ORIGINS AND ARCHITECTURE

OF GREAT HOUSE PLANTATION

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis project on the Origins and Architecture of Great House Plantation to my grandfather, Eben W. Pyne, my uncle, Frank T. Howard, and my wife Paige P. Howard, without whose support and encouragement this would not have been possible.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter I	7
Early History of Upper Chesapeake Bay Region	7
Trade and Settlement of region	7
Chapter II	
Augustine Herman, Bohemia Manor, the Labadist Tract	
Augustine Herman	
Labadist Tract on Bohemia Manor	
Chapter III	
History of Great House Plantation	
Labadist Ancestral Homes	
Peter Sluyter/Bouchelle Family	
Henry Sluyter Family	
Bayard Family	
Chapter IV	
Architectural Analysis & Documentation	
of Great House Plantation	
Overview of Architecture at Great House	
The Exterior	
The Plan	
Room by Room Descriptions and Architectural Details	
The Hall -(Southeast Corner Room)	
The Parlor	

The Dining Room	
The Northwest Room	
The North Hall	61
The Second Floor	
The Upper Hall	64
The Southwest Bedchamber	66
The Northeast Chamber	
The Northwest Chamber	67
The Garret	68
The Cellar	
The Kitchen	69
Conclusions	
Chapter V	
Architectural Chronology	
of Great House Plantation	
The Main Block	
The Interior - First Floor	
The Interior - Upper Floors	
The Kitchen Wing	77
North Kitchen Hall	
Conclusions	
Architectural Influences & Origins	
of Great House Plantation	
English Roots & Regional Influences	
Philadelphia House Types & Influences	86
The Upper Chesapeake & Delaware Valley Connection	
Upper Chesapeake Region House Types	
House Plans & The Evolution of Georgian Architecture	
Conclusions	108
Conclusions	109
Dating Great House	109

APPENDICES	
INDEX	

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-1664 Map of Chesapeake Bay by Augustine Herman. Map from "Augustine
Herman" by Heck, Earl L. W
Figure 2-1887 Map of Labadist Tract on Bohemia Manor
Figure 3- Great House, South Façade
Figure 4-Great House, First Floor Window
Figure 5-Great House, South Front Door
Figure 6- Great House Floor Plan. Paul Touart, Anthony O. James. "At The Head of The
Bay" by Pamela Blumgart 50
Figure 7-Great House, Hall Fireplace
Figure 8-Great House, Hall Staircase
Figure 9-Great House, Parlor Fireplace
Figure 10-Great House, Parlor Corner Cupboard
Figure 11-Great House, South Parlor Windows
Figure 12-Great House, Dining Room Corner Cupboard
Figure 13- Great House, Dining Room Mantel
Figure 14- Great House, Dining Room Window Seat 60
Figure 15- Great House, Plantation Office North Wall
Figure 16-Great House, Rear Hall North Door
Figure 17-Great House, Upper Hall Fireplace
Figure 18-Great House, Upper Hall South Window
Figure 19-Great House, Southwest Bedchamber Fireplace
Figure 20-Great House, Kitchen Fireplace
Figure 21- Great House, North Façade, c. 1980
Figure 22-Great House, South Façade, 1936 HABS Photo73
Figure 23- 1939 Henry C. Forman Porch Addition. H. C. Forman Photo74
Figure 24-Great House, South Façade, 1966 Pent Restoration Plans
Figure 25-Kitchen Wing Plan & Chronology78
Figure 26-Great House, North Kitchen Wing Entrance

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to document the historic structure known as Great House Plantation, circa 1717 - 1720, and to determine its architectural origins. Great House Plantation is one of the most important remaining early houses on the upper Eastern Shore of Maryland. A study of its origins and architecture will illustrate its role in the colonial evolution of Cecil County, Maryland and shed light on the development of early plantation architecture in the region.

Great House is an early colonial brick dwelling built as a four-room plan with its exterior walls laid in Flemish and English bond. It rises two and one-half stories, with gable-end T chimneys, chamfered watertable brick, front and rear pent roofs, segmental arched window heads with twelve over twelve single hung sash windows on the first floor, bulls eye gable-end windows, and raised panel doors. The four interior rooms have corner fireplaces. The interior contains some of the finest early Georgian paneling and millwork in Cecil County.

Few late seventeenth and early eighteenth century manor houses remain in the region. Great House retains much of its original appearance and architectural detail, and has a direct link to the early social and economic development of the area. An in depth study and documentation of the origins and architecture of Great House Plantation merits

exploration as little research has been completed on this important early house in Maryland.

The land Great House Plantation resides on dates to the original 20,000-acre Bohemia Manor land grant from Lord Baltimore to Augustine Herman in 1664. This portion of the Bohemia Manor land grant was sold to Dutch Labadists in 1684. The Labadists purchased the 3,750-acre parcel on the Bohemia River to create a settlement of their religious community, which became known as the Labadie tract. The Labadie tract included four necks, of which one is the site of the brick dwelling known as Great House.

The exact date and builder of Great House is not known. One of the questions this thesis will propose to answer is who built Great House? There are various published accounts describing Great House, as well as several that date the elegant country manor house, from early to mid-eighteenth century. Architect and writer Henry C. Forman suggested Great House was built in about 1721 when he wrote, "The Great House originally was a small one-story-and-loft stone dwelling, 29' by 22' in size. Probably a little before 1721 a large two-storey-and-double-loft brick addition, with cellar, was constructed; certainly it was before 1740 when the Reverend Whitefield visited the plantation and gave the name to "Whitefield's Room," the northwest bedchamber."¹ Forman's theory about the kitchen wing being earlier than the main block is open to question, unless it was a separate earlier stone one-room building. An analysis of the kitchen walls shows portions of the brick laid in the same manner as the main block, suggesting it was built during the same time period as the house. Forman's assessment

2

that Great House pre-dates 1740, due to the northwest bedchamber being called the Whitefield Room, does have merit.

Whitefield's visits to the Great House, which suggest the dwelling pre-dates his visit in 1740, is also noted in Reverend Charles Mallery's *Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor*, written in 1888. In this book, Reverend Mallery describes Great House from his own visits to the historic structure. "The mansion is a large, two-storied, brick building, and has a front portico along its entire length, also large folding-doors, on one of which is found a heavy brass knocker.... I must not neglect to describe the parlor, which, with the exception of the so-called 'Whitefield room', is the most interesting and attractive apartment of the house. It is a large room, whose walls are wainescoted from floors to ceiling, whose mantel-piece is ponderous, and whose ample fireplace in the long, long past, was the spot about which gathered many of the great and good of earlier generations."²

At the Head of the Bay, A Cultural and Architectural History of Cecil County, Maryland says of Great House, "The mid-18th century structure on "Bohemia Manor" known as Great House is an unusual variation of a four-room house plan and contains some of the most exemplary mid-18th century woodwork in the county. Each room of the main block has paneled fireplace walls, architectural cupboards, molded cornices, and a chair rail. The paneling in the southwest parlor is an idiosyncratic interpretation of a classical entablature with fluted pilasters and oversized triglyphs. The heated stair hall to the southeast, with its heavily molded handrail and turned balusters, is another unusual survival in the tidewater area of Cecil County. Other uncommon architectural features include T-shaped chimneys, pent eaves, and gable end circular attic vents; the small round vent is a feature of several houses in nearby Delaware."³ According to this book Great House dates to 1750 - 1780. This thesis strives to understand Great House's early eighteenth century architectural style in context of when it was likely built, relative to other houses of the region. This thesis will promote the theory that Great House predates 1740, and propose that it may even date from the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Additionally, this thesis will reference research to suggest its likely builder.

This thesis will suggest Samuel Bayard is the likely builder of Great House, and that it may date from 1717 - 1720. Deed and will references indicate that Samuel Bayard left Great House Plantation to his wife Susannah in 1721, for her life tenancy. It is likely that Great House existed at Samuel's death, as it is noted that Susannah lived in a house of the same name until her death in 1750. The noted presence of an active sawmill and brick kiln at the headwaters of the Bohemia River, with loading warfs, by 1710 further indicates the ability to build Great House in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

Some of the architectural details of Great House are atypical of the colonial architecture in the region. Another question that will be addressed in this thesis is what are the architectural origins of Great House. A study of the early history and architectural forms of the region will aid in understanding the origins of Great House. The first portion of this thesis is thus devoted to the early history and origins of settlement of the Upper Chesapeake region. This section will include the Colonial history of the region: the early link between the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, and the impact of trade on the evolution of the area, especially along the settlements of the Bohemia River.

A study of the origins and architecture of Great House is parallel to the understanding of the Bohemia River and Appoquinimink Creek as vital trade routes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays. Seventeenth century life along the upper Chesapeake was inherently linked to life along the Delaware Bay. Trade was well established by the time of Augustine Herman in 1664 and enhanced by his subsequent family members. Understanding the connection between the Bays will aid in understanding the origins of Great House.

Subsequent chapters will specifically study the roots and architecture of Great House. A study of early to mid-eighteenth century colonial house forms and plans in the region will help to understand the origins and architecture of Great House. The English settlements of the region influenced the architecture of the area and certainly that of Great House.

Analysis of the architectural details will also aid in dating Great House. Extensive photographs and profiles of millwork details and floor plans will further document Great House. A study of the kitchen wing will be made to determine the chronology of the various adaptations from the original kitchen to the present. This important early country house in Maryland will be documented through a combination of scholarly research and architectural analysis. Research to understand its history and origins, combined with architectural analysis, chronology, and illustrations will serve to document the importance of this early Maryland country house.

CHAPTER I

Early History of Upper Chesapeake Bay Region

Trade and Settlement of region

The history of the upper Chesapeake Bay region in the seventeenth century is linked to the abundance of natural resources of land and the water. Trade played a pivotal role in the early settlement of the region. First with the fur trade with the Indians and later in the century with the tobacco trade, the bountiful land enticed early pioneers to settle the region. Settlement of the upper Chesapeake region was also linked to its proximity to the Delaware Bay and its early settlements. The settlements of the Upper Chesapeake reflect their position between the Maryland Colony to the south, and the Swedish and the Dutch colonies to the east, on the Delaware Bay, all vying for control of the region's valuable resources. The interaction between these cultures influenced the early architecture of the region.

Captain John Smith was the first Englishman to explore the Bay in 1608, extolling its virtues when he exclaimed, "heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation!"⁴ Smith sailed all the way to its headwaters to what is now Cecil County, exclaiming its virtues of fertile land, abundant forests and wildlife. "Smith traversed nearly the whole of the Cecil tidewater, exploring the Susquehanna, the North East, the Elk, and the Sassafras (Tockwogh) Rivers. He roughly chartered various landmarks and waterways and recorded Indian place names.... Eventually, his rough notes were transformed into the first attempt at a definitive map of the Chesapeake region."⁵

The bounty of wildlife found in the rivers, marshes and primeval forests of what would become Cecil County is captured in George Johnston's History of Cecil County, when he writes. "Deer, bear, wolves, opossums, hares, squirrels, wild turkeys, pheasants, wild pigeons, and many other kind of animals abounded in the forests, and the creeks and rivers were well stocked with beavers, otters, muskrats, and all kinds of waterfowl."⁶ By the mid-seventeenth century Dutch, Swedes and English were all vying for control of the region's rich resources - all influencing the settlement of the upper Chesapeake. Though few early dwellings remain from this period, historic accounts and county records document the impact from the English, Swedish and Dutch on seventeenth century settlements of the region.

In 1609, the Dutch West India Company was created to exploit the fur trade in the New World, after Henry Hudson brought accounts back extolling the abundance of fur bearing animals. The Dutch West India Company lay claim to the region between the Delaware Valley and the Hudson River Valley. By the 1640s the Dutch had attempted to establish trading posts in the Delaware Valley. The Swedes and Dutch struggled for control of the Delaware Valley throughout the 1640s and 1650s. The settlement in this region for the first half of the seventeenth century was spurred by the northern European desire for fur, which was in fashion.

The English were also keen to benefit from the fur trade, venturing up the Chesapeake Bay from their colonies in Virginia and from St. Mary's, Maryland to trade with the Susquehannock Indians. Palmer's Island, at the mouth of the Susquehanna River became the first trading post in Cecil County. Founded by Englishman Edward Palmer, member of the Virginia Colony, in 1625, to establish an academy, he died before realizing his plans. William Claiborne, also an Englishman, came to Palmer Island from Kent Island on the Eastern Shore where he had traded with Indians, to pursue the valuable trade with the Susquehannocks. He took over Palmer Island, and established the first English settlement in Cecil County. Clairborne and others soon found the Susquehannocks to be excellent trading partners. They had been avid trappers long before English arrived, and were able to supply ample pelts from December to June, often venturing up interior waterways as far as the Allegheny River in search of beaver.

Fierce competition ensued for this first trading post of the upper Chesapeake. In 1635, explorers from St. Mary's colony ventured into the area of Palmer's Island looking to get into the trade, only to be repelled in an attack by Claiborne's men. Eventually, St. Mary's colonists supported by Governor Leonard Calvert forfeited Palmer's Island from Claiborne for their own settlements.

Settlement remained relatively sparse throughout the seventeenth century in the upper Chesapeake region, though Maryland territory continued to be defined and secured. In 1635, Lord Baltimore published his "Relation of Maryland", which included a map of

his province and translation of the charter. In 1652, the colonists brokered a treaty with the Susquehannock Indians, which secured land from the Patuxent River to the Susquehanna. "The signing of a treaty by the proprietary government with the Susquehannock Indians in 1652, however, freed up the lands in the upper bay. By 1658, as the threat of Indian attack passed, settlers began to file claims along the upper bay and up the rivers."⁷

In addition to the Palmer Island settlement, another significant early settlement in the upper Chesapeake was that of Nathaniel Utie's on Spesutia Island in the 1650s, near the mouth of the Susquehanna. Nathaniel Utie was a prominent early pioneer of the region. Utie was named councilor in 1658, appointed to apprehend unlicensed traders in the upper bay, and represented Baltimore County (later named Cecil County) in the House of Burgesses in 1665. Utie was also involved in the negotiations between the English and Dutch over disputed land.

In 1638, Swedes arrived in the Delaware Valley and built fortified trading posts at the mouths of tributaries to control the fur trade with the Susquehannocks. Settlement from the English at the head of the Bay and the Swedes at the head waters of the Delaware Bay, put pressure on the Dutch to step up the fortification of New Amstel in 1651 or risk loosing their stake in the valuable fur trade of the region. By 1655, the Dutch had taken the Swedish forts and were again in control of the Delaware Valley. Cecil County occupied a pivotal position in the trade system of the region and stood in between the English, coming up from the Maryland Colony, and the Dutch and Swedes, exploring the interior from the east - all trying to occupy land and control the trade in the region.

By the mid-seventeenth century the fur trade entered a period of decline from over hunting and fur falling out of fashion in northern Europe. Tobacco took its place as the new commodity of trade that spurred settlement. "Replacing the fur trade was a new commodity, which spread up the bay from the now-entrenched plantations of the lower tidewater. This new commodity was tobacco, and its cultivation and trade ultimately proved to be the inducement that was needed to instigate greater settlement at the head of the bay."⁸

As early as 1613 in Jamestown, John Rolfe discovered the export value of tobacco. Over the next two centuries, ships leaving tobacco plantations returned with European imports in exchange. Aside from the Palmer Island settlement, Cecil County remained largely unsettled Indian Territory for the first half of the seventeenth century. Tobacco would soon change this, as it became Maryland's cash crop for the next century and a half. "By the 1730s more than thirteen million pounds of tobacco were shipped annually from Maryland ports."⁹

Most of the early settlements of the upper Chesapeake were situated along the vital waterways, for ease of trade and transportation. Small towns and settlements grew up along the Elk, the Northeast, the Bohemia and Sassafras Rivers to facilitate trade, many with grist and saw mills, tobacco inspection stations, and brick kilns. Cecil County

issued its first patents for land in the late 1650s. "The earliest known patent was issued to William Carpenter in 1658 for a 400-acre tract on Carpenter's Point near Principio Creek."¹⁰

In nearby Delaware, "Casparus Herman and Edmund Cantwell obtained a grant of two hundred acres lying on each side of Drawyer's Creek, for use of a water-milll, in 1682."¹¹ Settlement gradually increased in Cecil County in the eighteenth century. Georgetown was established in 1707, on the south side of the Sassafras River. Charlestown, on the west side of the Northeast River, was laid out in 1742 and was look upon as the county seat of power until growth at the "Head of the Elk" shifted the courts and power to what would become Elkton, in 1786.

