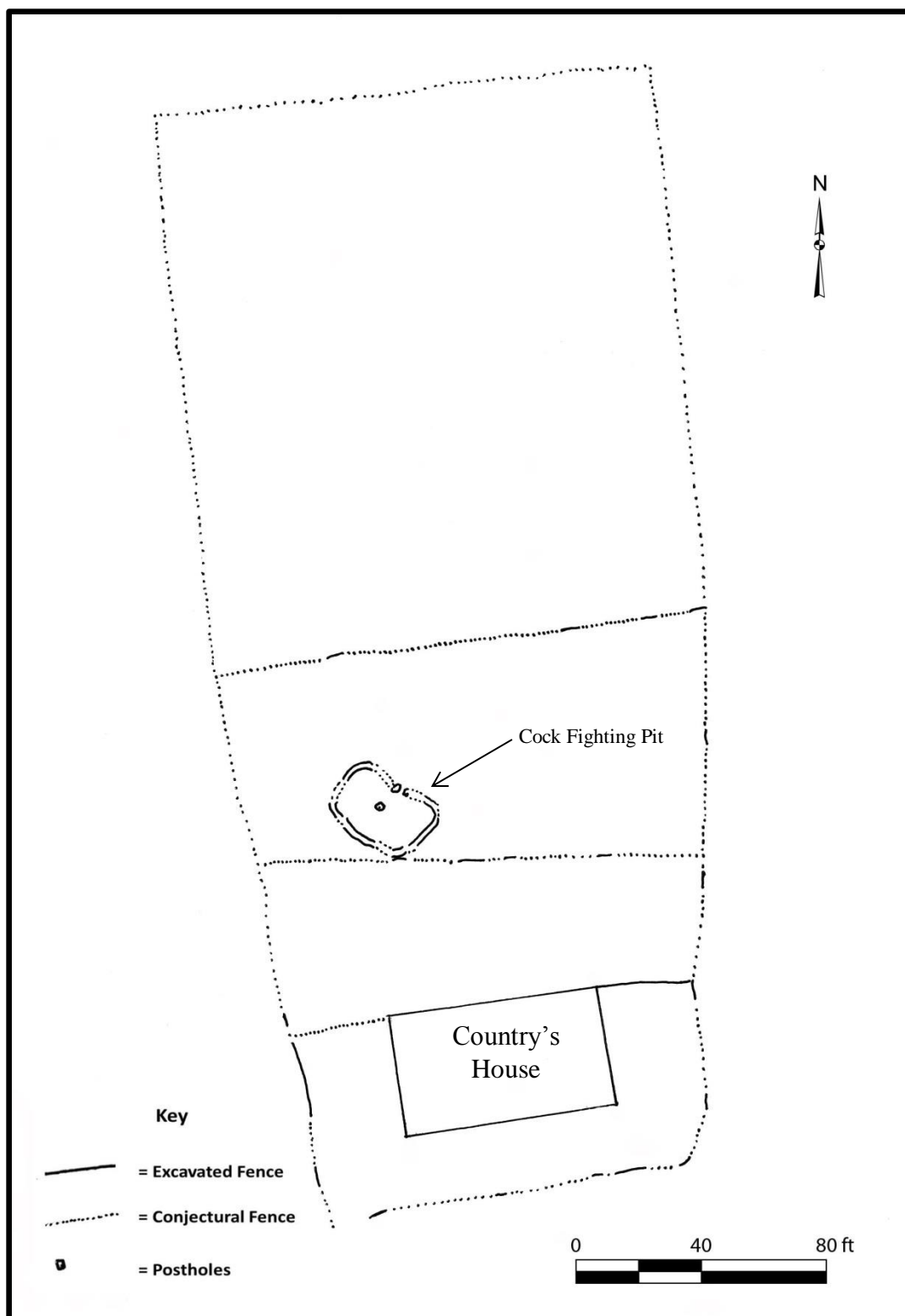
Figure 6-7: Calvert House Lot ca. 1680s; based on Archaeological and Documentary Evidence

renovation on the site. John Baker and his wife, who controlled the property between 1678 and 1694, are known to have spent upwards of 30,000 pounds of tobacco on repairs and renovations (Carr 1994, Miller 1986). This included bricking up walls and chimneys "and other Reparations" (in Carr 1994: 10, from the Archives of Maryland). It may be rubble produced during these renovations that may have ended up in the cellar fill sometime during the late seventeenth century. Additional archaeology will likely yield more insights regarding outbuildings related to this phase of occupation.

There are a number of striking changes in the lot configuration evident in this latter phase of occupation. First the fence enclosure is the largest that can be definitively documented archaeologically, also enclosing more of the front and west sides of the lot. Also of note is the irregular orientation of the west and eastern fence-lines as they expand or widen as they move northward from the southern boundary of the lot. This may seem random at first, but is more likely explained by the town layout that developed during the late 1660s and 1670s. After the city was officially incorporated (1667), there is strong evidence that St. Mary's was organized by design according to a Baroque town plan (Miller 1988). This plan consisted of a town center with important institutional and monumental buildings arranged on the outskirts at corners of two symmetrical triangles, the points of which converge in the town center directly in front of the Country's House (see Figure 6-8). Although not precisely, evidence also suggests that the roads generally followed this triangular pattern (Figure 6-8). The orientation of the fences during this period suggests the lot layout was partially oriented to this triangular pattern, following the trajectory of the two principal streets that bordered the Country's House Lot to the east and west. It is notable, however, that the fences do not appear precisely laid out. The fence-line forming the west boundary has a distinctive curve to it. Also, where the southern fence turns north at the

southeast corner of the lot, rather than forming a sharp angle, multiple generations of fences evident show them to arch or curve towards the north. This may be the result of the fence following natural topography or established landmarks (such as the ravine to the west or Middle Street to the east), but overall the layout appears less precise than the previous configuration.
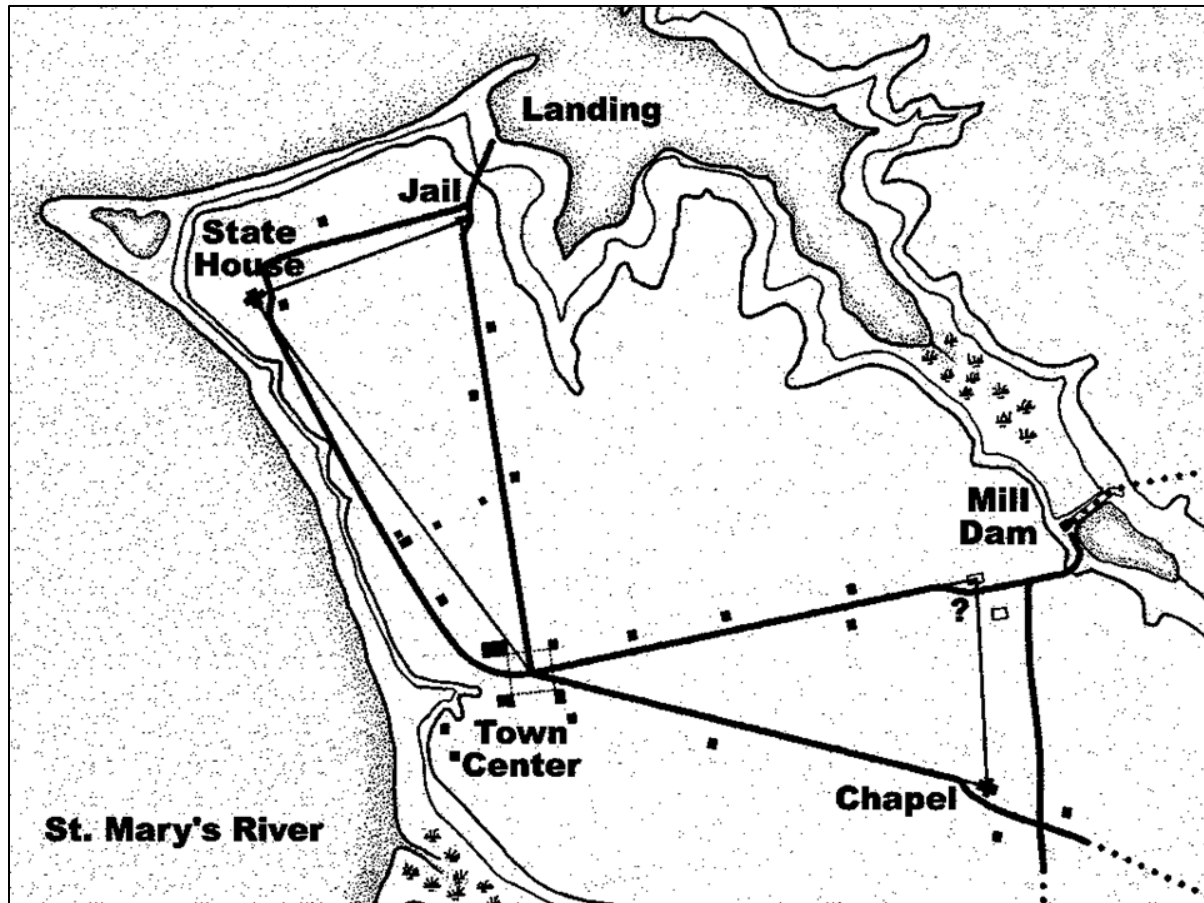
Figure 6-8: Map Showing Baroque Town Layout and Known Structures along the City Streets (HSMC)

Summary:

In general there appears to be several major developments in the lot configuration. The earliest period seems to be one of organic development characterized by random orientations and alignments of fences and outbuildings. Following the brief interruption of the landscape by

Ingle's Rebellion and Pope's Fort, there appears to have been a clear effort to organize the lot in a much more symmetrical and ordered format. This likely reflects two major developments: (1) the shift in the site's function when it became a government meeting house, and (2) the gradual development of the surrounding town-lands. The final configuration reflects a layout congruent with the Baroque town plan that developed throughout the latter part of the seventeenth century. Of particular interest during this final phase when the site served exclusively as an inn/ordinary is the presence of a probable cock-fighting or animal-baiting pit, representing specialized, recreational use of the site. The next chapter will examine artifact distributions across the site and integrate this material with the landscape data to understand social, functional, and temporal differences in disposal behavior and associated daily practices reflected on the site.

Chapter 7

Mapping Disposal Behavior: Socio-Spatial Variation in Site Activity

Introduction:

The primary data utilized in this analysis were derived from surface middens recovered through plowzone excavation. Middens are particularly useful for understanding human behavior at colonial Chesapeake sites since most refuse was tossed directly into surface deposits which formed outside doors, along fences and/or in pathways, and only occasionally in open pits or holes (Keeler 1978; King and Miller 1987; King 1988, 1990). Unfortunately the Calvert House Site, as with most colonial sites in the Chesapeake region, has been subjected to post-occupational agricultural plowing over hundreds of years, leaving much of this surface refuse disturbed and the validity of their potential for understanding human behavior questioned (Noel Hume 1982: 9-10; King 1990). However, studies of plowzone recovered material have shown that while vertical, stratigraphic relationships between artifacts are destroyed; horizontal relationships tend to suffer only minor damage (King 1990: 93). For example, Riordan (1988) found that nearly 50% of the brick fragments recovered from an intensive surface collection of the Chapel Field at St. Mary's City were within 10 feet of the chapel's foundation. Other studies found that ceramic cross-mends typically occurred within thirty feet or less and both temporal and functional distinctions among plowzone artifact assemblages have been identified at several sites within St. Mary's City (Keeler 1978; King 1988, 1990: 93; King and Miller 1987, Miller 1986). Overall these studies indicate plowzone assemblages retain significant horizontal provenience data and are critical for understanding past human disposal behavior and their associated activities at colonial Chesapeake sites.

This phase of analysis builds on previous work conducted in the 1980s (Miller 1986) focused on mapping distributions of artifacts in order to identify areas of specialized activity across the site, as well as shifting patterns of activity through time. Attention was given towards four goals: (1) Identify functional differences in material distributions; (2) identify temporal differences in material distributions; (3) correlate temporal shifts in material distributions with changes in the landscape configuration; and (4) identify primary and secondary midden clusters or sub-assemblages for additional comparative analysis. The assumption, given what is known of disposal behavior during the seventeenth century, is that materials that are functionally related tend to cluster together while dissimilar materials tend not to be consistently associated (Miller 1986: 35). Distributions of different functionally related and/or dissimilar materials reveal different areas of specialized activity within the site. Reconstructing temporal shifts in the distribution of materials provides evidence of how certain activities and their foci changed through different phases of occupation. Correlating these shifts in material distributions with the changes in the configuration of the landscape around the structure will aid in assessing how the changing landscape helped structure behavioral changes reflected in disposal activity. After specific spatially isolated clusters are identified, more detailed comparative analysis helped assess and understand aspects related to the types of behaviors reflected in their formation over time. This analysis tests Miller's (1986) original findings using additional, more recently excavated material, and expands upon his original analysis.

Preliminary Functional Distributions:

In order to identify potential functional differences in activity areas across the site, several classes of artifacts were examined, testing and largely verifying Miller's (1986) original

results. Distributions of Bottle and Table Glass fragments were examined first, based on the

assumption that given their functional association, they should display similar patterns. With a

few exceptions, both display very similar patterns of distribution (Figs. 7-1 and 7-2). Of

particular note are the clear dense clusters off the Northeast and Southwest corners of the

building. This generally supports Miller's (1986: 36) original assessment. Despite this similarity

in their overall spatial arrangements, however, several interesting differences are also evident.

The Table Glass is clearly distributed more tightly around the structure, with the greatest density

evident just off the Northeast corner of the structure. In contrast, the largest concentration of

Bottle Glass occurs off the Southwest corner of the structure. It also displays a slightly more

broad distribution pattern with small clusters located directly in the front yard of the structure.

The higher frequency of Table Glass in the Northeast cluster may be indicative of more refined

forms of alcohol consumption in the rooms closer to the Northeast corner of the house while

more general forms of alcohol consumption are represented by the broader distributions of bottle

glass. It is intriguing that Table Glass is relatively absent in the front areas of the house, and not

well represented in the cluster off of the Southwest corner. Overall, while there are some general

similarities in the distribution of Bottle and Table Glass, when examined together, they appear to

indicate potential specialized activity represented in the northeast portion of the building. This

will be examined further in discussion of the comparative analysis.
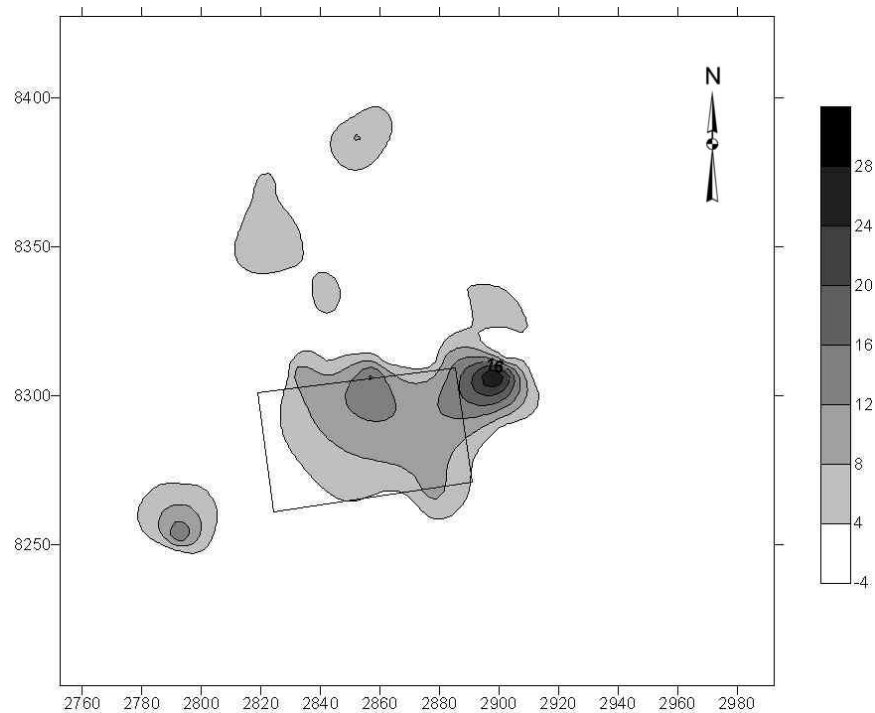
Figure 7-1: Distribution of Table Glass Recovered from Sampled Plowzone Units
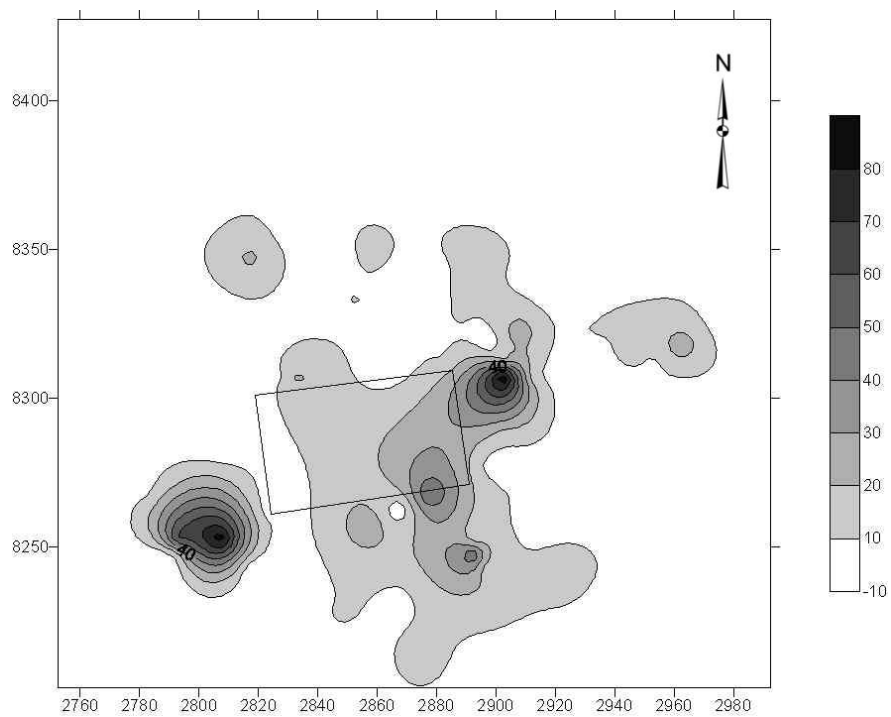
Figure 7-2: Bottle Glass Distribution from Sampled Plowzone Contexts

Next distributions of several related classes of ceramic wares were examined and compared. The assumption is that functionally related vessel types should display different patterning to vessel forms functionally unrelated. Unfortunately actual vessel data for this site is not yet available given the lack of resources. However, some functional control is possible using ware types as proxies (Miller 1986: 36). For this analysis three broad ware type categories were used: Tin-Glazed Earthenwares, General Coarse Red-Bodied Earthenwares, and Rhenish Stonewares. Tin-glazed Earthenwares occur typically (with some exceptions) in drinking and dining forms and were not typically used in food preparation activities (Miller 1986; Noel-Hume 1970, 1977). In contrast coarse Red-pasted Earthenwares, although sometimes represented in dining and drinking and other tableware forms, tend to predominantly occur in vessel types used for food processing and cooking. An analysis of vessel forms from other St. Mary's City sites, including St. John's, Van Sweringen's and Smiths Ordinary, indicated that the highest proportion of Course Red Earthenwares occur in utilitarian forms such as milk pans and butter pots (Miller 1986: 36). Rhenish Stoneware tends to occur almost exclusively in drinking related vessel forms, i.e. bottles/jugs (beverage storage and serving) and mugs/tankards (beverage consumption) (Beaudry et al 1983; Gaimster 1997; Hume 2001). Given these functional differences, it was expected that these different ware types would display unique distribution patterns and indicate areas of specialized activity around the site.

Indeed Figures 7-3 through 7-5 reveal both overlap as well as distinct differences in the distribution patterning of the three ware categories. There are clear areas of overlap between all three ware types, particularly off the Northeast and Southwest corners of the structure as well as areas in the immediate front and Southeast portions of the front yard.
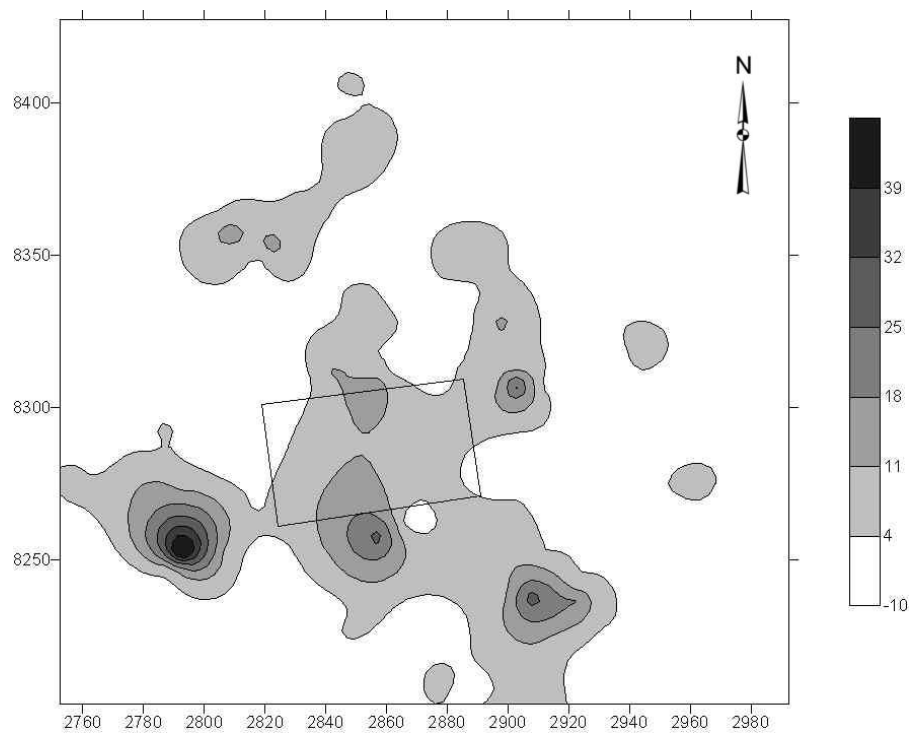
Figure 7-3: Tin Glazed Earthenware Recovered from Sampled Plowzone Contexts
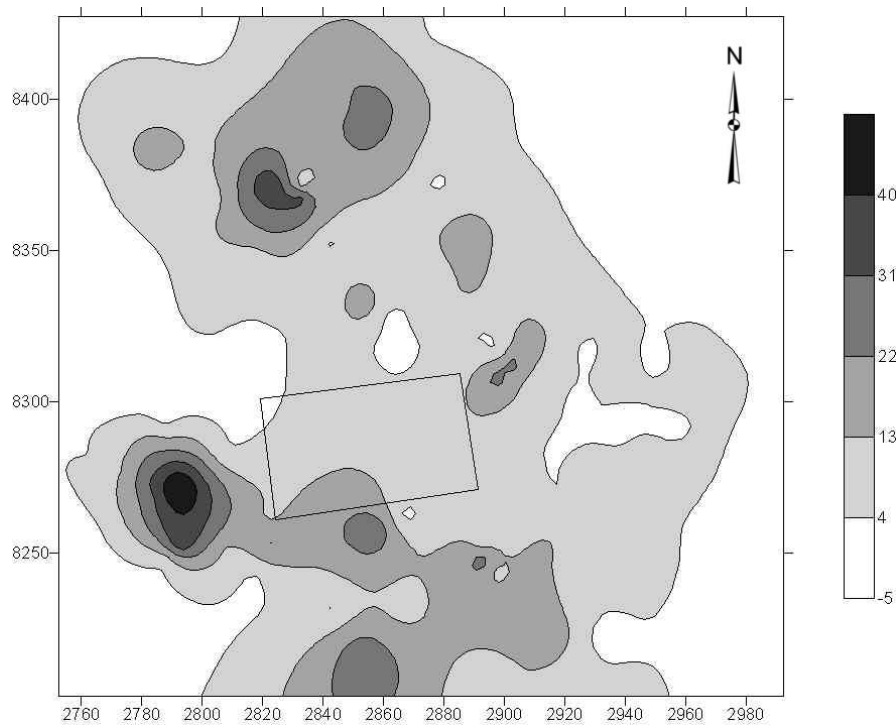
Figure 7-4: Coarse Earthenware Distributions from Plowzone Contexts
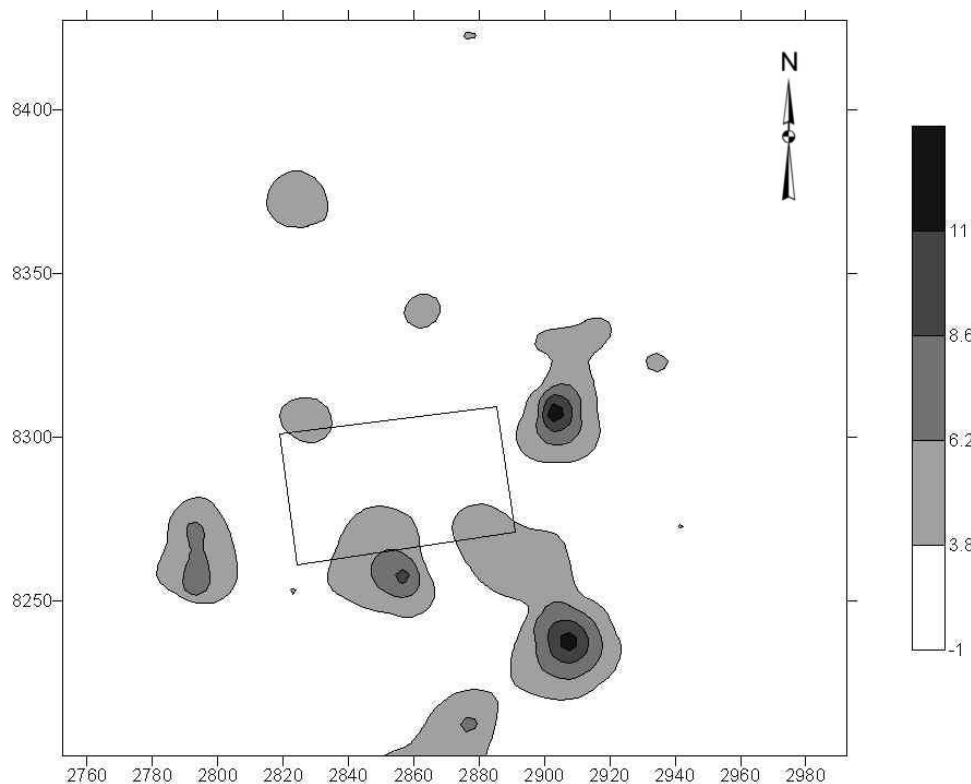
Figure 7-5: Rhenish Stoneware Recovered from Plowzone Contexts

These clusters indicate regular areas of disposal of refuse related to use of the structure.

However, Coarse Red Earthenwares are clearly better represented and much more widely

distributed around the site. Of particular note is the large, dense concentration in the Northern

portion of the rear yard, roughly 50 feet from the main building. In contrast, both Tin Glaze and

Rhenish wares are only minimally represented in this portion of the yard. This likely indicates a

specialized work area used primarily for food preparation activities in this northern sector of the

yard. The majority of these Coarse Red Earthenwares are comprised of North Devon Gravel

Tempered Ware which most frequently occurs in dairy forms such as milk pans and dairy pots.

Several postholes uncovered in this area provide evidence of a possible outbuilding located near

this concentration, though the building is not yet well defined. This distribution of North Devon

ware may indicate this structure served as a dairy, and may have also processed foods from the garden and adjacent orchard. The large quantity off the Southwest corner of the structure is probably related to use of the kitchen and adjoining storeroom listed in William Smith's 1668 inventory (Test. Proc. 3: 127-159; Miller 1986).

Both the tin glaze and Rhenish wares are distributed much more closely around the main structure. Comparing these distributions with both those of the Bottle and Table glass, with some exceptions in the Table Glass distribution, strikingly similar patterns are evident across all four classes of material. In fact, the Rhenish, although being the least represented material class, displays a nearly identical pattern to that of the Bottle Glass distribution (Fig. 7-1). This is likely indicative of their common association with drinking related activities. Overall, distributions of Tin Glaze, Rhenish and Vessel Glass classes indicate more emphasis of food and beverage consumption activity occurring in and around the main structure, with food preparation and related work areas located in the north end of the yard and west end of the main building. This supports Miller's original analysis, suggesting quite strongly that there are functional variations in the ways different portions of the building and surrounding lot were utilized.

Temporal Change in Material Distributions:

Given the general overlap of these classes of material, it is clear there are several main clusters that were foci for refuse disposal during the occupation of the Calvert House site. Significant densities are clearly visible off the Southwest and Northeast corners of the building, as well as in the northern sector of the rear yard. More modest clusters are evident immediately in front of the structure and in the Southeast corner of the front yard of the building. However, while distributions of these broad categories of materials indicate areas of significant activity and

related refuse disposal, they provide little indication concerning if and how activities and associated disposal patterns and activities may have changed over time. Given the historically known shifting function of the site, combined with the fence analysis demonstrating several phases of lot reconfigurations over time, it is expected that temporal changes in activity and disposal patterns associated with these functional changes will be evident in the spatial distributions.

Again this builds on Miller's (1986) original analysis which elucidated temporal shifts in distribution patterns across the site. The majority of the artifacts from the site cannot be dated precisely enough to correspond or correlate with the historically known changing functions of the site. However, several types of diagnostic ceramics, as well as pipe stem bore measurements provide temporal indicators that match closely with the shifting historical functions of the site. Miller divided these into three major phases:

> (1) ca. 1635-1660 (Pre-Statehouse Phase), represented by Surry-Like or Borderware, Merida Micaceous-like, Dutch Coarse/Flemish ware, Early Tin glaze, and 3.2-3.8 mm tobacco pipes.

> (2) ca. 1660-1680 (Statehouse Phase), represented by Morgan Jones pottery and 2.8 mm pipes.

> (3) ca. 1680-1700 (Post-Statehouse/Inn Phase), indicated by Staffordshire-like Slipware, Manganese Mottled ware, English Brown Stoneware and 1.8 to 2.4 mm pipes.

Mapping these materials revealed distinctive temporal shifts in the spatial distributions of materials representing the site's different phases of occupation (Miller 1986: 41-45, 1994: 76-79). Of particular note was the virtual absence of material dating from the Statehouse phase in the front and rear yards, showing concentrations in the area to the West, East, Southeast, as well as in the Northern sector of the rear yard. In contrast, materials from both the early and late phase displayed significant concentrations directly in the front yard of the structure, with early material

occurring immediately to the rear of the structure as well (See Figures 4-8 through 4-10 in Chapter 4, pp. 94-95). Miller (1986, 1994) hypothesized that the apparent lack of material in the front and rear yard of the main building during the Statehouse period indicates efforts by the residents to maintain certain areas as clean spaces, perhaps an effort to create a more formal environment given its government function.

This analysis generally utilized the same approach as Miller (1986, 1994). However, material from more recent field seasons conducted between 2008 and 2011 was incorporated, yielding a broader sample area than was available in the 1980s. Also, a more recent mapping software program (Surfer ®) was utilized since the SYMAP program used in the original study is no longer compatible with current computer technology. This replication of Miller's original analysis offers an opportunity to independently test and verify his original results.

Several adjustments in the artifact classes utilized in the original analysis were made based on the accumulation data from additional sites in more recent years. For example, for Phase 1 (ca. 1630s-1660) Merida Micaceous-like ceramic was omitted given its presence on sites that date well into the second half of the seventeenth-century (ex. Patuxent Point, 18CV271, ca. 1658-1690s) (jefpat.org). However, three other ware types were included. Martincamp ware, although relatively rare on this site, tends to appear on sites from the earliest decades of settlement in St. Mary's City and thus was included in the Phase 1 group. Chalky-pasted ware and Brown Micaceous ware were also included. Both ware types were originally identified and classified based on specimens from the St. John's Site and occur in contexts dating before ca. 1665. Terra Cotta pipe distributions were also examined as part of the Phase 1 group since they also tend to date to the first decades of settlement, being replaced almost completely by European made pipes by 1670 (Luckenbach et al 2002). Indeed there was Terra Cotta tobacco

pipe manufacture waste recovered from the Pope's Fort ditch which was filled in sometime in

the late 1640s/early 1650s (Miller 1986). The Phase 2 group remained the same as the original

analysis. The Phase 3 group remained almost the same as the original with the exception of

Buckley Ware (including Proto-Buckley and Buckley-like) being added, a popular 18th-century

ceramic type that begins to appear on Chesapeake sites in the final decades of the seventeenth

century (Hornum et al 2001; Miller 1983). The adjusted Phase groups are summarized as

follows:

> (1) ca. 1635-1660 (Pre-Statehouse Phase), represented by Surry/Borderware,
> Dutch/Flemish coarse earthenware, early tin-glazed earthenware, Martincamp, Brown
> Micaceous ware, Chalky-pasted, 3.2 to 3.8[2] mm tobacco pipes and Terra Cotta tobacco
> pipes.

> (2) ca. 1660-1680 (Statehouse Phase), represented by Morgan Jones pottery and 2.8 mm
> pipes.

> (3) ca. 1680-1700 (Post-Statehouse/Inn Phase), indicated by Staffordshire-like Slipware,
> Manganese Mottled ware, English Brown Stoneware, Buckley ware and 1.8 to 2.4 mm
> pipes.

Examining the distributions of these temporally diagnostic materials indeed reveal changes in the

disposal patterns through time, generally bolstering Miller's (1986, 1994) original results.

Phase 1 Distributions (ca. 1635-1660):

During the first decades of occupation, the majority of the ceramics were deposited in

areas of the rear yard with significant deposition along the east side of the house, as well as in the

front yard approximately 40 ft. to the south of the main structure (Figure 7-6). This differs

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[2] While the standard convention for using pipe stem bore diameter as a dating tool is to use the Harrington method, which measures pipe stem bore diameter in 64ths of an inch, archaeologists at St. Mary's City have long employed the technique of measuring bore diameter in metric at 0.2 mm intervals. Garry Wheeler Stone (1977) first proposed this technique, suggesting millimeters provide a more refined temporal indicator. As a result this technique has been used in a number of studies with good result (e.g. Miller 1986, 1994; King 1988, 1990). More recently Miller (2013) has reviewed this technique using pipe stem data from a number of sites outside of St. Mary's in order to evaluate its efficacy and makes a compelling argument that it provides a more refined dating tool at English colonial sites. This study employs the St. Mary's technique of measuring bore diameter in metric.

considerably form Miller's original results, which showed the majority of early ceramics distributed in the front yard of the structure. This disparity is most likely attributed to the additional excavation sampling undergone in the rear yard area over the last several field seasons. The early white clay tobacco pipes, however, display a pattern very similar to the original (Figure 7-7). Clusters overlapping with the ceramics occur to the east of the main building. However, the pipes also display concentrations in the yards directly west and south of the main building.