The political climate in the region in the 1650s impacted settlement in Cecil County. Conflicts in the Delaware Valley between the Swedes and Dutch, led to some of the earliest European settlers in Cecil County. Albeit little more than squatters, pockets of Swedes and Finns had settled on the Sassafras River and in northern Cecil County, as early as 1660. Settlements along Maryland's northern border with Pennsylvania were at the heart of a fierce territory dispute between the Calverts of Maryland and the Dutch officials in New Amstel. Fears that the Dutch would claim Delaware settlements in northern Cecil County, led to negotiations between the Dutch and English over the disputed land. In 1659, a Dutch delegation, set out from New Amsterdam via New Amstel to St. Mary's to discuss the fate of the settlements in question.

"On the 30th of September, 1659, Augustine Herman and Resolved Waldron, the ambassadors appointed by governor Stuyvesant, accompanied by some guides, mostly Indians, and convoyed by a few soldiers, left New Amstel for Maryland."¹² En route, they traveled across southern Cecil County and the upper Eastern Shore. The Dutch recorded observations, including no signs of habitation from the Elk River to the Sassafras, until they came upon a few settlers there, including a plantation of Jan Turner. They also noted coming across a Finnish soldier with a Dutch woman on the Sassafras, who had fled the Delaware Valley from the political strife.

Though the negotiation did not resolve the land dispute between the Dutch and English, a significant happening occurred which would have a lasting impact on the upper bay, as a result of the meeting. Augustine Herman, one of the Dutch delegates, realized the need for a detailed map of the Chesapeake Bay during his journey down to St. Mary's. This sealed his fate and that of Cecil County's, where his influence is still seen today. After being rebuffed by the Dutch for his proposal to survey the Bay, Herman, a Bohemian, approached the Calverts of Maryland with his plan to create an accurate map of the bay. Recognizing the merits of such a map, the Calvert accepted. In exchange for surveying the Chesapeake Bay and mapping the region, Herman received a large land grant in the Upper Chesapeake, along the Bohemia River, which includes the land that Great House resides upon.

While Augustine Herman was starting his settlement on what was to be one of the largest land grants in Cecil County, England had extended its dominion over the Dutch

settlements at New Amsterdam and New Amstel, re-naming them New York and New Castle in 1664. New Amstel, now New Castle played a significant role in the settlements along upper Chesapeake. While Dutch and Swedish control was fleeting, the English now in control of Maryland and the Delaware Valley (and much of the New World), created the most significant and lasting influence on the architecture of the region. Most architecture in Cecil County, particularly the southern portion of the county, where the plantation culture thrived, traces its architectural origins to England.

By 1674, a sufficient number of planters and traders had relocated to the head of the bay to warrant re-districting of the area. At this time, Cecil County was created from the Susquehanna to the Chester River (as drawn by Augustine Herman on his map of 1673). The southern border of Cecil County would later be re-drawn in 1706, to end at the Sassafras, where Kent County begins.

In 1682, Cecil County's northern border again became the center of a land dispute, this time between Maryland's Lord Baltimore and Pennsylvania's William Penn. The dispute was over where the exact border was between Pennsylvania and Maryland. Penn was eager to have water access on the Chesapeake and to that end claimed the Pennsylvania border included part of the Susquehanna and northern Cecil County. On September 19, 1682 a meeting was arranged at Bohemia Manor between Penn's deputy governor William Markham and a Maryland contingent including Lord Baltimore, to discuss the dispute. Markham failed to appear for the meeting, and the border dispute continued until it was officially surveyed as the Mason-Dixon line in 1760. During this dispute, Marylanders and Pennsylvanians settled the area, both claiming the land as theirs, both influencing architecture of the region.

Maryland surveyor general, George Talbot, was given the task of securing settlements in northern Cecil County. Talbot's own grant of Susquehanna Manor, he renamed New Ireland, in honor of his homeland. In 1683, Talbot laid out 6,000-acres along the Big Elk Creek, where he hoped to encourage Irish settlements in the county. Just to the northeast, William Penn infringed on northern Cecil County lands, with his grant of 18,000-acres to Quakers, creating the Nottingham Lots in 1701, the majority of which were built on the south side of the colony line. Also in 1701, Penn granted 30,000acres to Welsh Baptist miners, on disputed land around Iron Hill, along the border with Delaware.

Most plantations in Cecil County in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century were essentially frontier farms. Many plantation houses began as one-room dwellings, later adapted into kitchens for the main house, as the farmer grew more prosperous. Timber frame houses were the mainstay of the pioneer farmer, tenants and slave dwellings. The ease and availability of wood made this the main choice for the majority of dwellings in seventeenth century Cecil County. Use of wood for building also explains why no seventeenth century houses of this building type remain in the region, and few from the eighteenth century. Not until the mid eighteenth century are there excellent examples of plantation architecture in Cecil County, though primarily those built out of brick or stone by wealthy planters. Few plantations remain from the seventeenth and early eighteenth century in Cecil County. Great House is perhaps the earliest remaining plantation house in Cecil County of that period. Its proportions, all point to the builder as one of significant means, in a time when most of the county was still unsettled.

Insights into the subsistence level of Cecil County plantations in the late seventeenth century were recorded by two Labadists traveling from New York to Bohemia Manor, with Augustine Herman's son Ephraim Herman. In 1679, two Dutch Labadists, Jasper Danckaerts and Peter Sluyter, had joined Epraim to visit Bohemia Manor to scout for a potential site for a new colony of their religious sect. Danckaerts and Sluyter kept a journal during their two-week visit to Cecil County, which noted the primitive state of several plantations seen on their visit. Their journey reveals a glimpse into a window of late seventeenth century life in southern Cecil County.

Crude wagon roads were being cut to accommodate trade and travel in Cecil County. The Labadists noted a wagon road from Bohemia Manor to Appoquinimink (current site of Odessa), to accommodate trade from the Bohemia to the Delaware River. As early as 1660, the Dutch had considered the possibility of a canal linking the Bohemia and Delaware Rivers.

Traveling from Ephraim's and brother Jasper's plantations on the Delaware Bay side of their fathers grant, they followed a cart road, cut by Jasper to reach Bohemia Manor. Danckaerts and Sluyter noted the high quality of the plantation's farmland, writing that it was the best land they had seen on their journey south. Herman agreed to sell part of his grant to the Labadists for their colony. The Labadie Tract of 3,750-acres was established in 1683, and included the land where Great House was built.

At the turn of the eighteenth century Cecil County remained sparsely populated. "By 1712, of the thirteen Maryland counties then established, Cecil had the lowest enumerated population. The census of that year found 2,097 inhabitants, including 504 'masters and taxable men,' 435 white women, 873 children, and 285 black slaves. Together, they accounted for only four percent of the colony's population."¹³

The population was a mix of "Welsh miners, Labadist separatists, Swedish refugees, Quaker transplants, Indian remnants, English planters and African slaves."¹⁴ Tobacco remained the link between the early settlers of the county. Through the early eighteenth century, tobacco created a plantation culture in southern Cecil County from the Sassafras to the Susquehanna Rivers. Plantation owners were mainly English and Anglican, and influenced late seventeenth and early eighteenth century life in the county.

"Those in the county who most vigorously pursued its (tobacco) cultivation planters in the southern end of the county, mostly English and Anglican in orientation emerged as the dominant force in Cecil's political and economic affairs. This growing coterie of tidewater planters, in other counties as well as Cecil, established Anglican parishes that played a central role in the political and social life of the colony."¹⁵ In 1688, the Church of England was the official church of Maryland. By 1693, thirty Anglican churches were established throughout the colony, with two in Cecil County. Each church was funded by a tax of forty pounds of tobacco, levied against taxable persons within parish boundaries, regardless of belief or religious association.

Jesuits, also known as the Society of Jesus, were also active in Cecil County in the early eighteenth century. Jesuits were active on Bohemia Manor as early as 1704. Records indicate the Jesuit community possessed a large 1,200-acre tract of land and that they were the most active in the colony. "Cultivating their fields and planting extensive orchards and gardens with the help of slaves and tenant farmers, the brothers' also built a rectory, and chapel, grist- and sawmill, brick kiln, blacksmith shop, still, and loading wharf on their property."¹⁶ In 1745, the Jesuits of Bohemia founded a secondary school, with several illustrious graduates, including, John Carroll, the first Catholic Bishop in America and Charles Carroll, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The presence of a sawmill, brick kiln and loading warf indicates the ability to build substantial buildings in the Bohemia River area in the early eighteenth century.

Tobacco remained Maryland's chief export though the 1800s. Tobacco was currency and was used to pay taxes, settle debts, and trade commodities. Mandatory tobacco inspections were necessary to insure quality after prices fell and the market was flooded with low-grade product. One inspection station was in Fredericktown on the Sassafras, another was on the Bohemia at John Holland's Ferry. The presence of an inspection station on the Bohemia shows the importance of area plantations to the trade. As tobacco prices fluctuated, many farmers turned to wheat production, especially in northern Cecil County amongst the Quakers, who were anti-slavery. Wheat production became popular in the 1740s. Gristmills grew up all around the county to support the immerging grain market. In 1711, Isaac Van Bibber operated a mill on a branch of the Bohemia, illustrating that plantations on the Bohemia River were engaged in wheat cultivation and trade.

English influence was strong through Cecil County's seventeenth and eighteenth century settlements. Quakers from Pennsylvania, dominated settlements of the county's north, with communities like the Nottingham Lots. While the English, who came from St. Mary's and other Maryland colonies, and later from their Delaware Valley colonies, dominated the county's southern settlements on the Bohemia and Sassafras Rivers. The architecture of the county reflects this split with many of the early to mid eighteenth century houses in northern Cecil County bearing plans and characteristics more like nearby Chester County. Early to mid-eighteenth century houses in southern Cecil County tend to have plans and characteristics that show their Maryland roots.

Mid-eighteenth century houses in southern Cecil County like Worsell Manor, circa 1760, Bohemia circa 1751, and Greenfields circa 1770, are classic Georgian manors with double pile, center hall, closed floor plans. Bohemia and Greenfields have quintessential Georgian or Palladian-inspired architectural details and reflect the planter elite of Cecil County. These dwellings represent Cecil County's move from settlements of subsistence farmers to housing that reflected a mature agricultural community. By the mid-eighteenth century, a landed prosperous agricultural class had arrived with houses to match.

The question remains. Where does Great House Plantation fit into the early history of Cecil County? Great House has an unusual variation of a four-room plan, with the hall and stair in the southeast corner room and parlor in the southwest corner room. Its architectural details are an interesting mix of early Georgian millwork and a vernacular English colonial facade. Great House shows a blend of architectural styles from around the Maryland colony, much like the unique blend of influences from the very river it resides upon. Influences of Bohemia Manor's Dutch and Bohemian roots, Dutch Labadists, and English planters all play a role in the origins and architecture of Great House. Though, just as the region was dominated ultimately by the English, so too are the architectural origins of Great House primarily English.

CHAPTER II

Augustine Herman, Bohemia Manor, the Labadist Tract

Augustine Herman

Augustine Herman, a Bohemian from Prague, a surveyor by trade, and a distinguished early American had lasting influences on the Upper Chesapeake. Augustine Herman and his subsequent heirs played a vital role in the early settlements of the Upper Chesapeake Region, especially the Bohemia Manor settlements. Herman and several of his sons were active in civic affairs of the early colonies, first at New Amsterdam, then in New Amstel and later in what would become Cecil County. Augustine Herman, and his heirs were among the elite of the immerging social, political and economic order of the region. Great House Plantation was built on the Labadie Tract, part of the original Bohemia Manor land grant. Those that built and lived in the substantial brick dwelling, Great House, were also part of that immerging social and cultural order.

To gain a better understanding of Great House Plantation and its origins, a closer look at Augustine Herman, Lord of Bohemia Manor, will put the subsequent settlements of the manor in context. Understanding Augustine Herman, who played a vital role in the merchant and civic affairs that shaped the early colonies, will illuminate the importance of his choice of the upper Chesapeake as his home. Herman, a merchant, statesman, and Lord of the Manor, chose the extensive land grant for his home to create a lasting legacy for his family. Augustine Herman's settlement of Bohemia Manor marks the region's importance as an immerging center of trade and agricultural commerce in the seventeenth century.

Augustine Herman was born in about 1615 in Prague, capitol of Bohemia. "We can assume that his parents were well born and well educated and that they were members of the Protestant faith of Bohemia."¹⁷ In the highly cultured city of Prague, young Augustine, from a family of means, would have grown up in refined surroundings, among worldly peers. "He studied classical literature and probably many of the oriental masterpieces. He was versed in at least six of the conversational languages of Europe."¹⁸ Prior to Herman's coming of age, his father moved the family from Prague to Amsterdam, to escape religious prosecution.

In Amsterdam, Herman worked for the Dutch West India Company, becoming a New World merchant during his young adult years. Herman came to New Amsterdam (New York) in 1633 with the Dutch West India Company, and continued to trade in New World commodities from Virginia to New Amsterdam throughout the 1630s and 1640s. In 1644, Herman was in the employ of Laurens Cornelisson, an agent of Peter Gabry & Sons, prominent merchant traders of New Amsterdam. Herman left Gabry's firm in 1645, and in his own name began an extensive trade with Amsterdam, London and Jamestown. As a major New World merchant, Herman imported the necessities of the colonies. "In addition to furs, Herman dealt in cattle and horses which he sent to Virginia. To that colony he also sent lumber. He had salt shipped to New Amsterdam from Curacao which he distributed between New Netherland, the southern colonies and Europe. From Amsterdam he imported pottery, glassware and tavern supplies. He also imported wines from France and Spain and much of this commodity he sent to Virginia in exchange for tobacco."¹⁹ Herman was also involved with the slave trade, sending most to Maryland and Virginia colonies, in exchange for tobacco. During Herman's merchant years he was significantly called "the first beginner of the Virginia Tobacco Trade."²⁰

Herman's success as a merchant enabled him to amass sizeable land holdings in New Amsterdam. "In New Amsterdam itself, the best street appears to have been Pearl or Perel on account of its commanding a fine view of the East River. At the corner of Pine and Pearl Street stood the Dutch West India warehouse. Adjoining this building was Herman's townhouse, a substantial mansion built in the Dutch style of brick and stone."²¹ "His residence embraced an orchard and extensive garden."²² Herman had a second townhouse in New Amsterdam, which he used as a family home, while reserving the Pearl Street mansion for entertaining important guests.

On Manhattan Island, in New Amsterdam, Herman had a large farm or bouwery at the site of the present Bowery, where he cultivated indigo. Herman and contemporary Peter Stuyvesant were among the first to build country estates outside of New Amsterdam proper. "By 1660 there were a number of good houses on the site and during this period of New York's history the Bowery was the exclusive district for the elite of the little Dutch city."²³

Along with wealth and land holdings, Herman became politically astute and connected, eventually becoming a trusted confidant of New Amsterdam Governor Peter Stuyvesant. In 1647, "He was appointed by the Director and Council of New Netherlands, one of the Nine Men, a body of citizens selected to assist the government by their council and advice."²⁴ As already mentioned, in Chapter I, Herman was the trusted delegate sent from New Amsterdam to St. Mary's to negotiate with the English over territory both claimed. As merchant and civic leader, Augustine Herman was one of the "most prominent merchants and influential men of the town"²⁵ in New Amsterdam in the mid seventeenth century.

Why Herman left his land holdings and position of power in New Amstel in favor of the relative wilds of Maryland, is the subject of debate. Though, most familiar with Herman's history agree it was his quest to acquire a title and manorial estate for himself and his heirs that prompted the pivotal move. "Among the early settlers in this country very many, from ambitious feelings and long contact with titled men and monarchies, manifested a strong inclination to introduce the custom of entailing their lands, and establishing manors, for the purpose of erecting large hereditary estates, and thus, as they hoped, titled families for their descendants."²⁶ To this end, Herman named his land grant Bohemia Manor, after his homeland, and in his will direct subsequent lords of the manor to take his name. Herman's name or that of his homelands was also given to a river, creek, road, church and village on the manor, still seen today.

Bohemia Manor Land Grant

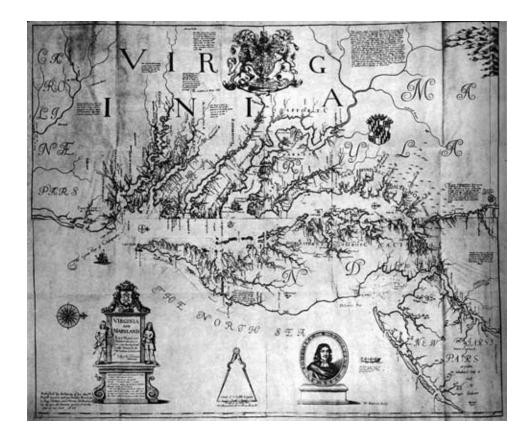


Figure 1-1664 Map of Chesapeake Bay by Augustine Herman. Map from "Augustine Herman" by Heck, Earl L. W.