The differences in the distributions of the ceramics and white clay tobacco pipes is intriguing, possibly reflecting functional and social differences in the way certain spaces around the site were used during this period. Evidence of possible social or functional differentiation of use space is further supported by comparing the distributions of early white clay pipe stems and Terra Cotta pipe fragments. While the white clay pipes from this phase occur in significant concentrations in the west, east and south yards of the main
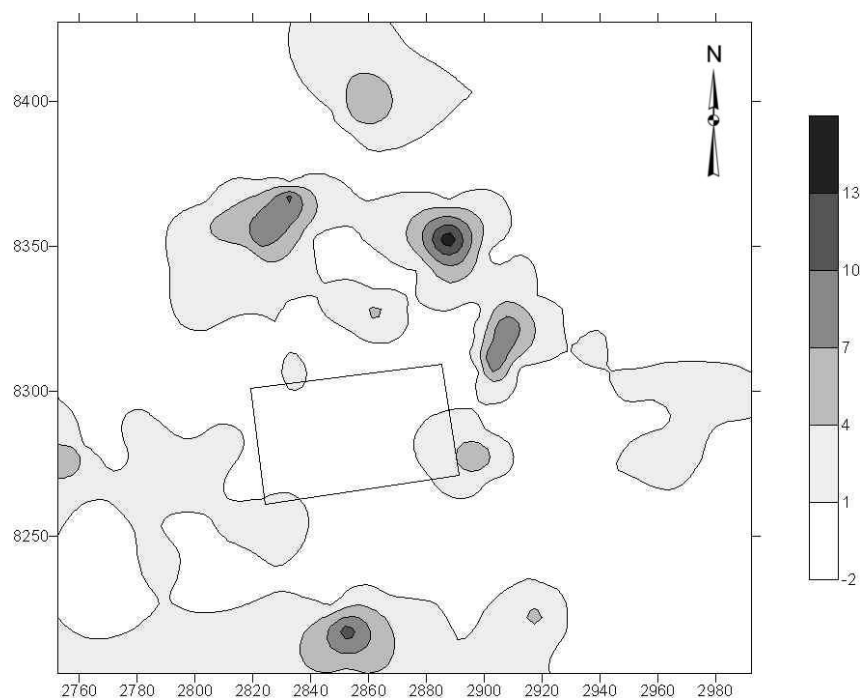
Figure 7-6: Distribution Map, Early Ceramics Recovered from Sampled Plowzone Contexts
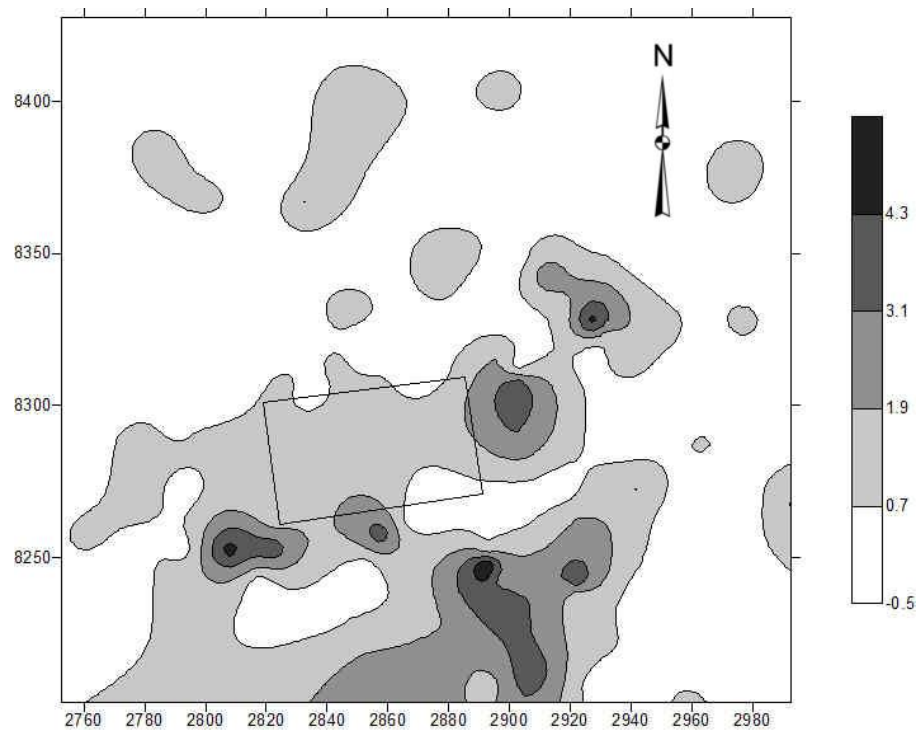
Figure 7-7: Distribution Map, Early White Clay Tobacco Pipes Recovered from Sampled Plowzone Units
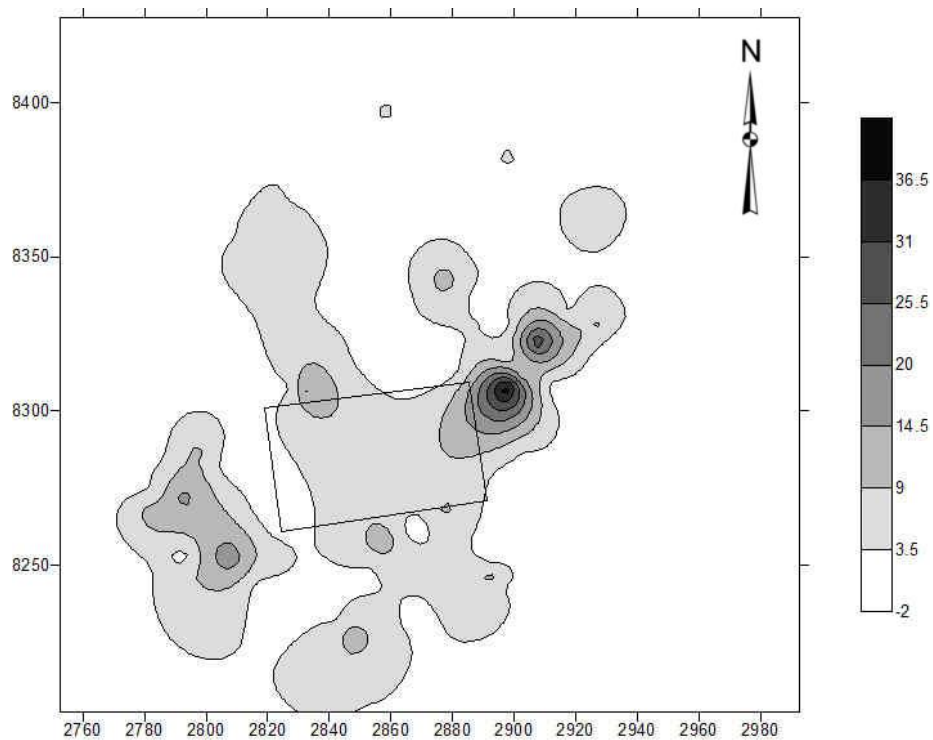
Figure 7-8: Distribution Map, Terra Cotta Tobacco Pipes from Sampled Plowzone Units

building, the largest concentration of terra cotta pipe fragments occurs off the Northeast corner of the main house (Figure 7-8). More modest accumulations are evident in areas to the west, south and northwest yards. Similar differentiation in the distributions of white clay and terra cotta pipes were found at the St. John's site (Keeler 1977; King 1988). Terra cotta pipes were heavily concentrated around the quarter/kitchen outbuilding in addition to accumulations around the main house, primarily on the west end. White clay pipes were distributed almost exclusively around the main house to the north and west with virtually no representation around the kitchen outbuilding (King 1988: 25; Keeler 1977). Neiman and King (1999) have suggested that terra cotta tobacco pipes were more heavily utilized by indentured servants and bound laborers given their limited access to European imports. Thus their activity areas coincide with heavier concentrations of terra-cotta pipes (Neiman and King 1999; Luckenbach and Cox 2002: 106). The apparent spatial differentiation evident during the early phase of the Calvert House site supports this hypothesis.

Phase 2 Distributions (ca. 1660-1680):

During the Phase 2 period, during which the site served simultaneously as the statehouse and an inn (ordinary), several changes in disposal activity are evident. Deposition of ceramics during this period appears to continue in the far north-central rear yard as well as to the east of the main structure (Figure 7-9). However, the dense cluster formed on the east side of the main building appears to shift closer to the northeast corner of the structure. Besides the far north end, deposition in the rear yard appears to have largely ceased during this phase of occupation. Instead, heavier accumulations are evident directly west of the main building as well as in the

southeast portion of the front yard, both areas that saw very modest to no accumulations during the preceding phase of occupation. The majority of tobacco pipes dating to this period occur in the concentration located to the west/southwest of the main building (Figure 7-10). More modest clusters occur off the northeast corner of the structure, the southeast portion of the front yard, and to the rear of the structure.

The distributions of both the ceramics and the tobacco pipes from this phase of occupation indicated a shift towards greater disposal activity off the west end of the main house, with some activity continuing off the northeast corner of the structure. Heavier ceramics deposition is also seen in the southeast portion of the yard with pipes continuing to show activity there. Of note during this phase of occupation are large areas of the both the front and rear yards of the main structure largely void of artifacts with the exception of very modest frequencies of pipe stems. This provides general support for Miller's (1986, 1994)
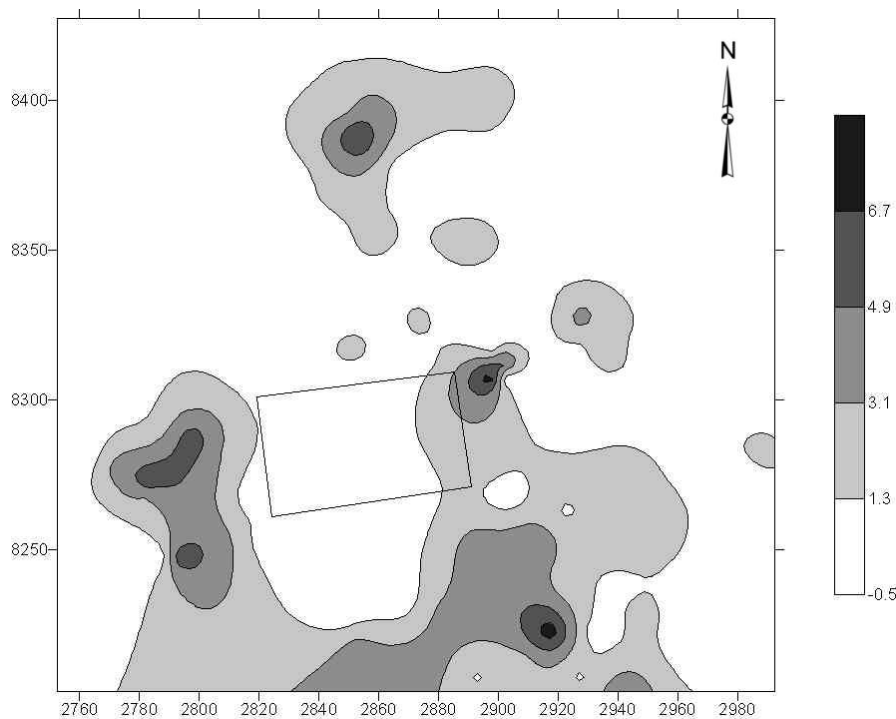
Figure 7-9: Distribution Map, Morgan Jones Recovered from Sampled Plowzone Units
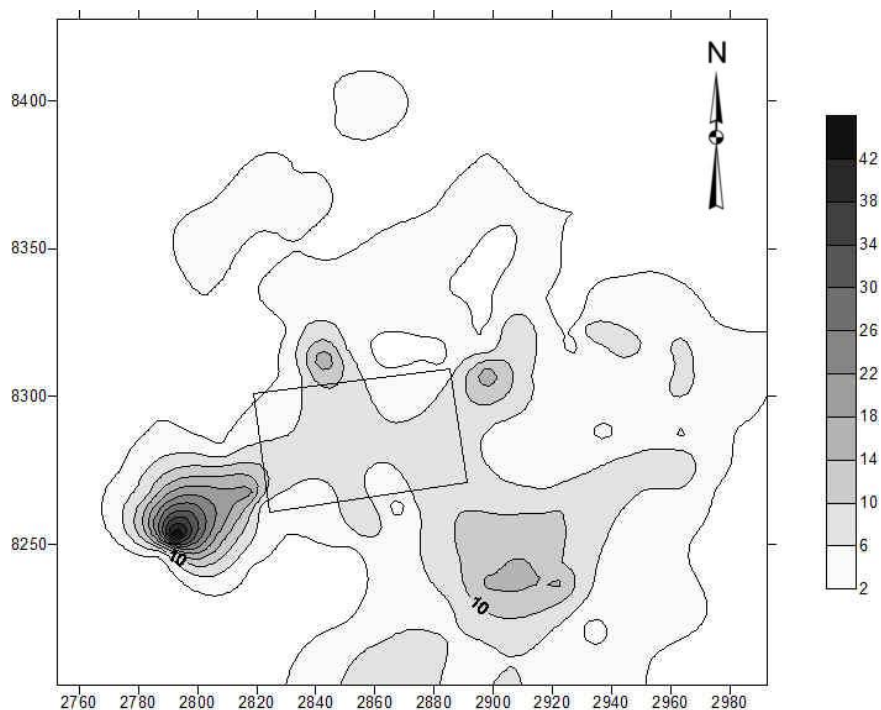
Figure 7-10: Distribution Map, 2.8 mm Tobacco Pipes from Sampled Plowzone Units

original findings. The overall shift of disposal activity seems to be to the east and west of the

structure. Gone are the clusters of white clay and terra cotta pipes in the front and rear yards, and

the significant clusters of ceramics in the rear yard. This offers tentative support for the

hypothesis that there appears to have been efforts by innkeepers and their staff, and possibly

patrons, to keep portions of the yard clear of refuse during this period.

Phase 3 Distributions (ca. 1680-1700):

The phase 3 distributions, when the site served exclusively as an ordinary (inn/tavern),

again exhibit evident shifts in areas of disposal activity. The ceramics indicate that areas to the

west and off the northeast corner of the main structure continue to see some accumulation, as

well as the far north-central rear yard (Figure 7-11). However, the main center of ceramics

deposition appears to shift to the immediate front yard, likely reflecting disposal directly out the front doors of the structure. The concentration in the southeast front yard evident during Phase II is largely un-represented during this latter phase, only seeing very minor accumulations. Tobacco pipe distributions indicate the dump off the west end of the main structure continued as a significant area of disposal activity, with more modest clusters off the northeast corner and in the southeast front yard, indicating some continuity in activity with the preceding phase of occupation (Figure 7-12). Of note, however, is the modest but significant concentration in the central rear yard of the main building. Besides a small concentration off the rear door of the structure during the earlier phase, the rear yard saw little to no deposition.
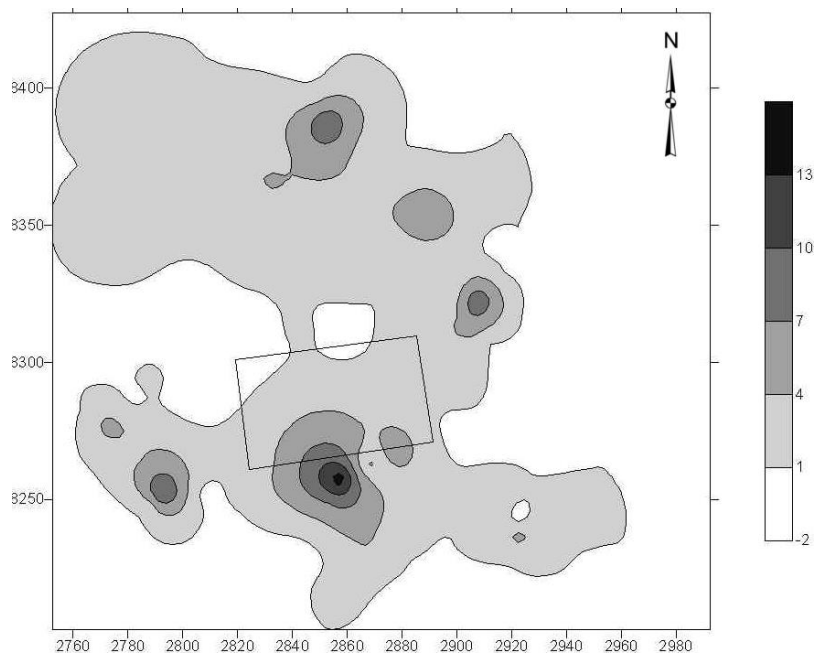
Figure 7-11: Distribution Map, Phase 3 Ceramics from Sampled Plowzone Units
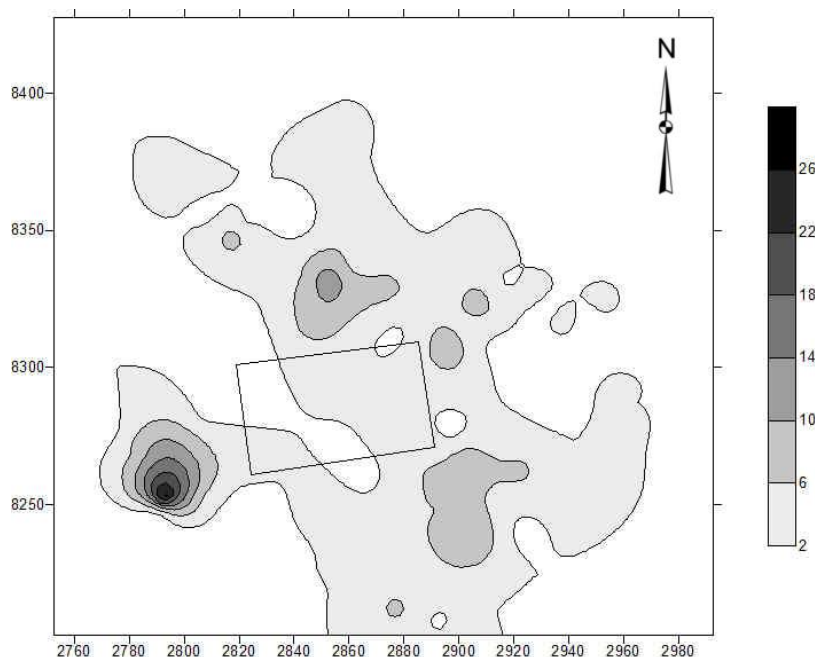
Figure 7-12: Distribution Map, Phase 3 Tobacco Pipes from Sampled Plowzone Units

Overall this offers additional support for Miller's original findings. Where areas in the immediate front and rear yards of the main structure were largely kept clean of refuse, no such efforts appear to have been made during this latter phase of occupation. The majority of the ceramics from this period were dumped directly out the front door and tobacco pipes were simply tossed on the ground in the central rear yard. This may indicate a change in how the site was perceived by its occupants and patrons after its official government functions were removed.

Distributions in Context: Examining Artifact Patterns within the Changing Landscape

This section integrates the landscape data with the distribution data. The landscape analysis clearly demonstrated that the lot surrounding the Calvert House (Country's House) evolved over time, undergoing a number of changes in its overall configuration and organization. Distributions of certain diagnostic artifact groups also demonstrated both functional segregation

as well as temporal changes in disposal activity evident in the spatial patterns. To assess the potential relationships between these structural lot changes and distribution patterns, the landscape diagrams were overlaid with the distribution maps. This helped demonstrate how features within the built environment helped segregate and structure activity areas and disposal patterns and how changes in the built environment coincided with and/or structured evident changes in the artifact patterning through time. Overall this provides a much more comprehensive reconstruction of the evolving nature and use of the site through its shifting occupations.

Phase 1 Distributions and Pre-1660s Landscape Configurations:

The materials assigned to the Phase 1 group span multiple stages of yard layout given the use of several ceramic types into the late 1650s and possibly the early 1660s. Thus phase 1 material distributions were overlaid onto both early fence configurations, namely the 1640s layout, and the 1650s/early 1660s layout. Pope's Fort was not utilized in the overlay analysis given the short timeframe with which it stood on the property. Overlaying the distributions with both early fence configurations revealed several possible correlations between the shifting built environment and changes in disposal behavior during the first decades of occupation at the site.

1640s:

Overlaying the diagram showing the 1640s fence configuration over the distribution of early period ceramics reveals several likely correlations between the yard features and disposal patterns (Fig 7-13). Of particular note are the two clusters to the northeast that roughly align with the east fence-line. One cluster is situated just east of the fence-line. Recent excavations and

analysis by Riordan (2012a) located evidence of an outbuilding oriented with this fence-line in this location as well. The majority of the ceramics within this cluster are coarse red earthenwares, suggesting this early outbuilding may have been associated with some sort of food processing activities, perhaps a detached kitchen for use in the warmer seasons. The dense cluster located in the northeast on the west side of the eastern fence-line appears to have been a possible dump area that accumulated against the inside of the fence. One other intriguing correlation is the location of the cluster in the southern portion of the front yard located against a segment of fence-line. Unfortunately only a small segment of this fence (possibly another additional associated segment located northwest) was uncovered, leaving much about its orientation and trajectory speculative. The cluster of early ceramics directly against the uncovered segment support the location of an early fence located in this area. The other significant ceramics cluster in the rear yard may be related to the subsequent fence configuration dating after Pope's Fort. This is hypothesized since the fence-line appears to cut through the cluster located in the northwest yard, and the far north-central cluster appears well outside the projected fenced-in area of the rear yard. This will be examined further in the 1650s-early 1660s overlay analysis.

Integrating the early pipe data also demonstrates potential correlations with the 1640s landscape (Figure 7-14). Both the white clay and terra cotta pipes display clusters directly outside the east wing of the structure as well as further to the northeast, east of the early fence-line, approximately in the location of the early outbuilding. These clusters likely indicate accumulations from activities in the east wing of the main structure as well as activities associated with the outbuilding. The terra cotta pipes exhibit the greatest density in these northeast clusters (Figure 7-15). Given the likely association of this early outbuilding with food

preparation activities, this offers additional support for terra cotta pipe accumulations coinciding with areas associated more heavily with the household laborers. The apparent differentiation between the distributions of white clay and terra cotta tobacco pipes is striking. There is also a relatively small cluster of terra cotta pipes near the segment of fence uncovered in the southern end of the front yard where a cluster of early ceramics was located, offering additional support for an early fence-line in this area.
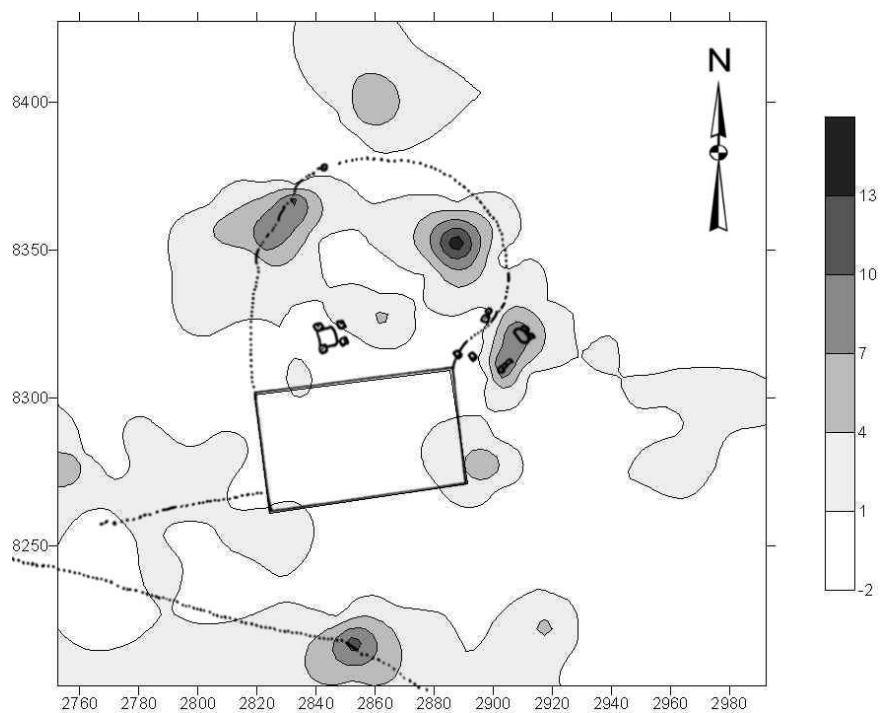
Figure 7-13: 1640s Landscape with Phase 1 Ceramics Distribution
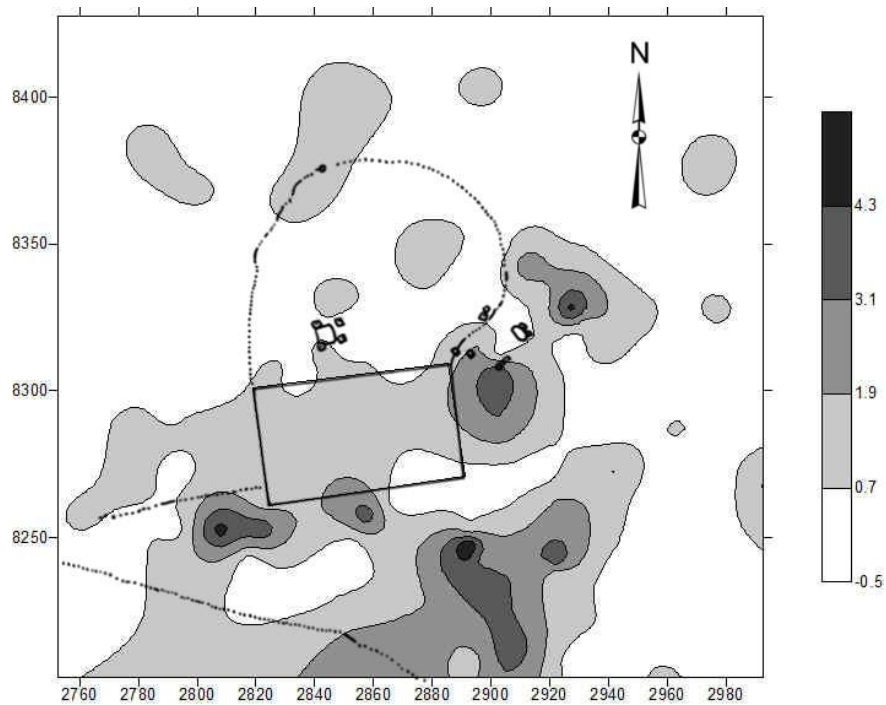
Figure 7-14: 1640s Landscape and Phase 1 White Clay Tobacco Pipes
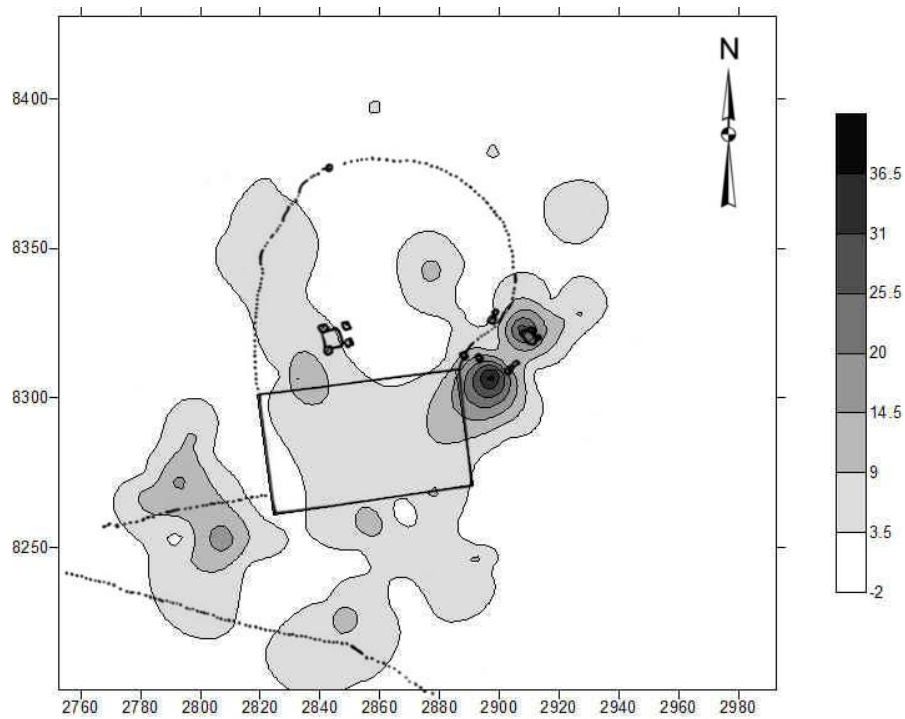
Figure 7-15: 1640s Landscape and Terra Cotta Pipe Distributions

1650s/early 1660s:

When overlaying the 1650s landscape configuration over the early ceramics distributions the location of the northwest and far north-central clusters appear more congruent with this fence configuration (Figure 7-16). The northwest cluster is situated in the northwest corner, just south of the first cross-fence partition while the other cluster is located to the north of the partition, just inside the east fence-line. Both clusters are contained within the long parallel fences that defined the lot boundaries during this period following Ingle's Rebellion. The cluster to the northeast that was once contained within the early fence is now located outside the bounds of the fenced-in portion of the lot. This provides reasonable evidence of shifting activity/disposal areas during the earliest decades of occupation. The clusters to the northeast of the main structure that appear congruent with the earliest fence configuration are likely earlier areas of activity. The concentration on the east side of the early fence is likely directly associated with the early outbuilding in that location. After the brief Pope's Fort period there is a clear effort to orient the landscape features with the main house in a much more symmetrical format. Activity areas likely shifted to within the boundaries of this new configuration (represented by the north and northwest clusters located within the parallel fence layout).

The early phase tobacco pipe overlays may offer some additional evidence for this shifting activity associated with the changing built environment. Unfortunately both white clay and terra cotta pipes are not well represented in the immediate rear yard of the structure, and instead appear more closely associated with activity around the front and sides of the main building. However, there is an interesting linear distribution of terra cotta pipes extending north from the structure along the inside of the west parallel fence-line (Figure 7-17). The ceramics

indicate a likely shift in activity to the northwest corner of the rear yard, just south of the cross-fence partition. The predominance of coarse earthenware represented in the ceramics group is consistent with food preparation type work activities such as dairying. Given the possible association of terra cotta pipes with lower status laborers, this linear distribution may indicate foot traffic from a food preparation site to the main structure. William Smith's 1668 inventory indicates a kitchen in the main structure.
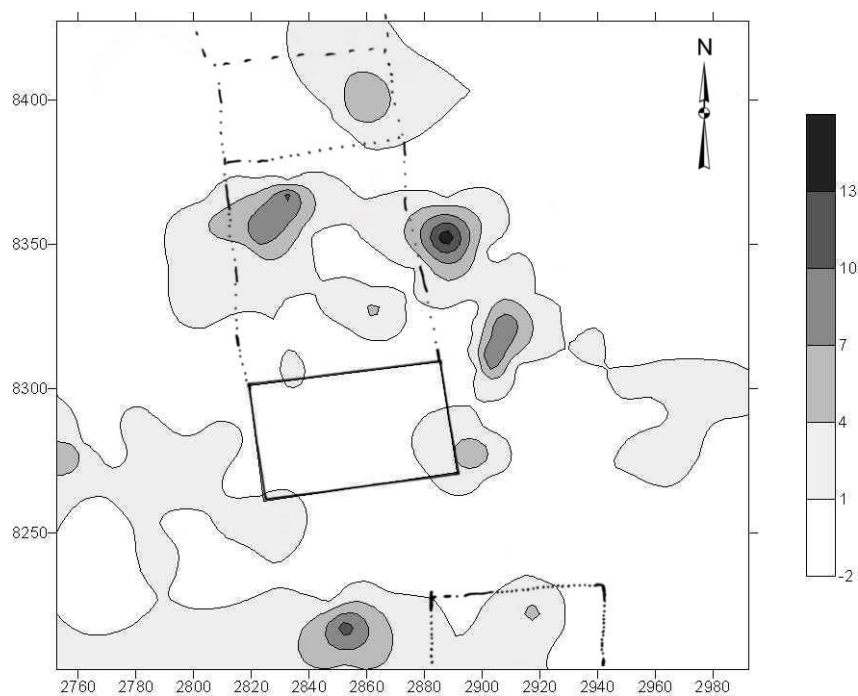
Figure 7-16: 1650s-early 1660s Landscape and Phase 1 Ceramics
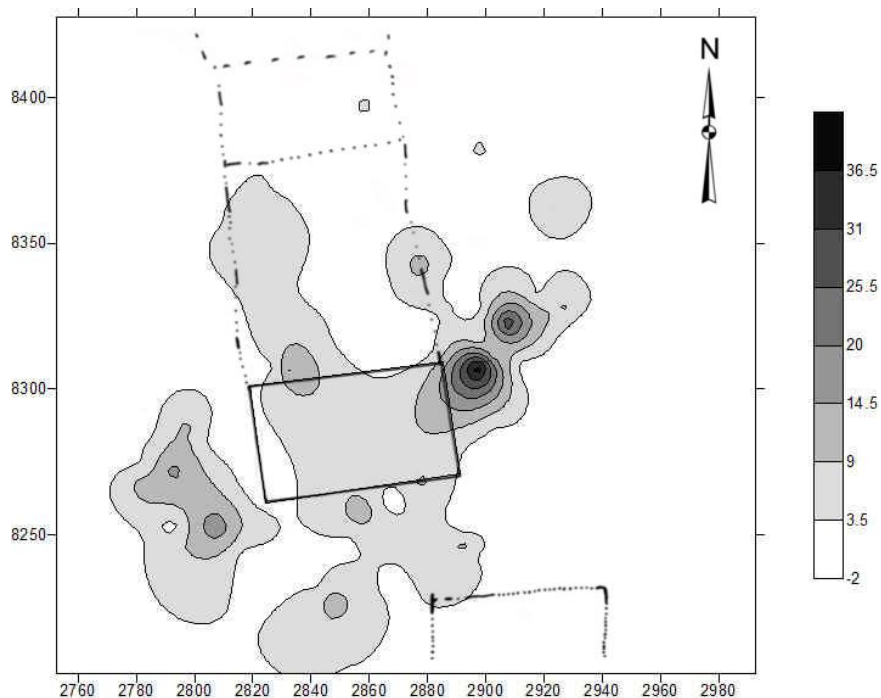
Figure 7-17: 1650s-early 1660s Landscape and Terra Cotta Pipes

Current archaeology indicates this room was likely located in the west end of the south wing of the main building (Miller 1986, 1994). This kitchen was most likely in service during these early decades of occupation and may even date to the initial construction of the building. The lack of a defined cluster of terra cotta pipes associated with the concentration of ceramics in this northwest area is perplexing, however. Perhaps the linear distribution represents workers traffic to and from a site of sporadic activity during a period when the use of terra cotta pipes was being phased out.

Phase 2 Distributions and ca. 1660s-1670s Landscape Features:

Given the potential for some temporal overlap between the Phase 2 group and the fence configurations dating from the ca. 1650s-1660s and the ca. 1666 configuration, both landscape diagrams were overlaid with the artifact distributions. Examining both fence configurations with

the artifact distributions indicated little to no associated activity shifts correlated with the shifting

fence configuration during this period which corresponds with the tenure of the site as the

statehouse. However, the distributions of ceramics in the rear yard and fence configurations

during this period indicate there may have been attempts to segregate certain work activities

away from the immediate rear yard of the building.

ca. 1650s-early 1660s:

      The overlay showing the distribution of Phase 2 ceramics with the 1650s-1660s fence

configuration indicates a shift in rear yard activity to the north of the first partition where there

was also an isolated but low density cluster of early period ceramics (Figure 7-18). Gone is the

cluster of ceramics in the northwest corner just south of the cross-fence partition.
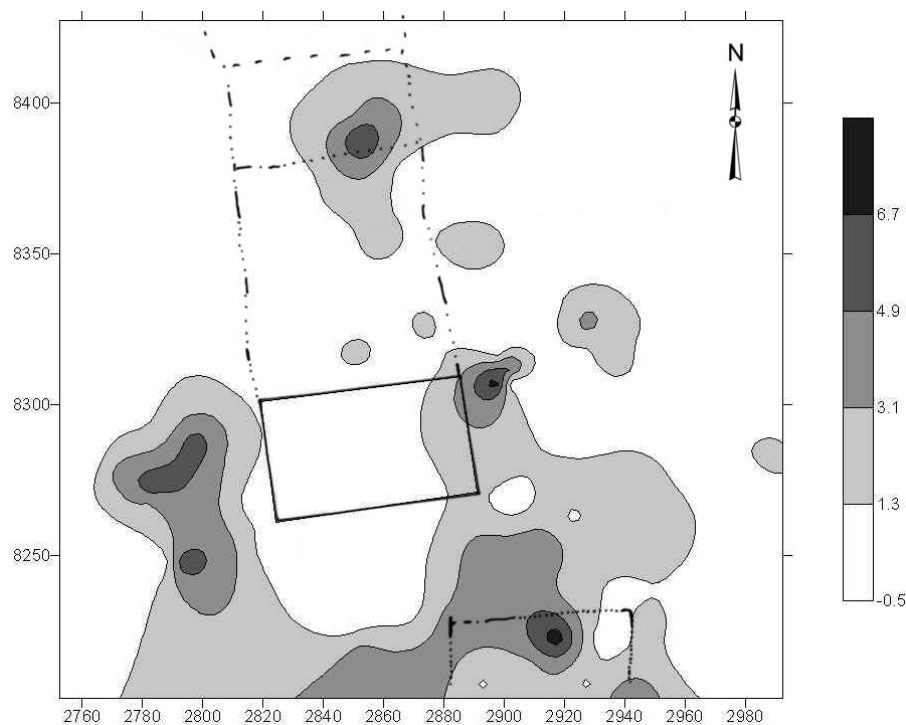
Figure 7-18: 1650s-early 1660s Landscape and Phase 2 Ceramics
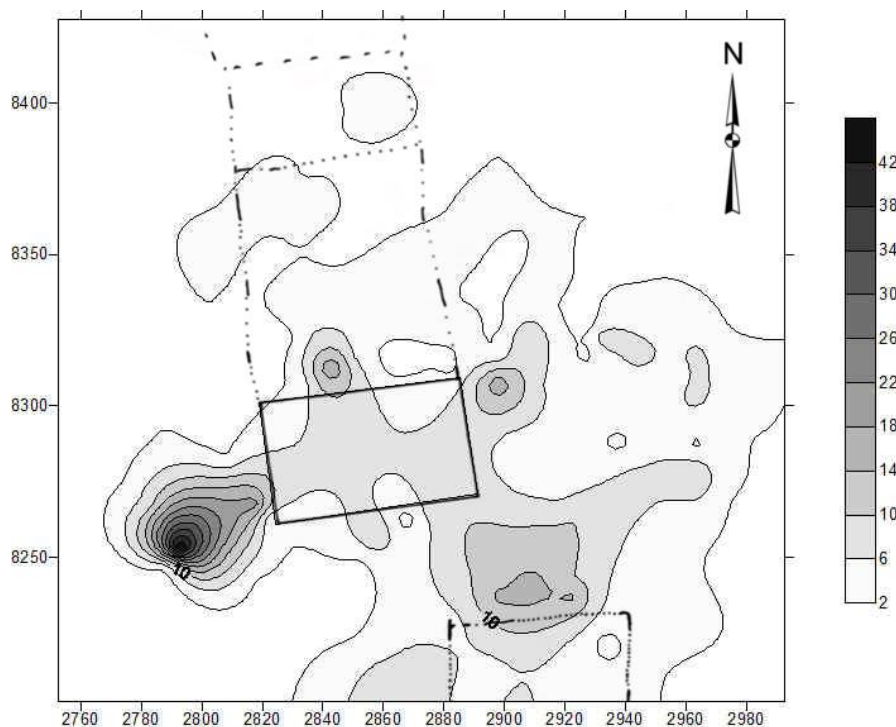
Figure 7-19: 1650s-early 1660s Landscape and Phase 2 (2.8 mm) Tobacco Pipes

This indicates a potential shift in work and disposal activity further away from the structure and immediate rear yard. The tobacco pipe data offer little insight given their distribution concentrated closer to the main building, particularly to the west and southeast; also where the majority of phase 2 ceramics are distributed (Figure 7-19). However, there is a small, low density concentration of 2.8 mm pipes in the same location as the cluster of ceramics in the north end of the yard.

ca. 1666 Configuration:

During this phase the rear yard enclosure was expanded towards the east and the cross-fence partition was moved further south (Figures 7-20 and 7-21). A small cellared outbuilding

was located just north of this partition. Possibly dating slightly earlier than this configuration, artifacts in the fill indicate it was filled sometime in the late 1670s or 1680s, placing its period of use well within the statehouse period. The northern concentration of ceramics most likely corresponds with use of this building which was almost certainly used for food processing and storage, as indicated by the cellar. The location of the cross-fence partition to the south of this structure provides strong evidence that work areas were segregated away from the immediate rear yard area of the main building. With the exception of a concentration of ceramics located along the fence extending east from the northeast corner of the main building, the fenced-in portion of the immediate rear yard is largely void of artifacts during this period apart from a relatively low density distribution of tobacco pipes. This indicates that with the exception of some casual discard of tobacco pipes in the immediate rear yard, this enclosed area immediately north of the main building was largely kept clear of refuse and that certain work areas were segregated away from this space. It is interesting to note that the north bay of the main building was almost entirely taken up by the large room referred to as the St. Mary's Room in Smith's 1666 inventory, which was the official assembly and court room, and was also likely where main tavern activity took place. The lack of refuse in the rear yard adjacent to this room provides evidence that there was an attempt, either deliberate or un-conscious, to keep this space clean of typical refuse and maintain an environment of greater formality indicative of the site's government status during this time-period. Either way this evidence strongly suggests this north end of the building and adjacent yard space was used and perceived as formal space during this period.
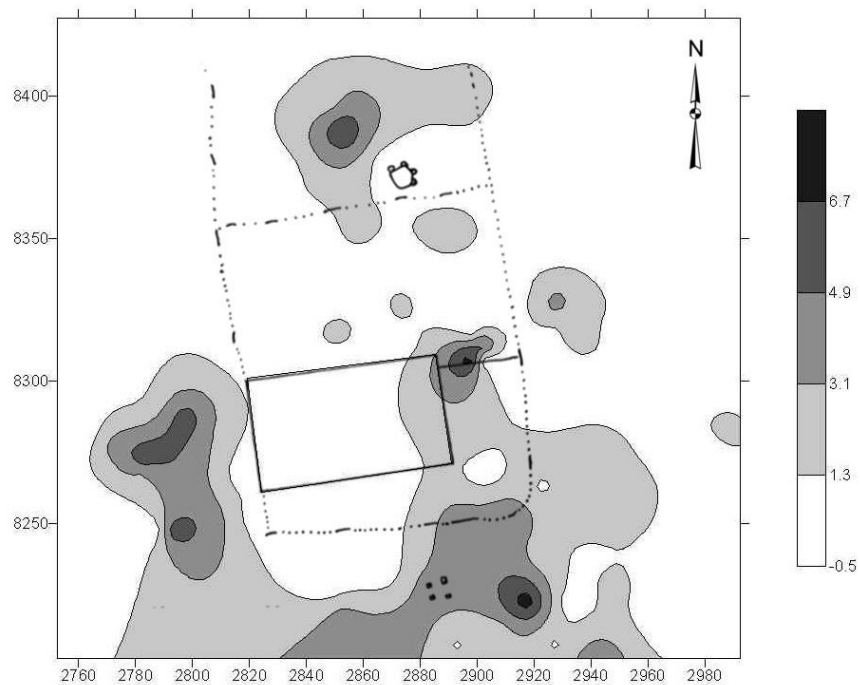
Figure 7-20: 1666 Landscape and Phase 2 Ceramics
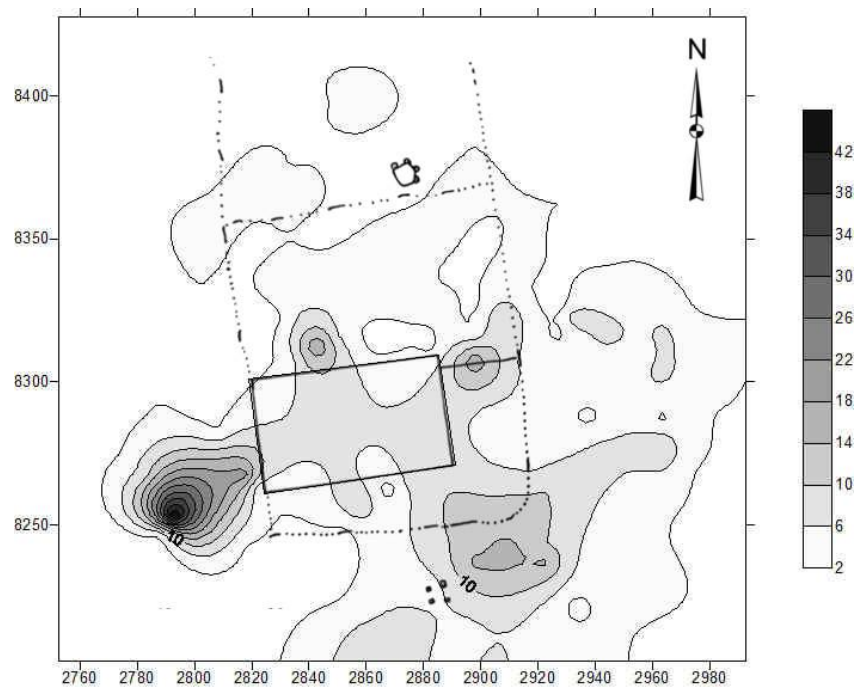
Figure 7-21: 1666 Landscape and Phase 2 (2.8 mm) Tobacco Pipes

A similar pattern to that in the rear yard is evident in the immediate front yard of the building as well. Refuse disposal appears concentrated to the outside of the front yard enclosure, near the southeast corner of the fence-line. It is of some interest that the material appears concentrated just east of the cluster of four small postholes in the south yard. The front yard of the building is largely clear of refuse. However, clearly significant disposal activity was occurring to the southeast, adjacent to this unusual feature. As the town layout developed during this period, this area became the central plaza or cross-roads of the new town center. The concentration of refuse in this area suggests two possibilities. The first is that the public road was perceived as an appropriate place to dispose of refuse. King and Miller (1987) found significant midden concentrations within the area of the main road that ran adjacent to the Van Sweringen site in St. Mary's City as well, indicating that such behavior is not isolated or unusual. Does this merely represent refuse disposal from the main structure? Or does it perhaps represent other activity? Market exchange and fair activities were likely significant ancillary components of court and assembly days. Perhaps these concentrations of materials in and along roadways are indicative of this type of behavior. The Van Sweringen site also served as an inn in during the latter part of the seventeenth century. These concentrations may be areas where people congregated, and perhaps the inns set up areas to serve refreshments and accommodate the extensive foot traffic during public days.

Phase 3 Distributions and ca. 1680s Landscape Features:

Overlaying the phase 3 ceramics over the 1680s tavern/inn phase landscape reveals some additional insight over the distribution maps alone (Figures 7-22 and 7-23). It is interesting to note that with the exception of some space to the west and south of the main building, refuse

disposal is primarily confined within the fenced-in lot boundaries. Of particular note is a significant cluster of tobacco pipes in the central rear yard adjacent to the main building and a dense concentration of ceramics in the immediate front yard. This sits in marked contrast to the relationship between the landscape features and the distributions of materials during the previous phase of occupation; where the majority of disposal activity occurred primarily outside of fence-in portions of the yard with the front and rear yard kept largely clear of refuse (see Figures 7-20 and 7-21). Whereas the fenced-in portion of the lot immediately to the rear and the front of the structure saw little to no deposition during the statehouse phase, the inn phase material shows a striking shift in disposal activity to within the fenced-in lot boundaries, both in the rear adjacent area, as well as directly in front of the structure. Again this signals a potential shift in what was projected or perceived as appropriate behavior and
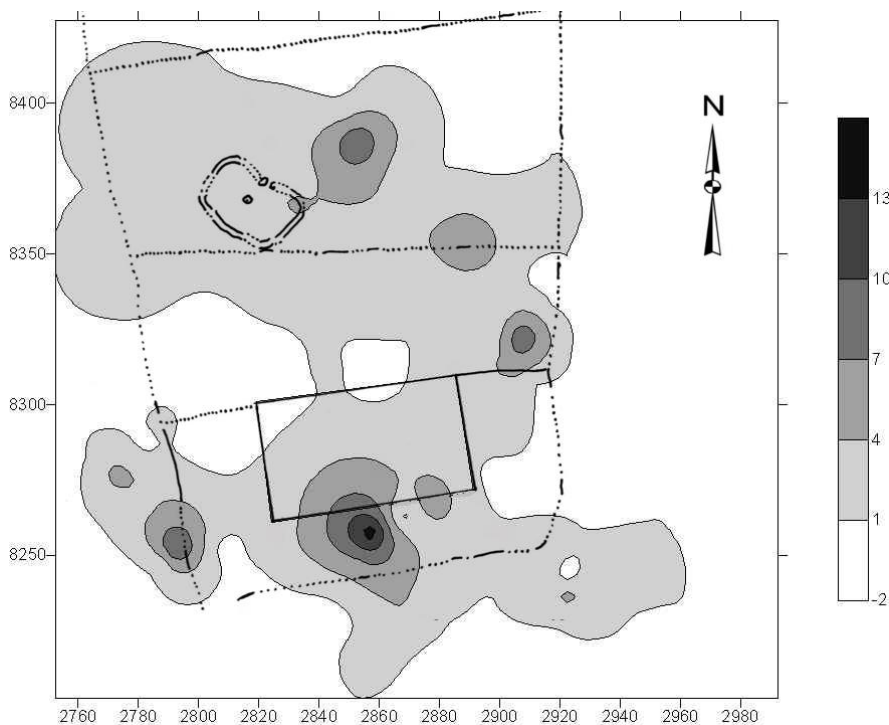
Figure 7-22: 1680s Landscape and Phase 3 Ceramics
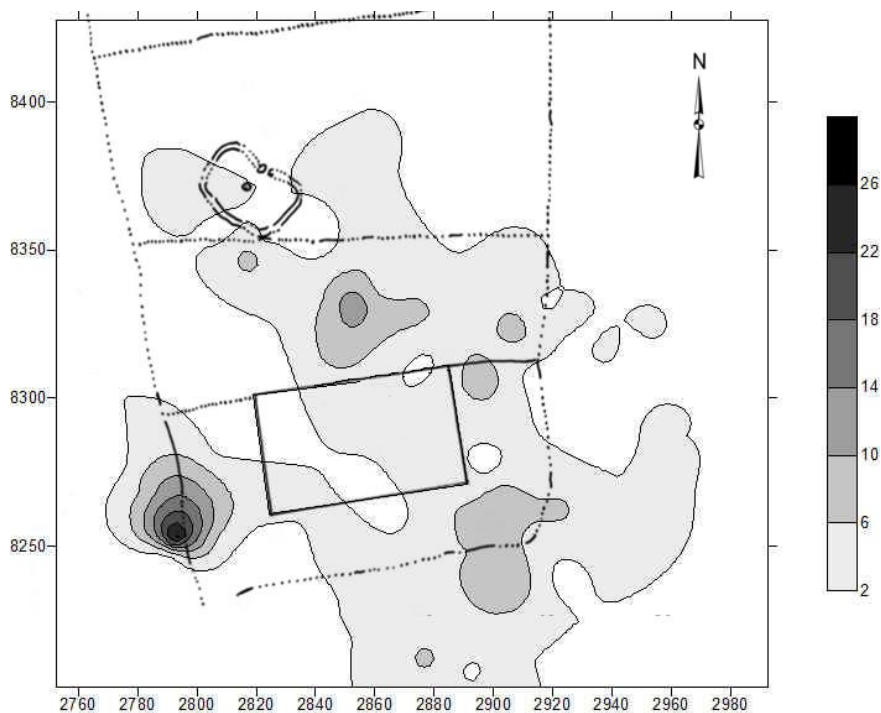
Figure 7-23: 1680s Landscape and Phase 3 Tobacco Pipes

thus a corresponding change in daily practice at the site. No longer associated with formal government activity, the front and rear yards became subject to activities and disposal behavior more typical of other inn/ordinary and domestic sites.

One additional feature of note is the rectangular trench feature in the northwest yard is the cock fighting and/or animal baiting ring identified by Riordan (2011). Adjacent to this feature is a cluster of late period ceramics, as well as a relatively low density distribution of tobacco pipes around it. The diagnostic late period ceramics are made up almost exclusively (with the exception of a handful of sherds of Buckley Ware) of Staffordshire Slipware, Manganese Mottled Ware and English Brown Stoneware, all of which occur predominantly in drinking vessel forms (e.g. cups, mugs, etc.). This cluster of materials most likely indicates drinking and smoking associated with specialized recreational activity in this area of the yard during this period of occupation. Ceramics associated with drinking forms suggest an emphasis

on alcohol consumption as opposed to food consumption. To test this idea further, distributions of both table and bottle glass fragments were overlaid with the ca. 1680s landscape (Figures 7-24 and 7-25). Indeed there are isolated concentrations of both bottle glass and table glass fragments overlapping the trench feature. Unfortunately bottle and table glass cannot be dated to any specific phase of occupation. However, their isolated association in this area supports the interpretation that behavior centered on this feature emphasized alcohol consumption, reflecting more specialized, recreational activities. In general, during this latter phase of occupation there appears to be a shift in daily practice that reflects both less formal and more recreational use of the structure and its surrounding lot.
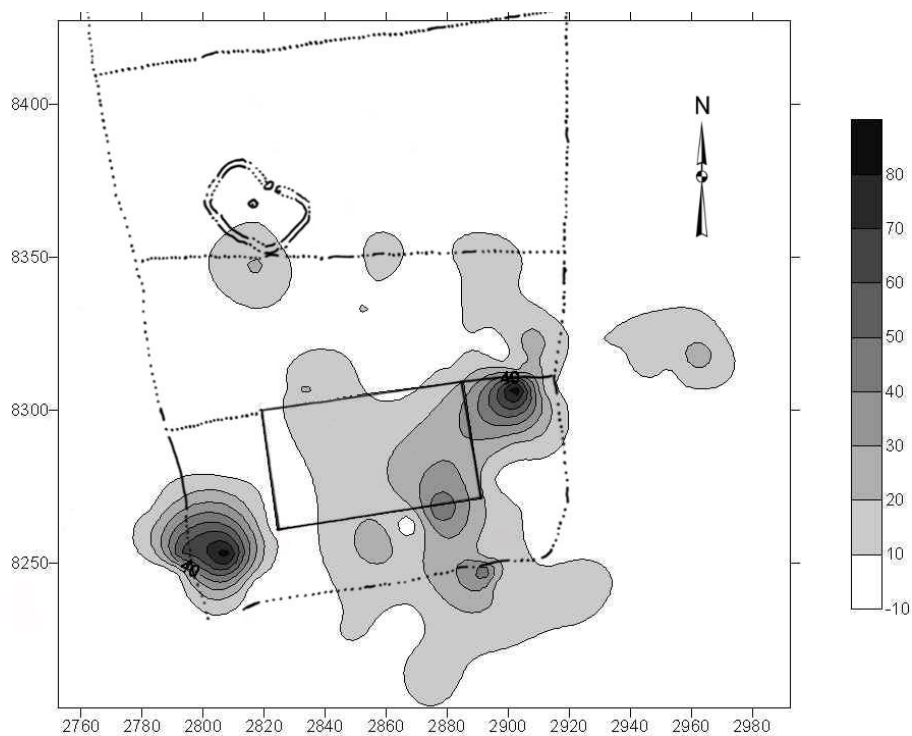
Figure 7-24: 1680s Landscape and Bottle Glass Distribution
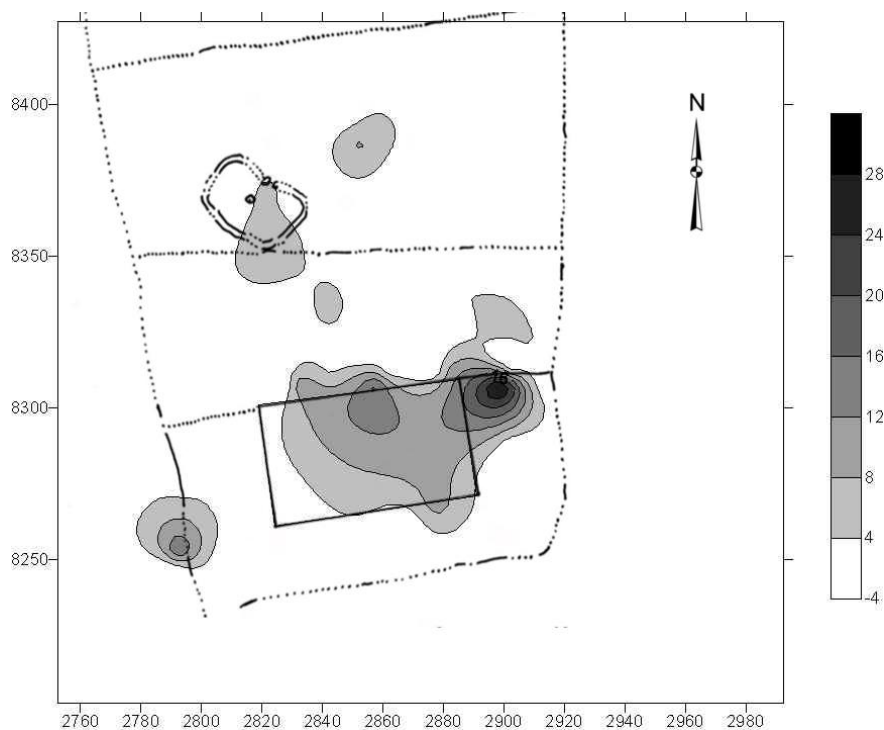
Figure 7-25: 1680s Landscape and Table Glass Distribution

Isolating Clusters for Intra-Site Comparative Analyses:

The final phase of distribution analysis involved isolating specific clusters around the site for comparative study. After specific clusters are identified, data from additional excavation units from these areas not utilized as part of the original sample were pulled and tallied to increase the sample size and better represent these sub-assemblages. Comparing the material compositions of these sub-assemblages reveal socio-functional and temporal differences in these various areas around the site and the associated daily practices responsible for forming these assemblages. A total of five isolated concentrations were selected for comparative analysis.

Examining the various distribution maps reveal two significant areas seeing deposition throughout the different occupations. Most notably are the concentrations located off the northeast corner and the west end of the main building. These two concentrations saw deposition

beginning in the early decades of occupation and continuing through the last phase of occupation. Although these assemblages cannot be temporally isolated to specific phases of occupation, they may still reveal socio-functional differences in use of different sections of the main structure and may serve as control groups or indexes with which to compare temporally isolated assemblages. These two concentrations comprise two of the selected sub-assemblages.

Two other concentrations appear to be temporally isolated to specific phases of occupation. These consist of concentrations in the front yard of the main structure: one in the southeast corner of the yard represented by clusters of phase 2 ceramic and 2.8 mm pipes (Figure 7-26, see also Figure 7-20); and one directly adjacent to the front of the main building represented almost entirely by phase 3 ceramics (Figure 7-27). To help verify this temporal isolation, the distributions of ceramics dating generally to the second half of the seventeenth century were compared against the phase 2 and phase 3 distributions. This unknown phase ceramic group consists primarily of North Devon wares which date after ca. 1650 and continue through the late seventeenth century and into the 18th century. This distribution map displays clusters in both areas indicated by the phase 2 (southeast yard) and phase 3 ceramics (front adjacent yard) (as well as the concentrations to the northeast, west and north rear yard) (Figure 7-28). While clearly there was deposition in each of these two clusters during the second half of the century, the phase 2 distribution map shows only significant accumulations of Morgan Jones ware in the southeast cluster and none in the adjacent front cluster. There is a concentration of early tobacco pipes that overlaps this cluster, but overall the data indicate that this portion of the site was subject to significant disposal activity during ca. 1660-1680 timeframe, which corresponds closely with the statehouse period. Likewise,
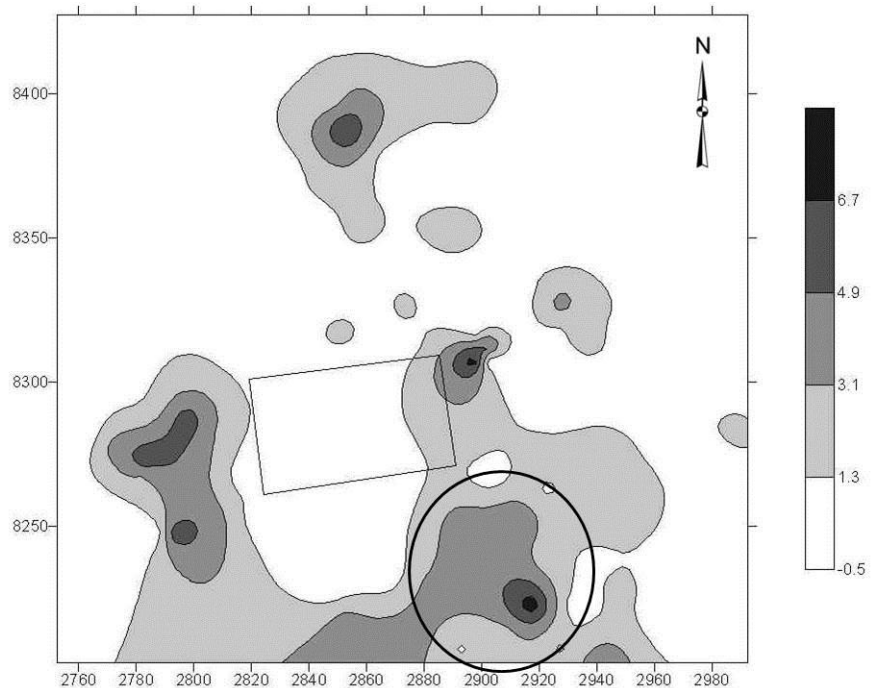
Figure 7-26: Phase 2 Ceramics with SW Concentration Encircled
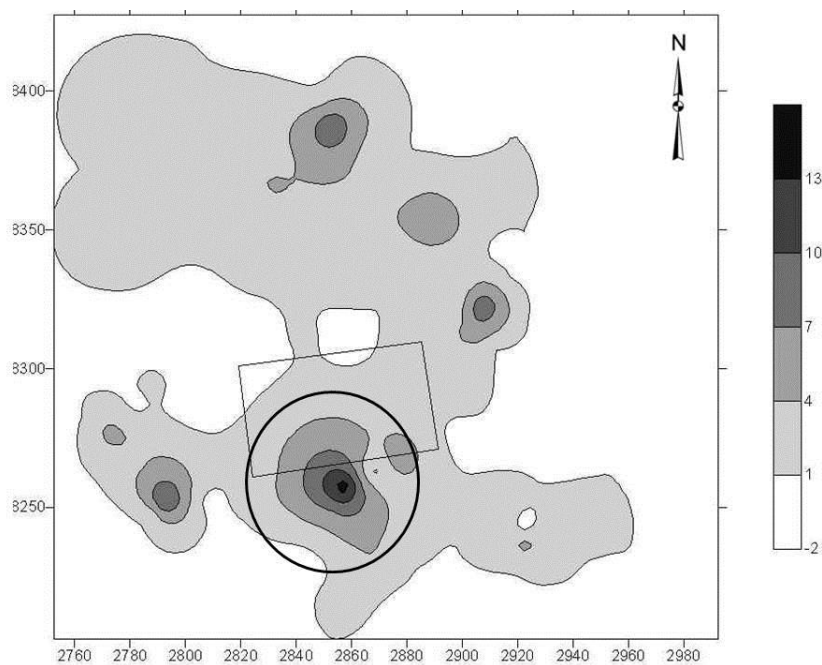
Figure 7-27: Phase 3 Ceramics with Front Adjacent Concentration Encircled
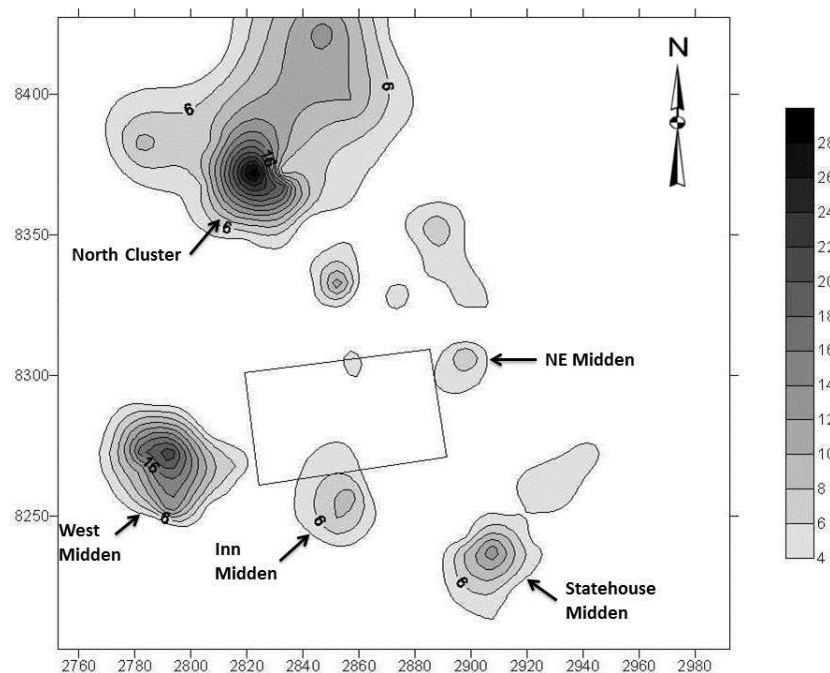
Figure 7-28: Distribution of Ceramics Dating after 1650; Also Showing Clusters Selected for Comparative Analysis

only phase 3 ceramics appear to correspond with the concentration immediately adjacent to the front of the structure. There are also early tobacco pipes that overlap with this concentration as well, but the ceramics distribution indicates that this area saw significant disposal activity primarily during the latter phase of occupation when the site served exclusively as an inn/ordinary. Comparing these two clusters will reveal differences (or similarities) in daily practice at the site relating to these distinct occupations.

The final cluster selected for comparative analysis is the concentration of material in the far north-central/northwest portion of the rear yard. This area also appears to have been the focus of activity through different phases of occupation. The distribution showing North Devon ceramics shows a significant concentration in this northern area. This appears to overlap somewhat with concentrations of phase 1, 2 and 3 ceramics although they appear to shift somewhat towards the northeast moving later in time. As stated in earlier sections, given the

predominance of coarse earthenwares representing these concentrations, these northern concentrations are most likely associated with various support work such as food processing. Given the distribution of North Devon in this general area, dairying activity was likely a focus of activity. However, this area of the yard is particularly interesting given the location of the cock-fighting/animal-baiting pit located here during the latter phase of occupation. This cluster was selected in order to gain more insight into these specialized behaviors relative to practices occurring in and around the main building. Figure 7-28 shows the distribution of ceramics dating generally to the second half of the seventeenth century with the isolated clusters selected for comparative analysis labeled. These include the: West Midden, the Northeast Midden, Statehouse Midden, Inn Phase Midden, and the North Cluster. These will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Summary:

As with the initial landscape analysis, the distribution analysis revealed a dynamic landscape indicating both socio-functional and temporal differentiation of activity areas and disposal behavior, yielding general support for Miller's (1986) original findings following his analysis of material recovered during excavations in the 1980s. Disparities in the distributions of certain functional classes of material indicate certain activities were segregated on the site, particularly with regards to food preparation versus food consumption. The distributions of temporally isolated ceramics and tobacco pipes revealed temporal shifts in behavior and disposal activity. Most notably during the statehouse phase, the immediate front and rear yards of the structure were largely kept clear of refuse, perhaps indicating both a projection and perception of formality associated with its status as a government building.

Integrating the landscape data with the distribution data provided additional insights into how changes in disposal behavior through time were in part structured by changes in the built environment. During the early phase, the landscape features a somewhat random arrangement with work areas located relatively close to the main building. Refuse was discarded on all sides of the building, particularly in the rear yard. There then appears to have been an effort by the occupants to create a more symmetrical, ordered layout in the fence configurations. This coincides with the transition of the site to its role as the Country's House, or statehouse. Also during this period work areas were moved further away from the main structure and segregated by fencing. Refuse was kept away from the front and immediate rear yards of the structure. After the government function was removed from the site, the front and side yards were enclosed, refuse was once again discarded directly in the front and rear yards, and there is evidence of specialized recreational use of the site in the form of an animal baiting/cock-fighting pit in the rear yard. This indicates a shift towards more typical inn activity characterized by less formal and more recreational use of the site during its final decades of occupation and use.

Chapter 8

Comparative Analysis: Assessing Spatial and Temporal Variation in Site Activity

Introduction:

A total of five clusters were selected as sub-assemblages for more detailed comparative analysis to further assess socio-functional, spatial, and temporal variation in behavior reflected in these different foci of disposal activity (see Figure 7-28 in previous chapter). These include the North Cluster (in the cock-fighting pit area), the Northeast Midden (on the east side of the main building), the West Midden (west side of main building), the Statehouse Midden (in the southeastern front yard area), and the Inn Midden (directly adjacent to the front of the building, west of center).

For this analysis proportions of different functional classes of material from each assemblage were compared against one another. The general assumption, although somewhat over-simplified, is that behaviors that produced the assemblages are indicated by the ratios of different classes of materials found in association with one another. Thus similarities or differences in behaviors that produced different assemblages can be assessed by comparing the frequency or proportional distributions of materials from each assemblage. Since the Country's House served as an ordinary through most of its occupation, particularly during its tenure as statehouse and later, its assemblages were also compared to data from Smith's Ordinary, a nearby site that served exclusively as an ordinary during the 1660s and 1670s. Assessing the statehouse material against a more generalized tavern assemblage helped reveal aspects of specialized activity related to its other functions and its status as a government building. Overall the comparative analysis revealed both subtle and more obvious functional and temporal similarities and differences between the different assemblages.

Temporal Assessment:

The first stage of comparative analysis examined the distributions of temporally diagnostic ceramics and white clay tobacco pipe bores within each assemblage in order to verify and assess the temporal contexts in which the assemblages formed (instead of relying on the spatial analysis alone). Table 8-1 shows the distribution of temporally diagnostic ceramics from each context, largely verifying the data displayed by the spatial distributions. This analysis uses the temporal artifact phases outlined in Chapter 7 (see page 148).

Table 8-1: Proportions of Temporally Diagnostic Ceramics from Comparative Contexts

Context		Ph. I	Ph. II	Ph. III	Total
West Midden	*N*	42	78	52	172
	%	24.42	45.35	30.23	100
Northeast Midden	*N*	21	34	29	84
	%	25.0	40.5	34.5	100
Statehouse Midden	*N*	14	64	40	118
	%	11.86	54.24	33.9	100
Inn Midden	*N*	4	0	28	32
	%	12.5	0	87.5	100
North Cluster	*N*	44	11	49	104
	%	42.3	10.58	47.12	100

Both the West and Northeast Middens show evidence of significant deposition through all phases of occupation. The Statehouse Midden displays evidence of relatively little deposition during the early phase of occupation. Significant deposition occurred during the Phase II period of occupation, displaying the highest proportion of Phase II ceramics of any sub-assemblage.

Deposition appears to have continued into Phase III, but with considerably less frequency than Phase II. It should be noted that 29 out of 40 sherds of the Phase III ceramics from the Statehouse cluster are Staffordshire Slipware, which begins to show up on Chesapeake sites in the 1670s. This material thus may have been introduced onto the site during the last years it served as the Country's House, accounting for its presence within this sub-assemblage. The Inn Midden clearly formed during the latter years of occupation. With the exception of four sherds of early period ceramics, all other temporally diagnostic ceramics date to Phase III. The North Cluster displays a bimodal distribution of temporally diagnostic ceramics, displaying significant deposition occurring during Phase I and Phase III, but little during Phase II.

Overall, examining the distributions of temporally diagnostic ceramics from each assemblage largely confirms the trends displayed by the spatial distribution analysis. Both the east and west yards of the main house saw significant disposal activity through all phases of occupation. The Statehouse and Inn Middens appear to be relatively discrete temporally. Despite some possible overlap evident in the Statehouse assemblage, disposal activity appears largely confined to single phases of occupation for each assemblage (Phase II for the Statehouse cluster and Phase III for the Inn Midden). The bimodal distribution of the North Cluster is also consistent with patterns seen in the spatial distributions, which display significant concentrations in the area during Phase I and III. This is congruent with the probable early work area in this location, followed by apparent activity centered on the cock-fighting pit during the final decades of site use. There appears to be some Phase II activity as well, but distributions show this material concentrated more to the east, probably associated with the cellared outbuilding.