After surveying and mapping the Chesapeake Bay region for the second Lord Baltimore, Cecilius Calvert, Augustine Herman was given a large grant of his choice. In 1660, Lord Baltimore declared Herman a Maryland resident and in 1662 granted him 4,000 acres as a down payment, along the Eastern Shore of Cecil County. Herman's land grant would ultimately include over 20,000-acres, from the Bohemia River to Back Creek to the Delaware Bay. Herman chose the land for his grant along the Bohemia River, at the headwaters of the Chesapeake, for its important place at the heart of trade with both the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays. Shortly after 1660, Herman moved his family to Bohemia Manor and began mapping the region, which created what is still a remarkably accurate map of the Chesapeake Bay in Maryland and Virginia.

In addition to the grant of Bohemia Manor, Lord Baltimore granted Herman additional tracts for his children. In 1671, "Little Bohemia Manor", on Middle Neck, was granted to Herman, meant primarily for his son Casparus. Herman also received a grant for his daughters in 1682, called "The Three Bohemia Sisters. "Altogether Herman in the height of his prosperity must have been in possession of between twenty and twenty-five thousand acres of the most fertile land on the Atlantic coast, and was undoubtedly among the largest private landowners of America of the seventeenth century."²⁷

Herman's house stood for about a hundred and twenty five years, overlooking the Bohemia River. Herman's estate and lifestyle was similar to those of titled English lords. "It would be interesting to know of the domestic and social life of the distinguished owner and occupant of this manor-house. Even before he moved from New York he was reputed to be wealthy, and, from all that we know of him afterwards, we conclude that for years he must have lived in baronial ease and opulence on his Manor, enjoying an abundance of the good things of this life, including a well-spread board, a rich wardrobe, as well as wines, fish, fowl, horses, and cattle. The walls of his house were adorned with beautiful and expensive portraits of himself and several members of his family, and not far from his door was a deer-park, the outline of whose enclosure may still by traced."²⁸

Though nothing remains of Herman's old manor house and few records exist to reflect its lifestyle in its heyday, it was most likely one of the most important houses of the upper Chesapeake in the seventeenth century. "We can assume with greater or less degree of certainty that the old manor house during its most brilliant career was among the most notable country places in the English colonies. It most certainly was the center of the social life of Cecil County and on many occasions did the presence of the lords of Baltimore grace its assemblies."²⁹ Herman's manor house set the stage for the emergence of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century plantation houses in the region.

Augustine Herman and several of his sons were active in public affairs at New Amstel, illustrating their social and political stature in the region. During Dutch rule, Augustine Herman was on friendly terms with the Dutch Governor of New Amstel, Alexander D'Hinoyossa. Johnston's History of Cecil County, notes Herman's role in negotiating between D'Hinoyossa and English colonists in Maryland over Indian squirmishes. Herman's connections are further shown in D'Hinoyossa's planned move to Appoquinimink to enjoy trade with the upper Chesapeake. "D'Hinoyossa's resolved to establish himself at Appoquinimink, where Odessa now stands, evidently with the intention of enjoying the advantages to be derived from trade with the Marylanders, which at that early day was carried on by means of the facilities afforded by the navigation of the Bohemia River."³⁰ D'Hinoyossa's plan to move to Appoquinimink was never realized, as the Dutch soon lost control of New Amstel to the English. It does, however, illustrate Augustine Herman's continued strong political and social connections in the early history of the region.

Augustine Herman continued to be politically astute and connected throughout his life, and remained on good terms with the new English officials in New Castle. In 1671, the English agreed to build one-half of a cart road from New Castle to Bohemia Manor. This link from Bohemia Manor to the bustling colony and trade at New Castle influenced the settlements along the Bohemia and Sassafras Rivers throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It also further illustrates Herman's political and social status in the region.

Herman increasingly became involved in local affairs, appointed justice of Baltimore County, which Cecil County was then apart of. As early as 1661 he wrote to Lord Baltimore about creating a new county at the head of the bay to be called Cecil in his new friend Cecilius Calvert's honor. Herman labeled Cecil County on the map of 1673 before the county was officially founded. As suggested by Augustine Herman, Cecil County was eventually founded in 1674. As one of the leading citizens of that county he was a justice of the peace and when Cecil County came into being he assumed the same office. In 1674 he was one of the gentlemen Justices and later Gentleman of the Quorum. From 1678 to 1680 he was commissioner for the Peace in Cecil County."³¹

Herman's sons were also involved in Cecil County affairs and helped to shape the early settlements of the upper Chesapeake region. Augustine Herman died in 1686, leaving his title and Manor to his oldest son Ephraim George. Ephraim was the son who introduced the Labadists to the Manor. He had held a government office in New Amsterdam, before moving to New Amstel in 1676, where he became an influential citizen involved in civic affairs. At Ephraim's death in 1689, the Manor passed to his brother Casparus Herman, who represented Cecil County in the Maryland Legislature. It was Casparus who previous to inheriting Bohemia Manor, had an estate on the Delaware River, called Augustine, during which time he was a member of the General Assembly in New Castle. Casparus also had worked with Edward Cantwell, (of Cantwell's Bridge) to build a mill on Drawyer's Creek, near the present site of Odessa. The county's first courthouse, built in 1692 on the north side of the Sassafras River, a short distance from Ordinary Point, was built by Casparus Herman.

Casparus' son Colonel Ephraim Augustine Herman, inherited Bohemia Manor upon his father's death in 1690, and was also a leader in his community. "Colonel Ephraim Augustine Herman, several times represented his country in the State Legislature, and wielded considerable influence in the civil and social interests of the community."³²

Augustine Herman's descendants continued to be leaders in their communities for the next three centuries. This thesis, however, will focus only on branches of Herman's family and others who settled the land where Great House Plantation resides. Other than Augustine Herman, the brief chapter of Bohemia Manor's history that intertwines with the religious sect known as the Labadists has the most lasting impact on understanding the origins and architecture of Great House Plantation. The colony of Labadists, though short lived (1684 - 1726), left several founders and their descendants settled on Bohemia Manor, one of which is the likely builder of Great House. With this in mind, an examination of the Labadists colony at Bohemia Manor is merited and will illuminate their role in the origins of Great House Plantation.

Labadist Tract on Bohemia Manor

In 1683, Peter Sluyter and Jasper Danckaerts returned to Bohemia Manor with a small group to establish a colony on the 3,750 acres they purchased from Augustine Herman along the Bohemia River. The 3,750-acre Ladadist tract included four necks of land, encompassing some of the Manor's most fertile lands. The colony included Ephraim Herman, Augustine's oldest son, a recent convert. The Labadist doctrine believed in segregated communal living apart from society. The colony grew and as noted by a visiting Quaker preacher in 1702, "there were upwards of 100 men, women, and children...living communally in an austere lifestyle on a plantation producing tobacco, corn, flax, hemp, and with cattle of several kind."³³

It should be noted that though Augustine Herman sold the 3,750 acres of land to the Labadists, he did not do so willingly. Herman, who had welcomed Sluyter and Danckaerts initially and encouraged their settlement, grew to disdain them and only sold the land to them when they returned from Denmark and forced his hand in court. Herman's oldest son Ephraim was nearly cut out of his will, due to Herman's fear of loosing his Manor to the Labadists, who absorbed ownership of all private assets of their members.

Though joining the Labadists meant forgoing all personal assets for the good of the whole, Sluyter, the group's leader, became a wealthy tobacco merchant and eventually took control of the plantations assets. Ultimately, Sluyter's leadership was more self-serving and less in synch with the Labadist founders at Wiewart, Denmark. In 1698, Sluyter took control of the tract and appointed the third neck for himself, which he cultivated for personal gain. The other three necks, which made up the rest of the property, were divided among the remaining members - Hendrick Sluyter, Samuel Bayard and other founding members. "In 1698 there appears to have been a division of land of the Labadists among the principal members of the community, for Sluyter in that year conveyed, for a merely nominal rent, the greater portion of the land which, as before stated, he had held, to Herman Von Barkelo, Nicholas de La Montainge, Peter de Koning, Derick Kolchman, Henry Sluyter, and Samuel Bayard. Sluyter retained one of the necks himself and became very wealthy."³⁴

Sluyter, who grew wealthy from the tobacco trade, most likely built a substantive dwelling for he and his family on the third neck of the Labadist Tract, which he renamed Providence. This became the family home of the Bouchelle family, which descended through Peter Sluyter's stepson Dr. Peter Bouchelle at the time of Sluyter's death in 1722.

Peter Bouchelle's son Peter married Catherine Herman (Augustine Herman's great grand daughter) revealing a common thread throughout Bohemia Manor history. The other significant Labadist family, those descending from Samuel Bayard, married Hermans, Sluyters, and Bouchelles.

It should also be noted that during this time, reference was made to a building in the Labadie tract that was called the Great House. The name could have been used for one of the buildings that housed some of the hundred or so Labadists, and later was used for the mansion, built nearby. The following passage refers to a Great House used by the Labadists. "They slept in the same or adjoining buildings, one of which was designated 'The Great House', in the garden of which was the common graveyard in which the members at their decease were buried."³⁵ It is also noted that Peter Sluyter, upon his death in 1722, wished to be buried in the garden of Great House. This initially seemed to suggest Sluyter could have been the builder and first occupant of Great House. Though further research led to a more plausible alternative to this theory (to be discussed in detail in Chapter III). The Labadists' stay in Cecil County was short lived and most were disbanded within five years after Sluyter's death, though their descendants continued to influence early settlements at Bohemia Manor for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

CHAPTER III

History of Great House Plantation

Labadist Ancestral Homes

As noted, Labadists at Bohemia Manor are a significant part of the early history of Great House Plantation. The three main families, whose descendants settled on the four necks of the Ladadie Tract in 1684, include the Sluyters, Bouchelles, and Bayards. These families were the descendants of several of the founding colony members of the Labadists, Peter Sluyter, Peter Bayard, and Henry Sluyter. By 1700 Anglican Church records indicate the births of subsequent generations of Bayards, Sluyters, and Bouchelles (Peter Sluyters). These records mark a significant shift in these families, from being Labadists to becoming Anglicans. This shift in religious faith of the main families of the Labadie Tract on Bohemia Manor is part of the story of the origins of Great House.

Records indicate that by 1717 and earlier, there were substantial dwellings built, which became ancestral homes for these three families. Several of these dwellings are described as brick manor houses of substantial proportion and were likely among the finest early dwellings in the upper Chesapeake. A study of the main Labadist families of Bohemia Manor and their houses will reveal the likely builder and first occupant of Great House Plantation. The Labadie Tract's four necks of land that front the Bohemia River are central to the debate about who built Great House. Understanding, which family settled on which neck is central to answering the question of who built Great House. It has been noted that in 1698, Peter Sluyter divided the fours necks among the remaining founders, taking the third neck for himself. Deed records indicate that Great House is on the second neck, which was owned jointly by Samuel Bayard and Henry Sluyter, after the Labadie tract land was divided in 1698. Samuel Bayard and Henry Sluyter both appear on the Deed dated July 15, 1698.

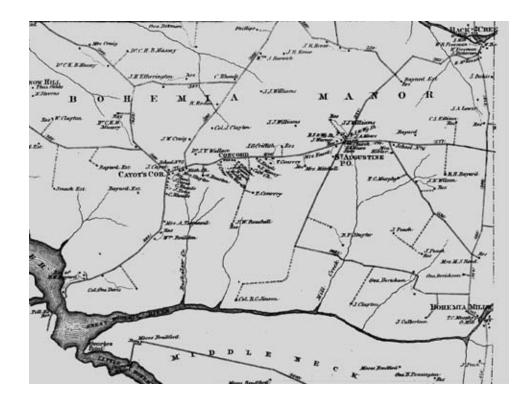


Figure 2-1887 Map of Labadist Tract on Bohemia Manor.

Peter Sluyter/Bouchelle Family

Though Peter Sluyter's request to be buried in the garden of Great House suggests a deep connection to it, records indicate that this branch of the Sluyter family did not build Great House. "Dr. Petrus Bouchelle became the sole heir of his step father, Petrus Sluyter, on whose property, which consisted of the third neck of the Labadie Tract, he settled, and which, by the way, became the ancestral homestead of the Bouchelle family, in the possession of which family it has remained until within a comparatively recent date."³⁶ Thus, the Bouchelle family, heirs of Peter Sluyters occupied the third neck of the Labadie Tract throughout most of the nineteenth century. The Bouchelle name also appears on the first neck, as referenced on the 1877 Map of Cecil County. Though this is most likely a later Bouchelle family house, not the main ancestral home.

Henry Sluyter Family

Another noteworthy Labadie family, descended from Henry (or Hendrick) Sluyter, indicates the presence of a brick manor house, though not likely Great House. "Hendrick Sluyter, just named, was probably that ancestor of all the Sluyters who have lived on Bohemia Manor since 1722, and his plantation, which has descended from father to son from this day to the present generation, may be considered the ancestral seat of the family. It is located at the confluence of the Bohemia River and the Labadie Mill Creek, and was occupied by him in 1717, when, it is supposed, he built thereon a residence long since gone to decay, near which may still be seen the old Sluyter family graveyard."³⁷ This places the Sluyter family home on the neck adjacent to the Bohemia River and the Labadie Mill Creek, the second neck.

In 1722, Hendrick died leaving his estate to his son Benjamin, who in turn died in about 1752, equally dividing his estate between his two sons, Peter and Henry. Peter "took possession of the lower half, which bordered on Bohemia River, and occupied the old mansion, which is said to have been a building of considerable proportions and pretentions, while the other son, Henry Sluyter, took the upper half, and built thereon a strong, substantial, and attractive brick dwelling, which may be considered the home of each successive generation of Sluyters from that day to this."³⁸ The Map of 1877 shows a house, owned by B. F. Sluyter on the second neck set to the backside of the neck's East Side. This is likely the house Henry Sluyter built in the 1750s, which became the Sluyter family ancestral home and is currently known as Unicorn Farm.

The house Peter Sluyter inherited in 1752, described as being "of considerable proportions and pretentions", bordering on the Bohemia River, echoes of Great House. As does the fact that the Sluyter family house, currently Unicorn Farm, is described on the back portion of the same neck behind the "old mansion", which is shown to be to the Northeast of Great House on the map of 1877. Records, though, describing the ancestral home of the Bayards must be considered before it is assumed that Hendrick Sluyter built Great House.

Bayard Family

Samuel Bayard, son of Peter Bayard, is the likely builder of Great House, as indicated in deed records listing Samuel's ownership of the West Side of the second neck in 1698. A brief look at the Bayard family roots will aid in understanding the origins and architecture of Great House, built on the West Side of the second neck of the Labadie Tract. "The Bayard family, originally from France, derived the surname of Bayard from their Chateau in Dauphiny, six miles form Grenoble. The family name was Du Terrail, and the celebrated knight of that family bore the name of Pierre du Terrail Seigneur de Bayard."³⁹

During the sixteenth century, members of the Bayard family fled religious persecution to Holland, where one married Anna Stuyvesant, sister of the Dutch governor at New Amsterdam, Peter Stuyvesant. "Madam Anna Bayard, her husband being dead, accompanied her brother, Peter Stuyvesant, to New York, then called New Amsterdam, with her three sons, Balthazar, Nicholas, and Petrus, where they landed in 1647."⁴⁰ With French roots and a Dutch upbringing, Peter Bayard, as an adult became one of the deacons of the Old Dutch Church in New York. He soon left this church, to pursue a more meditative existence away from worldly pursuits, in the wilds of Delaware, at Bombay Hook Island, recently granted to him by Governor Andros in 1675. Not long after his grant in Delaware, Peter Bayard joined with the Labadists and assisted them in their purchase and settlement of the Labadie Tract on Bohemia Manor. Peter Bayard left the Labadists and returned to New Amsterdam, where he died in 1699. A closer look at Samuel Bayard, son of Peter Bayard, will provide insight into the builder and first occupant of Great House. "While yet a young man he was married to Elizabeth Sluyter, and came into possession of a portion of territory on Bohemia Manor that had belonged to his father."⁴¹ Samuel Bayard, as previously noted was one of the Labadists receiving a portion of the four necks divided by Peter Sluyter in 1698. It is also relevant to note that after the death of his first wife, Samuel married a second wife in 1697, Peter Sluyter's stepdaughter Susanna Bouchelle, who remained on her husband's estate until her death in 1750. In 1717, Samuel Bayard's will records that upon his death his entire estate was to be left to Susannah during her widowhood. Samuel Bayard's will also indicated that if Susannah remarried, the estate would then be split between his three sons. Samuel Bayard died in 1721, leaving Susannah in possession of her husband's estate for the remained of her life.