The tobacco pipe bore distributions, with some exceptions, generally support the data displayed by the temporally diagnostic ceramics. Figures 8-1 through 8-5 display the bore distributions from each sub-assemblage.
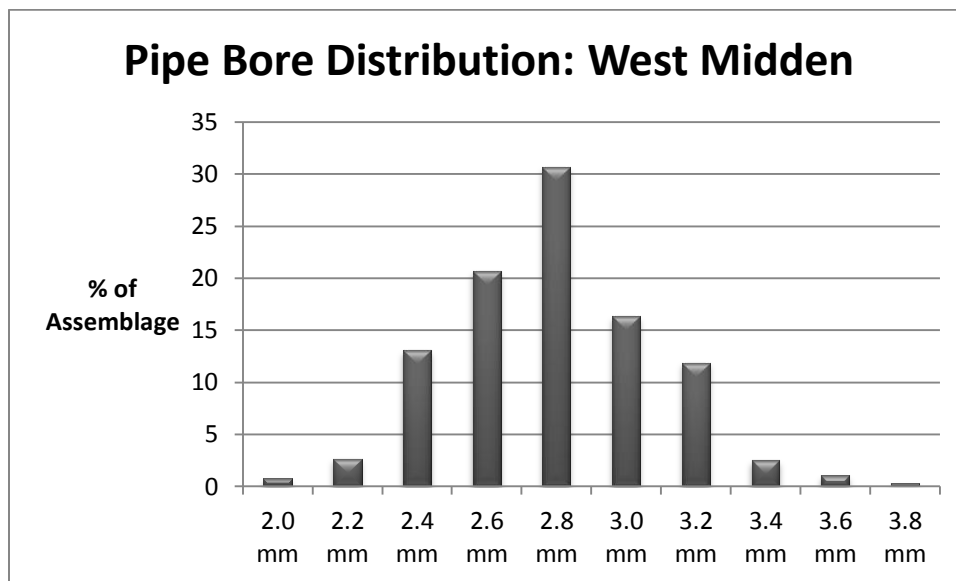
Figure 8-1: Tobacco Pipe Bore Distributions from West Midden
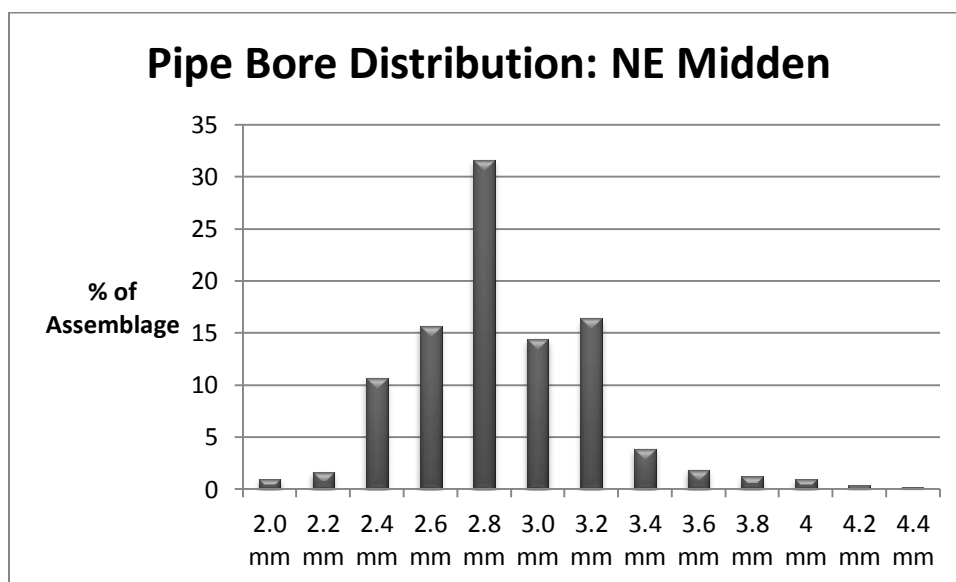
Figure 8-2: Tobacco Pipe Bore Distributions from the Northeast Midden
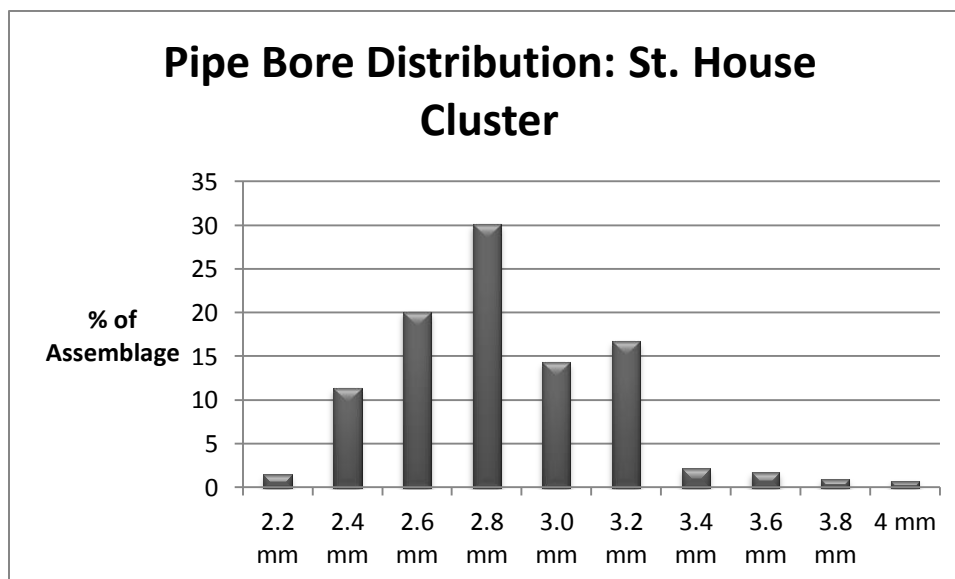
Figure 8-3: Tobacco Pipe Bore Distributions from the Statehouse Assemblage
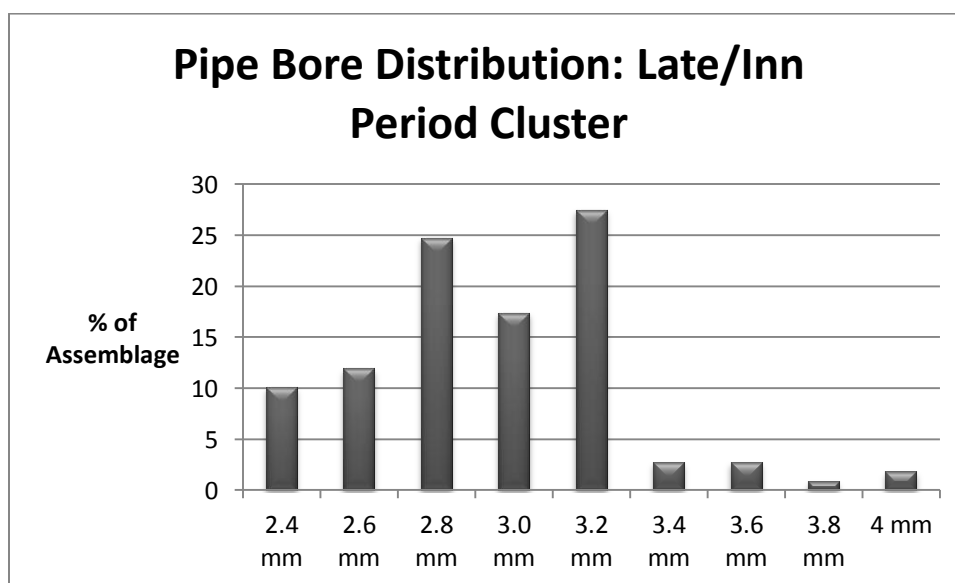
Figure 8-4: Tobacco Pipe Bore Distribution from the Inn Midden

Pipe Bore Distribution: North Cluster

% of Assemblage

25
20
15
10
5
0

1.8 mm 2.0 mm 2.2 mm 2.4 mm 2.6 mm 2.8 mm 3.0 mm 3.2 mm 3.4 mm 3.6 mm 3.8 mm 4 mm
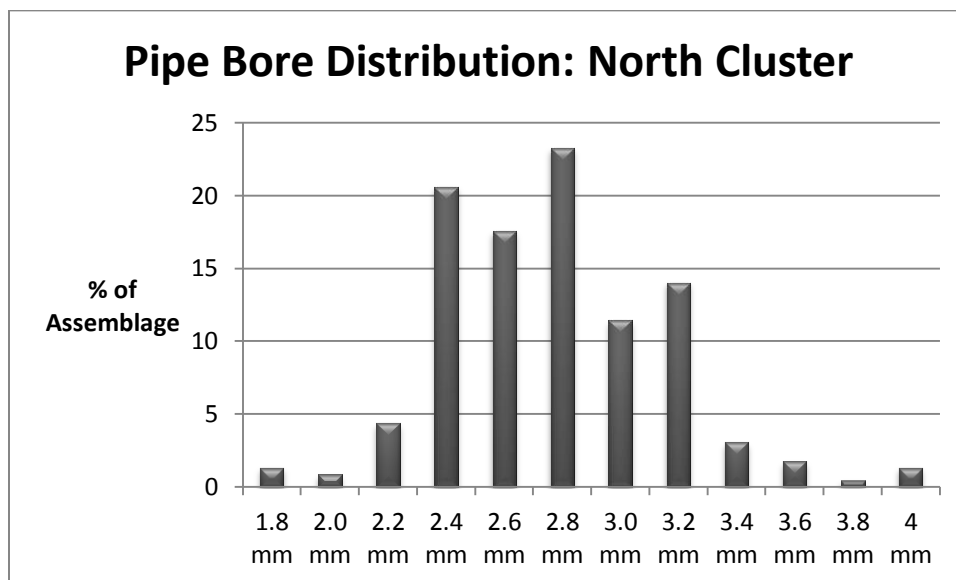
Figure 8-5: Tobacco Pipe Bore Distributions from the North Cluster

The West Midden Assemblage displays a typical bell curve with the largest peak at 2.8 mm. Clearly there was deposition throughout much of the seventeenth century. However, the peak at 2.8 mm is intriguing forming more than one-third of the entire tobacco pipe assemblage. This bore diameter tends to date primarily to the 1660-1680 decades of the seventeenth century indicating intensive use of the site during this period. Very similar trends are displayed by the

Northeast and Statehouse middens with peaks at 2.8 mm, with this bore size forming 30% or more of each assemblage. However, they also display slightly higher proportions of 3.2 mm tobacco pipes, perhaps indicating these locations saw slightly more activity in earlier decades than the West side of the house. There are reatively few early period ceramics within the Statehouse midden. However, the pipes and the ceramics indicate that this area saw some disposal activity in earlier decades, but disposal in this area was primarily concentrated during the Phase II ca. 1660-1680 period of occupation. Twenty-five percent of the ceramics from the Northeast midden date to the early period, showing a trend more consistent with the tobacco pipe data.

Both the Inn Midden and North Cluster exhibit pipe bore distributions less consistent with the other sub-assemblages. The Inn Midden displays a higher frequency of 3.2 mm tobacco pipes, indicating disposal activity during earlier decades of occupation. Coincidently, the distribution map of Phase I tobacco pipe shows a distinct concentration in this area (see Figure 29). The ceramics, however, indicate deposition in this area occurred almost exclusively during the last decades of occupation with Phase III ceramics forming 87.5% of the temporally diagnostic portion of the assemblage. Again this indicates that tobacco pipes and ceramics do not always share the same disposal patterns.

The North Cluster is unique in that it shows the largest proportion of 2.4 mm pipes. This indicates slightly more intense activity during the last decades of occupation, at least with respect to tobacco smoking, than seen in other portions of the site. This is congruent with this area of the site being used for cock fighting/animal baiting and other recreation during the last phase of occupation (ca. 1680s-1690s).

Overall the ceramics and tobacco pipe data confirm temporal associations of the midden clusters determined from the spatial analysis. Both the West and Northeast Middens were areas of significant disposal activity through all phases of occupation. The Statehouse Midden saw more intense disposal activity ca. 1660-1680, although there are smaller proportions of earlier and later material mixed in. The Inn Midden is interesting since almost all of the ceramics were deposited in this area after ca. 1675 while the majority of the pipes tend to date to earlier periods. The North Cluster, associated with the cock-fighting pit area, shows significant disposal activity during both Phase I and Phase III periods, with less activity during Phase II.

What is perhaps most significant about this evidence is the potential indication that Phase II was the period of most intense use of the site. Phase II ceramics form the highest proportion of temporally diagnostic sherds in three of the sub-assemblages, the West Midden, the Northeast Midden and the Statehouse Midden. Such data are expected from the Statehouse Midden. However, both the West and Northeast middens were areas of significant disposal activity throughout the entire occupation of the site and are generally representative of the site as a whole. More than 40% of the temporally diagnostic ceramics from these two sub-assemblages date to Phase II, suggesting this Phase of occupation saw the greatest intensity of site use. Caution must be exercised here, however, since temporally diagnostic materials form only 21% of the overall ceramics assemblages from these two sub-assemblages. An additional 15.6% can be dated generally to the second half of the seventeenth century, but no more specifically than that. The remaining ceramics cannot be dated to specific decades within the seventeenth century (Tin glazed earthenwares form 32%, undetermined coarse earthenwares and Rhenish stonewares form 31.2%). However, the tobacco pipe data offer some additional support for this interpretation.

The tobacco pipe bore distributions for both the West and Northeast middens show distinct peaks at 2.8 mm, forming 30% or more of each assemblage. This is consistent with the distribution seen in the Statehouse assemblage where 2.8 mm pipes also form 30% of the assemblage. This does not also take into account the overlap of other bore sizes that also likely occurred during Phase II, particularly 2.6 mm and 3.0 mm bores. While 2.8 mm pipes tend to be the most prevalent on sites during the ca. 1660-1680 period, variation occurred between manufacturers and change in bore size was a continuous process. Overall, the largest proportion of temporally diagnostic materials from these two middens date primarily to Phase II, strongly suggesting this period saw the greatest intensity of site use than any other.

To help evaluate this further, the pipe bore distributions from above were compared against the pipe bore data from the Smith's Ordinary site. Smith's Ordinary was a public inn/tavern constructed shortly after William Smith purchased a 31 year lease from the colonial government for a three acre tract just south of the Country's House lot in 1666. Documents indicate that before 1672 the site was being operated as an ordinary, a function it served until it was destroyed by fire in 1678 (Miller 1986: 67-68). This period coincides almost directly with the statehouse phase (Phase II) of occupation. Although there is evidence of activity on the surrounding lot of earlier and later activity, the documented period of intense use of the site as an ordinary is well defined to this 1660s-1670s period. Thus if the pipe assemblage displays a similar bore distribution to assemblages from the Country's House, it is reasonable to assume the Country's House experienced similar intensive activity during this phase. Figure 8-6 compares the tobacco pipe bore distributions from Smith's Ordinary with three sub-assemblages from the Country's House: the West Midden, Northeast Midden, and Statehouse Midden.
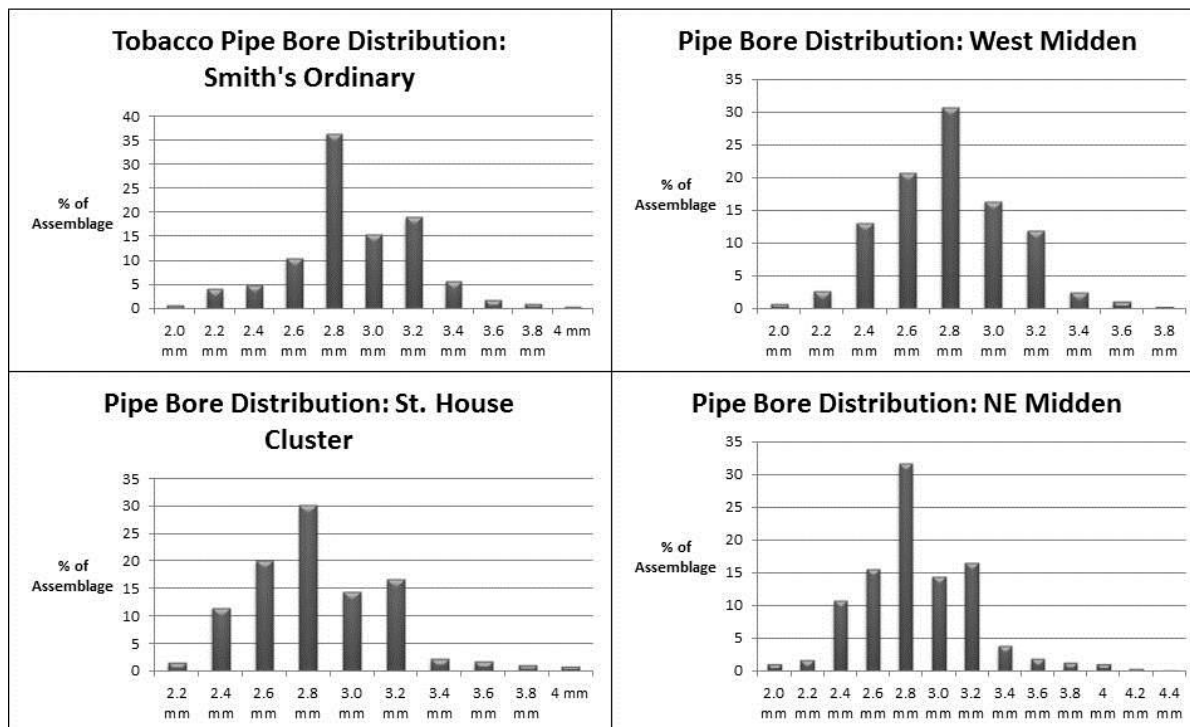
Figure 8-6: Comparison Chart Displaying Tobacco Pipe Bore Distributions from Smith's Ordinary and three Contexts from The Country's House

The above contexts from the Country's House were compared with Smith's Ordinary since their periods of substantial deposition that coincide with or significantly overlap in time with the Smith's occupation. Smith's Ordinary displays a significant peak at 2.8 mm and then abruptly drops off, which is congruent with the history of the site being destroyed in 1678. What is particularly evident is the relatively consistent proportion of 2.8 mm tobacco pipes from all three assemblages, all forming 30% to 36% of each. Remarkably similar proportions of 3.0 and 3.2 mm tobacco pipes are seen in the Smith's, the Northeast and Statehouse midden contexts as well. In contrast to Smith's, however, all of the assemblages from the Country's House display

less dramatic diminishing proportions of smaller bore pipes than seen in the Smith's assemblage. This is consistent with the continued occupation of the Country's House through the end of the seventeenth century. While it does not display the abrupt drop-off as in the Smith's Ordinary assemblage, the diminishing proportions of smaller bored tobacco pipes indicates a decline in activity during the final decades of occupation. Overall this supports the hypothesis that the period of peak activity occurred during the ca. 1660-1680 period, or Phase II (Statehouse Phase) occupation before experiencing a gradual decline during the last decades of the seventeenth century.

This is examined further by looking at pipe bore distributions from the Van Sweringen Site. This site is located north of the Country's House and was first occupied as early as the mid-1660s when a Secretary's office was built on the lot. From the late 1670s Garrett van Sweringen operated an exclusive lodging house catering primarily to the Provincial Council until the colonial capital was moved to Annapolis in 1695 (King 1990: 71-73; King and Miller 1987). Occupation continued at the site until around 1745 (King 1990: 76). King and Miller (1987) identified two midden contexts from the site that date to its seventeenth-century occupation. The distribution of tobacco pipe bores from these contexts contrast significantly with those from Smith's Ordinary and the Country's House (Figure 8-7).

PHASE IA TOBACCO PIPES

PHASE IB TOBACCO PIPES
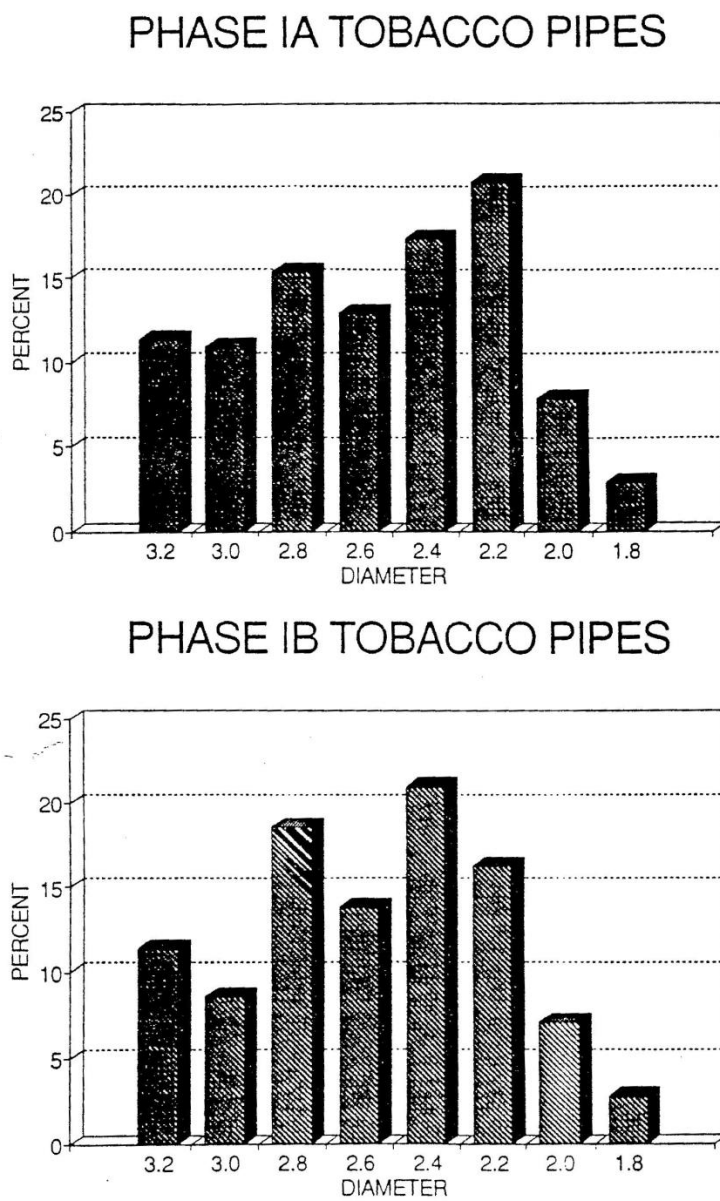
Figure 8-7: Tobacco Pipe Bore Distributions from seventeenth-century Midden Contexts at the Van Sweringen Site (from King 1990)

While the 2.8 to 3.2 mm pipes indicate activity on the site by the 1660s, or perhaps even earlier, it displays much greater proportions of smaller bore pipes than either the Smith's Ordinary or Country's House assemblages. This implies a more intense period of activity during its 1680s-1690s occupation, consistent with its function as a lodging chamber during the last two decades of the seventeenth century. It appears that activity peaked at the Van Sweringen site as it was declining at the Country's House.

Overall the data strongly suggest the Phase II period of occupation, when the site served as the official statehouse in addition to its function as an inn, saw the most intensive activity on the site. Although only one-fifth of the ceramics from the site are temporally diagnostic, a clear majority date to the Phase II occupation. While caution should be exercised given the inability to firmly date the majority of ceramics from the site, the tobacco pipe data offer additional support for this interpretation, particularly when the pipe bore distributions are compared with two other sites that operated as inns during the late seventeenth century. In both the Smith's and Country's House assemblages there appears to be a peak in activity during the ca. 1660-1680 period followed by a decline. The Smith's data demonstrate a rather abrupt decline in activity, reflecting its destruction by fire in 1678. The Country's House displays a more gradual decline during the latter decades, but a decline nonetheless. This is particularly evident when compared against the Van Sweringen assemblages, which display greater frequencies of smaller bore pipes characteristic of the last two decades of the seventeenth century. Thus it seems that activity peaked in intensity at the Van Sweringen site just as it was in decline at the Country's House. Even though the Country's House continued to be operated as an ordinary during the last decades of the seventeenth century, overall use of the site appears to have declined in intensity once the government function of the site was removed and transferred to the newly built brick

statehouse on the north end of town. The government function of the site seems to have been a catalyst for more intensive activity at the site during the 1660s and 1670s.

Intra-site Comparative Analysis:

Proportions of various classes of artifacts from each sub-assemblage were compared against each other to assess spatial and temporal variation in site-use activity across the site. Broad functional categories were examined first followed by analysis of more specific classes of material, namely ceramics and vessel glass.

Comparison of Broad Functional Classes:

Broad categories selected for analysis include: Ceramics, Table Glass, Bottle Glass, Tobacco Pipes, and Bone. These broad categories were selected because they are indicative of regular or more typical day-to-day use of the site, or daily practice. Architectural material was omitted since it tends to represent more isolated construction related activities. Oyster Shell was also omitted since it can be the product of food-ways as well as architectural activities, and it is at times so numerous it can completely overshadow other classes of material within a given assemblage. Although subtle differences are evident, examining the broad classes of materials from the five assemblages reveals remarkable consistency across four of the five sub-assemblages. The West, Northeast, Statehouse, and Inn middens display similar proportions across all main categories. Bone forms the largest proportions of each assemblage, followed by Tobacco Pipe, then Ceramics, Bottle Glass (with the exception of the NE Midden) and Table Glass (Figure 8-8, Table 8-2).
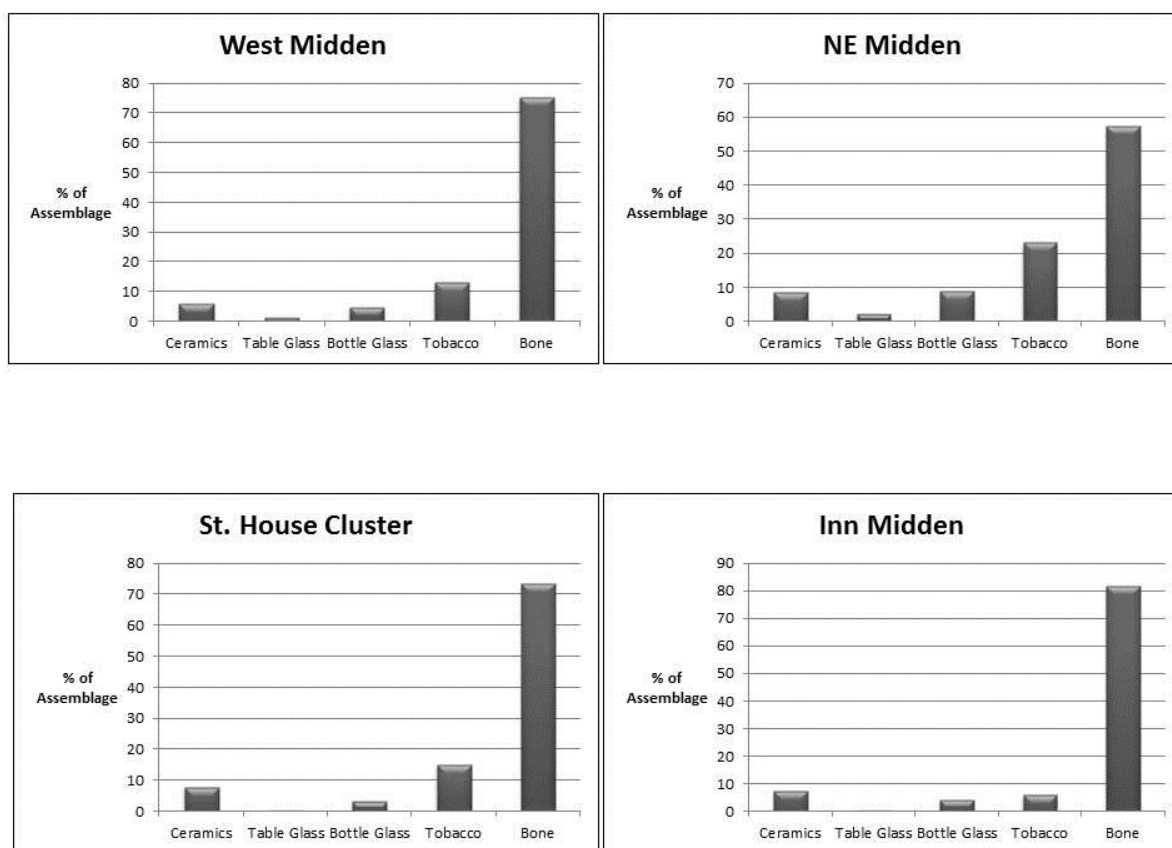
Figure 8-8: Proportions of Functional Artifacts Classes from The Country's House

Table 8-2: Proportions of Functional Groups from Four Sub-Assemblages

Artifact Group	West Midden		NE Midden		St. House Midden		Inn Midden	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Ceramics	769	5.94	439	8.57	748	7.78	287	7.45
Table Glass	165	1.27	108	2.11	40	0.42	16	0.42
Bottle Glass	610	4.71	451	8.8	301	3.13	163	4.23
Tobacco Pipe	1666	12.86	1181	23.05	1456	15.14	233	6.05
Bone	9742	75.22	2945	57.47	7070	73.53	3152	81.85
Total	12952	100	5124	100	9615	100	3851	100

Figure 8-8 displays the proportions of functional artifact classes from these four sub-assemblages; Table 8-2 displays the numerical values from which the graphs were derived. Although the Northeast Midden follows the overall general trend, some interesting differences are evident. This assemblage displays a somewhat smaller proportion of bone and significantly higher ratios of table glass, bottle glass and tobacco pipe that the other sub-assemblages. This indicates more specialized activity is associated with this particular sub-assemblage, particularly when contrasted with the West Midden. The West Midden most likely represents generalized accumulations of refuse from all major occupations of the site, including various household and inn/tavern activity (as well as statehouse). Much of this refuse is undoubtedly associated with the kitchen and pantry located on the west end of the building as indicated in Smith's inventory. The significantly higher ratios of table glass, bottle glass and tobacco pipe in the Northeast sub-assemblage imply a greater emphasis on social interactions revolving around drinking and smoking, in addition to general food consumption. It is possible that much of this refuse is associated with use of the St. Mary's Room/Great Room that occupied the eastern 3/4ths of the north bay of the structure. The parlor was also likely on the east end in the south bay of the structure (Miller 1986: 21, Stone 1982). Great Rooms were common features in English ordinaries where drinking and tavern activities typically occurred. However, the substantially higher proportions of table and bottle glass may also be indicative of higher status use of this portion of the building associated with government meetings and entertainment by the owner or lease-holder.

Other differences in artifact frequencies seen between the sub-assemblages are more subtle yet intriguing. The West Midden provides a good baseline for understanding the other

sub-assemblages since it represents generalized behavior over the course of the entire occupation. The Statehouse assemblage displays remarkably similar ratios of functional material to the West Midden, although it has slightly higher proportions of ceramics and tobacco pipe, and lower proportions of table glass and bottle glass. The reason for this is unclear. The Inn Midden also displays similar proportions with the exception of tobacco pipe. Overall, the Statehouse and Inn assemblages display very similar proportions of functional material to the more generalized assemblage from the West Midden, suggesting all three assemblages were formed by similar practices.

The greatest variation is seen in the North Cluster assemblage. This assemblage displays dramatically different ratios of functional material to those seen in the other portions of the site. Figure 8-9 displays the proportions of material from the North Cluster; Table 8-3 displays the numerical values from the sub-assemblage.
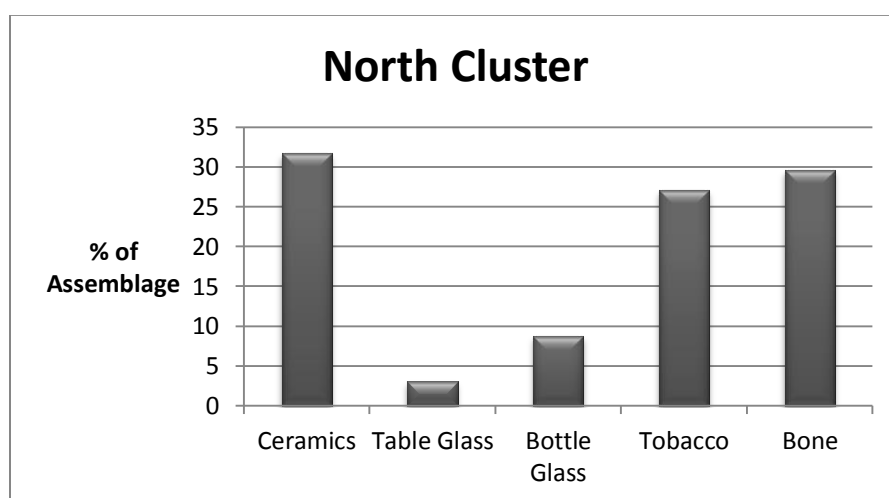
Figure 8-9: Proportions of Functional Groups from the North Cluster Sub-Assemblage

Table 8-3: Proportions of Functional Groups from the North Cluster

Artifact Group	North Cluster	
	N	*%*
Ceramics	659	31.64
Table Glass	63	3.02
Bottle Glass	181	8.69
Tobacco Pipe	564	27.08
Bone	616	29.57
Total	2083	100

The North Cluster clearly displays proportions of artifacts dramatically different from the overall pattern seen in the other four sub-assemblages indicating more specialized activities formed this assemblage. In this case ceramics, tobacco pipe and bone each make up 1/3 of the assemblage. Two specialized activities likely account for this unusual pattern: work related activity; and special recreational activity.

Distribution analysis in the prior chapter found evidence in the form of a concentration of coarse earthenware for a probable Phase I food preparation area, probably associated with an early outbuilding. Other evidence revealed activity likely related to a probable cock-fighting/animal baiting ring located in the area during Phase III. The temporal assessment previous in this chapter also indicates deposition/activity in this area primarily during Phase I and III. The lower proportion of animal bone in this assemblage indicates much less emphasis in this area on cooking and food consumption than seen in the other assemblages. Of the ceramics from this assemblage, 69% are coarse red earthenwares. Of these, 218 sherds (or 33% of the ceramics) are North Devon Gravel Tempered Ware, which occur most frequently in food preparation vessel forms, dairying types in particular. This provides a good indicator that such

activity was a central focus in this portion of the site, probably during the 1650s-1660s. In contrast, of the datable ceramics, 49 sherds (47%) date to the Phase III period of occupation. Of these, 39 are sherds of Staffordshire Slipware and Manganese Mottled Ware, which typically occur in drinking forms such as cups or mugs. This predominance of late period drinking forms combined with the much higher than usual proportions of table glass, bottle glass, and tobacco pipes within the assemblage are likely indicative of social behaviors associated with use of the cock-fighting/animal baiting pit during Phase III. This would be a place where spectators congregated to observe and/or gamble, consume alcohol, and smoke tobacco.

Variation in disposal activity and behavior across the site is also illustrated by examining artifact densities within the sub-assemblages. For this analysis, since plowzone depth is relatively consistent across the site, square footage for all five-by-five foot units from each sub-assemblage was calculated. Then each total for each class of artifact was divided into this figure to determine the total number per sq. foot. Table 8-4 displays density figures for each sub-assemblage. As with the above comparisons, a number of similarities and differences are seen between the different sub-assemblages.

The West Midden clearly shows the highest artifact density (n=41.3 artifacts per square foot) of any of the assemblages across all categories of material. This is indicative of this midden's likely association with use of the kitchen and pantry on the west end of the building. This area saw heavy refuse accumulations during all phases of occupation. This midden refuse appears to represent all major daily activities on site, including food and alcohol preparation, serving, and consumption, smoking, and intentional disposal. There is a natural depression in this portion of the yard that leads down into a ravine and was probably seen as a convenient spot to dump refuse. This likely represents a combination of a primary and a secondary midden, with

primary kitchen and other preparation refuse, plus secondary tavern refuse related to periodic or

regular clean-up activities.

Table 8-4: Artifact Densities from Country's House Assemblages

	West Midden		NE Midden		St. House		Inn Midden		North Cluster	
Artifact Group	**N**	**n/ft^2**	**N**	**n/ft^2**	**N**	**n/ft^2**	**N**	**n/ft^2**	**N**	**n/ft^2**
Ceramics	769	2.56	439	1.46	748	1.3	287	1.28	659	1.15
Table Glass	165	0.55	108	0.36	40	0.07	16	0.07	63	0.11
Bottle Glass	610	2.03	451	1.5	301	0.52	163	0.72	181	0.31
Tobacco Pipe	1666	5.55	1181	3.94	1456	2.53	233	1.04	564	0.98
Bone	9742	32.47	2945	9.82	7070	12.3	3152	14.01	616	1.07
Total	12952	43.17	5124	17.08	9615	16.7	3851	17.1	2083	3.6
Sq. ft.	300		300		575		225		575	

Three of the sub-assemblages display fairly consistent overall artifact densities. The

Northeast, Statehouse, and Inn middens all contain about 17 artifacts per cubic foot, roughly

40% of that in the West midden. These probably indicate primary deposition as haphazardly

broken items were tossed out the door during tavern activities or periodic special events.

However, differences in specific classes of material are evident.

The Northeast midden contains higher densities of table glass, bottle glass, and tobacco

pipe, and a lower density of bone than either the Statehouse or Inn middens. This is consistent

with the proportional data, indicating a greater emphasis on social drinking and smoking in the

activities forming this assemblage, activities likely associated with use of the Great Room.

With the exception of tobacco pipe, the Statehouse and Inn middens exhibit remarkably consistent densities, indicating some continuity in the overall practices that formed both assemblages. What is unusual about the Statehouse midden is its slightly greater distance from the structure than the other middens, yet it maintains the same overall artifact density as the other primary middens adjacent to the building. This suggests several possibilities. The servants or other individuals deliberately walked this distance from the structure to dispose of this refuse away from the structure to help keep the yard clean. In this case, it appears it was tossed outside of the fence enclosing the front yard. This would be unusual behavior for the period for two reasons: 1) Refuse dating to this period was also tossed into the Northeast midden, a practice that would still keep the front yard clean, and 2) the typical disposal pattern for primary refuse during this period was 'out-the-nearest-door' leaving one to question why individuals would spend extra effort to dispose of material 30 to 40 feet from the structure when other refuse was tossed right out the east and west sides of the structure. Another possibility is that this material represents refuse thrown out the side and front doors of the structure and then swept into the southeast yard during deliberate cleaning efforts. This would also be atypical behavior during this period. Together this indicates special effort was made to dispose of refuse away from the front yard, throwing it into the public thoroughfare instead of cluttering the front yard. The final possibility is this represents primary refuse associated with activity in the front yard/town center area. Given the extra foot traffic and patronage during public days, and being the largest ordinary in town in addition to its function as government building, this may reflect an area where people congregated and partook in refreshments or tavern fare. Perhaps the inn keepers set up additional outdoor areas to accommodate the extra busy public events. Unfortunately this can only be

speculated. Disposing of refuse in public thoroughfares was common practice during the period, suggesting this is the more likely explanation (King and Miller 1987; Miller 1986, 1994: 81).

The North Cluster contains a dramatically lower overall artifact density ($n=3.6$ artifacts per cubic foot) than all other assemblages, another indicator of the specialized use of this portion of the site. The density of ceramics is not dramatically lower than the Northeast, Statehouse, or Inn Middens. However, there is very little animal bone in this assemblage ($n=1.07$ per cubic foot) compared with the others. Again this likely indicates activities associated with an early work/food preparation area probably devoted primarily to dairying activities, as well as processing garden produce, with little to no food consumption. The other notable feature is the density of table glass. While it has significantly less table glass than the West or Northeast middens, the North cluster assemblage contains 60% more table glass fragments per cubic foot that either the Statehouse or Inn middens, despite its relatively low overall artifact density. This concentration of table glass is undoubtedly associated with the use of the cock-fighting/animal baiting pit in this area during the last decades of the seventeenth century. Even though this portion of the site likely saw more intermittent or sporadic use than the main building, the density of table glass indicates that alcohol consumption was a prominent aspect of activities centered on this unique feature. This is consistent with other distributional and comparative data.

In general the comparative analysis of broad functional groups largely supports observations evident in the distributional analysis and provides some additional insight. Although the West midden clearly contains more material given its association with the kitchen and pantry, similar proportions of material are evident in the West, Statehouse, and Inn middens. This indicates little, if anything, distinguishes the Statehouse period assemblage from typical tavern and other household activities. Despite the building becoming the official statehouse

during the 1662-1676 period, it appears that the types of activities that produced these assemblages remained relatively consistent. The Northeast midden contains slightly higher amounts of table glass, bottle glass, and tobacco pipes. This midden's probable association with use of the Great Room and possibly the parlor on the east end of the building indicates a slightly greater emphasis on social interactions involving alcohol consumption and smoking in addition to typical tavern activity. The North cluster displays proportions and densities of materials dramatically different than any of the other sub-assemblages, reflecting the specialized use of this portion of the yard as a work area during the early decades of occupation, then as a special recreational area during the final decades of occupation.

Ceramics Comparison:

Ceramics from each sub-assemblage were compared by general ware type in order to help assess social and functional variation in the practices that contributed to formation of each assemblage. Comparing actual vessel types and frequencies would provide a much more detailed assessment of specific activities that formed the assemblages, but is precluded here due to time and funding constraints. However, ware types can serve as proxies, albeit imperfect, for functional types. The ceramics were divided into four general ware types: tin glazed earthenware, general coarse red earthenware, Rhenish stoneware, and fine earthenwares. Tin glazed earthenwares represent a more expensive form of earthenware due to the tin additive in the glaze. They occur in a variety of vessel forms but show up predominantly in various tableware forms, including plates, tea wares, and punch bowls. Coarse red earthenwares vessels occur in just about any form used in the period and can vary considerably in quality. Predominant vessel forms include utilitarian food preparation and serving vessels used for

cooking and dairying. Rhenish stonewares occur almost exclusively in various drinking forms such as bottles, jugs, mugs and tankards. The fine earthenware category is composed of Staffordshire slipware and Manganese Mottled ware. These ware types begin to show up in the Chesapeake beginning in the 1670s and occur predominantly in drinking forms (cups, mugs and tankards) during the late seventeenth century.

Despite some minor variation, three of the sub-assemblages exhibit a relatively consistent pattern. Figure 8-10 displays the proportions of ceramic ware types from the West, Northeast and Statehouse middens. Table 8-5 displays the numerical values used in the graphs.
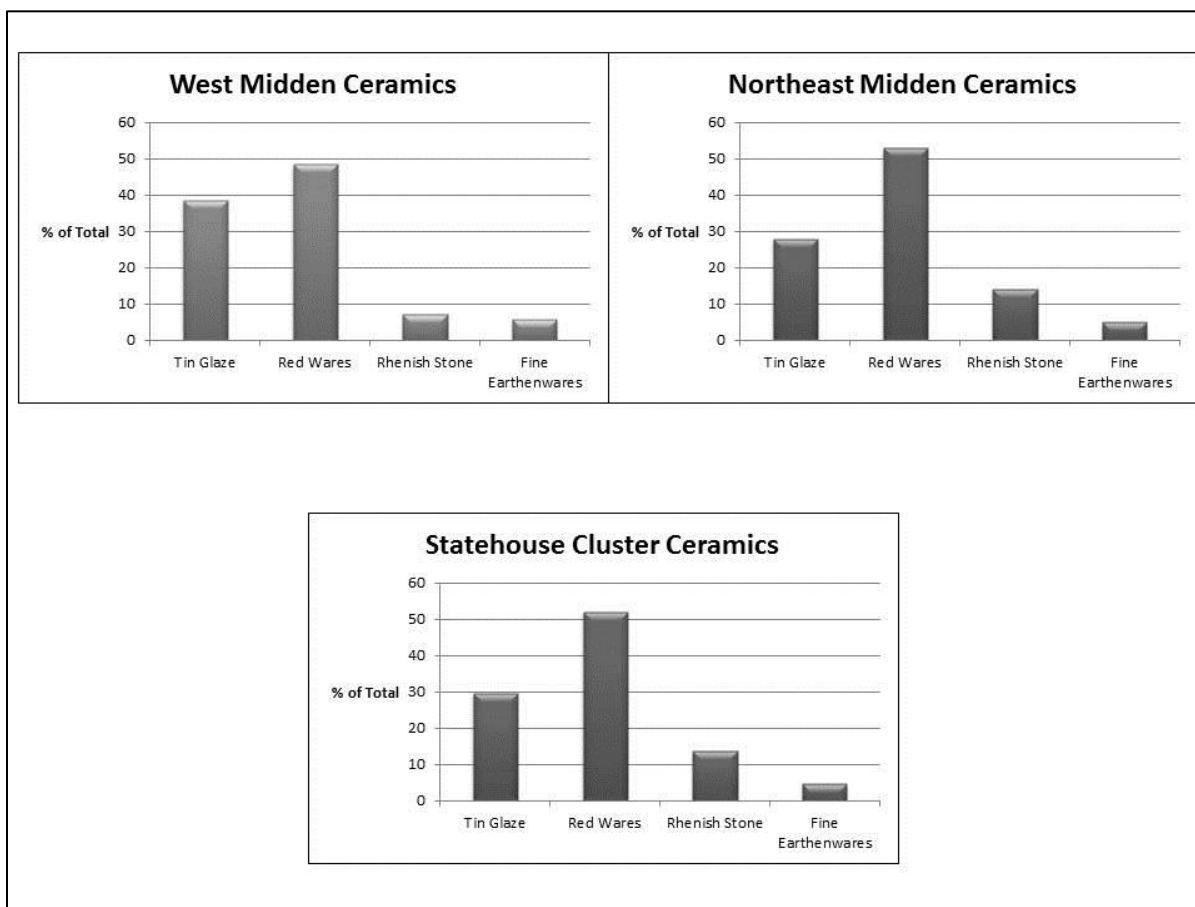
Figure 8-10: Proportions of Ceramic Ware Types from three Sub-Assemblages

Table 8-5: Proportions of Ceramic Ware Types from Three Sub-Assemblages

	West Midden		NE Midden		Statehouse Midden	
Ware Type	N	%	N	%	N	%
Tin Glaze	277	38.5	110	27.9	217	29.7
Red Earthenware	348	48.4	209	52.9	380	52.0
Rhenish Stoneware	52	7.2	56	14.2	100	13.7
Fine Earthenware	42	5.8	20	5.0	34	4.6
Total	719	100	395	100	731	100

Red earthenware forms the largest proportion, roughly 50%, of each assemblage, followed by tin glazed earthenware, Rhenish stoneware, and fine earthenware. The West midden has a slightly higher proportion of tin glaze than the other two, perhaps a function of its association with the kitchen and pantry area. Both the Northeast and Statehouse middens display significantly higher proportions of Rhenish stoneware sherds. Typically associated with drinking, the higher proportion in the Northeast midden is likely associated with use of the Great Room, where drinking and other tavern related activity occurred. The similar proportion within the Statehouse midden suggests a similar emphasis on drinking activity formed this assemblage. Overall, little appears to distinguish the three assemblages.

The remaining two sub-assemblages (the Inn Midden and North Cluster) exhibit noticeably different proportions of ceramic ware types than the above contexts. Figures 8-11 and 8-12 show the ceramic proportions from the Inn Midden and North Cluster, respectively. The numerical values for the tables can be seen in Table 8-6.

Inn Cluster Ceramics

% of Total

Tin Glaze — Red Wares — Rhenish Stone — Fine Earthenwares

(Y-axis: 0, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50)
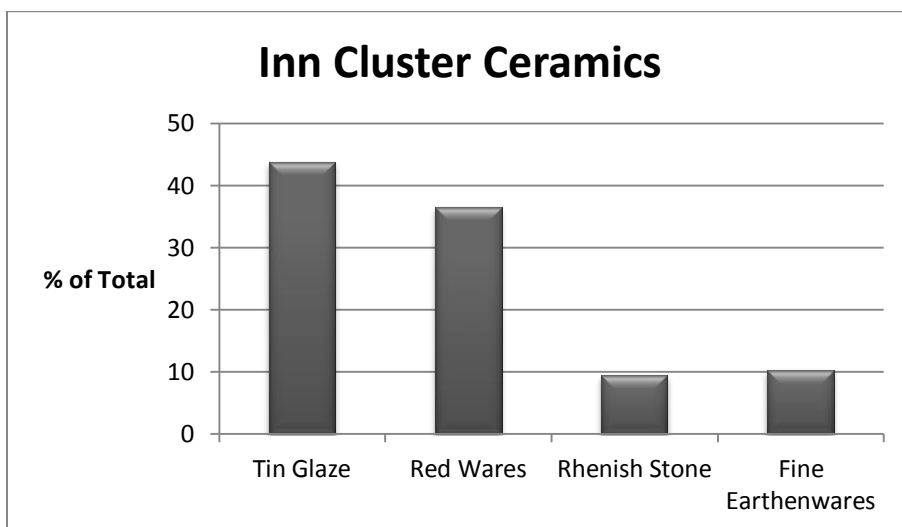
Figure 8-11: Proportions of Ware Types from the Inn Midden

North Cluster Ceramics

% of Total

Tin Glaze — Red Wares — Rhenish Stone — Fine Earthenwares

(Y-axis: 0, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80)
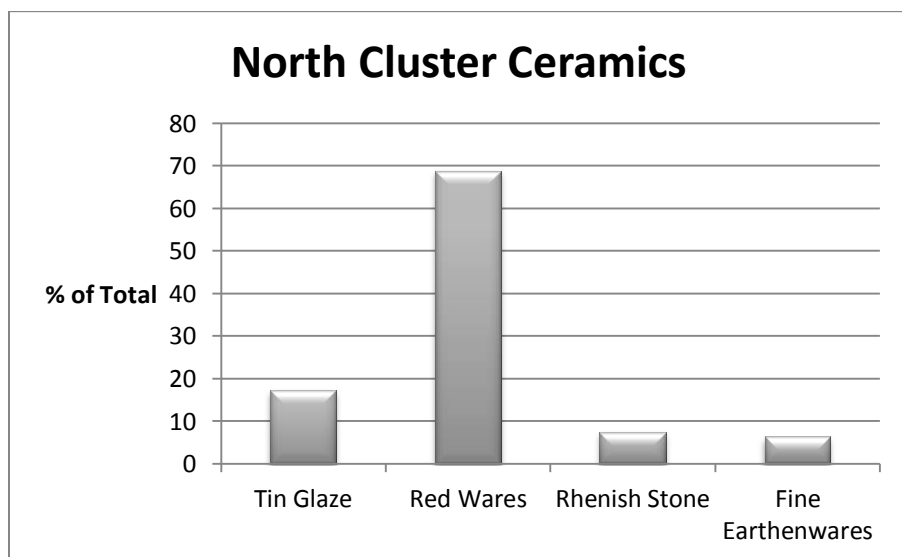
Figure 8-12: Proportions of Ceramic Ware Types from the North Cluster

Table 8-6: Proportions of Ceramic Ware Types from Two Sub-Assemblages

	Inn Midden		North Cluster	
Ware Type	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Tin Glaze	120	43.8	108	17.25
Red Earthenware	100	36.5	431	68.85
Rhenish Stoneware	26	9.5	47	7.5
Fine Earthenware	28	10.2	40	6.4
Total	274	100	626	100

The Inn assemblage differs markedly from the three assemblages discussed previously in the ratio of tin glazed earthenware to general red earthenware, displaying the highest proportion of tin glaze and the lowest percentage of red ware. Several things may account for this difference, namely time and function. Temporally diagnostic ceramics within this assemblage date almost exclusively to the later decades of the seventeenth century, after ca. 1675. It was during this latter part of the seventeenth century that a shift in dining habits began to take shape as individuals began moving towards a more individualized, modern dining pattern that took firm hold in the Georgian era of the 18th century (Deetz 1977, Leone 2005). The higher percentage of tin glaze may represent a greater emphasis on the use of tableware plates as this new dining etiquette began to take hold. The second factor is the introduction of fine earthenware (Staffordshire Slipware and Manganese Mottled) which began replacing or becoming more prevalent in forms previously produced in red wares. The other potential factor accounting for this difference is the functional shift that occurred after the government function was removed

from the site. Perhaps this pattern reflects more intermittent, smaller scale dining than the larger

scale, more communal events that may have characterized the site when the government met and

utilized the site more regularly. Perhaps once the government function was removed and the site

diminished in prominence as a social center, more sporadic, intermittent, individual dining

activity became the more typical practice. It is likely a combination of these and other factors

that produced this pattern distinct from the other contexts discussed previously.

Of particular note is the proportion of Rhenish stoneware and fine earthenware combined.

These wares form 19.7% of the Inn Midden assemblage. This is remarkably consistent with the

combined proportions in the Northeast and Statehouse middens, forming 19.2% and 18.3% of

each respective assemblage. With these ware types occurring predominantly in drinking vessel

forms, this indicates that drinking was a significant component of the activities that formed each

assemblage.

The North Cluster also displays a pattern distinct from the other main sub-assemblages.

This assemblage contains a much lower percentage of tine glazed earthenware and a much higher

proportion of red earthenwares than any of the other assemblages examined. This is consistent

with other findings that indicate this area was used as work area centered on food preparation or

dairying during the early decades of occupation (probably the 1650s). Most of the coarse

earthenware (218 sherds or 50.5% of the red earthenware) is represented by North Devon Gravel

Tempered ware, a ware type that occurs predominantly in dairying vessel forms. The Rhenish

and fine earthenwares form a smaller proportion than seen in the other assemblages. However,

given this particular context, forming 13.9% of the overall ceramics assemblage is significant.

Even though this area is overshadowed by the coarse earthenwares associated with the early

period work area, the Rhenish and fine earthewares indicate drinking was still a significant focus

of activity in this area. This is undoubtedly associated with use of the cock-fighting/animal baiting pit located in this area during the latter decades of occupation.

Vessel Glass Comparison:

Some variation is also seen between the sub-assemblages in the composition of vessel glass. Figures 8-13 and 8-14 display the proportions of vessel glass types from the Country's House sub-assemblages selected for comparison. Table 8-7 shows the numerical values from which the graphs were derived.
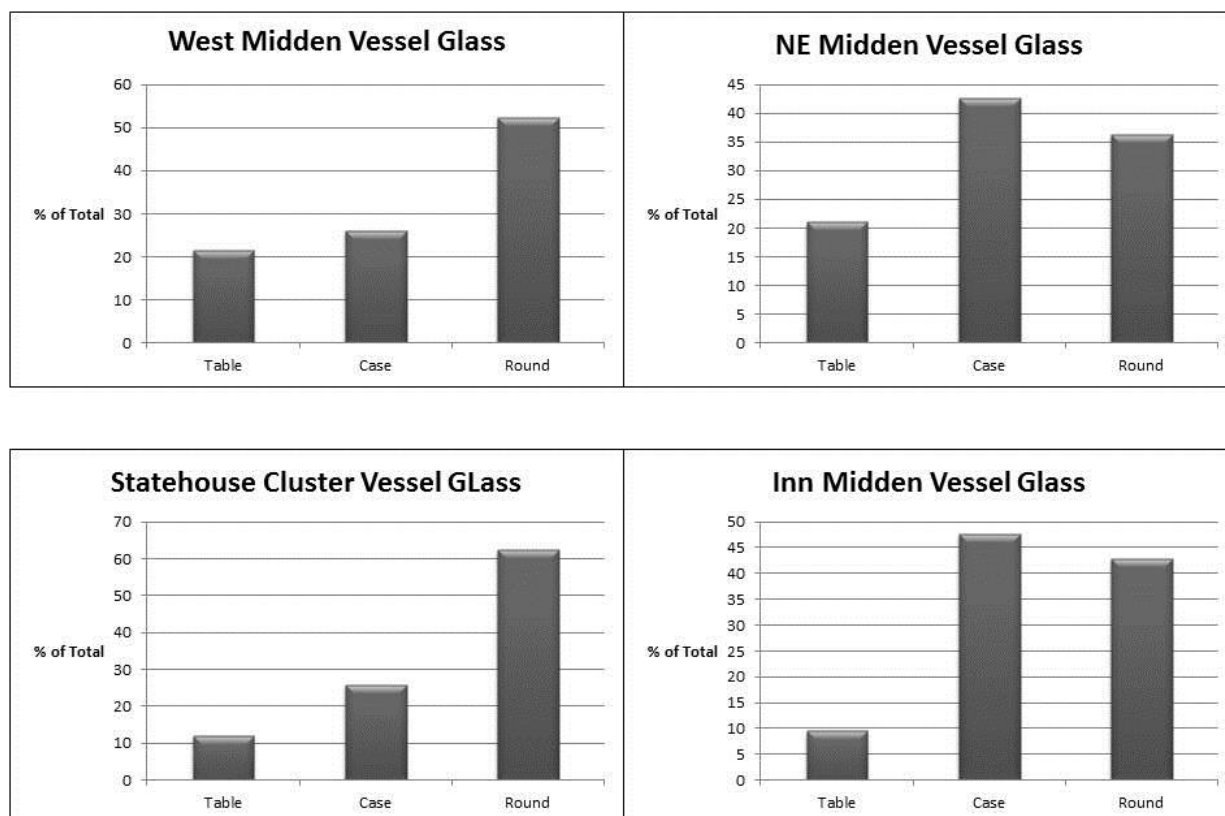
Figure 8-13: Vessel Glass Proportions from Four Sub-Assemblages
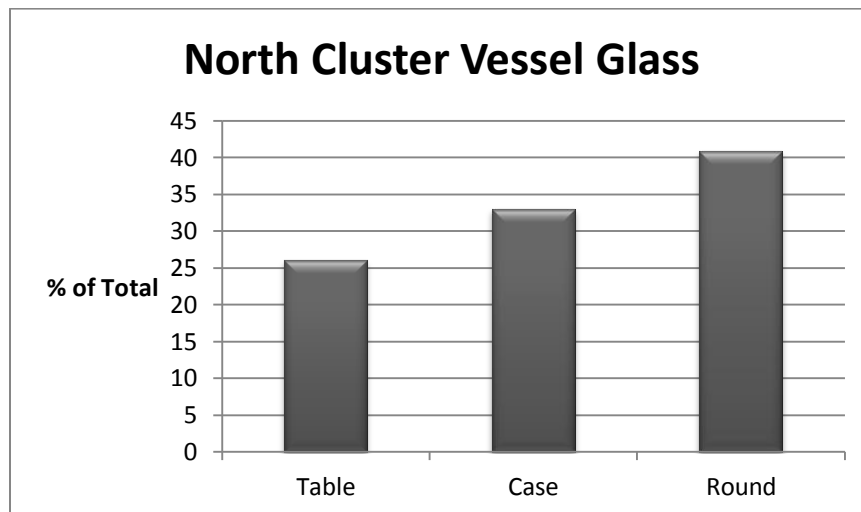
Figure 8-14: Vessel Glass Proportions from North Cluster

Table 8-7: Proportions of Vessel Glass from Country's House Assemblages

Vessel Type	West Midden N	West Midden %	NE Midden N	NE Midden %	St. House N	St. House %	Inn Midden N	Inn Midden %	North Cluster N	North Cluster %
Table Glass	165	21.5	108	21.1	40	11.9	16	9.5	63	26.03
Case Bottle	200	26.1	218	42.6	87	25.8	80	47.6	80	33.06
Round Bottle	401	52.4	186	36.3	210	62.3	72	42.9	99	40.91
Total	766	100	512	100	337	100	168	100	242	100

Both the West and Northeast middens exhibit comparable proportions of table glass

fragments within their assemblages (21.5% and 21.1%, respectively). This proportion is roughly

double what is featured within the Statehouse and Inn phase assemblages (11.9% and 9.5%

respectively). This higher proportion of table glass within the West and NE middens may be a

function of their continuous deposition throughout all major phases of occupation on the site. In

contrast, both the Statehouse and Inn middens saw deposition only during relatively discrete 15

to 20 year time spans. The North Cluster contains the largest proportion of table glass of any assemblage, despite being the furthest material concentration from the main building. This undoubtedly reflects an emphasis on alcohol consumption associated with activity centered on the cock-fighting/animal-baiting pit in this area of the rear yard. Perhaps not as many serving receptacles (i.e. bottles) were not being utilized this far from the structure, but patrons were regularly carrying their drinks out to watch the spectacles. Perhaps the atmosphere generated by use of this feature was more conducive to table glass breakage as well.

Variation in the proportions of case bottle and round bottle glass is also evident in the different assemblages. The West and Statehouse middens both contain significantly larger proportions of round bottle versus case bottle glass. The other three sub-assemblages contain more equitable proportions of round and case bottle glass, with slightly higher percentages of the latter. The reason for these differences is uncertain, but may relate to different beverage consumption behaviors. There is some consensus that by the 18th century square case bottles were utilized more for distilled spirits whereas round bottles were associated more with wine (Noel Hume 1961, 1969; Otto 1984; Smith 2008). It is unclear if this was the case during the seventeenth century as well. Both case and round bottles were often purchased empty and then used to hold a variety of liquids. Wine, brandy, ale, and cider were usually shipped to the colonies in casks and then put into bottles for distribution, serving, or trading. Wealthier individuals and proprietors of taverns/ordinaries often purchased round bottles with personal seals embossed on them for local exchange or trade, and perhaps to acquire prestige among friends. It is quite possible that round bottles were more expensive than case bottles given the labor requirements of production. Round bottles in the seventeenth century were free blown. Case bottles were blown into rectangular molds with the necks and rims finished by hand, a

process that may have been slightly more efficient and thus less costly. Regardless, variation in the proportions of bottle glass types among the sub-assemblages is evident.

The larger proportion of round bottle glass within the West Midden may be related to use of the wine cellar indicated in Smith's probate inventory that was likely located on the west end of the main building. The similar proportions seen in the NE, Inn, and North Cluster middens may reflect consumption patterns more consistent with typical tavern behavior. Intriguing is the significantly larger proportion of round bottle glass within the Statehouse midden assemblage. This potentially implies a more specialized beverage/alcohol consumption pattern during use of the site when it served as the provincial statehouse. Clearly round bottles were more heavily utilized in the practices that formed this assemblage. One possibility is that wine was purchased by the bottle and then shared among colleagues, indicating increased social interaction during this period. The potentially greater cost of round bottles coupled with their possible association with wine rather than other forms of alcohol also may indicate a status difference associated with the government function of the site during the period. Perhaps this indicates efforts at catering to higher status government officials, or projecting an environment of formality associated with the government status of the site. This would be consistent with evidence reflected in the built environment and distribution data.

Inter-site Comparative Analysis:

In order to further assess and elucidate potential specialized behavioral practices associated with the Country's House's government function, material classes from the various sub-assemblages were also compared with material from the Smith's Ordinary plowzone sample. Smith's Ordinary represents a more typical tavern/inn assemblage from the 1660s and 1670s.

Since the Country's House simultaneously served as an Ordinary concurrently with its government function, a typical ordinary assemblage can serve as a baseline against which the Country's House can be assessed to determine if anything distinguishes it from other taverns; differences that may relate to its use during the government period. Overall the comparison revealed general similarity between the assemblages in terms of broad functional categories, particularly the Statehouse Midden. However, examining individual classes of material revealed differences between the sites that may be indicative if the Country's House's more specialized government use.

Figures 8-15 and 8-16 below show the proportions of broad functional classes from the Statehouse Midden and Smith's Ordinary. Table 8-8 displays the numerical values for each assemblage. Overall both assemblages display a similar overall pattern. Animal bone forms the largest proportion of each assemblage, followed by tobacco pipe, ceramics, bottle glass and, finally, table glass. However, the Smith's Ordinary assemblage displays higher percentages of ceramics, table glass, and bottle glass than the Statehouse midden. With the exception of table and bottle glass from the West and NE middens, Smith's exhibits higher proportions than the other Country's House assemblages as well (see Table 8-2). This is likely a result of Smith's being destroyed rather suddenly by fire. Ceramics and vessel glass were meant to be reused for as long as possible. Thus the assemblages from the Calvert House site reflect haphazard, accidental breakage and discard (more typical disposal practices) over relatively long periods of time. A large collection of material used at Smith's Ordinary was destroyed in a single event, causing somewhat inflated figures of ceramics and vessel glass. One other possibility is that more pewter dishes were used at the Country's House than at Smith's. Pewter dishes are much

more common in inventories than ceramic ones but are rarely recovered archaeologically. Thus the use of pewter can only be speculated.

St. House Cluster

[Bar chart titled "St. House Cluster" with y-axis labeled "% of Total" ranging from 0 to 80. Categories: Ceramics (~7), Table Glass (~0.5), Bottle Glass (~3), Tobacco (~15), Bone (~73).]
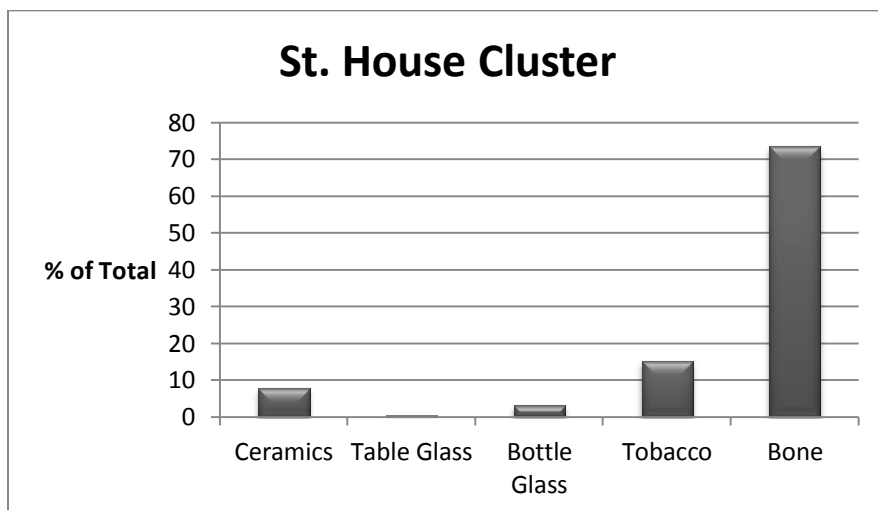
Figure 8-15: Proportions of Functional Artifact Classes from Statehouse Assemblage

Smith's Ordinary

[Bar chart titled "Smith's Ordinary" with y-axis labeled "% of Total" ranging from 0 to 70. Categories: Ceramics (~13), Table Glass (~0.5), Bottle Glass (~6), Tobacco (~14), Bone (~65).]
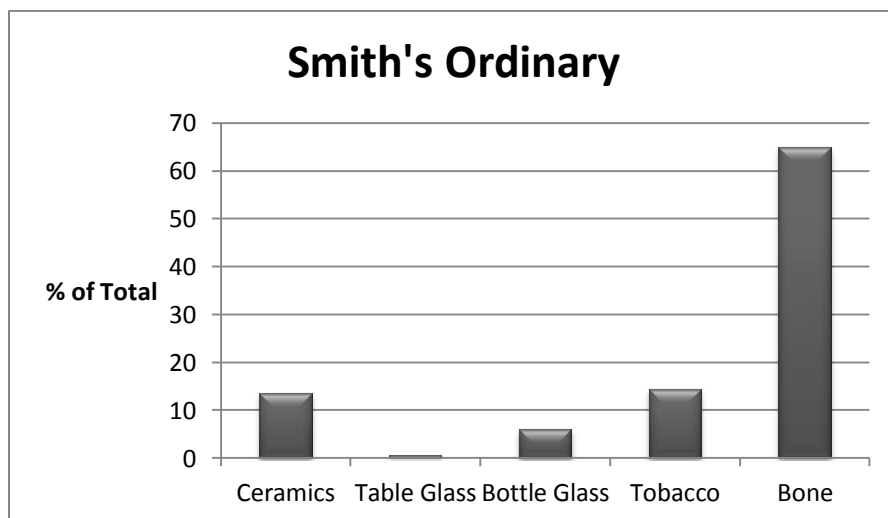
Figure 8-16: Proportions of Functional Artifact Classes from Smith's Ordinary

Table 8-8: Proportions of Functional Groups from Statehouse Midden and Smith's Ordinary

Artifact Group	Statehouse Midden		Smith's Ordinary	
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*
Ceramics	748	7.78	559	13.6
Table Glass	40	0.42	30	0.7
Bottle Glass	301	3.13	252	6.1
Tobacco Pipe	1456	15.14	596	14.5
Bone	7070	73.53	2672	65.0
Total	9615	100	4109	99.9

Notable variation is evident in the composition of ceramic ware types and vessel glass from the Statehouse Midden and Smith's Ordinary. Figures 8-17 and 8-18 below illustrate proportions of ceramics by ware type from the Statehouse assemblage and Smith's Ordinary. Table 8-9 displays the numerical values used for each graph. Evident between the two assemblages is the lower proportion of tin glazed earthenware and higher proportion of red earthenware in the Smith's Ordinary assemblage. Only 20.9% of the ceramics from Smith's Ordinary are tin glazed earthenware. All of the sub-assemblages from the Calvert House site contained proportions of tin glaze of 30% or more (with the exception of the North Cluster). Given the tendency of tin glaze to represent more elegant table-wares, this disparity between the sites indicates a potential status difference between the two sites. Does this further reflect

attempts at maintaining a more formal environment appropriate of the site's government status?

Or perhaps attempts at catering to higher status government officers?

Statehouse Cluster Ceramics
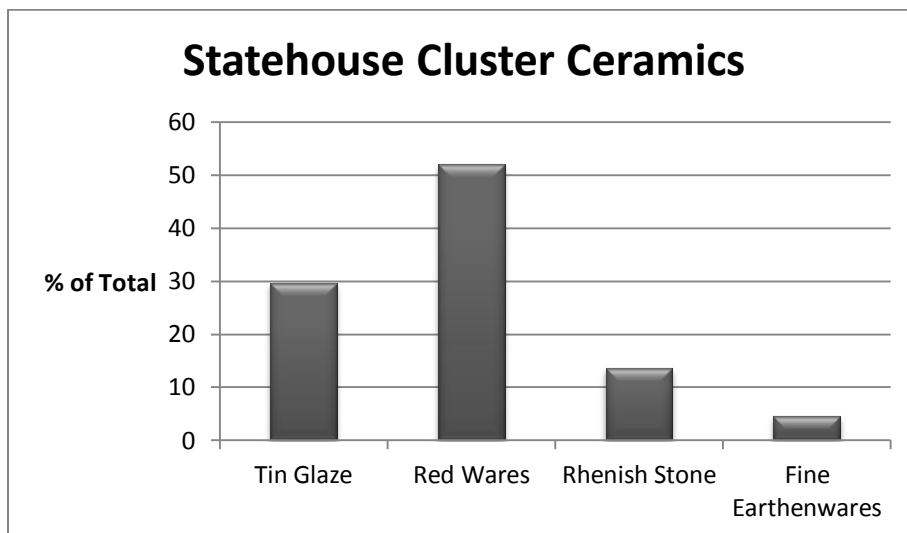
Figure 8-17: Ceramics by Ware Type from Statehouse Midden

Smith's Ordinary Ceramics
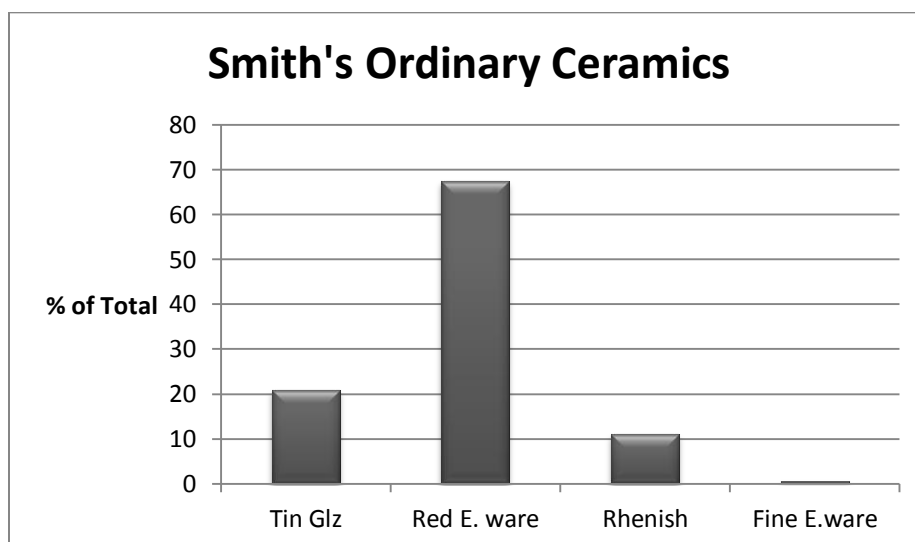
Figure 8-18: Ceramics by Ware Type from Smith's Ordinary

Table 8-9: Proportions of Ceramic Ware Types from Two Assemblages

	Statehouse Midden		Smith's Ordinary	
Ware Type	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Tin Glaze	217	29.7	117	20.9
Red Earthenware	380	52.0	377	67.4
Rhenish Stoneware	100	13.7	62	11.1
Fine Earthenware	34	4.6	3	0.5
Total	731	100	559	99.9

Disparity between the Statehouse Midden and Smith's Ordinary is also evident in the composition of the vessel glass from each assemblage. Figures 8-19 and 8-20 exhibit vessel glass proportions from each assemblage. Table 8-10 displays the numerical values from which the graphs were derived. Both the Statehouse Midden and Smith's Ordinary assemblages display roughly equitable proportions of table glass. However, the Statehouse assemblage is overwhelmingly dominated by round bottle glass whereas the Smith's assemblage has a greater composition of case bottle glass. Again this may signal potential status differentiation between the sites or reflect efforts at displaying formality associated with the statehouse's status as a government site. Also of note is the similarity in vessel glass assemblages among the Smith's assemblage and the Inn Midden assemblage (see Figure 8-13). This offers further indication that

the Statehouse assemblage indicates more specialized alcohol consumption than typical tavern/ordinary settings.

Statehouse Cluster Vessel GLass
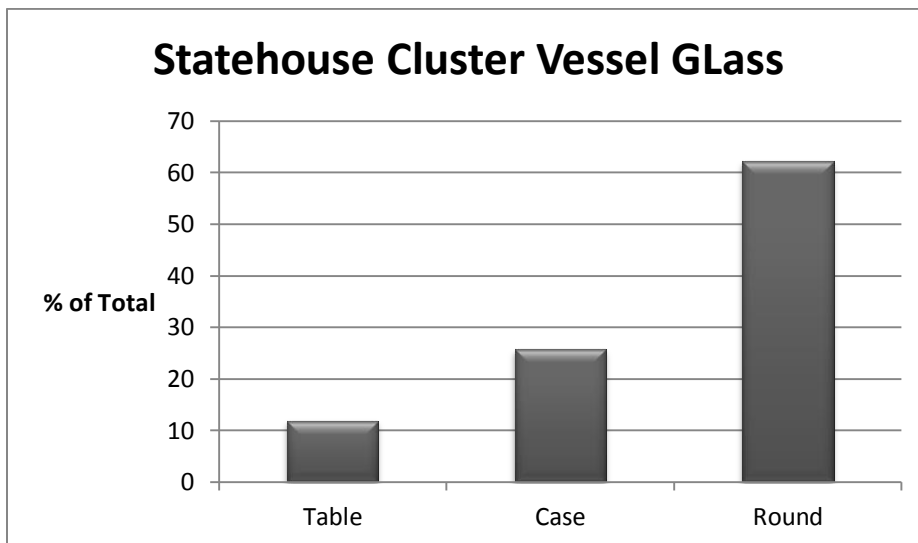
Figure 8-19: Proportions of Vessel Glass from Statehouse Midden

Smith's Ordinary Vessel Glass
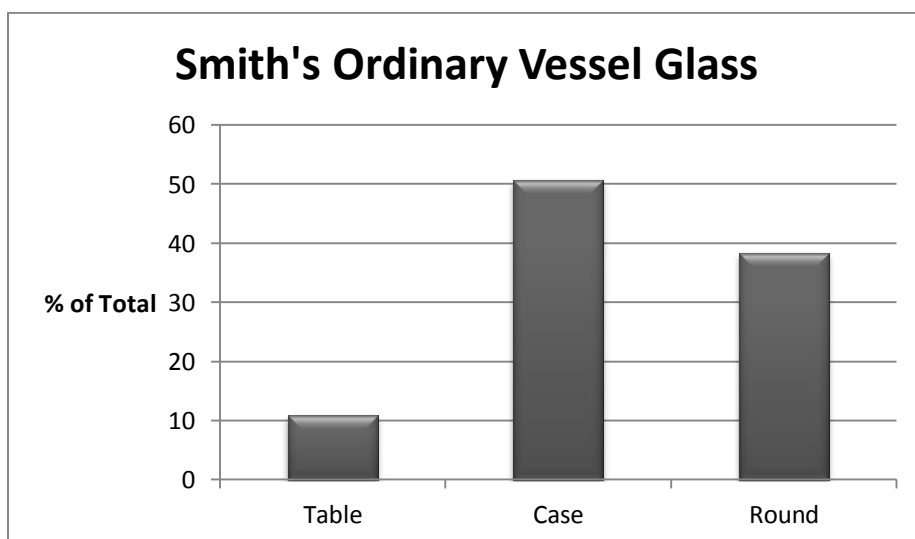
Figure 8-20: Vessel Glass Assemblage from Smith's Ordinary

Table 8-10: Proportions of Vessel Glass from Statehouse Midden and Smith's Ordinary

	Statehouse		Smith's	
Vessel Type	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
Table Glass	40	11.9	30	10.9
Case Bottle	87	25.8	140	50.7
Round Bottle	210	62.3	106	38.4
Total	337	100	276	100

Summary:

Comparing the various sub-assemblages from the Calvert House Site revealed a number of similarities and differences in how the structure and lot was utilized, both spatially and temporally. Certain assemblages appear to indicate specific functional variation associated with using specific parts of the structure and lot. The West and NE Middens both span multiple occupations, making temporal variation in behavior difficult to sort out. However, given what is currently known about the architecture of the building, differences between these two assemblages appear to correspond with use of different parts of the main building. The higher density of refuse in the West Midden is likely directly associated with use of the kitchen, pantry, and cellars located in the west end of the structure. Being the focal area for food preparation and service activities, this side of the building saw much higher rates of deposition over time. The Northeast Midden stands out in its composition, showing higher proportions of table glass, bottle glass, and tobacco pipes. This refuse likely corresponds largely with use of the Great Room,

which occupied the eastern three-quarters of the north bay of the main house. This is likely

where primary tavern activities (i.e. drinking, smoking and eating) largely took place and is

where the Assembly most likely met when in session. The parlor and private chamber were also

located on the east end of the house in the south bay as well. Overall this assemblage appears to

indicate a greater emphasis on social activities revolving around drinking and smoking which

resulted from a combination of Assembly meetings, regular tavern use, and entertaining by the

land or lease owner (which included two governors prior to its purchase by the legislature in

1662).

The late period Inn Midden displayed a similar overall pattern in terms of broad

functional groups as the West and NE middens. However, when comparing the ceramics, the Inn

assemblage has higher proportions of tin glazed earthenware than the others, most likely

reflecting changes in consumption patterns that began to take hold towards the turn of the 18th

century, where more segmented, individual place settings began to be utilized.

The North Cluster stood out from the other sub-assemblages, exhibiting the most unique

patterning of the group. Its higher percentage of ceramics and lower proportion of bone reflect

use of this area as a work space, likely for dairying activity, probably during the 1650s. The

higher proportions of table and bottle glass are most likely related to use of the unusual oval

feature dating to the 1680s, which was most likely a cock-fighting/animal baiting ring. Clearly

alcohol consumption was a significant component of this specialized recreational practice.