A description of Susanna Bayard aids in understanding the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century social and cultural life of who is likely the first occupant of Great House, (along with her husband Samuel). Susanna "was a woman of fine talents, many accomplishments, and deep piety. She could write and speak the Latin, French, Dutch, and English languages. Her family record kept by her own hand, may still be seen, though faded under the influence of more than one hundred and seventy years, in an old Dutch Bible. Besides the Bible, she left voluminous manuscripts, which were lost during the Revolutionary war. She was a lady of spirit and exerted considerable influence."⁴² Susanna Bayard remained as a widow in her family home throughout her life, where she entertained distinguished visitors to Bohemia Manor. The Reverend George Whitefield, was a frequent visitor of Susanna Bayards. "This remarkable woman, Susanna Bayard, was a warm friend of the celebrated Rev. George Whitefield...she entertained him at her mansion whenever he visited the Manor, and Whitefield himself refers to her in his diary when he speaks of being 'kindly received by old Mrs. Bayard, a true mother of Israel'. This mother of Israel, who had been the widow of Samuel Bayard for thirty years, died on November 2, 1750, leaving four children, all of whom were adults, and between whom the large estate was divided."⁴³

Most important in determining the builder and first occupant of Great House, is the following description of the Bayard house, made by Reverend Charles Malery's from his 1888 publication, Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor. The description is quoted at length as it so closely matches that of Great House. "The mansion is a large, two-storied, brick building, and has a front portico along its entire length, also large folding-doors, on one of which is found a heavy brass knocker. There are four front windows in the second story, each of which has very deep sills and the old-time diminutive windowpanes set in heavy sashes. The front door admits you to a large vestibule, furnished with a fireplace. Immediately facing you is the dinning-hall, while at your right hand is a reception-room, and at your left a spacious parlor. "The apartments in the second story, reached by a broad, winding staircase, for the most part correspond in size with the rooms already described, and one of them, that in the northwest corner of the house, is even to this day called 'Whitefield's room'. In honor of the great preacher whose name it bears, who often occupied it when he labored on the Manor, though his feet crossed its threshold for the last time one hundred and fifty years ago. As the peaked roof of the mansion is very deep, room is found for two attics between it and the ceiling of the second story, so that the house is much more ample than an outside view would suggest. Besides the ordinary cellar, there is a sub-cellar, or wine vault, deep and long.

"I must not neglect to describe the parlor, which, with the exception of the socalled 'Whitefield room', is the most interesting and attractive apartment of the house. It is a large room, whose walls are wainescoted from floors to ceiling, whose mantel-piece is ponderous, and whose ample fireplace in the long, long past, was the spot about which gathered many of the great and good of earlier generations."⁴⁴

Susanna and Samuel's third son James came to live with his widowed mother during her final years, to help manage the farm. Upon Susanna's death, she was "succeeded in the possession and occupancy of her old home by her son, James Bayard, who by this time had married Miss Mary Ashton."⁴⁵ Further proof the Bayard family built Great House, is the chain of title (see Appendix C), which lists James Bayard inheriting Great House from his father Samuel's estate in 1752. "By adding commercial enterprise and industry to the cultivation of his large farm he, in a few years, accumulated what at that time was a handsome fortune. This, however he did not live long to enjoy. Both he and his wife died young, leaving two sons, twins, named John Bubenheim Bayard and James Ashton Bayard."⁴⁶ John Bayard became a noted colonel in the Revolutionary War and in 1788 sold his family home, Great House, to Edward Foard and moved to New Brunswick, where he became a distinguished civic leader in that community. Also significant to determining the first builder/owner of Great House is the chain of title, which lists this evolution of ownership from John Bubenheim Bayard to Edward Foard in 1788.

Further documents that support Samuel Bayard as the builder and first occupant of Great House are deed records that indicate Henry Sluyter owned the east half of second neck, while Samuel Bayard owned the west side of second neck. "Deed of Partition. Samuel Bayard and Henry Sluyter, both of Bohemia River in Cecil Co. have lived for several years past in copartnership. They now divide the land and all its goods and chattels in half. Samuel Bayard has by his Last Will and Testament given his half (the west side) to his two sons Samuel and Jacobus and they are to pay Benjamin, the eldest son of Henry Sluyter a sum of money determined by two or more men who judge the value of the property. Made 5 Feb 1716/7."⁴⁷

The seventeen hundred acres of the second neck were divided in half, with Great House lying on the west half, owned by Samuel Bayard. "By deeds of division dated 30 August 1722, Benjamin Sluyter and James Bayard hold several separate moieties of a tract of 1,700 acres called Second Neck, being part of Bohemia Manor. Said land was formerly jointly owned by Samuel Bayard and Henry Sluyter, fathers of the said Benjamin Sluyter and James Bayard. James Bayard is the present owner of the Great House. County Abstracts March 10, 1752."⁴⁸ This record references Henry Sluyter and Samuel Bayard as joint owners of second neck and most importantly reference James Bayard, son of Samuel Bayard as owner of Great House.

Great House was most likely built as the family home for Samuel and Susanna Bayard. It is recorded that Susanna lived in Great House as a widow to her husband Samuel, whereupon her death in 1750, her son James inherited Great House. It is likely that Samuel built Great House sometime before his death in 1721. This would make Great House one of the earliest remaining original dwellings in Cecil County, Maryland.

CHAPTER IV

Architectural Analysis & Documentation

of Great House Plantation

Overview of Architecture at Great House

Great House, circa 1717 - 20, is one of the upper Chesapeake region's most important remaining examples of plantation architecture in the early Georgian style, with much of the main block of the house intact in its original early to mid- eighteenth century appearance. Great House stands on the plantation of the same name, on the second neck of the Labadist Tract, overlooking the Bohemia River.

The main block of Great House has an unusual four-room plan, with interior corner fireplaces, large bolection moldings, extensive raised paneling, and refined millwork. The exterior has pent eaves on north and south facades, T-chimneys, segmental arched windows and a chamfered water table. Great House has a south façade facing the river, with four registers, or openings, double front doors and Flemish bond brickwork. The north façade has five symmetrical registers with a central door, and English bond brickwork. The east and west facades are laid in English bond. The brickwork below the water table on all facades is English bond. Great House has large proportions and high ceilings, in keeping with the finest dwellings of the period. The exterior of the main block measures 40' 6" X 34' 6". Its first floor ceiling height is 9' 10" and its second floor ceiling height is 9'. Great House has an unusual double attic and a

portion of the cellar has a double cellar. There are also unusual bull's eye windows in the upper attic gable ends.

Great House's symmetrical north façade, with interior closed hall and flanking rooms and its off-axis south façade combine to make a defining statement about interior room use. The north side seems to be set up as a modified center hall plan, with its small entrance hall, and flanking office and dining room. The south side of the house resembles a modified hall-parlor plan.

The interior of Great House contains some of the region's finest architectural details and paneling of the period. The woodwork is typical of the early Georgian period and most likely was inspired by pattern books, which illustrated popular designs and styles of the period. These pattern books came to the colonies from England, and were used by vernacular builders and joiners to guide the creation of architectural details in eighteenth century buildings. The builder or joiners of Great House likely adapted portions of early Georgian pattern books to create the impressive millwork and paneling throughout the interior. Such books include *The City and Country Purchaser and Builder*, by Stephen Primatt in 1680 and *The Country Builder's Estimator, or, the Architect's Companion*, by William Solman, Jr. in 1737. Later in the eighteenth century, *The Capenters' Company of the City and County of Philadelphia*, 1786 Rule Book, by Charles E. Peterson, F. A. I. A. aided builders. "The 'pattern book' business began to flourish. Designs for whole buildings were presented by British architect-authors such as Colin Campbell (1715), William Halfpenny (1724), Robert Morris (1728), James Gibbs

(1728)...Many of their books soon appeared in America and had a fairly wide use here."⁴⁹.

Exemplary millwork profiles, bolection moldings, raised panel wainscoting and panel window seats are seen throughout the main block, on the first and second floors. The parlor, in particular, illustrates the refinement of early eighteenth century architecture. The hall, dining room, and enclosed back hall also have intact and refined architectural millwork. The plantation office retains original features, though some modifications have been made. The upstairs hall and bedchambers also retain their original woodwork, which have refined floor to ceiling wainscoted corner fireplace treatments and raised panel window seats. The exterior of Great House reflects its original eighteenth century appearance, through the restoration efforts of the present owner, who restored the pent eaves to the north and south facades in 1966.

Much of the millwork throughout Great House shares the same architectural details. All of the raised paneling throughout the house has the same profiles. The parlor, the highest style room in Great House, has its own unique profiles. The fluting on the corner cupboards in the parlor, hall and dining rooms have the same profiles. (See Appendix B for Molding Profiles). The second floor of Great House is divided into four rooms, in the same layout as the first floor. The woodwork on the second floor is similar to the profiles seen on the first floor, though there are no bolection molded fireplace surrounds and the fireplace treatments are on a smaller scale. The second floor fireplace overmantels and mirrored cupboards are similar in each of the four upstairs rooms. There

is fine wainscoting, chair rail, crown moldings, and panel window seats, as seen on the first floor. The first floor windows are twelve over twelve single hung sash. The second floor windows are eight over twelve single hung sash.

The Exterior

The main block of Great House remains essentially in its original form, though the second floor east façade windows were sealed when a half story was added in the nineteenth century. Great House is a brick early Georgian dwelling, with five symmetrical bays on the north façade and four bays on the south façade. There are pent eaves on the north and south facades, which run the length of the dwelling. The exterior has T-chimneys and oculus or bull's-eye windows in the upper attic gable ends. The house has a large boxed cornice on both north and south facades, consisting of the same crown molding and bed molding as within the dwelling. The roof of Great House is slate.



Figure 3- Great House, South Façade.

The south façade is laid in Flemish bond. The north, east, and west facades are laid in English bond. There is a chamfered brick water table around the house. On the north façade, the water table jogs up and over the cellar windows. The brick stretcher size is nine inches long on average. The brick header size is four inches. The bricks are two and three quarter inches thick. The masonry is laid up with lime mortar, with a grapevine tooling.



Figure 4-Great House, First Floor Window.

The north and south first floor windows, as well as the gable end windows have segmental arches. The second floor windows on the north and south facades have jack arches. The window and doorjambs are all mortised and tenoned to the heads and sills with treenails. There are raised panel shutters on the first floor. The shutters have three raised panels. The shutters have HL-hinges, an early eighteenth century hardware type, also seen throughout the interior.



Figure 5-Great House, South Front Door.

The Plan

The room use of Great House's four-room plan, has elements of both less formal hall-parlor plans and more formal center hall plan houses. The south front rooms mirror room use of hall-parlor plan houses, with the hall serving as the main living area for the family, while the parlor was reserved for more formal gatherings. The north section of the main block mirrors room use of center hall plans, with segmented living spaces allocated for various uses. The dining room would have been primarily reserved for special occasions, with most meals taken in the hall.

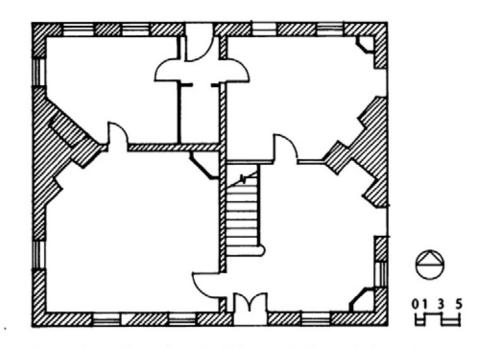


Figure 6- Great House Floor Plan. Paul Touart, Anthony O. James. "At The Head of The Bay" by Pamela Blumgart.

Four-room plan houses "were typically large, nearly square in their proportions and contained two front rooms and two back rooms....What is most significant about these larger houses is the formal position they occupy in the architectural community. They are the largest houses not making use of a stair-passage plan, an observation made more interesting by the fact that the largest of the four-room-plan types were erected well after the concept of a separate stair passage had been introduced into the dwelling design. While the often elaborate interiors do not betray an ignorance of stylistic concerns, the division of interior spaces in these dwellings does not embrace the academic, formal separations achieved with the Georgian plan types."⁵⁰

Room by Room Descriptions and Architectural Details

The Hall -(Southeast Corner Room)

The southeast corner room or hall of Great House has a wainscoted corner fireplace with large bolection moldings, a refined corner cupboard and an open string staircase. The millwork profiles are large and typical of the early Georgian period, and create an impressive entry for this very stately house.



Figure 7-Great House, Hall Fireplace.

As you enter the hall from the front door, directly ahead, to the left is an openstring staircase, with large, finely turned balusters. The stair railing turns outward to the newel post. The lower run of the staircase is sheathed with raised panel wainscoting that conceals runs to the cellar.

To the right, in the room's northeast corner, is the corner fireplace with raised panel wainscoting from floor to ceiling. A large bolection molding frames the opening of the firebox, with an unusual two-part molding above it. In the southeast corner is a fine corner cupboard. The upper section has glazed double cabinet doors, with half round arches at the top. A feature repeated in the upstairs bedrooms, in the half round arched mirrored cupboard doors. The lower section has a raised panel door. The casing trim is a bolection molding. The sides have fluted pilasters that extend from the chair rail to cornice.



Figure 8-Great House, Hall Staircase.

The chair rail is a bolection molding. The walls are plastered, above and below the chair rail. The baseboard is of two parts. The hall has a crown molding with a fascia. The corner fireplace has a full cornice, with crown, fascia, soffit, and bed molding.

The hall has five doors. The front entrance has unusual double doors, each with five raised panels. A raised six-panel door, directly to the left upon entering the hall from

the front door, leads to the parlor. There is a raised four-panel cellar door, to the right of the raised paneling that encompasses the staircase. There is a raised six-panel door leading into the dinning room, on the hall's north wall. Another raised six-panel door on the hall's east wall leads into the kitchen.

There is one south facing window, which has a raised panel window seat. This window treatment is seen throughout the first and second floors of the main block. There is a smaller window on the southeast wall with six over six single hung sash, to the right of the kitchen door, with a raised panel window seat.



The Parlor

Figure 9-Great House, Parlor Fireplace.

The best room in the house is the parlor in the southwest room, which is an exceptional example of early Georgian paneling and millwork. The parlor was probably used for entertaining important guests, and has the most elegant and refined woodwork in the house. The corner fireplace wall is paneled with a vernacular form of classical Palladian and early Georgian architectural details. Fluted pilasters flank the overmantel. The center panel is raised and has a bolection molding surrounding it. There are seven unusual triglyphs with guttae, which are loosely based on the Doric Order, above the overmantel. The fireplace has an unusual one piece, double bolection molding surrounding it. The present owner added the Delft tiles.



Figure 10-Great House, Parlor Corner Cupboard.

The corner cupboard, in the northeast corner has finely scalloped shelves, an arched upper glazed cabinet door with a fan, a lower raised panel door, and fluted sides. The cornice is very large and breaks around the three windows, the key block on the corner cupboard, and around the center triglyph on the over mantel. The cornice is fourteen inches tall, of five parts, and includes crown, fascia, soffit, bed molding and lower fascia. The walls are plastered and have a chair rail and double baseboard. There are two raised panel doors, one leading to the plantation office on the north wall, and one

leading to the hall on the east wall. The Parlor has three windows, two on the south wall, and one on the west wall, all with raised panel window seats, as well as raised panel jambs and heads.



Figure 11-Great House, South Parlor Windows.

The parlor and other rooms at Great House have more plaster and less wainescoting than manor houses of the seventeenth century that tended to be more heavily wainescoted. The interior architectural style of Great House reflects the evolution of interior surfaces, from the seventeenth century into the eighteenth century, with more formal and refined use of plaster and woodwork.

The Dining Room

The dining room at Great House has a corner fireplace, wainscoting, and bolection moldings. It is located in the northeast room and has a corner cupboard similar to the one in the hall, with upper arched glazed double doors, a lower raised panel door, and fluting on each side.



Figure 12-Great House, Dining Room Corner Cupboard.

The walls are all plastered, except for the corner fireplace wall, which has raised paneling, with a bolection molding around the firebox. The fireplace has a mantel, with the same profile as the cornice. The Dining Room is the only room with a mantel. The cornice in the Dining Room is the same as in the Hall, as are the chair rail, baseboard and window seats. The cornice has crown and fascia. The overmantel has a full cornice, with crown, fascia, soffit, and bed molding.



Figure 13- Great House, Dining Room Mantel.

There are three doors, each with six raised panels. The Dining Room's south door leads to the Hall. The room's east door leads to a butler's pantry, attached to the kitchen. The Dining Room's west door leads to an enclosed back hall. There are two windows on the north wall, with raised panel window seats.



Figure 14- Great House, Dining Room Window Seat.

The Northwest Room

The northwest room at Great House was likely a plantation office, and is the smallest room in the main block on the first floor. The northwest room has two doors, one leading to the parlor, the other to the enclosed north hall. Both doors have six raised panels. The northwest room has three windows, one on the west wall, and two on the north wall. All three windows have wainscoted window seats, consistent throughout the first and second floors of the main block.



Figure 15- Great House, Plantation Office North Wall.

The northwest room has had some modifications as detailed in Chapter V. The window seats, crown molding, chair rail and baseboard are original and the same as in the hall and dining room.

The North Hall

Great House has an enclosed back hall, on the north side of the house, between the plantation office and the dining room. The north hall was likely enclosed to keep the winter weather out of the main rooms of the house, rather than to limit access, as the more typical front halls were designed to do. The hall has crown, fascia, chair rail and baseboard. The hall's west wall is wainscoted floor to ceiling. The east wall has plaster walls above and below the chair rail. The north hall has four raised panel doors. The north door has a transom and leads to the outside. The east door leads to the dining room. The south door has a transom and leads to a water closet. The west door leads to the plantation office.



Figure 16-Great House, Rear Hall North Door.

The Second Floor

The architectural profiles are the same throughout the second floor, with the same chair rail, crown, baseboard, window seats, and wainscoting seen in the upper hall, the master bedchamber, the northwest chamber and northeast chamber. All four rooms also have similar corner fireplace treatments, with floor to ceiling raised panel wainscoting, and arched mirrored cupboards, to one side of the fireplace. The arched and mirrored cupboard detail is similar to the arched top detail of the corner cupboards in both the hall and dining rooms. The layout of second floor rooms follows the same layout of first floor rooms.



Figure 17-Great House, Upper Hall Fireplace.

The Upper Hall

The second floor stair hall is the southeast room and is above the first floor hall. The upper hall has corner fireplace with paneled over mantel, crown, fascia, chair rail, and baseboard. To the left of the fireplace is a cupboard, with arched and mirrored glass panes on the top, separated by chair rail, and raised panel door on the bottom portion.



Figure 18-Great House, Upper Hall South Window.

The upper hall had three windows, one on the east wall, and two on the south wall. Only the two on the south wall remain. They have raised panel window seats. The hall has two raised panel doors, one leading to the master bedchamber to the west, one leading to a rear bedchamber to the north. There is a raised panel partition wall between the stairs and the corner fireplace. The walls are plastered above and below the chair rail. The stair continues up to the garret, with the same balusters and handrail as the main staircase.

The Southwest Bedchamber

Above the parlor is the largest bedchamber, with corner fireplace and surrounding wainscoting. There is an arched and mirrored cupboard to the right of the fireplace. The fireplace treatment and wainscoting in this room is the largest, with two extra panels to the right of the cupboard. The molding profiles for crown, chair rail, baseboard and panel window seats are the same as those in the upper hall. The walls are plastered above and below the chair rail. There are three windows, two on the south wall and one on the west wall. There are three doors, one to the upper hall, one to the northwest chamber, and one to a closet.



Figure 19-Great House, Southwest Bedchamber Fireplace.

The Northeast Chamber

The northeast chamber is above the dining room. The molding profiles for crown, chair rail, baseboard and paneled window seats are the same as those in the upper hall. The fireplace treatment is about the same, though slightly smaller (as is the room), with the arched mirrored cupboard to the right of the fireplace. The walls are plastered above and below the chair rail.

The northeast bedchamber had three windows, one on the east wall, and two on the north. Only the two on the north remain. There are two doors in the northeast bedchamber, one to the upper hall, and one to the water closet.

The Northwest Chamber

The northwest room is above the plantation office and is the smallest chamber on the second floor. The northwest bedchamber is known as the Whitefield Room, a reference to his visits to Great House during 1740. This reference supports the theory that Great House was built prior to Whitefield's visits to the Susannah Bayard, widow of Samuel Bayard. It has three windows, one on the west wall, and two on the north wall, all with raised panel window seats. The room has two doors, one leading to the water closet, the other to the master bedchamber. The northwest bedchamber has a wainscoted corner fireplace, with an arched and mirrored cupboard to the left. The room has chair rail, crown and baseboard. The walls are plastered.

The Garret

An interesting feature of Great House is the double attic. The roof frame was built with collar beams and at some point a floor was placed on them, to create the upper garret. The garret is divided into four rooms, about the same layout as the first and second floors. The third floor garret or attic has additional living space, a water closet and storage area. There is a bedchamber in the southwest room, a water closet in the northwest room, a storage area in the northeast room, and a hall in the southeast room. The third floor walls are antique beaded boards. Each room has a gable window. The roof rafters are partially exposed and plastered in between. An attic ladder in the garret hall leads to an upper attic.

The Cellar

The cellar is divided into four rooms following the floor plan on the first and second floors. The stair leading to the cellar is under the main staircase. The floor joists are oak, are 4 X 9, and are parallel with the east and west walls. They are mortised and tenoned to a summer beam that runs perpendicular to the floor joists. There is a masonry load-bearing wall runing north to south, which is three stories high and supports the staircase leading to the garret. There is a sub-cellar in the northeast room. The corner fireplaces are supported by corbeled brickwork to a diagonal header.

The cellar had five windows. Four remain, two on the south wall and two on the north wall. The window on the southwest wall was turned into an exterior cellar

entrance. The original cellar door was on the southeast side, which was closed when the kitchen was extended in the 1980s.

There is falsework in the southeast portion of the cellar, which could be original to the dwelling. There is another rare feature in the cellar, pit sawn floor joists, which could support the theory that Great House dates from the early part of the eighteenth century. The floor joists are pit sawn, and sawmills existed on the Bohemia River as early as 1710.



The Kitchen

Figure 20-Great House, Kitchen Fireplace.

There is a kitchen wing to the east of the main block. The kitchen that now stands is a one and a half story brick and fieldstone structure, with clapboard on the upper raised portion. The kitchen wing has three first floor rooms and two second floor rooms. The main kitchen has an exposed beam ceiling and brick floor. There is a fireplace on the northeast corner of the east wall, with a bake oven to the left and a stew pot set into the masonry to the right. To the north side of the kitchen wing is an enclosed hall that leads from the kitchen to the dining room. In the hall there is a north exterior door entrance and a door to the attached garage. An enclosed stair in the northeast corner of the hall leads to the second floor bedrooms. The bedrooms above the kitchen were more than likely servants quarters. This portion of the house is not original to the eighteenth century main block and has no significant millwork or architectural details. A modern kitchen was added, enclosed within the south shed roof. See Chapter V, for a detailed chronology of the kitchen wing.

Conclusions

Great House is one of the most important early Georgian plantation houses in the upper Chesapeake region. It's unique combination of architectural features and details also make it one of the rarest house types of the period. It's pent roofs, T-chimneys, double attic, bull's eye attic vents, four-room open plan, corner fireplaces, and open string staircase combine to make Great House one of the most unique. The exemplary early Georgian woodwork at Great House, most likely modeled out of early eighteenth century pattern books, is some of the finest original millwork and paneling in the region. The documentation of the architectural features and details of Great House aids in the understanding of this important early to mid-eighteenth century house and its important place in colonial architectural history.

CHAPTER V

Architectural Chronology

of Great House Plantation

The Main Block



Figure 21- Great House, North Façade, c. 1980.

The main block of Great House, circa 1717 - 20, has had little alteration since its construction. Great House retains the majority of its original woodwork and architectural details as outlined in Chapter IV. Other than the addition of HVAC systems and plumbing in the twentieth century, Great House stands as a remarkably intact.

The exterior has undergone some alterations over the past two centuries, though it has been restored back to its eighteenth century appearance. The main block of Great House remains essentially in its original form, though the east façade windows were sealed when the kitchen addition was raised in the nineteenth century. The exterior was painted white, sometime thereafter, most likely in the Greek Revival period. The roof of Great House is currently slate, although would likely have been wood shingle originally. Great House has had two different porch additions, one in the late nineteenth century and one in 1939. The nineteenth century porch additions are visible in the 1936 HABS photos.



Figure 22-Great House, South Façade, 1936 HABS Photo.



Figure 23- 1939 Henry C. Forman Porch Addition. H. C. Forman Photo.

In 1939, noted architect and author, Henry C. Forman designed a one-story porch on the south façade and a north façade doorway porch, for owner at the time, John Metten. The Forman drawings of Great House (as seen in the appendix) show the plans for the north and south façade porch additions. The Forman porches were more typical of the nineteenth century and not appropriate for the period of significance of Great House, the eighteenth century.



Figure 24-Great House, South Façade, 1966 Pent Restoration Plans

A restoration in 1966 by the present owner removed the 1939 porches and the original pent roofs were reconstructed, to bring Great House back to its eighteenth century appearance. Architectural plans by James R. Edmunds, Jr.of Baltimore, in 1966, show renderings of Great House with front and rear pent roofs, and front and rear steps.

The Interior - First Floor

The first floor of the main block of Great House remains essentially in its original eighteenth century condition. The parlor, hall, dining room and enclosed back hall have had no alterations, with exemplary original millwork and paneling. The fireplaces in the parlor and dining room both had the same arched shape as the hall, but were at some point in the twentieth century reduced in size and flue dampers were added.

The plantation office retains much of its original woodwork, with the exception of the following modifications. The corner fireplace was sealed in the twentieth century for the furnace flue and the original paneling removed. The present owner has added bookshelves to the east and south walls, as well as a corner cupboard in the northeast corner, in the early 1990s. The crown molding, chair rail and baseboard are original.

The Interior - Upper Floors

The second floor retains the majority of its original woodwork. The master bedchamber and hall remain essentially in their eighteenth century forms. There have been some modifications made to the second floor northwest and northeast rooms, with added closets and a bathroom in the early to mid twentieth century.

The garret was converted into additional living and storage space in the 1960s. Beaded board walls were built to create a bedroom, bathroom, storage area and garret hall.

The Kitchen Wing

The kitchen wing has gone though several modifications over the years. Some of the changes are easier to date, others present more difficult chronologies.

The kitchen wing is to the east of the main block, portions of which may be original. An advertisement in the Pennsylvania Packet dated 1784, listing Great House for sale, indicates that the house had a kitchen wing as early as that date. The kitchen that now stands is a one and a half story brick and clapboard structure. The kitchen was originally a one room, one story gabled roof structure. A half story was added in the early nineteenth century. The fireplace is not original and was likely a larger walk in fireplace.

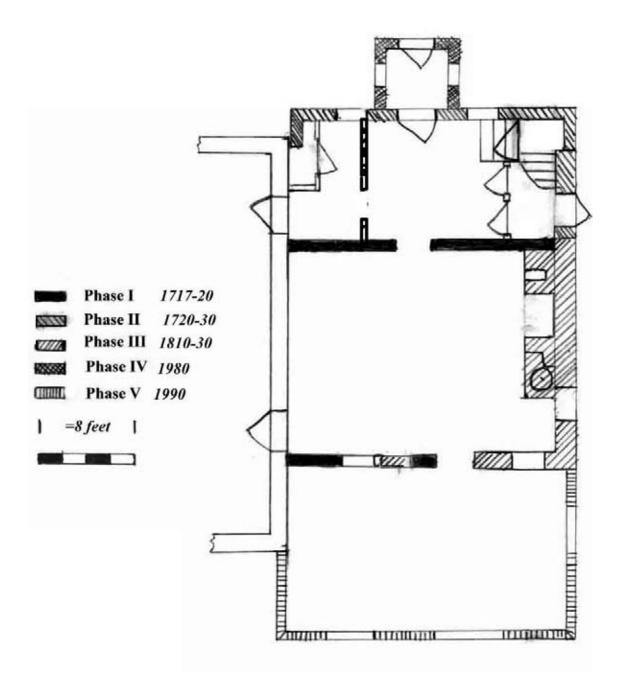


Figure 25-Kitchen Wing Plan & Chronology.

A new kitchen addition was built in the 1990s off the south façade of the original kitchen wing. The new kitchen is housed under an enclosed shed roof addition. Prior to

the kitchen addition being added, the shed roof was an open porch with a well and pump, which was present in the 1936 HABS photos.

The original cellar door was closed over when the kitchen was enclosed within the shed roof. A new exterior cellar entrance was made at that time, on the southwest corner of the main house.

The original kitchen wing retains some original structural elements. The north wall and part of the south wall are likely original walls of the old kitchen. The door frames in the north and south walls are original. The window frame in the south wall is partially original. However, it was doubled in size at some point prior to HABS photos showing the modification in about 1939. The second floor joists are eighteenth century, but may have come from another building when the kitchen was altered.

Originally the kitchen had an interior entrance to the main dwelling through the southeast hall. The original larger walk in fireplace would have been on the east wall, perhaps with a beehive oven on the exterior. The original kitchen wing had a plaster ceiling, which was removed in the 1960s to expose the beams.

North Kitchen Hall

An enclosed hall was added to the north side of the original kitchen, connecting the dining room to the kitchen. This hall does not appear to be original to the eighteenth century kitchen, as the exterior bricks on the north and visible east facades (all but the first three feet or so of the east façade are covered by the garage addition) are larger than the main dwelling's bricks. The larger exterior north hall façade bricks suggest this hall was an addition to the original kitchen. Prior to the hall addition, the original kitchen's north wall was the exterior wall, as it has the same thickness as the original south kitchen wall. The original north exterior kitchen wall had an exterior door, the same door that now leads to the north kitchen hall. It also likely had one or two windows on either side of the door, which would have been removed and bricked over when the north kitchen hall was added. Also prior to the hall addition, it is possible that a shed roof did exist off the north kitchen façade, to provide a sheltered entrance to the north kitchen door and the dinning room, though there is no direct evidence of this.

Originally the north kitchen hall or pantry did not have exterior doors, as it does now, one on the north façade, added in the 1980s and one to the garage, added in the 1960s. A HABS photo of the exterior, prior to the 1980 kitchen hall entrance shows that the north exterior of the kitchen hall had two windows. One six over six single hung sash window, centered in the wall (which was later turned into the exterior door in the 1980s) and a smaller sash window to the right side. This presence of the smaller window suggests there may have been a partition wall inside the hall, as there would be no other need for another window other than the central one.

Dating this hall is difficult, though there are a few likely possibilities. The small hall could have been added shortly after the kitchen was built to provide a sheltered direct access to the dining room from the kitchen. There is some evidence the hall may have had a fireplace. There is an outline that resembles the shape of chimney remains within the stairway to the second floor, which could indicate the presence of a fireplace in the hall prior to the roof being raised and the main kitchen fireplace being rebuilt. If a hall fireplace did exist, it would have been torn down when the roof was raised and the stairway was added.

Another possibility is that the north kitchen hall could have been added in the nineteenth century, when the roof was raised. The original fireplace was also most likely torn down and rebuilt at this time. The kitchen's east façade and portions of the southeast wall were rebuilt in fieldstone at this point. The presence of fieldstone in the kitchen walls indicates that the fireplace had to be rebuilt. Not only does the 1784 advertisement describe a brick kitchen, but a house as refined as Great House, would have a kitchen to match it. The original kitchen would have been brick, like the main block, and perhaps with a chamfered water table, like several brick manor houses in Kent County whose kitchen additions match the main block's exterior architectural details.

The windows of the main block's second floor gable ends were bricked in when the kitchen roof was raised. The fireplace that exists now was built when the roof was raised. The fireplace consists of one small bake oven to the left of the fireplace and a built in iron kettle to the right.



Figure 26-Great House, North Kitchen Wing Entrance.

In 1980, Architectural Historian Michael Bourne designed a north entrance hall to the kitchen wing. Bourne's design turned the six over six single hung sash window into a doorway, with a six by seven-foot entrance hall. The small side window on the north kitchen façade was bricked in at this point and replaced by a six over six single hung sash window, with a matching window on the other side of the new entrance hall. The kitchen hall's north entrance was designed to be sympathetic with the architecture of the main block. The entrance has a raised panel door. The interior side of the door has beaded board on a diagonal. The short porch entrance hall has two segmental arched windows, one on each side of the short hallway, made to match the main block. The short entrance hall has a north facing gable roof.

Conclusions

The fact that this chapter is relatively short is a testament to the high degree of original in tact fabric at Great House. A finite number of early to mid eighteenth century manor houses exist in the Chesapeake region. Very few of them exist with the quality and amount of original architectural features, as does Great House. It is the quality and high degree of original fabric at Great House that make it one of the most important remaining early to mid- eighteenth century plantation houses in the Chesapeake region.