One of the primary objectives of this comparative analysis was to elicit what specialized

behavior, if any, is indicated in the assemblages corresponding to the site's function as the

official statehouse. Three of the sub-assemblages received refuse deposition during the

statehouse phase of occupation. The Statehouse Midden in the southeast area of the front yard

appears to be the only assemblage that saw deposition almost exclusively during the statehouse phase of occupation. The West and NE middens also saw significant deposition during this phase, but are also obscured by refuse deposited before and after the statehouse period as well. Despite this fact, however, when temporally diagnostic material was compared from the sub-assemblages, the majority of datable ceramics and tobacco pipe stems dated to the ca. 1660-1680 time-frame, coinciding with the official statehouse function of the site. Even though the site served in a public capacity at times when it was the governor's residence, and it remained the largest public ordinary in town during the latter years of occupation post-statehouse phase, it appears as though the official government function of the site served as a catalyst for community activity during court and assembly days. After the government function was removed from the site, there appears to be a gradual decline in the intensity of activity, probably as government associated community activity shifted towards the north end of town where the 1676 statehouse was located.

Comparing the broad functional classes of material from the Statehouse Midden against the other sub-assemblages, with the exception of the North Cluster (which displayed a pattern well distinct from the others) there appears to be little distinguishing the statehouse assemblage from the West, NE, and Inn middens. The similarity with the West and NE middens may be attributed to the semi-public function of the building prior to its purchase by the legislature in 1662 to serve as the official statehouse of the province. It is likely Governor Calvert constructed the large north bay of the building with the St. Mary's Room to accommodate meetings of the provincial court and assembly. The Assembly likely first met at the site in 1642 (Riordan 2012)[3].

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[3] During the 1640s the Assembly rotated among several different locations, Governor Calvert's House at St. Mary's and John Lewger's St. John's principally. Before 1642, a number of entries indicate the Assembly met at "St. Mary's fort." After 1642 numerous entries in the archives indicate the Assembly met at "St. Mary's." It is possible this refers to the governor's house, but cannot be definitively assumed since the 1642 Assembly also met at St.

The overall similarity of the West, NE, and Statehouse assemblages with the Inn Midden also indicate likely continuity of general daily practice at the site through all major phases of occupation. The similarity of the West and NE middens to the Inn assemblage is not surprising. Both clearly received deposition during the late Inn phase. The site also appears to have possibly hosted tavern activity from time to time prior to its purchase by the legislature. Burgesses needed some place to stay during the assembly meetings, after all, prior to development of the town lands. Overall it seems that there is some continuity in the daily practices that formed these assemblages and that general tavern practices were a major component of activity at the site prior, during and after its official government use.

To examine this possibility further the Statehouse assemblage was compared against material from Smith's Ordinary that was in operation at the same time the Country's House served as the official statehouse. Again, comparing the broad functional classes of material, there appeared to be little distinguishing the Statehouse assemblage from a more generalized tavern assemblage. However, when comparing the individual ceramics and vessel glass groups, potential status and specialized activity differences between the sites are evident. The Statehouse Midden assemblage contains higher proportions of tin glazed earthenware and round bottle glass than Smith's Ordinary, indicating a different consumption pattern than more generalized tavern activity. Despite generalized tavern activity taking place at the Country's House during the statehouse phase, it appears that there may have been some higher status use of the site, or additional attempts at maintaining or expressing an environment of formality through the use of particular material culture.

John's though the record indicates it convened at "St. Mary's." The only direct evidence the Assembly met here in the 1640s is in testimony given by Giles Brent after Ingles Rebellion in which he states he was present at an assembly held at the site in 1645 (High Court of Admiralty, PRO, 1645).

Overall combined, the above comparative analysis indicates that the site was more intensively utilized during the statehouse phase of occupation, suffering some decline in the decades following. Even though the site was a major center of social activity during the Inn phase, and possibly during the 1640s and 1650s, the site saw its greatest significance as a community social center during the 1660s and 1670s when it functioned in an official government capacity. Ceramics and vessel glass from the Statehouse assemblage also indicate potential greater formality in its associated practices through the use of certain material culture. This may be further indicative of its official government status.

Chapter 9

Results Discussion and Synthesis: The Calvert House Site and the Evolution of Public Space in St. Mary's City

Introduction:

The focus of this research was to examine the role social use of public space played in mediating the formation and establishment of community and political order in Maryland during the seventeenth century. To facilitate such inquiry this research integrated a series of archaeological analyses and archival data from the site of Maryland's first official statehouse with Anthropological theories of practice, structuration, and performance. This section presents a synthesis and summary of the site through time as gleaned from the integrated archival and archaeological datasets in order to situate the structural and behavioral context of the site during its government phase. Preliminary interpretations as they relate to the changing structure of the built environment are also offered. The next chapter takes a more explicitly theoretical approach towards understanding how human activities and actions articulated in and around the site, and the implications these interactions had in negotiating and integrating community and socio-political order, reinforcing community identity, and its significant contributions to early Maryland society.

Archaeological analysis focused on reconstructing the site through time and using distribution and comparative analyses of midden deposits to reveal aspects of how human activities articulated within the built environment during different periods of occupation. Overall the archaeological analyses revealed a dynamic landscape that was altered repeatedly to suit the changing needs, circumstances, aspirations and perceptions of the site's occupants and patrons. Although archaeological research has been conducted on the site for over 30 years, this is the

first time reconstructions of the built environment through time were integrated with temporally sequenced material distributions, allowing evident changes in disposal behavior to be correlated with physical and material structures on the site. Comparative analysis also revealed new insights regarding site use over time.

Overall data suggest that significant effort was employed to present and maintain a more formal material environment on the site during its tenure as the official statehouse of the colony, supporting Miller's (1986, 1994) original, preliminary findings in the 1980s. Data also indicate that the period of most intense activity on the site was during this statehouse period of occupation, indicating its importance as a both a civic and community social center. Integrating theories of structuration and performance with the archaeological analysis provide insight into how certain aspects of the built environment and material culture helped mediate public interactions on the site, facilitating the negotiation and formation of political order and community in early Maryland (see Chapter 10 for discussion).

Preliminary Results/Conclusions:

Archaeological analyses revealed a number of significant changes that occurred on the Calvert House Site through time, both in the physical layout and structure of the site, as well as how it was utilized. Particular focus was given towards isolating changes in the built environment and behavioral residues associated with its tenure as the official statehouse of the colony (ca. 1662-1676) in order to understand the nature of activity on the site during this period. Sequencing the landscape features (i.e. fences and outbuildings) on the site revealed evidence that a more ordered, formal yard arrangement was established and maintained during the statehouse phase with work areas clearly segregated from civic and social spaces. The

distribution analysis offered further evidence of formality on the site during the statehouse period, indicating greater control was exercised over disposal activity to keep certain areas clear of refuse. The comparative analysis yielded two significant insights: (1) Ceramics and Vessel Glass suggest greater formality was exercised and higher status materials were used during the statehouse period, and (2) the government period is when the site saw the most intensive use, suggesting government use was a catalyst for human interaction on the site. What was unexpected, however, was the continuity in site use over time revealed by the comparative analysis. Despite significant differences in some of the midden sub-assemblages examined, several of them display fairly consistent frequencies that differ little from a nearby tavern assemblage. Overall, however, the archaeological analyses have greatly improved our understanding of how the physical structure and use of the site evolved over time.

Evolving Public Space: The Physical Evolution of the Calvert Site 18ST1-13

After integrating archival material with archaeological data from the site, for analytical purposes the Calvert House can be divided into three distinct periods of general occupation: The Early Period (Pre-Statehouse Phase) ca. 1640-1661; The Statehouse Period, ca. 1662-1676; and the Inn/Post-Statehouse Period, ca. 1676-1700. Although physical change of the site was likely a continuous process in some respects, each of these three periods are associated with particular functions the site served that are indicated by the documentary record. These functional shifts appear to coincide with a number of changes in the built environment and material distributions that have been isolated and reconstructed through archaeology.

The Governor's House: ca. 1640-1661

This period corresponds with the documented use of the site as the governor's residence. By 1641 or 1642 Governor Leonard Calvert took up residence in the structure and used it as his plantation manor house as well as to occasionally host meetings of his council, the provincial court, and the legislative assembly. During this early period, aside from a few land parcels and the chapel field in what would eventually become part of the developed town of St. Mary's City, there was no town to speak of. Instead the site and surrounding 100 acres was a working plantation (Stone 1982: 21; Miller 1994: 65). Except for a brief time during 1643-1646, when the site was occupied by the Nathaniel Pope, the site served as the governor's residence until 1659.

Documentary descriptions for this period are almost non-existent, consisting of the brief description of "a large fram'd howse" mentioned in Leonard Calvert's probate inventory (Carr 1994: 10; Miller et al 1986). However, the archaeological analysis revealed a number of details concerning the layout of the built environment and the distribution of activities during this period. The earliest fence configuration (dating to the 1640s, prior to Pope's Fort) appears somewhat haphazard and disordered, displaying a fairly random alignment. At least one early outbuilding identified just off of the northeast corner of the main house is also oriented at an unusual angle to the main building, more in line with the fence orientation. Distributions of early artifacts suggest this building was likely associated with food processing activities, perhaps serving as an early detached kitchen. In general, artifact distributions were clustered relatively close to the main building and northeast outbuilding, following the typical disposal pattern of "out the nearest door" seen throughout the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.

The lot surrounding the Calvert House was interrupted for a brief period by the construction of a palisaded fort with a surrounding moat during Ingle's Rebellion that stood between 1645 and 1646; perhaps as late as ca. 1650 since archaeology indicates the surrounding moat still received trash up until this time. It should be noted, however, that the last archival reference to the fort was in 1648 (Maryland Archives IV: 383-424). While this fort is an interesting military feature and important monument to the impact of the English Civil War on the early Maryland colony, given its relatively short use-span on the site, it provides little overall insight into the everyday use of the property through time, particularly in terms of public interaction. However, it does serve as a good relative temporal indicator since we know that any fences that cut through it must date after its destruction.

Following the decay and/or destruction of Pope's Fort after Governor Calvert was able to return and restore proprietary control; a new fence arrangement was constructed, possibly by Governor Stone who took up occupation of the house following Calvert's death in 1647. By the 1650s the lot arrangement appears to consist of two parallel fence-lines that run northward from the northwest and northeast corners of main house. Their overall length is currently unknown due to limited archaeological testing in the far northern portions of the site, but they likely continue well past the 110 feet confirmed thus far from the archaeology. They are connected by at least two cross-fences located at 80 feet and 110 feet from the main house, likely used to delineate certain functional spaces. Evidence suggests a new outbuilding was constructed along the western fence, just south of the cross-fence partition. A cluster of early period ceramics located in this area suggest this outbuilding may have been associated with dairying and other food preparation activities, given the prevalence of coarse earthenwares within the assemblage.

This early period saw several changes to the physical layout of the site, but overall represents a period of relative disorder and chaos. The original fence arrangement appears to be completely random, with artifact distributions indicating a surrounding yard cluttered with refuse. However, following Ingle's Rebellion, it does appear that Governor Stone may have attempted to create a more ordered space with the new parallel fence arrangement. This may have been an effort to more clearly define the lot boundaries as more parcels were beginning to be developed within the town lands, or perhaps an effort to create a more ordered environment following the chaos of the Plundering Time (Ingle's Rebellion) when proprietary control of the colony was interrupted. The exact reasons can only be speculated and likely involved multiple factors. The artifact distributions, however, do not indicate a major shift in disposal behavior associated with this new fence arrangement. There are several concentrations that appear correlated to this new arrangement indicating disposal continued to clutter portions of the rear yard within the fenced-in enclosure.

Governor Stone died in 1659. The property was eventually transferred to Leonard Calvert's heir William in 1661. Shortly after acquiring the property, William sold it to an inn keeper named Hugh Lee, who operated an ordinary in the building until his death late in 1661. At this time is when we begin to see a significant shift in the function of the site. Prior to this the site served primarily as the manor house for the governor of the colony. It should be noted that the assembly and governor's council periodically met at the site during this early period. It may have also periodically been used as an ordinary by the governors or owners. Nethaniel Pope paid Calvert 15,000 lbs. of tobacco for the period he was in possession of the property during Ingle's Rebellion. Riordan (2012: 22) suggests these funds were most likely generated by charging fees for the feeding and housing of burgesses during meetings of the Assembly, which occurred at

least three times during Pope's tenure. After all, accommodations would have been necessary when the assembly and/or provincial court were meeting there prior to the development of the town. With Lee taking over the property, however, the site begins to operate in a much more exclusively public capacity.

Following Lee's death, the provincial government determined that it needed a more exclusive site to accommodate meetings of the provincial assembly and court as well, having prior rotated between St. Mary's Fort, the Calvert House and St. John's plantation nearby. They purchased the property from Lee's widow in 1662 for use as the official statehouse in the colony, again signaling an important shift in the site's function and status. It is following this shift towards more public functions that there seem to be major changes evident from the archaeology in how the site was structured and used.

The Country's House Period: ca. 1662-1676

Once the legislature purchased the house and lot for public government use, it was renamed the Country's House to reflect this new function and ownership by the province/colony. In addition to its government function, the legislature continued to lease the property to a series of inn keepers. This marks a period when the site became both the political center of the colony, as well as the largest ordinary or public tavern in the province. This is also the period for which the first detailed description of the house and property exist in the form of William Smith's lease in 1666, and later his probate inventory of 1668.

Archaeological analysis of the yard surrounding the main house revealed a number of profound changes in the organization of the lot and disposal behavior associated with this particular period. Evidence indicates the symmetrical layout of the fences from the 1650s was

abandoned in favor of widening the rear yard enclosure towards the east. This is congruent with references to the fence layout in Smith's lease which indicates the east fence bordered the newly laid-out Middle Street, which ran along portions of the east side of the property. Evidence indicates that the front yard was also enclosed by this time.

There is also evidence of new outbuildings located in the northeast portion of the rear yard. One is well defined and is represented by a small cellar hole surrounded by a series of postholes. The other was located to the northwest of the cellared building. A concentration of coarse earthenware in this area suggests these buildings were associated with food preparation and/or storage, and dairying. What is particularly interesting about the placement of these outbuildings is that they are located outside of the immediate rear yard enclosure. A new cross-fence was placed just south of the cellared outbuilding, clearly segregating it from the yard directly behind the main house. In contrast, the earlier outbuilding located in the northwest area of the rear yard enclosure, which appears to date to the 1650s, sat within the immediate rear yard enclosure. This new arrangement appears to reflect an effort to physically segregate certain work areas away from the immediate yard area of the main building. This presents once piece of evidence that there were attempts made during this particular period on the site to create a more formal environment.

Additional signs of effort to create a more formal environment on the site were indicated by the distributions of artifacts dating to this particular period, which illustrate a dramatic shift in disposal behavior corresponding with the site's functional transformation. During the preceding period of occupation refuse appears to have been disposed of and distributed closer to the main structure (as well as nearby outbuildings). Ceramic distributions show areas in the immediate rear yard cluttered with refuse. The front yard appears less cluttered during the early period, but

white clay tobacco pipes littered the ground in front of the main house. When examining the distributions of material dating to the Country's House period, however, both the immediate front and rear yards appear almost completely clear of typical refuse. Instead refuse is concentrated to the east and west sides of the building, to the north of the first cross-fence in the rear yard, and also in the southeast corner of the yard, away from the main building. The front and immediate rear yard, however, are almost completely clear of refuse dating to this phase of occupation with the exception of low-density distributions of tobacco pipes.

The concentration of material in the southeast corner of the front yard is particularly intriguing given its relative distance away from any structure. The concentrations located to the west and east of the main building are relatively close to the structure, likely representing material tossed out of the side doors. The concentration in the north end of the rear yard is associated with the cellared outbuilding, again following a relatively typical disposal pattern. The southeast concentration is located a greater distance away from the main building or any known outbuilding, and it appears concentrated to the outside of the front yard fence enclosure, indicating that particular effort was taken to dispose of material away from the structure, particularly in the front yard. Workers perhaps carried material out of the side door or front door located on the east end of the building and took extra care to walk several extra paces to dump refuse over the fence and away from the front yard of the structure, which would have been the main approach for patrons and public officials visiting the site.

Overall the distributions suggest that special care or attention was taken to keep parts of the front yard and rear yard relatively clear of refuse. The front and rear yards during this period are also particularly interesting given the difference between the tobacco pipe and ceramics distributions. Virtually no ceramics occur in the immediate fenced-in areas of the front and rear

yards. However, there are small clusters of tobacco pipe directly to the front and rear of the main building, but also low density distributions of tobacco pipe that nearly fill in the enclosures. While there may have been special care taken to keep ceramics and other refuse out of this area, one gets the impression of people mingling about smoking tobacco, haphazardly littering the yard with broken pipe fragments.

Overall several changes are evident in the built environment and artifact distributions that indicate particular efforts were taken to create and maintain an environment of order and greater formality during this particular public, government-use period. Work areas in the rear yard, represented by the cellared outbuilding, were segregated from the immediate rear yard area where patrons and public officials likely congregated by the placement of a new cross-fence partition. Aside from a generalized low density distribution of tobacco pipes, the immediate rear yard was kept clear of ceramics and other typical refuse. Likewise, the front yard of the building was also kept clear of typical refuse. Instead, refuse disposal was concentrated to the west and east of the main building, outside of the main fenced-in portions of the lot, as well as the southeast yard. This pattern contrasts significantly with disposal activities evident during earlier and later phases of occupation. In 1676 a new brick statehouse was constructed on the north end of town and the Country's House converted to a full-time ordinary/tavern. Several changes occur in the yard arrangement and disposal patterns that indicate the efforts at keeping parts of the yard clean and ordered were no longer prioritized and largely ceased.

The Post-Statehouse, Inn Phase: ca. 1676-1700

This period represents the final period of occupation at the Calvert House Site following removal of primary government functions. Although legislative committee meetings continued to

meet at the site on occasion during this period, the site primarily served as a public ordinary. Archaeological analyses revealed several profound changes in the built environment and disposal behavior during this latter phase of occupation.

The arrangement of the associated fence enclosures was altered dramatically. The overall configuration was expanded to the east and west, and the front and side yards of the main building were also enclosed. The fence enclosure widens towards the north, likely indicating an orientation to the new triangular road layout resulting from the baroque town layout implemented during the l670s. The archaeologically discovered layout of the fence-lines during this period is congruent with descriptions of the lot contained in the Baker lease (John and Elizabeth Baker leased the site 1678-1693), which provided precise measurements and compass bearings (the only documentary description to do so). Although it appears to roughly follow the triangular pattern, the fence enclosure does not appear precisely laid out. Several fences turn and meander somewhat, displaying no right angles. This indicates less concern with precision and order as seen during the government period, perhaps showing a more organic layout following natural topography using the roads as guiding landmarks.

One additional feature of the built environment dating to this latter occupation phase is the rectangular trench feature with a central posthole which likely served as a cock-fighting/animal-baiting ring situated in the rear yard of the main building (Riordan 2011). This interpretation is supported by the small, fairly isolated concentrations of vessel glass, ceramic drinking vessel sherds, and late period tobacco pipe stems located in this area elicited by the distribution analysis. These concentrations are more indicative of specialized recreational activity centered on drinking and smoking; activities one would expect to find around a feature of this nature where individuals congregated to observe, imbibe, and gamble. This feature and

associated behavior represents a departure from the more formal use of the site indicated by the distribution and landscape pattern during the preceding government phase. Again, maintaining a more formal, ordered environment associated with government use gave way to more specialized recreational use more typical of tavern associated activity. Perhaps nothing is more antithetical to formality than animal-baiting and cock-fighting.

The distribution analysis of material from this inn-phase occupation also revealed a significant departure in disposal behavior from the preceding government period. While distributions of material dating to the statehouse period indicate special effort was made to keep large areas of the front and rear yards of the building clear of refuse, concentrations of material from the inn period indicate this was no longer the case after the government function was removed. Distributions show a significant concentration of late ceramics immediately in front of the building, and a substantial cluster of tobacco pipe immediately rear of the building. It appears that there was no longer a perceived need or special effort made to maintain the same ordered appearance of the yard seen during the government phase and disposal reverted back to the typical out-the-nearest door pattern.

Overall the analyses indicate that there was no longer the same, special care taken to maintain an ordered layout and clean space around the building once the government function was removed. This supports the hypothesis that greater care was taken during the statehouse period to create and maintain a more formal environment around the building. Once primary government activities were removed, there are once again refuse accumulations in the immediate front and rear yards. The presence of a cock-fighting/animal-baiting ring in the rear yard also represents a departure from the greater emphasis on order and formality characteristic of the statehouse (Country's House) period. Such activities would likely not be considered appropriate

within the seat of provincial authority (though one cannot rule out other, more ephemeral activities that may have involved gambling or semi-illicit behavior that leave little archaeological trace). Together, the disposal behavior and specialized recreational behavior represented in the archaeological record indicate the site was no longer perceived as the center of formal government authority during its final decades of occupation.

Comparative Analysis:

The comparative analysis also revealed significant insights into the evolving nature of site activity through its different phases of occupation. The distribution analysis revealed several areas of relatively isolated midden concentrations across the site; some were temporally discrete, some were used continuously. A total of five middens were identified and selected for analysis: two were located off either side of the main building (West Midden and Northeast Midden) and were used continuously; one was located in the southeast front yard and dates primarily to the statehouse period (Statehouse Midden); one is located immediately in front of the main building and consists primarily of artifacts dating to the late inn phase of occupation (Inn Midden); and the last one is located in the north/northwest rear yard and contains both early and late period materials corresponding to an early outbuilding and then the late phase cock-pit feature (North Cluster). Comparing these assemblages with each other revealed both continuities and changes in activities represented, as well as differences in site-use intensity over time. Further comparing them against an assemblage from another near-by inn contemporary with the statehouse period revealed potential status and formality indicators within the Country's House assemblages.

One of the more notable revelations elicited from the comparative analysis was that the statehouse phase of occupation appears to have been the period of greatest site-use intensity. The

majority of dateable material from the two primary middens that saw continuous deposition throughout the life of the building (the West Midden and Northeast Midden) date to the ca. 1660-1680 time-period, corresponding closely to the official statehouse function of the site. Even though the site served intermittently in a public capacity earlier, when it served as the governor's residence, as well as remaining the largest public ordinary in town during the latter years of occupation, the official government function of the site appears to have drawn the largest crowds and most intense activity to the site. This intensity declined once the government function was removed and government business shifted to the north end of town. While community activity likely shifted closer to the new statehouse location, this has still yet to be tested. It is possible other factors account for the apparent decline in activity at the Country's House during the 1680s-90s. At least three other inn-keepers were operating ordinaries by this time, which may have drawn some business away from the Country's House . However, steady population increases in the province during the last third of the seventeenth-century would likely mitigate this factor to some extent.

It would be ideal to test other sites closer to the 1676 statehouse location, including the statehouse site itself and this may be a future avenue of inquiry. At least two difficulties create obstacles to such inquiry. The original site of the 1676 statehouse currently rests within a historic but still operating cemetery. Once the capital moved to Annapolis in 1695, an Episcopal (Anglican) Church took over the property and used the structure as a church until it fell into disrepair. In the 1830s, the statehouse was dismantled and the bricks were used to build a replacement church on the property which is still in use. The site of Gellie's Ordinary is also located on the church property (HSMC site files). Another site of a known ordinary from the period is also situated somewhat nearby on the campus of St. Mary's College of Maryland.

Testing and excavation in the area over the years has failed to definitively identify the site and it was thought to have been largely destroyed by the construction of Anne Arundel Hall in the 1950s. However, recent work in preparation for replacing Anne Arundel Hall has located several large postholes and cellar feature to a seventeenth-century structure that may be the Providence tavern site. Excavations are currently ongoing. Despite these obstacles, the possibility of recovering data from these sites remains open and may become available in the future. However, currently the data indicate that the government function served as a catalyst for more intensive activity at the Country's House during its tenure as the official statehouse. The site perhaps served as the most important center of community activity until its government function was removed and patronage and use of the site apparently declined.

The intra-site comparative analysis also revealed insights regarding how activities were spatially and temporally distributed across the site. Four of the five sub-assemblages display relatively similar proportions of functional classes indicating some continuity in the general types of activities that formed each assemblage over time and space. These include the West, Northeast, Statehouse, and Inn middens. The overall similarity suggests that despite functional changes to the building over time, similar activities occurred on the site throughout its occupation. The common functional denominator that the site served during the periods represented by all of these sub-assemblages is its use as an ordinary/public tavern, likely accounting for such similarity. Thus despite its use as the official statehouse of the colony between 1662 and 1676, tavern activity remained a prominent feature of the site during its government period.

While overall functional similarity is seen in the four sub-assemblages discussed above, subtle differences seen between certain classes of material indicate potential socio-functional

differences in the use of different parts of the building and site. The Northeast Midden, located off of the northeast corner of the main building, displays substantially higher proportions of table glass, bottle glass, and tobacco pipes than the other three clusters. The eastern 3/4ths of the north bay of the structure was referred to in the archives as the Great Room or St. Mary's Room, which is where the legislature most likely met when the government convened at the site. A large portion of the refuse in the Northeast Midden likely came from this room. In addition to typical tavern activity represented in the assemblage, the greater proportions of vessel glass and tobacco pipes within the assemblage indicate a greater emphasis on social interactions centered on alcohol consumption and smoking in this portion of the building. The larger proportion of table and bottle glass may also reflect higher status use of this portion of the building that may have been associated with government meetings and use of the structure. The other three assemblages do not appear to reflect the same emphasis on drinking activity, or the potential status associated with such behavior.

The fifth sub-assemblage, the North Cluster, displays dramatically different proportions of material. Ceramics form the largest proportion of material within this assemblage (31.64% of total), significantly greater that the 6-8% seen in the other sub-assemblages. Also in contrast is the lower proportion of Bone, only forming 29.57% of the assemblage as compared to between 57% and 81% in the other midden assemblages. Evidence of an outbuilding dating to the 1650s and 1660s was located in this area. The unique distribution of material frequencies is likely attributed to the specialized function of the outbuilding. The majority of the ceramics from this cluster consist of North Devon Gravel Tempered Ware and other utilitarian coarse earthenwares (68.85%) which typically occur in vessel forms associated with dairying and other food processing practices. The high frequency of coarse ceramics and low proportion of bone

indicates this outbuilding was likely associated with dairying and certain food preparation activities, while consumption was clearly more focused in and around the main building. Also unusual in the North Cluster are the unusually high proportions of Table Glass (3.02%), Bottle Glass (8.69%), and Tobacco Pipe (27.08%) fragments, forming significantly higher percentages than seen in any other sub-assemblage (with the exception of Bottle Glass forming 8.8% of the NE Midden assemblage). These proportions indicate that social activities centered on alcohol consumption and smoking were prominent features in this area of the site during some part of its occupation. This activity was almost undoubtedly related to the unusual cock-pit/animal-baiting pit feature uncovered in this area of the rear yard. This indicates an area where spectators congregated to observe and/or gamble, imbibe, and smoke tobacco.

Some variation was also seen across the sub-assemblages when the individual ceramics and vessel glass material classes were compared. When comparing the ceramics, similar patterns were seen across three of the sub-assemblages; the West, Northeast and Statehouse midddens displayed remarkably similar proportions of ceramic ware types. However, both the Northeast and the Statehouse middens displayed significantly higher proportions of Rhenish Stoneware sherds which are predominantly associated with drinking forms. Although the overall pattern suggests similar activities created these three assemblages, perhaps slightly more emphasis on drinking activity went into forming the Northeast Midden (likely associated with use of the Great Room) and the Statehouse assemblage. Both the Inn Midden and North Cluster display more unique patterns. The North Cluster is dominated by Red Earthenwares, which, as noted above, was most likely derived from dairying activities associated with the outbuilding located in this portion of the rear yard. The Inn Midden, in contrast, is unique in being the only assemblage dominated by Tin glazed earthenware. The reasons for this are uncertain, but it may reflect

changes in dining habits or etiquette towards the turn of the eighteenth century, perhaps moving towards the more individualized, modern dining pattern that came to characterize the Georgian era (Deetz 1977; Leone 2005). The higher proportion of Tin glaze might reflect greater use of tableware plates. This pattern could also reflect a shift to smaller scale, more intermittent use of the site after the government function was removed, perhaps shifting away from the larger scale, more communal events that likely characterized the site during government meetings. One other possibility explaining the higher frequency of tin glaze sherds during this period is the rise in popularity of punch during the late seventeenth century. At least a handful of sherds have been identified as belonging to small-or medium-sized punch bowls. Specialized vessel analysis would further clarify this issue.

Some variation was also seen in the composition of vessel glass from each assemblage. This variation is likely due to a number of factors related to social, functional and temporal associations of the different assemblages. The West Midden and Statehouse Midden display a similar pattern with both assemblages dominated by Round Bottle Glass fragments. In contrast, the Northeast, Inn/Late, and North middens contain larger proportions of Case Bottle Glass. This may reflect different beverage consumption patterns. By the eighteenth century there seems to be some consensus by scholars that round bottles were more typically associated with wine while square case bottles were utilized more for distilled alcohols, but it is uncertain if this holds for the seventeenth century as well. The larger proportion of Round Bottle glass evident in the West Midden can likely be explained by use of the wine cellar located on this end of the building, noted in Smith's Inventory. Wine was typically shipped over to the colony and stored in casks. In tavern settings bottles were likely used more similarly to modern day decanters as a convenient way to serve wine, or perhaps even sell wine to-go. Intriguing is the larger proportion

evident in the Statehouse assemblage, suggesting that wine consumption may have been more heavily emphasized during the Statehouse period of occupation, perhaps as way of creating an atmosphere of greater formality and/or cater to higher status officials and patrons. The other assemblages may reflect more typical tavern consumption patterns, where other alcohols were prominently featured.

Differences in the proportion of Table Glass in each sub-assemblage are also intriguing. While the Statehouse assemblage contains the highest proportion of Round Bottle Glass of any assemblage (62.3%), which may be an important status indicator; it also contains the 2nd smallest proportion of Table Glass fragments (11.9%). This may be taphonomic, relating to the delicate nature of Table Glass. It may be that small fragments of broken Table Glass vessels were more likely to be deposited near the site of breakage rather than being hauled out away from the building with the other rubbish that formed the Statehouse assemblage. The other assemblages, with the exception of the Inn Midden, all contained roughly 21% to 26% Table Glass fragments, probably reflecting a pattern of disposal closer to their place of breakage. The Inn Midden contained the smallest proportion of Table Glass vessel fragments (9.5%) of any assemblage. This may reflect a decline in the use of formal table glassware after the government function was removed from the site and it served exclusively as a tavern/ordinary.
The final phase of the comparative analysis was to examine the Statehouse period assemblage against a more typical tavern assemblage, using available data from a nearby site known as Smith's Ordinary which was in use during the 1660s and 1670s. The reasoning behind this was that since the Country's House simultaneously served as an ordinary during its government period, a typical ordinary assemblage provides a useful baseline to assess whether anything distinguishes the Country's House's specialized use as a government site. In general, both the

Statehouse and the Smith's assemblages display similar patterns of broad material classes, although Smith's has higher proportions of Ceramics, Table Glass, and Bottle Glass. This is most likely due to Smith's having burned down in 1677. Most of these types of material were continuously reused for as long as possible until discarded from accidental breakage. In Smith's case, a large assemblage was destroyed in a single event, causing inflated proportions.

Comparing the Ceramics and Vessel Glass classes against each other revealed notable variation between the Statehouse and Smith's assemblages, revealing potential status differentiation. Examining the ceramics revealed the Statehouse Midden to contain a significantly larger proportion of Tin Glazed Earthenware than Smith's (29.7% vs. 20.9%). Given the tendency of Tin Glaze to represent more expensive and elegant tablewares, this disparity suggests a greater emphasis on status and formality was exercised at the Statehouse despite both sites serving contemporaneously as ordinaries. Vessel Glass content also differed between the sites, displaying nearly inverse proportions of case and round bottle glass between the assemblages. The Smith's assemblage was dominated by case bottle fragments, forming 50.7% of the overall assemblage. This contrasts with the Statehouse assemblage which is comprised of 62.3% round bottle glass fragments. This provides further evidence that the Statehouse assemblage represents more specialized alcohol consumption behavior atypical of regular tavern/ordinary settings, again possibly due to greater emphasis on status and formality.

Summary:

Together the various analyses combine to contextualize the site and aid in understanding how it was structured and used during the period it served as the official statehouse of the colony. Reconstructing the lot through time, analyzing the artifact distributions through time and

space, and the comparative analysis all reveal multiple lines of evidence which indicate that although the Country's House was also a public tavern when the government occupied the structure, significant effort was made to create and maintain a formal setting or environment for the seat of provincial authority. Efforts were made to segregate certain work areas away from the immediate yard areas, refuse was disposed of away or to the side of the main building, and higher status material culture (i.e. ceramics and glass-wares) were utilized. Analysis also revealed evidence that the government period of occupation at the site (1662-1676) was the period of most intense activity at the site. While the site remained the largest ordinary in the colony following the government period, it was the associated government use of the site that drew the largest crowds to the site. Its prominence as a center of activity appears to have declined somewhat once the government moved to the new brick statehouse in 1676. Together the analysis indicates the site served as both a formal civic center, but also as a major center of activity for the broader community.

Chapter 10

The Country's House: Early Government and Community Space

This chapter synthesizes the archaeological and archival data to summarize the structure

of the built environment at the Country's House. The archaeological analysis has aided

significantly in reconstructing and understanding the physical context of the site during the

period it served as the statehouse. Integrating this analysis with archival descriptions of the

property allows a more complete narrative of how the building and surrounding lot were

structured and used during its tenure as a government and public meeting space. This establishes

the physical contexts of the built environment that structured human interactions on the site.

The earliest and most detailed archival descriptions of the property relate to William

Smith's lease and tenure as inn keeper on the property from 1666 to 1668, which coincides

within the timeframe of the government period. The first document consists of William Smith's

1666 lease of the property which describes the lot and mentions a number of structures on the

property. Archaeological analysis identified physical traces of fences dating to this time-period,

allowing a large portion of this arrangement to be mapped and reconstructed. The overall length

is uncertain, but the known location of the Secretary's Office is approximately 400 feet to the

north of the Country's House. This same document also mentions several buildings and other

features on the lot, but does not contain precise descriptions. The lease further mentions "…the

Mansion or dwelling house of the said William Smith with the orchard Garden and all outhouses

in the said Orchard and Garden…"(Prov. Ct. Proc. 10: 351-352). Although vague, this indicates

that all of the outbuildings were located in the garden and orchard rather than in the vicinity of

the main house. Archaeology revealed at least one outbuilding with a small cellar located north

of a cross-fence partition. This portion of the lot likely corresponds to the garden. Further north

archaeologists identified a number of features in the 1980s that appear characteristic of large, decayed root structures, and concluded this is the likely location of the orchard mentioned in the lease. Several postholes were also located in this northern portion of the lot, likely related to one or more of the other outbuildings mentioned in the lease. Together the lease and the archaeology indicate that supporting outbuildings were segregated from the immediate yard of the main building. This contrasts with earlier configurations when outbuildings were located close to the structure and fences were more randomly laid out. This provides evidence that there was a conscious effort to keep certain work areas separate from social and/or formal space associated with the new government function of the site.

The second important description of the property comes from Smith's probate inventory taken after his death in 1668. This consists of a room-by-room inventory which names each room and lists and values every asset in each. Archaeologists in the 1980s uncovered a large portion of the original footprint of the main structure and were able to tie-in the inventory with the original archaeological remains to determine the likely room arrangement (Miller 1986; Miller 1994; Stone 1982). The inventory mentions a "Lodging Chamber" that contained a "Parlor" and a "Bed chamber," a "Hall," a "Kitchen" with adjoining store room and wine and meat cellars, and rooms above the lodging chamber and hall. Also mentioned was the "Great Roome called St. Mary's," which contained one fireplace, along with a small chamber adjacent to the St. Mary's room which served as a "cellar" or storage room (Testamentary Proceedings 3: 127-159; Miller 1986; Miller 1994: 67-68). Figure 10-1 displays a composite reconstruction of the building and immediate surrounding lot during the government period (ca. 1662-1676) showing the probable arrangement and function of rooms and portions of the yard based on integrating the documentary descriptions with the archaeological analysis. Also included is the distribution of

the Phase II group of ceramics (ca. 1660-1680) which shows the primary midden areas of deposition during this phase. This also aids in correlating midden assemblages with specific rooms within the main building to better understand their function and how they were used, overall generating a general picture of the site and its use during the period.

According to this layout, the building can be effectively divided into three types of socio-functional spaces: private, public, and work or service areas. The private space consists of the parlor and private chamber/s in the southeast corner of the building. This part of the building would be the private or personal space for the inn keeper/lease-holder and their family or household and their things. They could entertain personal guests in the parlor and perhaps find some respite in their chambers from the noise of the public areas during busy times.