CHAPTER VI

Architectural Influences & Origins

of Great House Plantation

The early to mid-eighteenth century architecture of the Delaware Valley and the Upper Chesapeake regions share a common thread in their predominantly English origins. Much of the architecture of this region, built by wealthy planters, has elements of the Georgian period. Great House is an eighteenth century English vernacular, early Georgian manor house. The influence of the early Georgian period is particularly evident in its interior paneling and millwork. Examples similar to Great House's impressive interior paneling can be seen throughout the region. Its combination of exterior pent roofs, end T-chimneys and unusual four-room floor plan though, and are seldom seen elsewhere. Elements of vernacular regional influences are seen in its exterior and unusual four-room open plan. This unusual combination of architectural features in the early Georgian style make Great House a rare and important example of early to mid Georgian architecture of the upper Chesapeake region.

English Roots & Regional Influences

It is no accident that many of the early house types of the region have architectural elements that mirror those from Philadelphia of the same period. Merchants, landowners and builders would often migrate from Philadelphia to the Delaware Valley and Upper Chesapeake, carrying with them styles popular in that great colonial city. Pent roofs, T-chimneys, segmental arched windows, raised paneling, bolection moldings, and increasingly grand proportions and floor plans migrated from England via the English colonies, including Philadelphia. These architectural details became the hallmarks of the emerging plantation architecture of the rural elite throughout the Upper Chesapeake region in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The region's early manor houses have English origins with an American twist. "At first all English domestic building in the colonies was vernacular building, conceived and executed according to such local customs as immigrants remembered from home."⁵¹ Because of William Penn's policies of religious tolerance, Pennsylvania was not a monoculture with the result that influences from different European countries merged with the predominantly English architecture of the period and became reborn in a uniquely Pennsylvania-regional style. Climate, indigenous building materials, and transplanted European and English builders merged with the predominantly English style, to create the vernacular architecture of the Upper Chesapeake. "English vernacular buildings had become thoroughly Americanized throughout the colonies well before 1700."⁵² Most late seventeenth and eighteenth century dwellings in the upper Chesapeake region have definitively English roots, as indicative of the ruling government and the popularity of its architectural style. Even in regions with Dutch rule in the seventeenth century, there is evidence of English influence to architecture. A possible builder of Great House, Samuel Bayard, was raised in the Old Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, where despite Dutch rule until 1664, English architectural style was popular. "Those of Dutch descent who saw advantage in allying themselves with British administrators benefited handsomely.... and built the finest houses, usually in the English fashion."⁵³ Samuel's father, Peter Bayard, son of Anne Stuyvesant, (sister of Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch Governor) was raised among the Dutch ruling elite of New Amsterdam. Here, Samuel would have been exposed to Continental and English style and architecture, which influenced the building of Great House. Though the Bayard family has French and Dutch origins and the Stuyvesant family was Dutch, much of the architectural style of Great House can be traced to the popularity of English architecture of the period.

Philadelphia House Types & Influences

Samuel Bayard was likely influenced by the architecture he saw in Philadelphia, en route to Bohemia Manor, elements of which can be seen in the style of Great House. Samuel's son, James Bayard, the other potential builder of Great House, was educated in Philadelphia, where he was no doubt influenced by the early Georgian style popular in the period. Philadelphia architecture of the early eighteenth century was based on English inspired early Georgian house types, built by the emerging ruling and merchant classes. High style elements at Great House, including the raised paneled interior, four room plan, grand proportions, Flemish bond brick work (on the river façade), segmental arch windows, all suggest the builder was among the region's most wealthy landowners. The pent roofs at Great House, a vernacular feature more commonly seen around Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley, are likely inspired by that region. Great House's refined architectural details make it one of the best remaining examples of early to mideighteenth century architecture in the upper Chesapeake region. Great House's refined architectural style mirrors many elements of the best early eighteenth century houses in the Philadelphia region.

The late seventeenth century Slate Roof House, a Philadelphia residence for William Penn, is an English Quaker townhouse of the late medieval period. The Slate House's T-chimneys, though more elaborate than those at Great House, share stylistic elements and similar architectural origins. Architectural features such as the T-chimneys at Slate House and Great House share common English roots and were a refinement reserved for the region's best houses.

Philadelphia area houses like Stenton c. 1727 - 30, though grander and more typically Georgian than Great House, share architectural elements. Like Great House, the entry hall at Stenton has an unusual fireplace feature. "Stenton is a double-pile house with a central passage and four rooms on each floor. But here the passage is more of a reception space - complete with practical brick floor and fireplace - designed both to control and to impress visitors, who might range from colonial grandees and native American tribal delegates to tenant farmers."⁵⁴ Great House's unusual front hall with corner fireplace also likely served as reception for a variety of guests and visitors.



Figure 27 -Stenton c. 1727 - 30, Hall with Corner Fireplace. Tom Crane Photograph from "Historic Houses of Philadelphia".

The Upper Chesapeake & Delaware Valley Connection

The history and architecture of the Delaware Valley and Upper Chesapeake is integrally connected. Many of the eighteenth century manor houses in the Delaware Valley and upper Chesapeake share common architectural features due to their common English roots and association through trade. Trade flourished throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, allowing the wealthiest merchants and planters to build homes of increasingly substantial proportions and architectural detail. A select few planters and landowners accumulated the wealth necessary to build the regions finest early manor houses. Many of the defining features of Great House can be seen in houses from across the Delaware Valley and upper Chesapeake regions, illustrating their parallel regional influences. A study of the remaining eighteenth century manor houses of these regions will reveal the common house types and architectural features.

One of the Delaware Valley's finest surviving Early Georgian residences, Trent House c. 1719, shares English roots and architectural elements in common with Great House. Trent House, built by wealthy Philadelphia merchant William Trent, has an interior reminiscent of Great House's. "The five-bay north and south brick facades are laid in Flemish bond, and a lantern tops the hipped roof above a simple cornice with unembellished modillion blocks."⁵⁵ Trent House's exterior is more classically early Georgian than Great House, with its modillion block cornice. The exterior does have segmental arched windows as does Great House. The interior, though, with its corner fireplaces, raised paneled millwork, and large cornices echo similar features at Great House.



Figure 28-Trent House c. 1719, Parlor. Tom Crane Photo From "Historic Houses of Philadelphia".

Primitive Hall, built in 1738 by wealthy Quaker Joseph Pennock, has large proportions, pent roofs and corner fireplaces, architectural elements in common with Great House. The pent roofs at Primitive Hall, (see Appendix D) primarily a Quaker feature, are seen throughout Chester County and the Delaware Valley, and much less frequently in the Chesapeake region. This architectural feature has English roots. "Pent roofs and door hoods contributed to the special character of Quaker architecture in Pennsylvania. Many houses and barns in the Delaware Valley were built with these small coverings extending outward above doors and windows on the ground floor. Pent roofs had been and still are common features of vernacular architecture in the North Midlands of England, from Cheshire and Derbyshire north to Cumbria."⁵⁶

Unlike houses of the lower Chesapeake with exterior chimneys, Great House has enclosed gable end T-chimneys and pent roofs on front and rear facades like Quaker houses of the Delaware Valley. Pents are seen on a handful of other houses in the region, with a few dwellings in northern Cecil and Kent Counties and a few in the Odessa, Delaware vicinity. One of the relatively few examples in southern New Castle County, located near Odessa, is an eighteenth century four bay brick house with a pent. The façade configuration is similar to that of Great House, but on a smaller scale. Unlike Great House, the Odessa area house is one room deep and is a hall-parlor plan. This shared architectural feature of unusual pent roofs appearing throughout the region is related to the close association and trade between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, and their common English roots.



Figure 29- Partner's Addition c. 1760, Kent County, Maryland. Elevation, Michael Bourne, from "Historic Houses of Kent County".

Partner's Addition c. 1760, is a three bay, single pile brick hall-parlor plan house of the upper Chesapeake region, which originally had front and rear pents. This house type can be seen from the upper Chesapeake, the Delaware Valley and throughout Chester County, Pennsyvania in the eighteenth century.

Upper Chesapeake Region House Types

Chestertown, one of the Eastern Shore's main Colonial ports, was a vital center of trade in the eighteenth century. Refined manor houses and public buildings were built in Chestertown and throughout Kent County, many with similar architectural details to Great House. A Chestertown landmark, the Customs House c. 1745, with its Flemish

bond brickwork, segmental arched windows and interior Georgian millwork, shares details in common with Great House.



Figure 30-Customs House, Kent County, Maryland, Michael Wootton photo from ''Historic Houses of Kent County''.

The Violet Farm c. 1762 is an early Georgian brick house with segmental arched windows, corner fireplaces and refined paneling. The house has glazed header brickwork on front and rear facades, and is a five bay, center hall plan, with large room to the left and two smaller rooms to the right. "The interior of the house was finished in a spectacular manner for 1762. The living room was fully paneled with glazed cabinets flanking the fireplace...Pilasters flanked the fireplace, the cabinets, door, and windows

(with window seats)."⁵⁷ Violet Farm has refined end T-chimneys, a refined architectural detail in common with Great House.



Figure 31-Violet Farm c. 1762, Kent County, Maryland. Tyler Campbell photo 1996, from "Historic Houses of Kent County".

With the exception of the Reward in Kent County, most early to mid-eighteenth century upper Chesapeake region houses generally tend to be single pile, hall parlor plans or closed, center hall Georgian plans. The Reward c. 1742, built on Quaker Neck in Kent County, has a unique four-room plan, with corner fireplaces, much like Great House, though on a smaller scale. The Reward has three-bays and a center door on its front facade.



Figure 32-The Reward c. 1742, Kent County Tyler Campbell photo 1995 Above and below from "Historic Houses of Kent County".

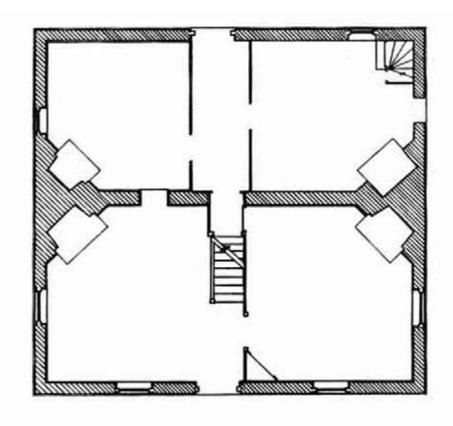


Figure 33-The Reward Floor Plan. Plan, Michael Bourne.

"The principal stair was situated in the main room, opposite the front door and led to a second floor hall with four doors and the stair to the attic."⁵⁸ The house is noted as being an unusual type for the area. "The house that he constructed was unlike any other built before in Kent County. A 39' x 37', two-story, brick structure, with a four-room plan, its façade was laid in Flemish bond with glazed headers, while all other walls were laid in English bond."⁵⁹ The Reward has twelve over twelve-sash windows with segmental arches on the first floor, with wainscoting, bolection molding, and raised paneling in the interior - similar features to those at Great House. The open front stair hall and enclosed rear hall are also in common with those features at Great House. Scotch Folly c. 1750, located on Shallcross Neck, originally had pent eaves similar to those features at Great House. Scotch Folly was one of the earliest houses built on Shallcross Neck and is a three-bay, hall-parlor plan. The house "was a substantial brick structure with the façade and west gable laid in Flemish bond with glazed headers above a full basement with a chamfered water table. There was a pent eave across the front and back of the building with a two brick belt course beneath the second story windows."⁶⁰

Another house on Shallcross Neck, Tibbalds c. 1760 had a pent eave. "When constructed, the house on Tibbalds was a relatively large brick residence measuring nearly 24' wide by 48' long. Its two story south façade was five bays long with central entrance. Benches flanking the door and a pent eave between floors made it look more like a Cecil County, or Northern Delaware house than one typical of the remainder of the county."⁶¹ Two other houses in Kent County originally had pent eaves, both on Gregg Neck. Partner's Addition c. 1760 and Ryley Farm c. 1760 were three bay dwellings built with a combination of Flemish and common bond, and having pent eaves on front and back facades.

One of the earliest remaining dwellings in northern Cecil County, the John Churchman House c. 1745 (see Appendix D), has architectural elements seen frequently in early to mid-eighteenth century houses in Kent and southern Cecil County. The house is a hall-parlor plan, seen commonly throughout the Chesapeake region. "The hall/parlor plan house exhibits fine examples of mid-eighteenth century Georgian carpentry, with a winder stair built in a raised paneled enclosure in the "hall" and an original corner cupboard in the "parlor"."⁶² Its pent roof, Flemish bond brickwork, and segmental arched basement windows, share architectural elements in common with Great House. The John Churchman House is "one of a small collection of relatively intact Cecil County dwellings unquestionably built during the first half of the 18th century."⁶³

Segmental arched windows, refined millwork, and corner fireplaces are shared architectural features found in a house in southern Cecil County, just south of the Bohemia River. Worsell Manor c. 1760 - 80, a two and a half story, center hall or closed plan, has segmental arched windows, with twelve over twelve-sash windows, like those at Great House. Worsell Manor also has corner fireplaces, but its center hall plan is more typically mid-Georgian than Great House. Worsell Manor is laid in Flemish bond, with a symmetrical front façade of five bays. Worsell Manor is one of the finest remaining early Georgian houses in Cecil County. If not for its center hall plan, it is arguably the closest architecturally to Great House in the region.



Figure 34- Worsell Manor c. 1760 - 80, Cecil County, Maryland. Photo from "At The Head of The Bay" by Pamela Blumgart.

House Plans & The Evolution of Georgian Architecture

To better understand the origins and architecture of Great House, one must look at the evolution of buildings in the Chesapeake and Delaware Valley regions. Great House shows architectural influences from both regions. The one room and hall-parlor plan are common in the Chesapeake region throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as settlers built small one-room houses which they later expanded as their farms became more profitable. Resurrection Manor, also called Scotch Neck, located in St. Mary's County, is an example of a late seventeenth century one-room plan. One-room plans evolved into house types common throughout the Chesapeake region, known as the hall-parlor plan, that look back to English tenant farmhouse types. With the emergence in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of the rural elite, manor houses were built of increasingly generous proportions and refined architectural details.

Closed plan houses, included a hall and segmented living spaces, permitting privacy and comfort, and became popular among the wealthy in the eighteenth century. "The earliest form of closed plan houses built throughout the lower mid-Atlantic region appears to have been a single-pile house with a center passage containing a stair to the upper stories. Examples as early as the late 1690s have been recorded on the Western Shore of Maryland, but the plan did not gain general currency until the 1740s. These houses typically had five bays, or openings across the front on each floor, with a doorway into the passage constituting the central element."⁶⁴ This house type is commonly seen throughout the upper Chesapeake and Delaware Valley regions, and became the hallmark of early Georgian style.

Double pile, or two room deep houses, many containing a central hall, immerged in the early Georgian period and reflected the increased sophistication of eighteenth century building. "By the later decades of the 1700s, builders were erecting two-roomdeep center- and side-passage plan houses as well as a variety of other types of sidepassage houses. Although center-passage double-pile plans, sometimes referred to as full-Georgian plans, had been built in the countryside around Philadelphia and Annapolis early in the eighteenth century, the type does not seem to have been introduced generally until the 1760s."⁶⁵ An excellent example of this house type is seen in Odessa, Delaware, at the Corbit Sharp House c. 1771 - 72 (see Appendix D). The Corbit-Sharp house is one of the first full-Georgian plan houses built in New Castle County.

Less common, though significant in their evolved room use and architectural sophistication, were houses built with four rooms, containing no central hall, or in an open plan. Great House is a double pile, four-room open plan house. "Building contracts describe the construction and appearance of buildings in this category as early as the 1640s. For the most part, however, these larger open plan dwellings seem to date from the 1720s until the early 1800s."⁶⁶ Double pile, four room houses represent the evolution of architecture and wealth in the rural elite. Successful landowners of the eighteenth century built houses to accommodate their lifestyle, which included the need for a variety of rooms used for specific purposes. This expanded four-room plan included rooms individually meant for reception, entertaining, and dining, as well as living. Unlike many mid- eighteenth century double pile houses throughout the region, which had center hall closed plans, Great House has an unusual double pile plan, with open winder staircase in the southeast front room or hall, with corner fireplaces in each of the four downstairs (and upstairs) rooms.

"Only a few of the landed gentry in Cecil County could entertain thoughts of financing a dwelling that resembled Great House or Bohemia during the mid-eighteenth century. Most planters, even well-to-do planters, did with far less."⁶⁷ Though similar in style and substance to nearby Worsell Manor, Great House's unusual open four-room

plan and four bay river façade, differ from its classically Georgian neighbor. "Standing on the old Labadist tract on the north side of the Bohemia River, Great House has four rooms, each heated by a corner hearth. The major difference here, in contrast to nearby Worsell Manor and its center hall plan, is the absence of a broad through passage. In lieu of the center hall, the entire southeast corner of the house serves as the entrance and stair hall and is equipped with a corner fireplace. A "baffle" entrance on the north side of the house, opening into a small space between the rear rooms, provides a double-door system that had the dual function of providing and protecting the back rooms from that direct entry of cold harsh weather. General room use at Great House paralleled that at Worsell Manor, with a formal parlor to the left of the entrance and a dinning room near the kitchen wing, in this case in the northeast corner. The fourth first floor room in Great House probably served as a first floor chamber or perhaps a plantation office."⁶⁸

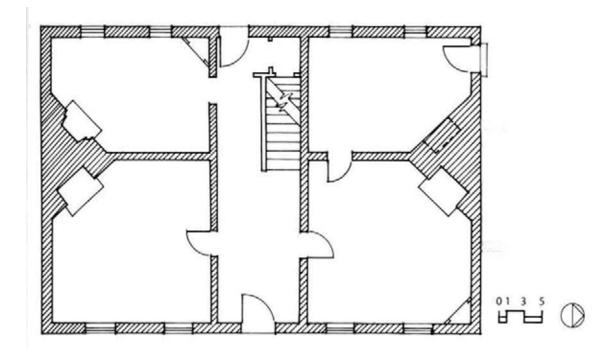


Figure 35-Worsell Manor Floor Plan Paul Touart, Anthony O. James. Photo from "At The Head of The Bay" by Pamela Blumgart.

The unusual four-room open plan and lack of a central passage at Great House set it apart from the more classically English-inspired, Georgian plantation houses that were present by the mid eighteenth century throughout the upper Chesapeake region. "Architecturally and politically, the revival of Renaissance ideals of classicism in seventeenth and eighteenth century Britain has been loosely labeled "Georgian" in honor of the four King Georges who ruled Great Britain from 1714 until the early nineteenth century. The designs of European architects - among them Andrea Palladio (1508 -1580) and his disciples ...helped to inspire and promote a resurgence in neoclassicism that lasted through the eighteenth century in England and widely influenced Chesapeake plantation architecture. The bilateral symmetrical formula of the center passage house stems directly from this strong British influence."⁶⁹



Figure 36- Bohemia c. 1751, Cecil County, Maryland. Photo from "At The Head of The Bay" by Pamela Blumgart.

Two classically mid-Georgian plantation houses in southern Cecil County, Bohemia c. 1751 and Greenfields c. 1770, represent the highest style of plantation architecture in the upper Chesapeake region. "The quintessential Georgian or Palladianinspired plantation house in Cecil County is Bohemia."⁷⁰ It's projecting three bay templelike pediment, within five symmetrical bays, hip roof, unusual center hall six-room plan, decorative plasterwork and Chinese Chippendale staircase make it the highest evolution of architecture of the planter elite. "Bohemia, with its clear Palladian inspiration, was strictly balanced in elevation and in plan, exhibiting the builder's obvious desire to emulate the fine gentry dwellings of Georgian England."⁷¹ Like Bohemia, Greenfields c. 1770, is the other grand Georgian plantation house with its projecting pediment and classical symmetry, though unlike Bohemia, it has a more typical center hall, double pile floor plan.

"Greenfields, Bohemia, and Worsell Manor are particularly fine examples of the Georgian aesthetic as translated and adopted by Chesapeake planters who strove to create for themselves lives akin to the landed gentry of Great Britain. The ordered architectural spaces evident in the neo-Palladian dwellings of southern Cecil County were not repeated in the same fashion north of the Elk River. Nonetheless, the strong Anglo-American cultural base in northern Cecil also resulted in the construction of a wide variety of center hall/double pile houses that demonstrate an interest in formal separation and segregation of living spaces."⁷² Though Great House is not always linked with the grand plantation houses of Cecil County, it is one of the region's most refined examples of eighteenth c. architecture of the rural elite. Great House's unusual combination of early Georgian architectural elements point to it pre-dating the more typically Georgian mid-century plantation houses.



Figure 37-Hopewell c. 1750, Cecil County, Maryland. Hopewell c. 1750, Cecil County, Maryland. Hopewell c. 1750, Cecil County, Maryland.

Other adaptations of the double pile plan, illustrating the increased sophistication of rural architecture, include noteworthy examples in northern Cecil County, Hopewell c. 1750 - 70 and Graystone Manor c. 1791. Though more typical of regional vernacular style with architectural elements more in common with nearby Chester County than Great House, both houses are noteworthy in a discussion of modified double pile plans. Hopewell is a fieldstone dwelling built by Scots-Irish immigrants who populated the northern part of the county. Its unusual four-room plan, has a rear stair hall sandwiched in between the two back rooms. Though different in configuration than the four-room plan at Great House, Hopewell serves as another example of a unique double pile house. Hopewell's large proportions and segmental arched windows are reminiscent of Great House.

Graystone Manor c. 1791 has an unusual double pile, modified center hall plan. "The center hall and flanking rooms at Graystone Manor represent a distinct parallel to structures such as Worsell Manor. Although the center hall is not as wide at Graystone, this formal center entry served the same purpose of controlling access to adjacent rooms. Room use at Graystone Manor probably paralleled that at other center hall houses, with a formal parlor and dining room on the first floor."⁷³ Hopewell and Graystone Manor, with their fieldstone exteriors and double pile plans reflect houses to the north in nearby Chester County, Pennsylvania. They also reflect the availability of fieldstone, commonly seen in dwellings in northern Cecil County. The modified, double pile plans in Great House, Hopewell, and Graystone Manor, reflect the increasingly sophisticated architecture of the planter elite of the upper Chesapeake region in the eighteenth century.

Another unusual four room open plan, similar to Great House, though with smaller proportions, is Mount Jones c. 1790. Located in New Castle County, just north of Odessa, Mt. Jones likely mirrors architectural elements at Great House due to the close association with trade between the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays. Mount Jones has four rooms, all with corner fireplaces, and with the front door opening into the southeast hall. "Four room plan houses are characterized by direct access from the outside into a heated room containing a stair, a second room, usually of similar size, located behind the entry room, and two comparable rooms located along the side."⁷⁴ Both front and rear

facades at Mount Jones have four bays. The north façade door is opposite the front door, though separated by front and back rooms. The rear door at Mount Jones opens directly into the northeast room, unlike the north door at Great House that opens into a short hall.

Conclusions

With its unique combination of architectural features in a vernacular early Georgian style, Great House is the only house of its type in Cecil County. These are represented by its unusual four-room plan, pent roofs, raised paneling and corner fireplaces. However, there are houses with similar architectural details across the region. A study of various house types from around the region, with architectural elements in common with Great House, aids in the understanding of its origins and influences. Much of the shared architectural features with other dwellings from across the region, reflect common Georgian elements. Great House resides on Bohemia Manor, a pivotal junction between the Chesapeake and Delaware Valley regions. It is not surprising then, that Great House shares architectural details from both regions. Great House's architecture and origins are predominantly English, though tempered by its uniquely blended American roots. The early Georgian architectural style of Great House suggests it predates the more typically mid-Georgian houses of the region, supporting the theory that Great House was built during the first half of the eighteenth century.

CONCLUSIONS

Dating Great House

Both the Upper Chesapeake and the Delaware Valley had been English settlements for nearly a half-century, by the time Great House was built, with architecture across the region emerging with strong English roots. Few houses remain from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to tell the tale of the region's earliest dwellings, though Augustine Herman's manor house was most likely the first and most significant early manors of the rural elite. Plantation architecture in the region evolved throughout the eighteenth century. Great House is among the earliest examples and one of the few remaining manor houses with its four-room plan, open winder staircase, and corner fireplaces. Great House is perhaps the best and earliest remaining example of early Georgian architecture in the region, with its floor plan, pent roof, end T-chimneys, bolection moldings and raised paneled interior. Great House's architectural features suggest it pre-dates 1750, when much of the plantation architecture of the region was built in more definitively Georgian style.

Great House's unique combination of architectural features and floor plan, in the early Georgian style, suggest it was built in the first half of the eighteenth century. "Incident to the advent of Georgian practice, it is worth noting that Georgian paneling was used for the interior embellishment of houses of late-Mediaeval provenance long before Georgian structural evidences became apparent."⁷⁵ Great House's exterior features of having end T-chimneys and pent roofs are more typically features of early to mideighteenth century vernacular architecture. It's interior is decidedly reflective of the early Georgian style. This combination suggests Great House dates from the first half of the eighteenth century, before the mid-Georgian period. This theory is supported by speculation that Samuel Bayard or his son James built Great House in the first half of the eighteenth century.

By the 1750s and 60s, plantation architecture in Cecil County was being built in the style of the mid-Georgian period. Common features were closed double pile, center hall floor plans, with Palladian exteriors and richly paneled interiors. Classic mid-Georgian Plantation houses like Bohemia c. 1750 - 60, Mt. Harmon c. 1760, and Greenfields c. 1770, represented the sophistication of the rural elite in the mid-eighteenth century in the Upper Chesapeake region. These eighteenth century plantation houses represented the lifestyle and sophistication of the rural elite in the mid-Georgian style. Though not as high style as its mid-Georgian neighbors, Great House's architectural style and grand proportions make it one of the most sophisticated early plantation houses of the rural elite. When compared to the mid-Georgian plantations houses in the region, Great House definitely has an earlier architectural style.

Few, if any houses remain in the region with the same combination of features prior to 1740, making it difficult to date Great House through comparable dwellings before that date. Though the early Georgian style of Great House, relative to the plantations houses of the mid-Georgian period, does suggest it could date from the first quarter of the Georgian period. *At the Head of the Bay, A Cultural and Architectural* *History of Cecil County, Maryland*, dates Great House c. 1750 - 80. When comparing Great House to other dwellings of the period, its architectural style suggests it to be earlier.

As noted in Chapter III, evidence suggests Samuel Bayard built Great House, which would date the elegant old structure to about 1717, (the year the second neck of the Labadie Tract was officially split between Samuel Bayard and Henry Sluyter). Samuel Bayard's will of 1721 left his dwelling plantation to his wife Susanna Bayard for her life tenancy, whereupon her death it was to pass to his son James. Samuel's son James, who lived with his widowed mother Susannah Bayard, before her death in 1751, is also a potential builder of Great House. If James built Great House it would date from the 1730s to 50s.

The northwest bedchamber at Great House, called the Whitefield Room, in reference to well-known Reverend's visits to Susannah Bayard's house in the 1740s, also clearly suggests the existence of Great House before 1740, prior to Whitefield's visits. No clear date indicates when James came to live with his widowed mother, though reference to James coming to live with her is indicated to be sometime before her death to help manage the plantation (as noted in Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor).

I question the noted date of Great House to further the understanding of its architecture and origins, in the context of analyzing architecture from around the region. When comparing Great House to architecture from the region, its early Georgian vernacular style suggests it predates comparable plantation houses of the mid-Georgian period. Regardless of its exact date, Great House is arguably one of the most important remaining plantation houses of the rural elite in the upper Chesapeake region, and certainly one of the earliest still remaining.

The Bohemia Manor land grant that Great House resides upon was chosen strategically for its close proximity to the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays. Great House was no doubt built during the height of the tobacco trade, by a prospering member of the Bayard family, who built the handsome manor house, which stood as one of the region's finest country houses of its day. In remarkably intact original condition, with its substantial proportions, refined exterior details and exemplary interior woodwork make Great House one of the finest early Georgian manor houses of the English colonies. This thesis study of the origins and architecture of Great House has strived to shed light on this important early manor house and helped to preserve its pivotal place in colonial architectural history.

NOTES

¹¹ Johnston, p. 77.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 6.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 12 - 13.

²⁰ Rev. Charles Payson Mallery, Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor, Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1888, p. 11.

²¹ Heck, p. 23.

²² Mallery, p. 11.

²³ Heck, p. 22 - 23.

²⁴ Mallery, p. 11.

²⁵ Heck, p. 36.

²⁷ Heck, p. 78.

²⁸ Mallery, p. 14.

²⁹ Heck, p. 84.

³⁰ George Johnston, "History of Cecil County, Maryland, and the Early Settlements Around the Head of the Bay and on the Delaware River", Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1881, p. 73.

³¹ Heck, p. 80.

³² Mallery, p. 22.

³³ Pamela James Blumgart, "At the Head of the Bay", Cecil Historical Trust and the Maryland Historic Trust, 1996, p. 31.

³⁴ Mallery, p. 32.

³⁵ Johnston, p. 99.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 35.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 46.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 46.

¹ H. Chandlee Forman, "Old Buildings Gardnes and Furniture in Tidewater Maryland, Tidewater Publishers, 1967, p. 109.

² Rev. Charles Payson Mallery, Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor, Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1888, p. 59.

³ Pamela James Blumgart, "At the Head of the Bay", Cecil Historical Trust and the Maryland Historic Trust, 1996, p. 308.

⁴ L. D. Scisco, "The Discovery of the Chesapeake, 1525 - 73," Maryland Historical Magazine 40 (1945), pp. 281 - 82.

⁵ Blumgart, p. 16.

⁶ George Johnston, "History of Cecil County, Maryland, and the Early Settlements Around the Head of the Bay and on the Delaware River", Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1881, p. 9.

 ⁷ Michael O. Bourne, Historic Houses of Kent County, Historical Society of Kent County, 1998, p. 21.
 ⁸ Blumgart, p. 23.

⁹ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 25.

¹² J. Thomas Scharf, "History of Maryland, Vol. I", Press of John B. Piet, Baltimore, 1879, p. 244.

¹³ Scharf, p. 337.

¹⁴ Blumgart, p. 37.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁷ Earl L. W. Heck, Augustine Herman, Beginner of the Virginia Tobacco Trade, Merchant of New Amsterdam, First Lord of Bohemia Manor in Maryland, The William Byrd Press, Richmond, Virginia, 1941, p. 5 - 6.

²⁶ Mallery, p. 12.

³⁶ Rev. Charles Payson Mallery, Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor, Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1888, p. 43.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 40 - 41.

- ⁴² Ibid, p. 49.
- ⁴³ Ibid, p. 49 50.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 59.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 62.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 62.

⁴⁷ June D. Brown, Abstracts of Cecil Country Maryland Land records, 1673 - 1751, Family Line Publishers, 1998, p. 148.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 194.

⁴⁹ Charles E. Peterson, F.A.I.A., The Carpenters' Cpmpany of the City and County of Philadelphia, 1786 Rule Book, The Pyne Press, Princeton, 1971, p. xiii - xiv.

⁵⁰ Bernard Herman, *Architecture and Rural Life in Central Delaware, 1700 - 1900*, The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1987, p. 24 - 25.

⁵¹ Dell Upton, America's Architectural Roots, Preservation Press, 1986, p. 55

⁵² Ibid, p. 56.

⁵³ Roderick H. Blackburn, Dutch Colonial Homes in America, Rizzoli International Publications, 2002, p.
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 ⁵⁴ Roger W. Moss, Historic Houses of Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998, p. 146.
 ⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 169.
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⁵⁷ Michael O. Bourne, Historic Houses of Kent County, Historical Society of Kent County, 1998, p. 196.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 132.

- ⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 130.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 154.
- ⁶¹ Ibid, p. 181 82.
- ⁶² Blumgart, p. 464.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 464.

⁶⁴ Gabrielle M. Lanier and Bernard L. Herman, Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, p. 26.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 31.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 21.

- ⁶⁷ Blumgart, p. 187.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 187.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 180.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 181.
- ⁷¹ Ibid, p. 182.
- ⁷² Ibid, p. 183.
- ⁷³ Ibid, p. 184.
- ⁷⁴ Lanier & Herman, p. 25.

⁷⁵ Harold D. Eberlein & Cortlandt V. D. Hubbard, "Historic Houses & Buildings of Delaware", Public Archives Commission, Dover, Delaware, 1963, p. 9.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 48 - 49.

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APPENDIX A. CHRONOLOGY All Photos in Appendix A, E. H. Pickering, H.A.B.S.