The opposite end of the structure contained service areas consisting of the kitchen, pantry, at least one--possibly two cellars, and storage rooms. This part of the structure would be primarily devoted to food storage, preparation, cooking and serving activities supporting day-to-day operations of the ordinary. Service staff, consisting of indentured servants and other members of the inn keeper's household would use this portion of the structure. The largest and densest midden lay directly outside this west end of the house and appears to have served as the main disposal area for activities related to operating and servicing the building and ordinary, containing more than three times the overall artifact density than any of the other middens (see Figure 7-28 and Table 8). The density of bone is particularly notable in this midden, containing 32.47 fragments per square foot (vs. between 1.07 to 14.01 per square feet seen in other middens). This is indicative of food preparation activities associated with the kitchen, supporting the interpretation based on Smith's inventory that it was located on the west end/wing of the structure.
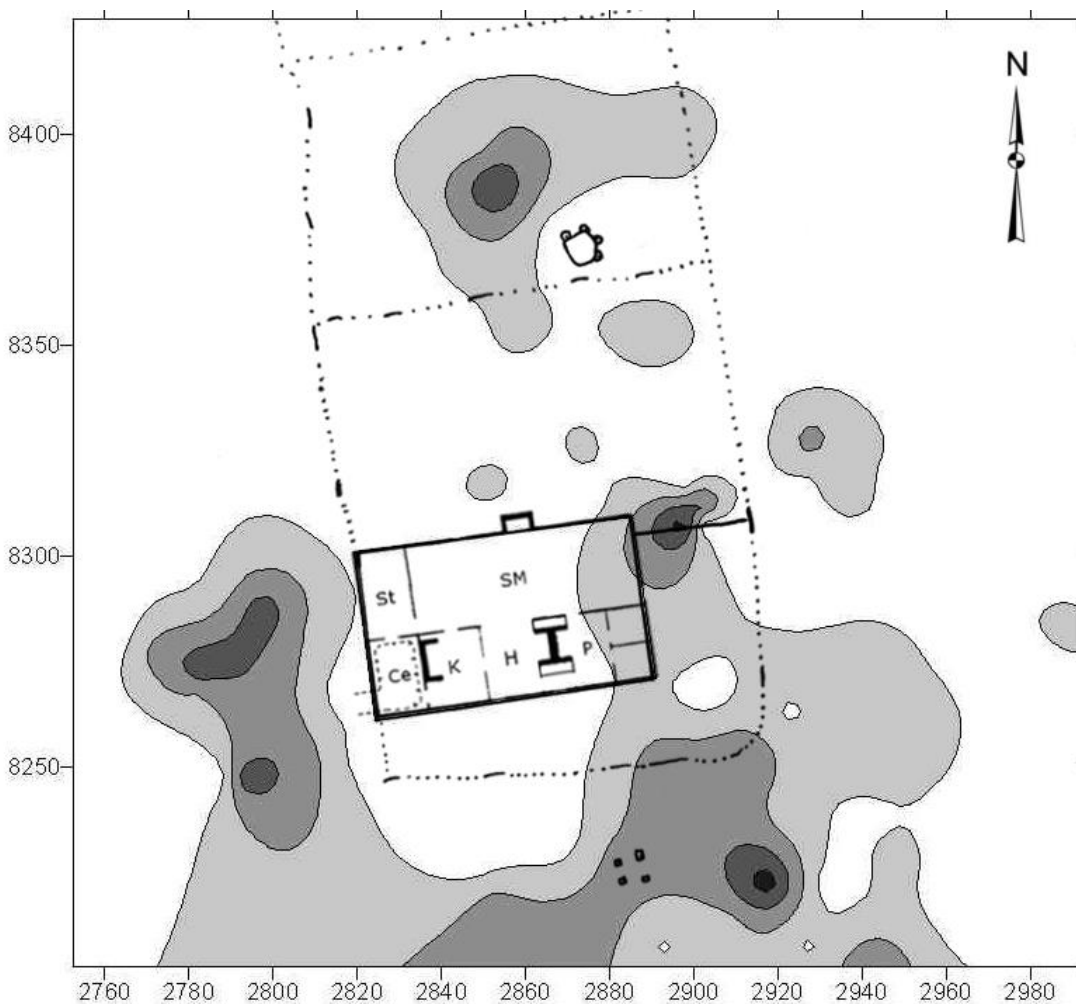
Figure 10-1: Composite Showing Building, Landscape, and Distributions, ca. 1660s and 1670s. St = Store Room or Pantry, SM = St. Mary's/Assembly Room, Ce = Cellar, K = Kitchen, H = Hall, P = Parlor. Private bedchambers are the two small rooms adjacent to the Parlor.

The other service area consists of the small outbuilding in the yard north of the structure on the other side of the cross-fence partition. This small, cellared outbuilding was likely used as a dairy, perhaps as well as other food processing or preparation, given the concentration of coarse earthenwares recovered in the large concentration to its north and west. This portion of the yard was likely the garden area mentioned in Smith's lease. Staff may have also used this outbuilding for drying and storing herbs, and possibly storing root vegetables. Service areas

appear to have been clearly defined and segregated from other spaces in the house, particularly

public. This contrasts greatly with the layout of Smith's Ordinary located across the central

square. This much more modest structure consists of a single large chamber containing a large,

central fire-hood used for both heat and cooking (Miller 1986). With the exception of lodging

space above the first floor, the service and public/social space of Smith's tavern are one-in-the-

same. The separate kitchen in the Country's House is likely an original feature of the building,

perhaps reflecting the Governor's own aristocratic notions of status. However, as previously

noted, there seems to have been extra effort at segregating the outbuilding from the rear yard of

the main building during the Country's House period. This may indicate efforts at portraying an

environment of formality appropriate to the site's government status. A dairy or other work

building is no unusual feature of a private dwelling or tavern/ordinary, but would be out of place

at a public, government meeting place.

By far the largest areas of the building are what have been classified as public areas.

Within the building these public spaces consist of the hall, and then the large "Great Roome."

This room was known as the St. Mary's Room, which is likely due to its function as one of the

primary government meeting spaces. Stone (1982) also suggests the St. Mary's Room may have

been the Great Room because it may have been open and with no ceiling since no inventories

mention lofts or chambers above it. Smith's Inventory only mentions additional lodging

chambers above his lodging chamber and the hall, but nothing above the Great Room.

Regardless, this is clearly the largest room within the building, which is why it was likely

considered appropriate for government meetings. It is even likely that this room was originally

constructed for this exact purpose before becoming the great room area of an ordinary. An act in

the Assembly in 1639 called for a "Townhouse" to be constructed for government use but was

never formally passed and authorized (Md. Archives I: 75-76). Despite this, by 1642 the government began meeting periodically at the site which was then Governor Calvert's home. Calvert may have built the house with this large room attached to fulfill this need, and perhaps get the town started (Riordan 2012: 21). However, by the time the site was formally purchased by the government in 1662, this room was likely serving the dual function as the primary government meeting space, as well as the great room of the operating tavern. This must have been awkward at times, since the great room is typically where the social and consumption activities associated with patronage of the tavern took place. How, or even if, tavern use and government meetings took place simultaneously can only be speculated. I would venture that access by the general public was likely somewhat restricted while legislative meetings were in session. However, the mention of three beds in this room in Smith's inventory is testament that the St. Mary's Room was integrated within the regular operations of the ordinary as well (Test. Proc. 3: 127-159). Nevertheless, this space served as the primary meeting space of the government, as well as the main social space for patronage of the tavern where individuals would congregate to drink, smoke, and take meals as access would allow.

The Northeast Midden is likely associated with use of this room, as well as inn keeper's spaces, given its location right outside the side door to this wing of the structure. Though not as dense as the main West Midden, this Northeast midden contained the second highest densities of Table Glass, Bottle Glass, and Tobacco Pipes. This undoubtedly reflects an emphasis on social activities revolving around alcohol consumption and smoking in this part of the structure.

The second space within the structure classified as public was the hall. Though substantially smaller than the St. Mary's Room, this was the second largest room within the main building. This would have also served as the main public entrance and reception area to the

building. Stone (1982) has also suggested that the hall was also set up to serve as the courtroom. Two clues suggested this. First, Smith's probate inventory lists no furnishings in this room except for "One Chest and Chayre" (Test. Proc. 3: 127-159; Stone 1982: 385). Second is a reference in the Council Proceedings from 1669 stating:

> Ordered that Mr. Jenifer be satisfied out of the publick for taking down the Partition between the Court Room and St. Mary's Room leaving the posts standing (Md. Archives V:59).

Stone (1982: 379) suggests the lack of furnishings and the above implication that the court room was adjacent to the St. Mary's Room is strong evidence the hall served as the courtroom which was later opened up as part of the great room in 1669. However, Riordan (2012) notes that this remains in question, citing other evidence. The Council gave orders in April of 1666 to prepare for a conference "in the great room where court is kept" (Md. Archives II: 16; Riordan 2012: 23). An additional reference from September of that year indicates reimbursements to Governor Charles Calvert for carpentry work in the Court House, which included making the rails and benches (Md. Archives III: 556). Do these references indicate the St. Mary's Room was also where the provincial court met, and the rails and benches refer to the partition ordered removed (Riordan 2012: 23)? Currently the archaeology has yet to provide a definitive answer regarding this. It is just as likely that the rails and benches were not fixed. This would allow them to be arranged as necessary when court was held, or placed out of the way to accommodate tavern activities. Riordan (2013), however, recently found evidence of an early fire-place in the north bay of the building which would have broken up the great room into two distinct chambers, which would provide separate spaces to accommodate a court room and a separate assembly room.

I suggest the court room was most likely within the St. Mary's Room precisely given the lack of furnishings listed in the Hall. One would expect the court room to have some furnishings to at least accommodate the justices, including chairs or benches, and at least one table, though it is possible these things could have been set up as needed during specific times the court met. However, it would make sense to have a large, open room to serve as a reception and waiting room for petitioners waiting to present their cases to the court. The court room was more likely set up in the St. Mary's Room that lists several furnishings in Smith's inventory: "One table and two formes[4]" (150 lbs. of tob.); "One leather Chair" (20 lbs. tob.); and "One Wicker Chair and a Joynestoole" (20 lbs. tob.) (Test. Proceedings 3: 127-159). Although sparsely outfitted for such a large room, such furnishings would be enough to accommodate a small bench of court officials. However, it should also be noted that the inventory only includes possessions belonging directly to William Smith and there may have been other furnishings that belonged to the province and were thus omitted. Regardless, the Hall and the St. Mary's Room (Great Room) were the primary public spaces within the main building. Tying specific refuse accumulations to this part of the building is difficult since it appears the space directly outside of the doorway to this room was kept clear of refuse. If this were the main reception area that lacked furnishings, it may not have been a center of activity that would produce large accumulations of material during this phase of occupation (this contrasts with the proceeding inn phase when a small midden appears directly outside of the door in this location; see Figure 7-11).

Additional public space would have been in the front and immediate rear yards of the main building. Evidence indicates the front yard was completely enclosed during this period, providing some division of it from the central square/plaza of the developing town center that

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[4] Formes is an archaic Middle English term that could refer to benches or seats, among other things. Its coupling with a table in this case suggests it is referring to one of these furnishings (citation…http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/form#English).

was taking form in the 1660s. This may have served a practical purpose; perhaps to keep roaming livestock out of the yard since free ranging was the standard practice at the time. It is likely, however, that this area was largely accessible by all members of the public since it would have served as the main approach to the statehouse and ordinary. The front yard is also the probable location of the stocks and pillory, which likely corresponds with the small arrangement of posts noted in the figure. This was in full public view, not only to humiliate the punished offenders, but also likely serving as a form of social control by allowing others to see the consequences of offences against the province (Foucault 1977).

Artifact distributions also indicate that refuse was largely kept away and clear from a large portion of the front yard. However, refuse was clearly deposited outside of the fence to the southeast of the house, closer to and within the central square of the developing town center. This midden contained materials fairly consistent with the West and Northeast middens, and appears to represent typical tavern activity. Why it was deposited in the southeast corner of the front yard remains somewhat in question. This may represent clean-up from regular use of the ordinary, or government meetings, and material was simply walked out of the front and/or side door and tossed over the fence, well away from the structure. It may also represent accumulations to some degree from patrons and general public mingling in the central square. Regardless, there appears to have been particular attention taken to keep refuse away from the immediate front yard of the structure during this period.

Perhaps less accessible was the rear yard enclosure immediately adjacent to the north wall of the building. It is unclear whether there was any access to this enclosure from west or east sides of the fence given gaps in the archaeologically uncovered segments thus far. It is likely main access was from the rear door of the St. Mary's Room. This would allow access to be

somewhat controlled and limited to government officials during government meetings, or patrons during regular operating hours. This part of the yard may have served as a courtyard to the St. Mary's Room, where officials, burgesses or patrons could adjourn for fresh air during warmer parts of the year or other reasons. What is particularly interesting about this portion of the yard is near complete lack of refuse dating to the government period within this enclosed portion of the yard aside from a low density distribution of tobacco pipes (see Figure 40). The distribution of tobacco pipes suggests people used the space to some degree, but there appears to have been particular attention paid to keeping this enclosure clean and relatively free of refuse. This suggests that although it was certainly public space, it appears to have been considered formal space to a degree as well, providing support for the interpretation that it served as the formal courtyard of the statehouse during the government period.

Also mentioned in Smith's probate inventory are "the Roome over Captn Smyths Lodging Room" and "the Chamber over the Hall" (Test. Proc. 3:127-159). Items listed in these rooms consist of: four feather beds and one table chair and forme in the room above Smith's Lodging Chamber; and two old beds with rugs attached and one table and form in the chamber above the Hall. These spaces were more likely extra lodging space for patrons and possibly for indentured servants of the household and not for large, public interaction or government meetings.

The archaeology and archival descriptions of the building and lot have provided a great deal of information regarding the layout and function of different spaces within the structure and surrounding lot during the Country's House or government period. Spaces appear to have been clearly segregated between private, public, and work/service areas with variable levels of accessibility. The public areas appear to have also been kept somewhat clear of refuse, likely to

maintain a more formal environment or appearance indicative of its government status. It should be noted that the precise arrangement of the internal floor plan of the Country's House seen in Figure 10-1 are based on a number of assumptions about Smith's inventory and a number of questions about the internal architecture still wait archaeological verification (Riordan 2012: 23). However, Smith's probate inventory likely follows a logical room-by-room progression that indicates access relationships between certain rooms. Based on this along with the archaeology, there is sound confidence that the Great Room (St. Mary's Room) is the large northern bay of the building and the remaining rooms (with the exception of a cellar or store room located next to the great room) are all located in the south bay of the structure, even if their exact arrangement is uncertain (Stone 1982; Riordan 2012: 23). The large midden on the west side of the structure provides additional verification that the kitchen, cellars, store room, and other service/food processing areas were located in the West wing of the structure. Together the archival evidence integrated with the archaeological data helped generate a more complete reconstruction of the layout of the building, the surrounding lot, and how different portions of the site were used during its tenure as the governmental center of the colony. This provides the physical context for understanding some of the conditions that structured and facilitated human interactions on the site. The next section will examine what those interactions may have looked like and explore theoretical implications of these practices for facilitating the negotiation and formation of community and socio-political order.

Chapter 11

Negotiating Political Order and Building Community: Public Interactions at the Country's House

Introduction:

It is difficult to reconstruct the scene and nature of the various public interactions that took place in and around the Country's House when the site served as the official statehouse of the colony, ca. 1662-1676. However, the integrated archaeological and archival analysis helped reconstruct the physical context of the site during this period and associated activities represented in the middens distributed around the site. Portions of the built environment appear to have been structured to exhibit a more formal environment, perhaps indicative of its status as the center of provincial government authority. This environment of status and formality also appears to have been expressed and reinforced through the use of certain material culture, namely higher status tin glazed wares and bottle and drinking glass. This was particularly evident when compared to an adjacent public ordinary in contemporaneous operation (Smith's Ordinary). Another significant finding of the archaeological analysis was the intensity of site-use associated with the government period, providing evidence that the government function was a major catalyst for larger community interaction. This social significance seems to have declined substantially once the government function was removed from the site and relocated on the north end of town. Additionally, the functions of several of the rooms and portions of the yard that were elicited from archival documents were also verified or reinforced by the archaeological analyses.

While the archaeological analyses provide significant insight into how the site was structured and used during its government tenure, the precise nature of the diverse and varied public interactions that took place is unfortunately incomplete. Chapter 3 summarized the types

of government meetings and associated activities known to have taken place at the site based on historical and documentary sources. Two types of government meetings occurred at the Country's House that likely drew significant crowds to the fledgling capital: (1) meetings of the Provincial Court, and (2) meetings of the Lower House of the Assembly. This chapter examines how these meetings and associate activities articulated within the built environment at the site during its use as the government seat. Theories of structuration and performance are integrated with the archival and archaeological data to examine the theoretical significance of these interactions for negotiating community and political order in the early Maryland colony. I suggest that creating a more formal environment for government meetings and public interactions helped establish and reinforce a structural hierarchy. However, power was not rested entirely with the provincial elite, but also negotiated among a rising political class of middling planters. Larger public interactions associated with these government events helped facilitate the integration of a wider community between large cross-sections of the local population. These integrative interactions within a formal environment served to influence and reinforce perceptions of government authority among the larger public. These two processes together helped the lower house of the assembly co-opt this new sense of common identity and community among their constituent class of middling and rising freehold planters, and solidify their own position as a significant political force.

Structuring Government and Public Interactions: The Built Environment

As discussed previously, the archaeology indicates that there was some effort to structure and maintain a more formal built environment at the Country's House during the period it served as the official statehouse of the colony. Work areas were segregated from more formal space,

and visible public yard spaces were kept relatively clear of refuse typical of seventeenth-century domestic sites. This may reflect broader trends in the reorganization of public space occurring in England around the same time (Stallybrass and White 1986, Graham 2003).

Prior to the seventeenth century guild halls, market halls and other extant public buildings typically held courts, being temporarily outfitted for the occasion. As the seventeenth-century progressed, Graham (2003) notes that there were considerable efforts to build designated court spaces within extant public buildings, or construct purpose-built courthouses. Graham (2003: 60) indicates this may reflect a growing concern for the dignity of the court's appearance and perhaps a more general revolution in architectural tastes. Beginning in the late 16th and early seventeenth centuries, and again after 1660, a large proportion of England's buildings was replaced as standards of comfort and impressiveness shifted. Also during this time the idea of the rule of law was becoming central to men's understanding of the distinctiveness of the English political system (Graham 2003: 60). Purpose-built court spaces may reflect this sentiment and the perceived need to provide a dignified setting for the law's administration (Graham 2003: 60). Evidence of formality at the Country's House during the government period may reflect this trend and the perceived need noted by Graham (2003). A similar sentiment was expressed by Virginia legislators around the same time. In the neighboring colony the court and legislature paid tavern keepers for the privilege of conducting government affairs in their ordinaries into the 1660s. Governor William Berkeley was apparently embarrassed by the arrangement with "all our laws being made and our judgments given in alehouses…" that he prodded the legislature to build a designated statehouse in the mid-1660s (Lounsbury 2005: 60).

While the creation of formal government space may have been a response to the perceived need to bring greater dignity to government proceedings, it also likely relates to other

trends occurring at the time to reorganize public space for purposes of consolidating political authority. Stallybrass and White (1986: 90) note that beginning with the Restoration, after about 1660 there is ample evidence that there was great reform, "a re-territorialization of places and bodies, a realignment of domains, discourses, manners and states of mind…a considerable re-coding of the significant sites of assembly was under way and it was there…that hegemonic rule was established." Part of this manifested with the creation of new sites of assembly and a more 'refined' public sphere that is viewed as a widespread attempt to regulate body and crowd behavior in order to create favorable conditions to the operation of the sphere (Stallybrass and White 1986: 83-84). The creation of a more formal built environment in and around the Country's House may have also been part of this larger trend to structure human interactions and behavior as a form of social control, or regulation of manners and other efforts to influence behavior sub-consciously through sensory cues in the social and physical environment (Bourdieu 1977, Stallybrass and White 1986: 90). While Stallybrass and White (1986) discuss public space and public assemblies of different forms, they largely theorize this tendency towards refinement of manners through literary critique. Deetz (1977) and Leone (et al 1987, 2005) however, note similar shifting patterns in material culture and architecture in the American colonies during the late seventeenth and 18th centuries.

Deetz (1977) and Leone (et al 1987, 2005) note that from the late seventeenth century and into the 18th century there were a number of significant changes in material culture and architecture in the American colonies. Deetz (1977) found in a study of numerous sites in New England that there was shift in ceramic types from forms representative of a more corporate, shared form of dining etiquette to those indicative of more individualized place settings and a more refined dining etiquette. Similarly, architectural forms changed from simple houses with

more shared space to more refined, symmetrical styles with multiple rooms indicative of different social and functional spaces, as well as private bedrooms. He suggested these trends marked a shift from a more corporate, medieval worldview to a more individualized, Georgian mindset. Leone and his colleagues (1987, 2005) noted similar trends in material culture in their study of a number of sites in Annapolis. They suggested this shift to a more segmented, individualized and standardized dining service, as well as changes in architecture, public architecture and urban design in particular, were associated with ideologies associated with the rise of mercantile capitalism and served to influence and manipulate behavior through new rules and manners. They suggest this served as training and reinforcement for the new capitalist order that came to characterize Annapolis society by the late 18th century (Leone et al 1987: 289). McNamara (2004) notes the judicial landscape was part of this trend towards greater refinement and the spread of manners. By the 18th century, lawyers and architects seized on new ideas of town planning and civic architecture as strategies for defining and communicating social order and articulating a professional ideal (McNamara 2004: 6).

It is quite possible the effort to structure and maintain a more formal environment at the Country's House represents the beginning of this cultural shift starting to take hold in late seventeenth-century Maryland. It is perhaps not surprising that a major cultural shift took place in England and its colonies beginning with the Restoration. Surely Charles II sought to reorganize English society and solidify royal authority following the troubled times of the Commonwealth period following the English Civil War, and he likely brought new ideas concerning social and political institutions and structures with him following his long exile in France. Lord Baltimore experienced his own difficulties in the Maryland colony during this period with temporary overthrows of the government by bodies loyal to Parliament or the

Commonwealth in 1645-47, 1651/52 and 1655-58. Perhaps it is not coincidental that there were

significant efforts to redefine and re-structure public space in the colonial capital.

Part of the reorganization and restructuring of public space during the 1660s in St.

Mary's City extended to the development of the town itself. As noted in Chapter 2, work in the

1980s by Miller (1988) revealed that beginning in the 1660s St. Mary's City was laid out in a

Baroque town plan. The urban design consisted of two triangles that radiated outward from the

town center. The Country's House and three other buildings constructed between 1667 and 1674

formed the center square or plaza of the town center with their inside corners set equidistant

apart. Principle monumental buildings were also constructed equidistant from the town center on

outside corners of each triangle (see Figure 6-9). These consisted of the Catholic brick chapel

built in 1667 on the south end of town, and the brick statehouse that was constructed to replace

the Country's House in 1676 on the north end of town (Miller 1988). Structuring a more formal

physical environment in and around the Country's House may well have been the beginning of

this much larger ambition to develop a formal baroque town layout.

Leone and Hurry (1998) indicate the potential structuring effects of the baroque town

plan noting that the use of baroque principles in the construction of cities was primarily intended

to promote and solidify hierarchy and political authority. Baroque urban planning involved

placing symbolically important structures, such as government and/or church buildings, in

visually prominent locations within a planned street network. Lines of sight were then created or

enhanced to direct individuals' sets of eyes to these structures. Urban designers would thus

ensure that both visitors and residents were aware of the power of the government and church,

and would be sub-consciously internalized as they moved through the landscape, thus helping to

naturalize their authority and place within a given hierarchy (Leone and Hurry 1998, Leone 2005).

Prior to the construction of the brick chapel and brick statehouse in St. Mary's City, the Country's House was the most prominent building and represented the political authority of the colony. Perhaps these same baroque principles were utilized in apparent efforts to maintain a more formal environment in and around the Country's House prior to its eventual replacement by the brick statehouse of 1676. While there is no evidence of direct architectural modification to the outside of the Country's House during this period, keeping the main approach in front of the structure clear of refuse would enhance its appearance and prominence indicative of its government status. Once the brick statehouse was constructed, the need to represent government authority was no longer necessary and there appears to be a corresponding shift in disposal and other activity, signifying less formal and more public recreational use of the building and surrounding lot.

While the archaeology indicates there were efforts to maintain a more formal environment around the Country's House, there is little archival and archaeological data to indicate the formality of the internal arrangement of the government meeting space. As noted previously, Smith's inventory indicates several furnishings in the St. Mary's Room of the building, including one table, two forms and several chairs, including one leather one. Also noted previously, Charles Calvert received reimbursements for money he fronted for carpentry work to make the benches and rails in the 'Court House (Md. Archives III: 356).' These are generally consistent with furnishings recorded at several other colonial courthouses during the seventeenth century. In 1685 the Rappahannock County court contained furnishings consisting of a table and bench for the justices, and a "Chaire for the President of the Court at the upper end of the Table

(Lounsbury 2005: 77)." In 1692 York County magistrates ordered a new 10 foot long table with two equally long forms (benches) as well as one measuring only three feet in length (Lounsbury 2005: 77). Some courts followed the practice of elevating the magistrate's or judiciary's seats above the courtroom floor to demonstrate the privilege and authority of the court's officials (Lounsbury 2005: 78, McNamara 2004: 22). There is no indication whether or not this was practiced at the Country's House. The final significant structuring element common to English and colonial courtrooms was the bar; a structural demarcation to physically separate judges from the judged (Graham 2003, Lounsbury 2005: 79). These ranged from simple moveable barriers to elaborate and substantial structural elements (Lounsbury 2005: 79). It is quite possible the rails Charles Calvert contracted for in 1669 may in fact refer to the bar.

Given the building's concurrent function as a public ordinary, it was likely these furnishings were moved and arranged temporarily as necessary for different functions, whether government or otherwise. This was not uncommon in other colonial taverns that occasionally held court prior to purpose-built structures (McNamara 2004). What is certain is that the court room was likely organized according to English custom, where officials occupied a bench or chair, sometimes along a table, and a bar separated the officials from the litigants and lawyers. Such arrangements were designed to emphasize and reinforce judicial authority and privilege over the judged (McNamara 2004, Lounsbury 2005). Similar in principle to baroque architecture and urban planning, the courtroom setting would draw attention to the privilege and status of the court and clearly signal or demarcate the petitioners' or litigants' deference and lower position in the hierarchy, helping to strengthen and reinforce the authority of the provincial government. While some of this arrangement can only be speculated, the archaeology does indicate some level of formality was maintained during the government occupation of the site. However, it is

clear from archival references indicating the need for a separate structure to accommodate government affairs that this setting was far from the ideal embodiment of provincial authority. The presence of beds in the St. Mary's Room indicated in Smith's inventory attests to some level of ambiguity that likely conflated public tavern space with authoritative space. This culminated in the eventual construction of a more substantial, formal brick statehouse in 1676 to provide a more concrete representation of government authority within an ideologically constituted baroque landscape (Miller 1988; Leone and Hurry 1998).

While the establishment and maintenance of a more formal environment at the Country's House signifies a larger trend of the proprietary elite utilizing the built environment to legitimize and naturalize government authority, it would be a gross oversimplification to assume the power to use and manipulate ideology to maintain political control rested entirely within the dominant proprietary party. Although the Maryland Charter granted extensive powers to the Lord Proprietor to govern the colony as he saw fit, the proprietary party lacked the resources and ability to exercise direct coercion. Maryland had no standing military that could be called to action to uphold proprietary rule. Lord Baltimore realized that a functioning society relied largely on the consent of the governed. Not originally intended as a body to make and enact laws of its own, the provision in the Maryland Charter to establish an assembly was expressly for the 'Advice, Assent and Approbation of the Free-Men' of the province (Jordan 1987:1). As Jordan (1987) notes, however, the Assembly (the lower house in particular) gradually asserted greater control and exercised greater prerogative in the legislative process than Lord Baltimore ever envisioned. By the second third of the seventeenth century, this rising group of middling planters were proposing new laws and at times rejecting or re-writing proprietary statutes (Jordan 1987). This rising class must have recognized a growing opportunity to exercise self-determination in

the policies that governed the functioning of their newly formed society. However, while there were at times contentious quarrels and tensions between the provincial council and the lower house of the assembly, there was often some level of compromise and accommodation by both houses for the collective benefit of the province, resulting in a period of relative social and political stability between 1660 and 1689. One important aspect to establishing a stable, functioning and ordered society in such a setting is establishing a sense of community (Horn 1994). The archival and archaeological data indicate these central government meeting spaces provided significant venues for bringing large cross-sections of the rural population together to engage in not only government business, but meaningful social interactions necessary for facilitating community integration.

Structure, Practice, and Community Integration at the Country's House:

As discussed previously in Chapter 2, past communities were dependent upon face-to-face interaction for their creation and continued existence and required physical venues to facilitate such interaction (Canuto and Yaeger 2000). Archaeological and historical data indicate that colonial government sites such as the Country's House provided vital physical venues for large-scale public assembly and social interactions. Periodic meetings of the Provincial Court and Assembly brought a diverse cross-section of the rural population together to engage in various civic institutions and rituals, but also to connect with individuals from among the widely scattered rural population to transact economic exchange, establish and renew social bonds, and participate in various entertainments (Lounsbury 2005, Shepard 1995). Court and Assembly days were complex multifaceted events that brought individuals together in differing capacities and in different scales of interaction. Historical data suggest these events can be viewed to some degree

as political theatre or spectacle, where government authority was exercised and displayed. In other ways they are reminiscent of fairs, public markets and carnival types of events, each one serving an integrating function and helping to establish a sense of community. Innomata and Coben (2006: 22) point out such public events, which they consider forms of public 'performance,' draw numerous participants of diverse political and social affiliations and have profound implications for understanding the integration of communities and the establishment and maintenance of asymmetrical power relations. This section will examine various theoretical implications these interactions had for facilitating the negotiation of community and order in seventeenth-century Maryland.

Understanding the diverse role these events and interactions had in facilitating the negotiation of community and order requires examining these interactions in relation to the various social and material structures that enabled and constrained the actions of the participants (Ortner 1989; Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979; Dornan 2002). Essentially utilizing a practice theory approach towards understanding human interaction, I am also borrowing concepts of performance theory advocated by Inomata and Coben (2006). This approach is similar to practice theory, but rather than focusing primarily on the study of ordinary daily practice, they point out "that highly conscious acts in extraordinary circumstances, particularly those that contrast with and diverge from daily activities, are equally important in shaping the operation and organization of society" (Inomata and Coben 2006:21). Daily practices tend to reflect and create structures in relatively subtle manners, often subsumed within the semi sub-conscious routines of ordinary life. In contrast, these extraordinary events bring individuals together outside the norm of daily life and the participants often enact and experience ideologies, cultural ideals, and traditions in uniquely explicit ways (Singer 1959; Inomata and Coben 2006: 22).

These events help make a community by creating objectifications of experience and making them accessible to others by transcending the limitations of individual experience (Inomata and Coben 2006: 24; Rogers 1999: 5). This produces a state of liminality, or a condition outside or on the peripheries of everyday life, producing what Turner (1974: 46-47) refers to as *communitas*, or temporary social bonds that transcend the typical social structure. They further note that the effects of public events and performance in creating community also suggest their potential as tools for ideological and political unification and thus domination. They are particularly relevant in polities that lacked coercive force to control their population. In this sense they were tools used to integrate and build community while simultaneously establishing, affirming, manipulating and maintaining power relations among and between elites and non-elites (Inomata and Coben 2006: 25-26). As Foucault (1977: 187) indicates, in pre-modern Europe, state power was what was seen, what was shown and what was manifested. This perspective is particularly relevant in seventeenth-century Maryland where the proprietary elite lacked resources for direct coercion and there is substantial evidence that the built landscape and physical environment was manipulated to express formality and government authority. At the same time, however, a number of scholars have suggested that in fairs, carnivals and other similar public events, the public is released from the normal social order and a degree of dissent or resentment toward the dominant is tolerated (Scott 1990: 172-175; Inomata and Coben 2006: 27, Stallybrass and White 1986). In these liminal public events, daily social structures can be challenged, threatened, subverted, and possibly changed, thus empowering the subjugated or non-elite participants in processes of their negotiation (Inomata and Coben 2006: 28; Turner 1974: 42).

The following will examine the differing scales and types of interactions associated with court days with reference to the different physical and social structural elements. Meetings of the Provincial Court and the Assembly, as well as the various other activities that developed among the public in association with these government meetings (i.e. markets, fairs, etc.) brought individuals together to interact and participate in different capacities outside of the realm of daily practice, each with different implications for facilitating community integration and negotiating political order by various actors. I will argue that these public events were essential components for facilitating community formation and establishing and maintaining political order. However, order was not simply imposed by the proprietary elite, but was dependent on the participation and negotiation by a range of social actors, particularly among the freemen and a growing group of middling planters. Complex processes of negotiation, combined with the establishment of a sense of community and common identity among this new class, ultimately helped consolidate and solidify a new political elite represented in the lower house of the assembly.

The Tavern, Market, and Fair: Public Interactions and Social Integration

While conducting government business was a primary function of these government meetings, it is clear they also served to facilitate local economic transactions and significant social intercourse. Undoubtedly these events brought individuals to town as much or more for the entertainment and social value as for the civic aspects. From contemporary and historical descriptions, these events appear to be somewhat consistent with public fairs where there were bazaars and markets, games and contests, various entertainments, and food and drink vendors. All these provide a range of integrative effects that help produce a sense of community or common identity.

Stallybrass and White (1986) discuss some of the potential socially integrative aspects of fairs and markets in pre-modern England, which provide a useful analogue for understanding the significance of court and assembly days in seventeenth-century Maryland. They indicate the market square was a crossroads and the focus of community; it was an intersection of cultures where individuals normally separate by social and physical structures were brought together in communal celebration that produced a sense of belonging (Stallybrass and White 1986: 27-37). This would constitute the largest scale of public interaction at these events, accessible to all in attendance. These events provided opportunities to exchange goods and transact business, communicate information, and renew social bonds (Lounsbury 2005; Shepard 1995). Inomata and Coben (2006:24) suggest such public interactions create moments of something closest to true communities by virtue of large numbers of individuals sensing and witnessing the bodily existence and participation of other members. Turner's concept of *communitas* is applicable here as well. As Lounsbury (2005) points out, court day brought all social classes together in social exchange. He suggests it was a leveling event in a deferential society and that visitors were struck by "the perfect familiarity with which all ranks were mingling in conversation… (Lounsbury 2005: 5)." Structures that usually defined the social hierarchy were softened and temporary social bonds outside the normal structure were produced (i.e. *communitas)*. Participating in these events in the co-presence of others outside the setting of one's own plantation and immediate neighbors signaled their common identity as a member of a larger community through their shared experiences (Inomata and Coben 2006).

The market/fair aspect of these events may have served to integrate members as part of a larger community by presenting opportunities for reciprocal exchange outside of their usual locality. Given the frontier conditions and limited access to goods and specialized labor in the

seventeenth-century Chesapeake, families relied heavily on each other for aid in work, such as construction, and borrowing tools or supplies (Walsh 1988: 206; Bell 2005: 449). House construction and repair, in particular, required the aid of others and generally fell to local planters who were also part-time craftsmen (Bell 2005: 450). Court and Assembly days provided opportunities for planters to connect with others outside of their immediate plantation and usual neighbors and contract for the exchange of goods, labor and other needed services. Such exchange obligated householders to others and ensured a sense of mutual dependence and common identity (Bell 2005: 450).

Communal exchange was almost certainly extended to eating and drinking at these events. Meals were almost certainly shared between burgesses and court officials between meetings and sessions. It is uncertain how meals were taken by the general public in attendance. Certainly ordinaries provided venues for meals and refreshment. In the case of the Country's House, access to the ordinary was likely restricted during government meetings, but patrons may have had access during recesses. Ordinary keepers and others may have set up temporary booths on the courthouse grounds or in the town square to accommodate the extra traffic on court days. However, what is certain from the limited historical references, is widespread communal consumption of alcohol was a prominent feature of court and assembly days.

Drinking served an integrative function in a number of ways. Analysis of probate inventories and ceramic vessel analysis from a number of sites in St. Mary's City indicate the typical pattern of drinking during the seventeenth-century was communal in nature, largely utilizing drinking vessels specifically designed for sharing (Stone 1988: 75; Smith 2008: 62). Communal alcohol drinking and vessel sharing reaffirmed friendships and signaled new ones, helped foster a cooperative spirit, and contributed to a culture with distinctly corporate

characteristics (Smith 2008: 62-63; Karskens 2003: 50; Stone 1988: 75). Sharing alcohol also provided opportunities for reciprocal exchange as individuals obliged themselves to others through buying and receiving drinks. The consumption of alcohol itself served as a social lubricant by loosening inhibitions. Through acts of sharing and communal drinking, individuals also reaffirmed their status as members of a social group or community, establishing and reinforcing a common identity. This integrative effect of communal alcohol consumption may have been further enhanced by the concurrent ritual of tobacco pipe smoking. Smoking, along with drinking, quickly became a favorite activity in taverns where it was often associated with scenes of carousing (Collins 2004: 308), no doubt exceedingly so in the colonies it was produced. There is ample evidence of pipe smoking in the Country's House assemblages. The communal smoking ritual helped loosen the social boundaries and signal a common identity among the participants regardless of outside social rank (Collins 2004: 311).

The effects of communal drinking and drunkenness were also likely facilitators of states of *communitas* and reinforced the liminal nature of these events. Social structures and typical boundaries were likely blurred to a degree. Drunkenness was a fairly regular feature of court days and was no doubt tolerated to a large extent (Lounsbury 2005). Released from the normal social order, individuals were free to express some level of dissent and resentment toward the dominant (Scott 1990: 172-175; Inomata and Coben 2006: 27). This also may have had direct or indirect implications for the negotiation of socio-political order. Some have suggested that public fairs and festival type activities were important for maintaining political order by serving as safety valves (Stallybrass and White 1986: 72). By releasing individuals from the usual social structures and allowing them to express dissent through revelry, tensions are mitigated through the opportunity to express their 'restrained passions' (Stallybrass and White 1986: 73). However,

it is clear from Erberry's case, described in Chapter 3, that dissent and drunkenness were only tolerated to a certain degree and could result in punitive action if boundaries were overstepped. It should also be noted that the dominant or government officials were also observers of such public performances (Inomata and Coben 2006: 27). The large crowd that gathered around the courthouse on government days, particularly one with some level of social cohesion facilitated through integrative behaviors, may have served to remind the government officials of their own tenuous position, thus tempering or constraining their judicial and legislative actions to maintain public perceptions of fairness and justice.

Other political implications of public interactions extend to tavern activity and shared drinking between members of the general public and burgesses, particularly afterhours (during evenings and other recesses). Perhaps members of the council (the proprietary party) did little mingling with the general public formed largely of the planter class. By the late 1670s they were likely utilizing more exclusive accommodations, such as Van Sweringen's Council Chamber Inn. However, it was this rising group of free planters that were primarily represented in the lower house of the assembly and social interactions were likely not restricted between themselves and the lay freemen they represented. Mr. Erberry's case, extreme as it may be, indicates drunken exchanges took place in the ordinary with burgesses present since several members of the lower house provided sworn testimony recounting the insults they heard wielded directly by the accused. This tavern setting provided access and opportunity for regular citizens to engage burgesses, express concerns (and dissent in some cases), bond over drinks, and perhaps persuade representatives regarding particular policies that affected their common interests and vice versa. Jordan (1987: 85) notes how leading figures in Virginia, following Bacon's Rebellion, "became more likely to fraternize with the public, keep them informed, to become their advocates, and to

attempt persuasion by treats." One can only assume these 'treats' referred to alcohol. Jordan (1987) goes on to note that similar shifts in interactions between colonists and representatives occurred in Maryland by the 1660s. Engaging in a social capacity over communal drinks would also help reinforce their common identity and status as members of the same larger community. As Smith (2008: 64) indicates, "alcohol drinking loosened inhibitions, which enhanced feelings of male camaraderie…" The smoking ritual fits well within this social context as well. Collins (2004: 309-311) suggests the social smoking ritual became an important element to the backstage scenes of public business. In England and Europe, by the late seventeenth century, the coffeehouse was becoming a popular venue for journalists, politicians, businessmen, intellectuals, etc. Smoking, combined with other new stimulants in this sophisticated social gathering, became a popular new ritual for carrying out professional business. It was a sociable activity used as a pleasurable excuse for meeting on neutral ground, providing bargaining flexibility in a non-official business setting. While the tavern setting at the Country's House may not have had the same sophisticated atmosphere as the newly popular coffeehouses, the formal government setting may have lent some perception of sophistication to the setting. One can imagine small groups of individuals getting together to discuss various government business over drinks and a pipe of tobacco. This non-official, sociable discourse would allow the general public to participate indirectly in negotiating government policy. It is perhaps this new sense of community and common identity as a commonality of free planters the burgesses of the lower house may have capitalized on and co-opted to solidify their status as a relevant political force in the colony, allowing them to increasingly assert greater influence over government policy.

Assembly Meetings:

Smaller on the scale of interactions but integral to building new social and political institutions were the assembly meetings themselves apart from the larger public that gathered in town during these events. Assembly meetings were not only important for the obvious reasons regarding their essential function of passing legislation for governing the colonial society, but were integral in facilitating the negotiation of both political order and community. Assembly meetings were at times contentious constitutional conventions with considerable debate between both houses regarding policy, law, rights and freedoms, and especially the privileges and roles each house had in setting policy (Jordan 1987). From the beginning there was always a tension between the proprietary party and a large proportion of the freemen of the general assembly concerning their rights and privileges for self-determination in government policy. After the assembly organized into two houses, this tension split largely between the houses, with proprietary interests represented by the upper house, and the interests of the commonality of free planters represented largely by the lower house. The negotiation of political order resulted from complex processes of interaction by numerous actors constrained and enabled by various social and material structures.

Performance theory applies here in that these government meetings were, to some extent, political spectacles with the meeting and assembly spaces, most notably the Country's House, the stages. View and access to the sessions were likely very restricted and closed to the general public during policy debates. This is indicated by the routine swearing of clerks to secrecy in the chamber of the lower house during the 1660s to protect delegates' free speech and prevent potential reprisals from the governor and council (Jordan 1987: 90). Yet any attending public was well aware of what was occurring in these chambers, even if details were unknown. The

potential structuring effects of the formal environment for reinforcing political authority was discussed previously. The assembly was likely able to further reinforce their political status and authority through restricting access as well as displays of particular material culture. In restricting access to these formal spaces by the general public, the assembly further reinforced their status and political authority by displaying power and status through exclusion. There is an important ritual aspect to these meetings as well that also served to reinforce the status of these government officials. Each session began with swearing oaths of allegiance to the proprietor, and there were specific rules of conduct and protocols house members were expected to abide by during these sessions (Jordan 1987; Md. Archives). This implies specialized knowledge available specifically to insiders. Such specialized knowledge can bestow a sense of power among the initiates, reinforce a common identity, and further reinforce their position of authority to those spectators outside this circle of knowledge (Triadan 2006). In rare occasions, overt displays of power and authority were played out in the public arena. In the case of Mr. Erberry, he was taken out, tied to the apple tree and publicly whipped for his offences (Md. Archives II: 56; Jordan 1987; Semmes 1938: 3). Such overt displays of power would certainly send a message to public observers.

This new status of authority may have been further enhanced through the use of certain material culture. Comparing material from the statehouse period midden (located in the southeast front yard or central town plaza area) against the assemblage from a neighboring ordinary, revealed activities at the Country's House emphasizing higher status use of the site. The Country's House assemblage contained higher proportions of tin glazed ceramics, as well as a significantly larger proportion of round bottle glass. Both material types are potential indicators of higher status use. Burgesses using these materials within a closed setting helped to reinforce

their own common identity or sense of authority and status as a political force. Simultaneously, any spectator who caught a glimpse of these closed sessions would also perceive that government status. Perhaps it was not a coincidence that trash was dumped in the central square, away from the building, where everyone would see the more refined refuse of their government representatives.

Greater exclusivity also seems to have been practiced by the upper house of the assembly. As discussed prior, it is unclear if and how often they may have met in the Country's House when not holding Provincial Court. During the 1670s the council may have met frequently at Van Sweringen's exclusive inn. Prior to that, from 1661 until 1666, St. John's was the regular meeting place for the council, being the residence of Governor Charles Calvert during that time (Stone 1982). Although St. John's is adjacent to the town lands, it was well away from the town center and out of the general purview of the public. From 1668 to 1684, Charles Calvert's new residence at Mattapany, located 7 miles from St. Mary's along the Patuxent River, was a regular meeting place of the council (Md. Archives 15). It is uncertain if the council met at Mattapany during legislative sessions, as this would seem extremely impractical and inefficient for the legislative process. Nevertheless, the frequent meetings of the council at the Governor's home, again demonstrates authority, privilege and power through exclusivity. This supports King and Chaney's (1999:53) assertion that Mattapany served as an important symbol of proprietary authority (Flick 2011).

While government officials may have set the stage that helped structure perceptions and reinforce authority and status, it is important to note that they were not the only actors with power to influence policy determinations. It is worth pointing out that the legislators were also observers of the public gatherings that grew in association with these events. We know from

Erberry's case that public expressions of dissent were not unheard of. The crowd may have demonstrable power in its own right, reminding government authorities that rule was dependent on consent and not coercion. The crowd, perhaps numbering in the hundreds, by their sheer size, would remind government officials of their dependence on their support, effectively constraining governing officials' actions. This is particularly applicable given the integrative effect of various affiliative behaviors being practiced at these gatherings, helping to promote social cohesion, community, and common identity. Individually, power and government influence may just be an abstract idea, if it is part of an individual's consciousness at all. However, when individuals come together and participate in such activities as a group, those who take part become more positively aware of how they belong to a class or common community (Lukes 1975). "Belonging to that class ceases to imply a common fate, and implies a common opportunity" helping to enable and empower the public participants in these events (Berger 1968: 754-755, in Lukes 1975: 300). This is particularly applicable in seventeenth-century Maryland where these events constituted some of the only times of the year planters connected with a larger community outside their small group of immediate neighbors and could take part in a large collective effort.

Thus these events were political performances with different stages where everyone was simultaneous participants and observers. The built environment and exclusion were used by the political officials to influence perceptions and reinforce their authority, but they were also constrained to some extent by the presence of large numbers of their constituents. The crowd, while perhaps constrained by sensory perceptions of authority in the built environment and exclusivity, were to some degree empowered by their integration into a common community. Overt and subtle expressions of dissent, coupled with direct interactions with burgesses during meeting recesses, gave lay freemen access to indirect participation in the legislative process and

were thus direct actors in negotiations of socio-political order. As Jordan (1987) notes, by the 1660s and 1670s, the electorate was becoming more informed and articulate with political matters. Burgesses fraternized with the public, kept them informed and served as their advocates. The freeholders became increasingly aware of their political influence, becoming more vocal about their concerns, and more sophisticated in their use of the ballot box (Jordan 1987: 85). These physical venues of government and wider public interactions were crucial elements in mediating these negotiations, fostering community, and empowering political engagement. I would further suggest that although the lower house may have been constrained by the presence of their constituents during these events, they were also able to capitalize on this new sense of community and shared identity as middling planters. They were able to recognize the influence of their constituents and use them as a resource to empower them to exercise greater entitlement and assert a stronger voice in government (Jordan 1987).

Perhaps one of the unintended consequences of this community integration resulted in the overthrow of proprietary rule in a revolt in 1689, led by a coalition of Protestants. As the proprietary party began trying to reassert their own legal privilege in the 1680s and operating more autocratically, a coalition led by members of the lower house (John Coode and others) was able to easily gather enough support to overthrow the proprietary government, without bloodshed, and establish a royal government that would govern the colony until proprietary rule was once again established in 1715 (Jordan 1987). Ordinary planters with varying means were able to establish themselves as a new, political elite. Political order was thus not imposed on a subordinate class of ordinary planters, but was tenuously negotiated through complex sets of interactions. Ordinary planters were not blindly influenced by ideology and performance in the built environment, but were growing increasingly aware of their conditions and were able to

capitalize on their shared identity and sense of community to practice a greater level of self-determination than ever imagined by the proprietor.

Provincial Court Meetings:

Meetings of the Provincial Court were also important for mediating the negotiation of socio-political order and facilitating community integration, perhaps through mediating the tension between exclusive judicial authority and public inclusion in conflict resolution. Such proceedings were structured, ritualized legal spectacle that drew large crowds from the highly dispersed populace to town for business and socializing. Like assembly meetings, such events must be examined as a multifaceted public performance with various actors playing particular roles, articulating within a structured physical environment. In particular, this would be the setting where provincial authority was made most apparent through a combination of the structured built environment and expressing authority through political ritual. Simultaneously, providing an inclusive venue where citizens can take redressive action against grievances, defend themselves against legal suits, appeal lower court decisions, serve as jurors, etc., serves a significant integrative function by mitigating social tensions through the administration of effective conflict resolution.

Previous sections have discussed the significance of the structured, formal built environment for reinforcing and solidifying government status and authority. Buildings and town plans helped define a landscape through which people materially experienced judicial authority and were a means of communicating social order (McNamara 2004: 4-6). These spaces displayed the power of the government, and the structure of the court ritual firmly established the court officials' privileged status in the social hierarchy. Individuals being tried, petitioning the court,

pursuing redress against grievances or breeches of contract, etc, were made aware of this status

through the structure of the court and ritual itself. The prestige and privilege of the justices was

enhanced further by the wearing of distinctive ribbons and medals under order of Lord Baltimore

and Governor Charles Calvert (Semmes 1938: 3). This may have reinforced this hierarchy at a

sub-conscious or conscious level. Certainly participating in court actions, particularly as a

petitioner, tacitly implies acceptance of its legitimacy as an institution. Prisoners or other civil

defendants were perhaps not as fortunate to be there by choice. But its legitimacy was recognized

by a large portion of the general free public. Court magistrates and justices may have further

reinforced their status and authority through the structure of the rituals themselves, displaying the

specialized knowledge necessary for enacting the performance. This was likely reinforced further

by displaying and exercising their knowledge and command of the law.

While the structured environment, as well as ritual and performance aspects of court

proceedings helped reinforce and communicate judicial authority, as with assembly meetings, the

larger public gatherings were also forms of performance observed by court officials. As

discussed with meetings of the assembly, large crowds gathered during meetings of the

provincial court likely served to remind the court of their tenuous position. It is not hard to

imagine a crowd of drunken planters in the streets turning into a destructive mob should the court

not exercise law satisfactory to common perceptions of legitimate justice. Discussing the court

system in Massachusetts, McNamara (2004: 11) suggests their authority during the early years of

settlement rested on their perceived legitimacy, coercive power, and relative fairness. She

indicates this was particularly salient during these early years prior to designated court houses

vested with particular judicial symbolism being constructed. Although culturally distinct from

the Chesapeake in a number of ways, New England followed and adapted similar English

precedents in developing their legal institutions. While there is evidence of increased formality at the Country's House during its government period, its concurrent function as an ordinary made the space functionally ambiguous, far from the ideal embodiment of government authority. Thus the crowd may have perceived and internalized some degree of authority in their experience of the built environment; but this sense of authority was perhaps not solidified to the extent provincial officials desired.

Thus we can see the simultaneous enabling and constraining aspects of the different perspectives of performance in the built environment. The provincial court was partially enabled by perceptions of authority manifest in the more formalized built environment, and was further reinforced by their demonstration of ritual and specialized knowledge. At the same time they may have been constrained, in part, by the ambiguous conflation of civic and tavern space lacking adequate symbolism of judicial authority, making their position tenuous and dependent on perceptions of fairness among the general populous in attendance. In effect, the ambiguous environment of the Country's House helped enable the general populous to indirectly temper judicial outcomes.

While Provincial Court meetings were certainly expressions of judicial and proprietary authority, they likely served an integrative function vital to the wider community. Previous sections have discussed the integrative effects of the fanfare, markets, and other social interactions associated with these meetings that occurred apart from the actual court proceedings. These were certainly significant in influencing community cohesion and common identity among its participants. However, Provincial Court meetings also promoted some level of social cohesion and community stability by mediating social tensions and conflict resolution (McNamara 2004: 21). Turner's (1974) concept of social drama is perhaps relevant here since he uses judicial

institutions as examples for studying the nature and effects of disharmonic or a-harmonic processes arising from conflict situations. Turner (1974: 38-41) notes several stages in the process, from initial breech of social norms or laws, to mounting crisis, to redressive action followed by social reintegration. Each one of these stages likely applied to many of early Maryland's judicial cases. Unfortunately these court proceedings cannot be observed today, leaving particular details concerning the mechanics of these processes unknown. But they likely had significant social effects to the wider community. In civil cases, the Provincial Court provided a venue where individuals and council could present their case, whether contract dispute, debt, etc., and have it arbitrated by a third party. Turner notes that breeches of social norms, once escalated to crisis, often widens potential antagonisms between the parties and their supporters. If the case can be mediated fairly with a resolution perceived as just, the supporters of both parties in conflict can be reconciled and reintegrated with the larger community.

Although relatively rare, capital offences were tried by the provincial court, sometimes with juries. Capital offences likely constituted the most despised forms of crisis within the community. The trial no doubt brought individuals from various locals and social and economic statuses together in common purpose. This judicial ritual would result in some level of anti-structure, where temporary social bonds outside of the normal structure were formed as redressive action was pursued collectively by both the judicial authority and the wider community. The trial would result in what Turner refers to as *communitas,* a consciousness and willingness constituting a social bond uniting the people involved over and above formal social bonds (Turner 1974: 45). Since we cannot observe these processes, it is difficult to say what these dramas looked like, or what the wider implications of these temporary disjunctions from daily life were, or if they produced community bonds that lasted beyond these judicial rituals.

Nevertheless, the potential integrative effect of these proceedings can be recognized. Perhaps, together with the wider social interactions occurring outside the courthouse in conjunction with government meetings, they helped contribute to a sense of community that transcended normal status barriers. Implications of the integrative effects of these conflict resolutions may have also extended to the wider community in cases where public corporal or capital punishments were carried out. In addition to trials, the assembly also prosecuted offenders, as was illustrated by Mr. Erberry's case discussed previously. In his case he was sentenced to be tied to the apple tree and publicly whipped. Though uncertain, there is some archaeological and archival evidence that the Country's House yard also had a Stocks and Pillory. Such public displays would extend the redressive action of these conflict resolutions to the wider public who were able to observe the dire consequences of breaking laws. This would bring into sharp focus both the values of the community the laws represented, as well as the authority and power of the government to protect and reinforce those values.

Regardless, one can see the potential dichotomy or tension that played out in these gatherings between judicial or government authority, and community integration. Utilizing a more formal environment helped to reinforce the status and authority of the provincial court. This was likely enhanced by the arrangement of the court room, differentiating official from litigant, perhaps also through displays of privilege by wearing special garments or signifiers, as well as displaying specialized knowledge of the law. The built environment communicated social order to the public, affecting public perceptions of its legitimacy (McNamera 2004). At the same time these events brought individuals together to participate in various capacities outside their normal locales. Participating in these various events and interactions fostered community cohesion through identification as part of a larger group (Triadan 2006: 161). Cohesion may

have been enhanced further by the effectiveness of the court to mediate and resolve conflict and social tensions and promote community stability.

Summary:

This chapter examined some of the theoretical implications public interactions within the building and surrounding landscape/built environment of the Country's House had in fostering community integration and the negotiation of social and political order in seventeenth-century Maryland. By the eighteenth century it is clear government sites in the Chesapeake region were important spaces for representing and exercising political and legal authority. However, references indicate they were significant venues of social intercourse, facilitating complex and multifaceted interactions that drew large cross-sections of the diffusely scattered population together to engage in business, sport, gossip and establish and/or renew ties of friendship. Descriptions of these events for the seventeenth century, unfortunately, are lacking. Archaeological data, however, indicate that activity at the Country's House was most intense during its tenure as Maryland's first statehouse than at any other time during its occupation, despite remaining the largest public ordinary in the colony through St. Mary's City's final decades as the colonial capital. Limited archival references, though few and vague, also provide testament to the busyness of the gatherings tied directly to meetings of the provincial court and assembly. Combined with the archaeological data, these references provide some indication that the 18th-century descriptions are direct analogies to the types of activities represented at such sites during the seventeenth century; likely the product of some level of continuity that persisted from the early decades of settlement. Such a tradition likely developed during the seventeenth century as an adaptation of the markets, festivals, community celebrations and gatherings

associated with the assize courts in England and elsewhere and were likely not all too unfamiliar

to colonial settlers in Maryland. However, given Maryland's early frontier conditions related to

the tobacco economy where most individuals lived on diffusely scattered, semi-autonomous

plantations, these venues and associated activities were crucial for helping to foster social

integration and the establishment and regular renewal of a sense of community and common

identity among a growing class of free planters. These interactions provided opportunities for

reciprocal exchange, exercising behaviors of affiliation through communal alcohol consumption

and meals, recreation, and various amusements. These events brought individuals together

outside of their usual daily practice into larger aggregations where they could experience the co-

presence of others. This allowed those usually separated by geography, status barriers, or other

structures to sense and witness the bodily existence and participation of other members, helping

forge common identity. Bringing individuals together in this capacity, outside the norm of

everyday life and associated structures, no doubt facilitated some degree of anti-structure or

communitas; social bonds outside those of typical daily practice. This also served to reinforce

social integration and community identity. Some community integration may have also been

fostered by the provincial court providing a mechanism for efficient and effective conflict

resolution within the community.

While community integration was crucial to the formation of a functioning society, these

interactions can only be understood within the context of the built environment in which they

articulated. Archaeological evidence indicates there were efforts to structure and maintain a more

formal built and material environment in and around the Country's House specifically during the

period it served as the official statehouse of the colony. The built environment played a crucial

role in structuring interactions and influencing perceptions of authority, political power and

social order. The developing formality at the Country's House perhaps is best understood within the larger context of similar trends in England to reorganize public spaces and places of assembly beginning with the Restoration in the second half of the seventeenth century. The Country's House appears to have merely been the beginning of a larger effort to establish a formal urban plan, culminating in the development of a baroque layout and the construction of the brick statehouse in 1676.

Nevertheless, changes in the layout of the yard and disposal behavior at the Country's House during the 1660s and 1670s was likely tied to these efforts to regulate crowd behavior, influence manners and provide a form of gentle coercion; providing sensory cues to influence perceptions of order and authority and thus help to reinforce it. This formal setting also provided a stage the assembly and provincial court could use to further reinforce their government status through performance incorporating specialized knowledge, the ritual setting and structure of court proceedings, and through controlling or limiting access to parts of the site during government meetings. These formal spaces and government rituals thus simultaneously oriented individuals to the built environment and reinforced particular structures, while the associated public gatherings fostered a degree of anti-structure necessary to produce *communitas* and facilitate a degree of community integration (Giddens 1984; Turner 1974).

While the built environment no doubt played a significant role in establishing political order, it must be remembered that the proprietary elite did not simply impose order or gently coerce the commonality of free planters into accepting their authority through the clever manipulation of ideology in material structures and ritual performance. The legislative proceedings make it clear that this rising class of free, middling planters, largely represented in the lower house, heavily resisted and at times outright rejected attempts by the upper house to

control legislative meetings and outcomes (Jordan 1987). This research benefits greatly from the archival record which allows us to see how a number of public interactions and government meetings played out in the political arena. Many archaeological studies have focused largely on the role of elites in power systems where ideology and power are tools controlled by dominant groups, where individuals and subordinate groups lack conscious awareness of their true social conditions (Joyce et al 2001; e.g. Leone et al 1987; Potter 1994). The lower house of the assembly was certainly viewed and intended to be a subordinate group to the proprietary party, with the power only to offer advice and consent (Jordan 1987). However, it is clear this rising group of free planters realized a growing opportunity to exert and exercise a larger role in the legislative process. They thus played an active role in negotiating these new political institutions and establishing order within a newly formed society. The proprietary party lacked the resources and man-power to ensure order through direct coercion. The provincial elite thus did not simply impose order on a subordinate class of middling planters. The built environment and aspects of performance no doubt helped reinforce some perceived authority, but this public venue was very much discursive space where members of the commonality of free planters were able to actively contest, reject, and negotiate government policy, and to establish themselves as a political force in their own right. Perhaps they were able to use the built environment to establish and reinforce their status as government officials, perhaps enabling them some power over the common planters they represented. However, large numbers of their constituents who, as Jordan (1987) notes, were becoming more sophisticated with their use of the ballot box, also tempered and constrained their actions to ensure they work for the common good. Perhaps most significant is the common identity and community that these public interactions helped to foster among the common free planters. Although burgesses tended to be elected from among local office-holders,

which produced some status apart from commoners, for the most part they tended to resemble ordinary planters in material wealth and interests (Jordan 1987; Horn 1988). The lower house was able to capitalize on this common identity and use gatherings and support of their constituents as a resource to promote their own status as a political force, and thus exercise greater influence in the legislative process.

What is perhaps particularly notable is there seems to have been a period of relative order and stability within the colony that coincides with the establishment of the Country's House as the official statehouse of the colony. A series of rebellions and quarrels between the provincial government and various Parliamentary factions during the 1640s and 1650s gave way to a period of growth in the colony. In 1662 the government established a central location for meetings of the provincial government and court and appears to be part of larger efforts to reorganize and structure public space in order to influence perceptions of authority and manners. Tensions no doubt remained between the proprietary party and factions of the Protestants represented in the lower house of the assembly, overall they were able to maintain an adequate working relationship and keep the society functioning (Stone 1982). This stability perhaps was facilitated in part by discursive practice in the built environment combined with promoting cohesion and community through social practices of affiliation. Ultimately this period of stability was short-lived. Following a wave of anti-Catholic sentiment brought on by an increasingly autocratic provincial council, along with the overthrow of James II in England by William and Mary, eventually resulted in the overthrow of proprietary rule by a coalition of freedmen largely made up of Protestants (Jordan 1979, 1987) . Perhaps this was an unforeseen consequence of promoting a sense of community and common identity among a growing class of middling free planters. This growing class of free planters evolved into a new political community resentful of

proprietary prerogative, and was able to utilize this shared, common identity to overthrow the dominant elite without bloodshed. After this time significant changes in the population took place. As mortality decreased and sex ratios equalized, a large native-born population began to emerge, greater wealth disparities and poverty emerged, opportunities for upward mobility significantly decreased, and a majority of the population could be characterized as slave, tenant farmer, or landless laborer (Jordan 1987: 141). A landowning, native-born elite set apart from the general citizenry by wealth and status was able to develop and consolidate political power, and perhaps establish themselves well within the upper echelons of the pyramidal hierarchy noted by Leone (2005) that came to eventually characterize Maryland society in the eighteenth century. When proprietary power was restored in 1715, this new native-born elite had become well established.

Chapter 12

Conclusion

This research examined the development of Maryland's first official statehouse of the colony in order to produce a more nuanced picture of the diverse role public space played in the colonial process. Particular attention was given towards the role public space played in facilitating the negotiation of both community and socio-political order in Maryland's frontier setting. Archaeological analysis focused on reconstructing the landscape and built environment surrounding the Country's House in order to establish the physical context in which various public interactions that developed in association with meetings of the provincial court and government took place. Analysis of the built environment indicated that a more ordered fence arrangement was established during the Country's House phase of occupation and certain work areas were segregated from social and government space.

Artifact distributions of temporally diagnostic materials from different phases of occupation were also plotted. This phase of analysis tested a previous model of disposal behavior proposed by Miller (1986, 1994) based on preliminary analysis of material recovered in the 1980s. This analysis integrated data recovered from more recent excavations, significantly expanding the coverage area of the site. This study yielded similar results to Miller's original analysis, which indicated greater control in disposal behavior was exercised during the government phase of occupation. This provided additional support that an environment of formality was maintained on the site during this government phase. The distributions were integrated with the landscape reconstructions, providing a more complete picture of how different activities and associated disposal behavior articulated with the built environment.

Comparative analysis produced additional evidence of formality at the site, indicating higher status ceramics and vessel glass than seen in more typical tavern assemblages was utilized at the Country's House, likely reflecting the status and greater formality of use associated with its government function. This analysis also revealed the government phase of occupation to be the period of greatest intensity at the site, probably indicative of the busy times associated with government meetings that are described in 18th-century accounts. Overall this analysis indicated that the site was a vibrant center of activity during the government phase of occupation, and that efforts were made to structure and maintain a more formal environment at the site during this important period. These developments at the Country's House, revealed through the archaeological analysis, were then situated within larger trends seen in England and elsewhere towards the end of the seventeenth century related to the reorganization of public space and sites of assembly, to structure public gatherings, and to reinforce and legitimize political order and authority.

This archaeological analysis was then integrated with archival and historical data related to various public interactions and social use associated with early colonial government sites. Although few, several passing references in the Maryland Archives provided insight into the busy times associated with government meetings at the Country's House, helping to tie this seventeenth-century site with more well-known accounts of these public events from the 18th-century. Relevant archaeological and anthropological theory, practice and performance theory in particular, was then applied to these different interactions to examine and understand the potential significance they had for negotiating both community and socio-political order. Aspects of structuration and performance theory were given particular attention to examine how aspects of the built environment were used to represent and symbolize government authority and status,

providing a means of gentle coercion; a way of influencing perceptions of authority both overtly and in more subtle, perhaps sub-conscious ways. At the same time, individuals were brought together during these government events outside of their normal daily structures to take part in various social activities and affiliative behaviors. This helped facilitate social integration and promote cohesion, a common identity, and community. Together these helped to produce a relatively functioning and stable society through the better part of the second half of the seventeenth century.

This study benefits greatly from the archival record that details legislative sessions. While the built environment likely played a significant role in promoting socio-political order, this important resource makes it clear that what was intended to be a subordinate political body (i.e. the lower house) became increasingly assertive in the legislative process, actively contesting, rejecting and rewriting proprietary laws and statutes. This rising class of middling planters realized a common opportunity, likely strengthened by a growing sense of community and common identity shared with much of the free population, and actively took part in negotiating new structures and institutions. Order was not simply imposed by the proprietary elite, but was negotiated through a series of complex interactions by individuals with both competing and collective interests. Public space was thus discursive space where members of the rural population came together, where community values could be brought into focus and addressed. The built environment was a resource with which political authority was symbolically represented, and provided a stage where government officials could demonstrate status and specialized knowledge to reinforce that authority. Common freemen may have been constrained by such representations, but the large associated gatherings, along with the sense of community they fostered, served as a resource to constrain or temper the actions of the proprietary elite and

empower themselves and their own representatives in government negotiations. It may have been this sense of community and common identity members of the lower house may have been able to capitalize on and use to solidify their own power as a significant political force.

This research makes a number of important contributions to archaeological and historical studies. First this study offers a more nuanced picture of the development of early Maryland society and its political institutions with particular emphasis on the significance and diverse role public space played in the colonial process. While previous research into public space in early Maryland has examined potential meaning in the built environment (e.g. Miller 1988, Leone and Hurry 1998), none have explicitly addressed the relevance of community interaction and social use that articulated in these sites and were clearly crucial to negotiating and establishing community and early political institutions. Leone and Hurry (1998) make the most explicit attempts towards interpreting the meaning and ideology represented in Maryland's public architecture. They argue from a top down perspective that primarily focusses on the ability of elites to manipulate ideology and exercise control over a duped public. Implicit in such interpretations is the notion that commoners are largely powerless observers in social process and change. However, it is clear from archival and historical references utilized in this research that early non-elite freemen in seventeenth-century Maryland actively rejected imposed rules and structures, and they negotiated a new society different to that in the homeland or one envisioned by the proprietor. Though not completely unbound by structures represented in the built environment and status relationships, these middling free planters were able to reflect upon and penetrate dominant discourses, and contribute to processes of their negotiation. While this research does not deny that dominant ideologies exist and structured aspects of early colonial society, it supports the notion expressed by Joyce and others (Joyce et al 2001) that power and

ideology are rarely direct reflections of elite interests and encompass much more broad and complex relationships than domination and control. It should be noted, however, that this research focusses primarily on the role of free white males in negotiating community and social and political institutions. It was this class that had any direct political rights, who were able to vote and hold public office. Male indentured servants may have been consoled by the prospect of upward mobility and free male privilege if they were able to serve out their indenture. Unfortunately enslaved Africans were not so fortunate and would suffer disenfranchisement for centuries to come. Free women enjoyed more rights and privileges, but also would not see the right to vote for more than two centuries. Perhaps these subordinate groups and their potential roles in the development of early Maryland society and political institutions can be more explicitly addressed in future research, but this is beyond the scope and focus of this particular study. Nevertheless, while Leone's (2005) work makes a compelling case linking Maryland's highly differentiated, pyramidal society to dominant capitalist ideologies in the 18th century, this system was the product of long processes of social and material negotiation and transformation tracing back to the seventeenth century; where a rising class of middling free planters were able to assert a greater voice in the political process, consolidate power, and eventually emerge as a new, native-born political elite around the turn of the 18th century (Jordan 1979, 1987).

This dissertation research also contributes to growing discourses of community focused archaeology by providing an example from historical archaeology. As discussed in Chapter 4, a number of recent approaches have increasingly focused on understanding processes of community construction and have increasingly recognized the importance of practice, structuration, and interaction in mediating these processes. Notable studies using a practice oriented framework have examined how community identities were formed through the creation

of symbols and the communal enactment of behaviors of affiliation (e.g. Pauketat 2000; Yaeger 2000; Owoc 2005; Triadan 2006). All of these cases, however, deal with prehistoric contexts: Pauketat examines Mississipian culture; Yaeger deals with ancient Mesoamerica; Owoc examines community practice during the British Bronze Age; and Triadan examines the integrative effects of political rituals among the Prehistoric Pueblo. Some have noted that archaeology is uniquely situated to exploit the potential of practice and structuration theory (Dobres and Hoffman 1994). However, some have pointed out the limitations of the archaeological record for uncovering individual practice and agency. Methodologically the focus on the individual is problematic because it relegates agency approaches to extremely limited archaeological data (Dornan 2002: 311). Many of the approaches above have avoided this problem by taking a broader structural approach that examines collective practices. Admittedly much of the analysis in this dissertation also took a structural approach. However, the historical/archival record provides some assistance in overcoming limitations in the archaeological data (Johnson 2000). This research was able to augment this broader structural approach by linking certain individuals and community members and their actions to the physical contexts of the built environment uncovered and reconstructed using archaeological data. Archival references from the legislative proceedings provided accounts of certain individuals' actions and strategies, and how they played out in Maryland's early capital. Together this provided a more complete account of how individuals played an active role in government-related interactions, as well as how subordinate groups contested and negotiated the social and material structures manifest at the site of the Country's House.

Lastly this research augments traditional social-historical approaches towards understanding early colonial social processes in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.

Considerable research has examined the nature and structure of community in the early Chesapeake (e.g. Carr et al 1991; Walsh 1988). Much of this research, however, is largely descriptive and neglects examining social processes concerning their formation and perpetuation. Alison Bell (2005), however, examines how certain household practices and strategies tied to reciprocal exchanges in seventeenth-century Virginia helped integrate individuals and families into communities and generate community identity. While this makes significant progress towards addressing processes of community construction in the early colonial Chesapeake, it neglects examining processes of community formation within the broader public sphere of interaction. This study complements Bell's research by examining practices of community formation that articulated within larger public venues. By contextualizing the Country's House and its material residues of human interaction, and integrating this data with historical, archival data, and relevant social theory, this research demonstrates that Maryland's first statehouse was a significant political center, a vibrant social center, and played a crucial role in the negotiation of community and political institutions in seventeenth-century Maryland.

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        ANT 131: Introduction to Biological Anthropology, Spring 2009, 2011 and 2012
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        ANT 298: Seminar in Archaeological Field Methods

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Select Archaeological Experience:

2014-15   Archaeologist I, The Louis Berger Group, Inc.

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2009   Archaeological Laboratory Analyst, HSMC

2006-07   Laboratory Coordinator, Phelps Archaeology Laboratory, East Carolina University

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2003-2004   Field Supervisor, West Field Mitigation Project, HSMC

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2009   Dean's Summer Research Grant, Maxwell School of Syracuse University

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2007   Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi

2001   HSMC Annual Gary Wheeler Stone Award for student contributions to
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2001   IMPART Grant from the Maryland Historical Trust

Reports, Publications, Conference Papers, Presentations:

2015   *Phase IB Archaeological Survey, Old Hopewell Road (CR 28) Safety Improvements PIN 8755.44,
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2015   *Phase I Archaeological Identification Survey for the Deconstruction of Non-Historic Incidentally Acquired Structures, Appalachian National Scenic Trail.* Draft report prepared by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Washington D.C. for the National Park Service and Appalachian National Scenic Trail.

Katz, Gregory and Wesley Willoughby
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Brodeur, Rebecca and Wesley Willoughby
2015   *Phase I Archaeological Survey, Proposed Student Housing at Washington Avenue, City of Albany, Albany County, New York.* The Louis Berger Group, Inc. Albany, New York. On fil, OPRHP, Waterford, New York.

Morine, Chris and Wesley Willoughby
2015   *Phase I Archaeological Survey, Proposed Lia Nissan, Dix Avenue, Village of Queensbury, Warren County, New York.* Draft report prepared by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Albany, New York for BBL Construction Services, LLC, Albany, New York. On file OPRHP, Waterford, New York.

with Jenny Schofield
2014   *Phase I Archaeological Assessment and Reconnaissance Survey and National/State Register Eligibility Recommendation for the Replacement of Bridge No. 02219 on Route 25, State Project No. 84-100, Town of Monroe, Fairfield County, Connecticut.* Report prepared by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Albany, NY, for the Connecticut Department of Transportation, Newington, CT.

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2014   *Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey, Traffic Signal Upgrade, State Project No. 171-356, Town of Enfield, Hartford County, Connecticut.* Report prepared by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Albany, NY, for the Connecticut Department of Transportation, Newington, CT.

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2014   *Phase I Archaeological Assessment and Reconnaissance Survey, Pequonnock Trail-Section C, State Project No. 144-191, Town of Trumbull, Fairfield County, Connecticut.* Report prepared by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Albany, NY, for the Connecticut Department of Transportation, Newington, CT.

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2014   *Phase I Archaeological Survey, Lake Winnisquam Scenic Trail Project, Town of Belmont, Belknap County, New Hampshire, NHDOT Project No. 14400, Federal Project No. X-A000(340).* Report prepared by The Louis Berger Group, Inc., Albany, NY, for the Town of

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2014   *The Country's House: The Evolution of Public Space in St. Mary's City's 17th-Century Town Center.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology held in Quebec, Canada, January 2014.

2013   *The 'Countries' House: The Evolution of Public Space in St. Mary's City's 17th-Century Town Center.* Public lecture presented at Historic St. Mary's City's Visitor Center auditorium as part of the Maryland Archaeology Month Lecture Series, April 25, 2013.

2012   *The 'Countries' House: Examining Public Space and Community in Maryland's First Colonial Capital.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology held in Baltimore, Maryland, January 2012.

2011   *The 'Pub' in 'Public': Archaeological Approaches to Community in Maryland's First Colonial Capital.* Paper presented at the Middle Atlantic Archaeological Conference held in Ocean City, Maryland, March 2011.

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  2008   *Revisiting the Public Structure Artifact Pattern: Cultural Patterning at Two Eighteenth- Century Government Sites.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology held in Albuquerque, NM, Jan. 2008

  2007   *Limited Archaeological Testing of Suspected Gravesite on Jerry Pounds Property, Bridgeton, Craven County, North Carolina.* Submitted to the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh.

  2007a. *Select Phase II Archaeological Testing of the Detached Kitchen Site at Harmony Hall, Kinston, Lenoir County, North Carolina.* Submitted to the Lenoir County Historical Society, Kinston and The North Carolina Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh

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  2004   *Archaeological Assessment in Waterline Corridor Along Mattapany Road, St. Barbara's Freehold, and Water Tower Survey of the Hardshiflt Tract, St. Mary's City, Maryland. Historic St. Mary's City.* Submitted to the Maryland Historical Trust.

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