1936 HABS Photo, Great House North Façade.



1936 HABS Photo, Great House South Façade.



1936 HABS Photo, Great House Hall.



1936 HABS Photo, Hall Fireplace.



1936 HABS Photo, Parlor.

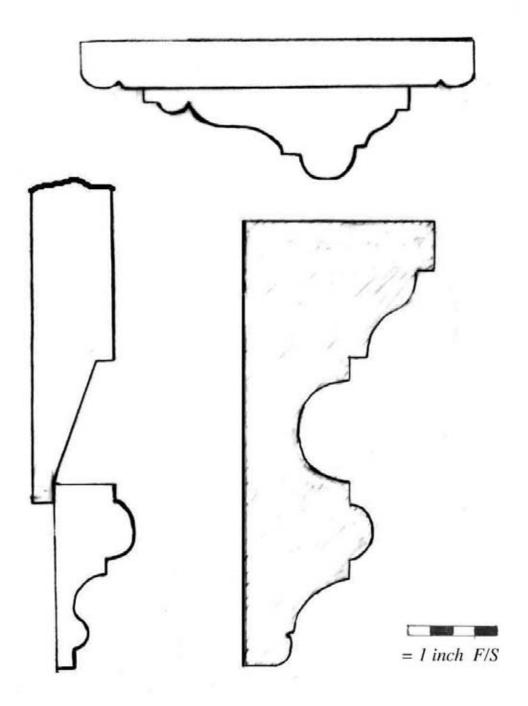


1936 HABS Photo, Dinning Room.

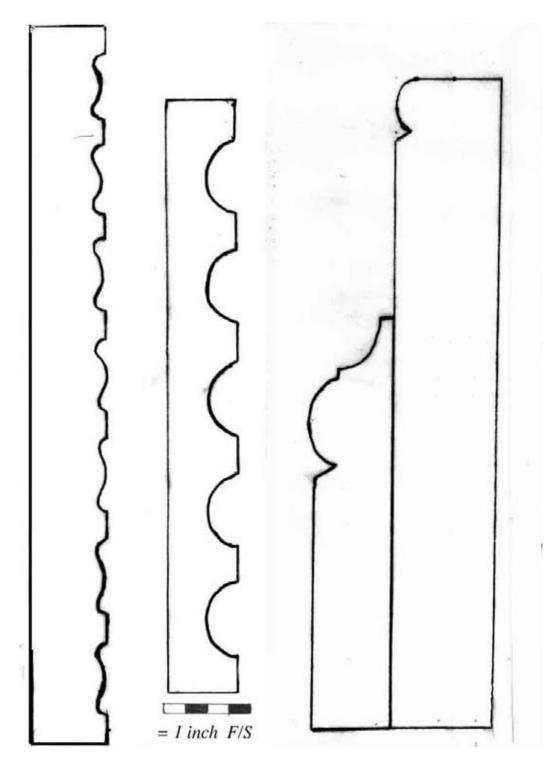


John Edwards Architectural Plan.

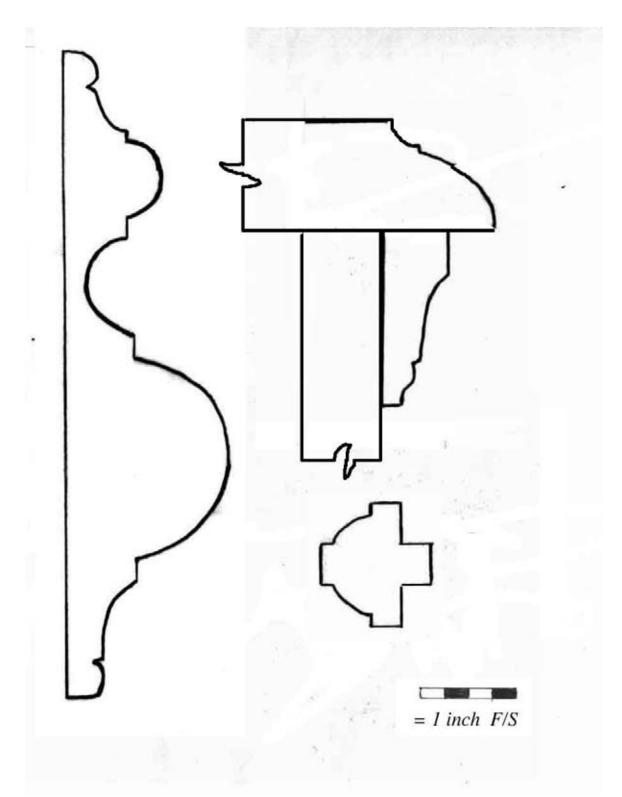




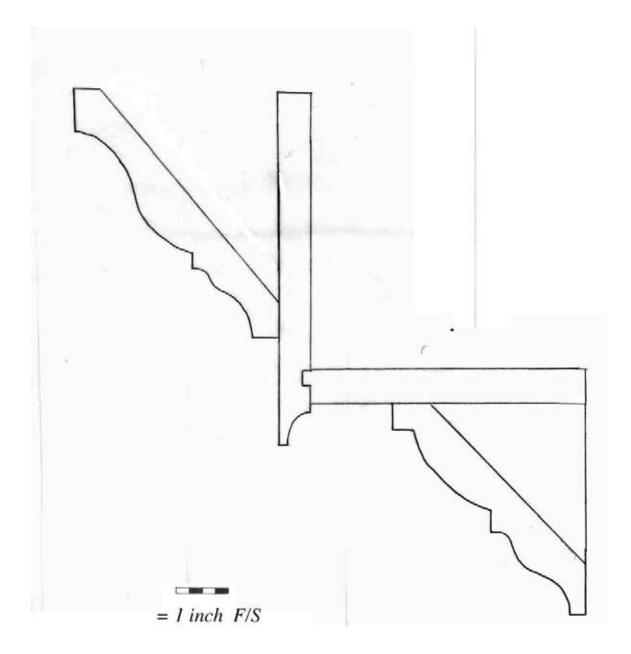
Parlor: Clockwise from top, Chair rail, Door and Window Casing, Overmantel Raised Panel.



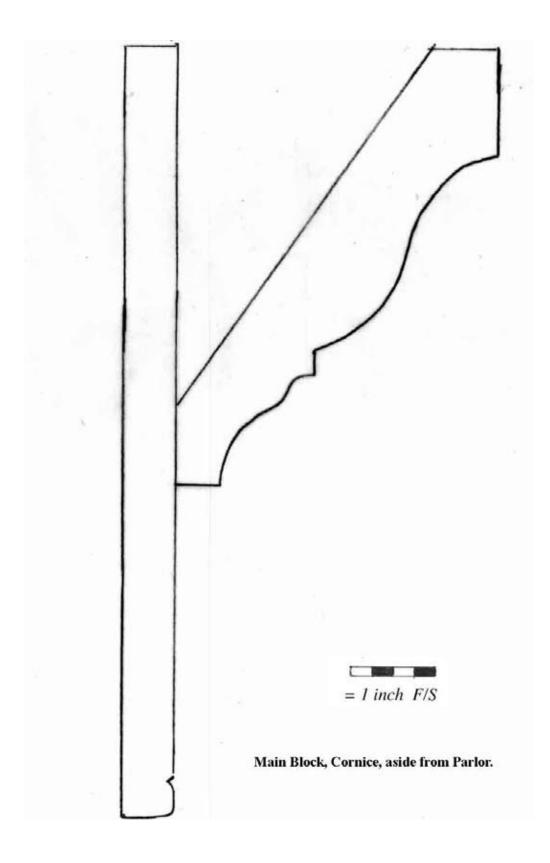
Parlor: Left to right, Fluting on Bottom of Corner Cupboard, Fluting on Top of Corner Cupboard and Pilasters that flank Fireplace, Baseboard.

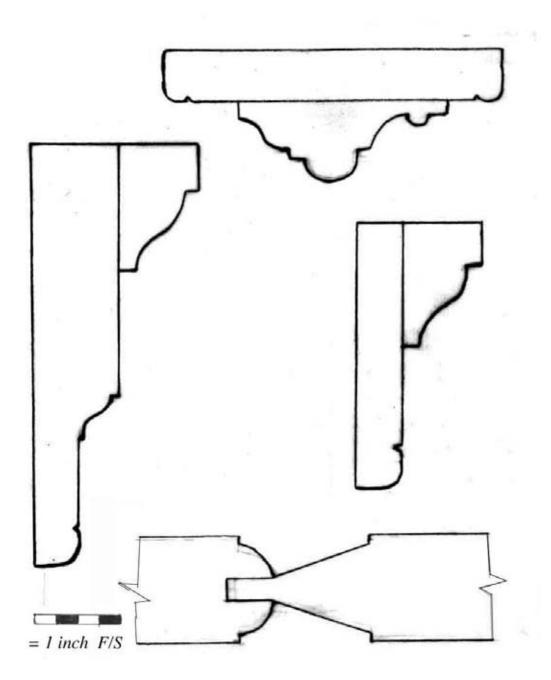


Parlor: Clockwise from left, Fireplace Bolection Molding, Window Seat Shelf & Bed Molding, Window Muntin.

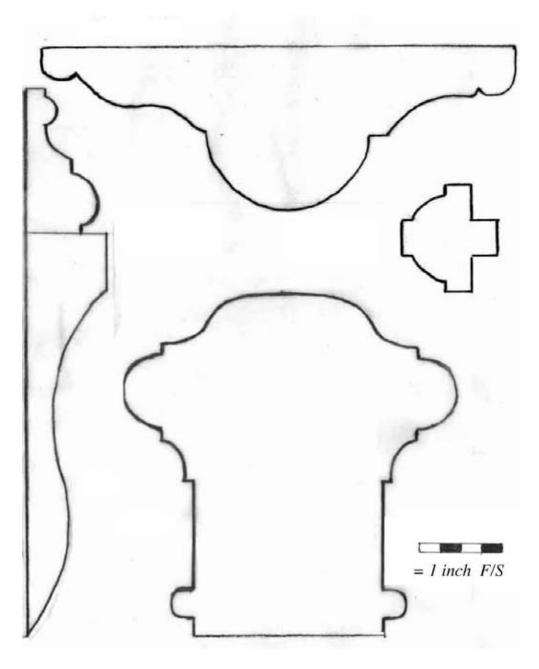


Parlor Cornice

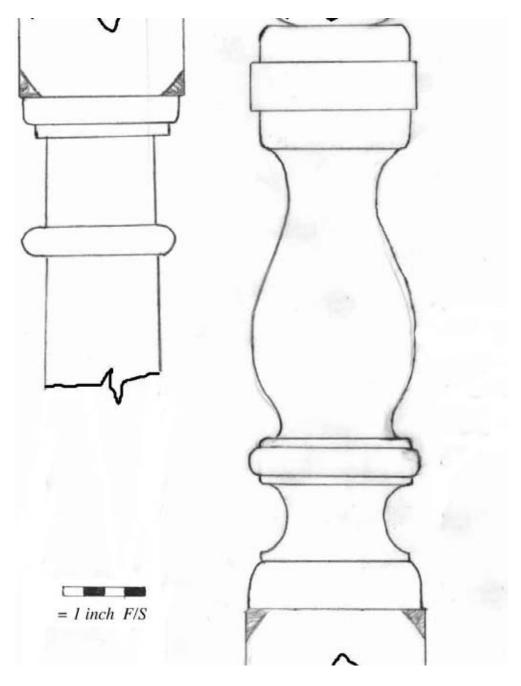




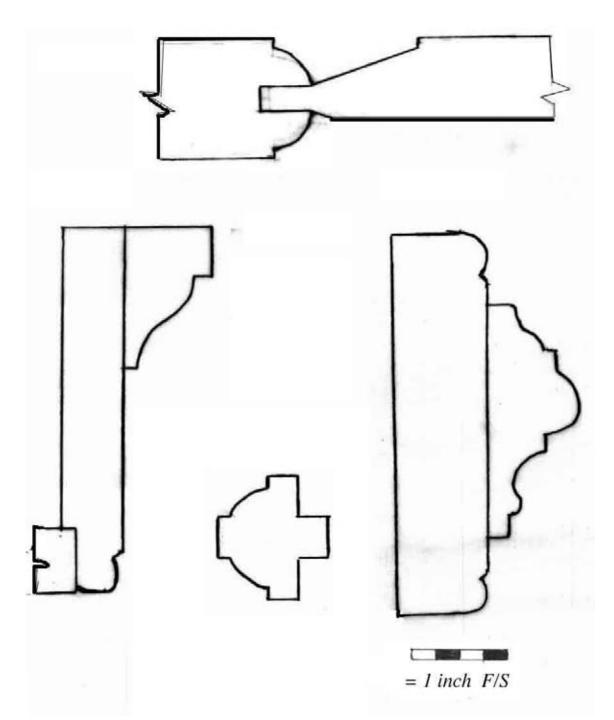
Hall: Clockwise from top, Chair Rail, Casing Molding, Front Door Raised Panel, Door and Window Casing on First and Second Floor.



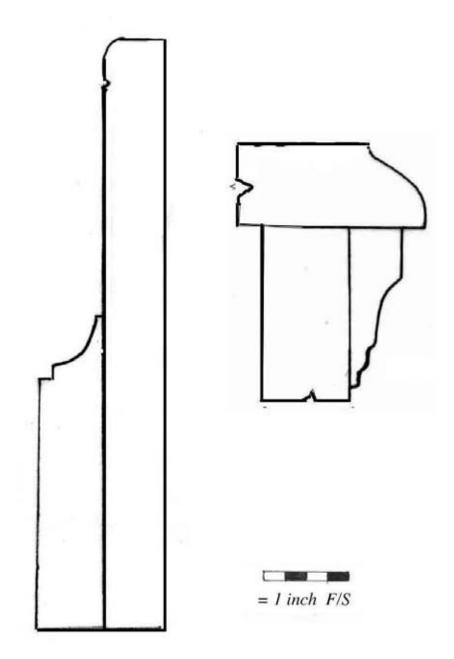
Clockwise from top, Fireplace Bolection Molding in Hall and Dinning Room, Window Muntin Main Block, Railing, Molding on Overmantel above Bolection Molding and below Raised Paneling.



Baluster



Clockwise from top, Raised Paneling Profile Main Block, Chair Rail Second Floor, Second Floor Door Casing, Main Block Window Muntin.



From Left, Baseboard Molding, Window Seat Shelf Molding. Both in Main Block except Parlor.

APPENDIX C. DOCUMENTS

Chain of Title

July 15, 1698

Volume 1 D. Pearce Folio 124-127

Petrus Sluyter To Samuel Bayard and Henry Sluyter

December 12, 1716

Samuel Bayard and Henry Sluyter Divide the 1700 acres in half

March 10, 1752

Samuel Bayard To James A. Bayard

September 12, 1759

James A.Bayard To John B. Bayard and wife Volume 2 J. Dowdall Folio 328-330 Volume 3 J. Dowdall Folio 43-47

Volume 7 M.Bordley Folio 372-373

Volume 9 F. Key Folio 185-187 October 3,1788

Volume 16 W. Ritchie Folio 435

John B. Bayard and John H. Bayard son To Edward Foard

June 14,1848

Volume 15 GMC Folio 185

Alfred C. Nowland, executor To Augustus C. Nowland

June 14, 1848

Volume 15 GMC Folio 187

Augustus C. Nowland To John B. Phillips & wife, James M. Phillips and wife

April 18, 1857

Volume 8 HHM Folio 432-433

John B. Phillips & wife, James M. Phillips and wife To Richard C. Johnson and wife

January 7, 1918

Volume 3 CSP Folio 431

Catherine M. Johnson, Mary D. Clark Enoch G. Clark To Samuel B. Foard and Julian H. Foard November 1, 1923

Susie J. Foard To Julian H. Foard Volume 10 HML Folio 538

August 5, 1929

Volume 9 SRA Folio 55

Julian H. Foard and Helen C., wife To John F. Metten

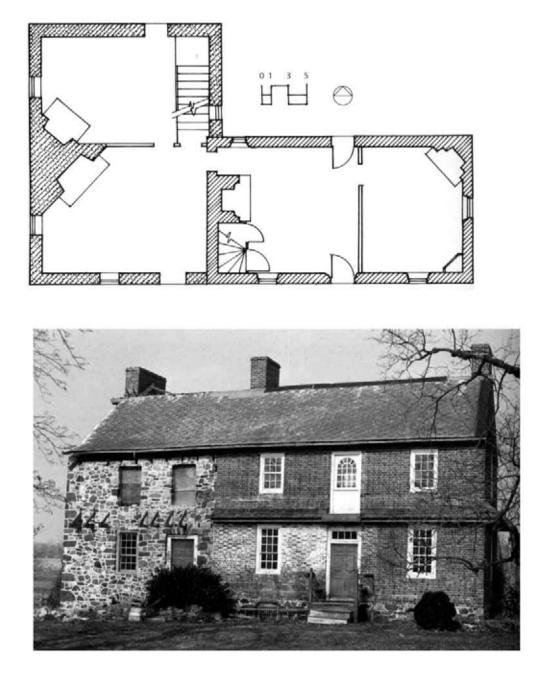
November 5, 1959

John F. Metten To Allaire C. duPont Volume 84 WAS Folio 91

To be fold at public Sale, on the Premiles, on WEDNESDAY the s6th day of Miy, . "HAT large and convenient FARM, commonly known by the name of The Great-Houfe Plantation, fituate on Bohemia rive, Cacil County, Maryland, containing tetween 4 nd 500 actes of land, about 150 of which are woodland. There are on the premiles, a large two flo y brick houle with four rooms on a floor, well fnifhed, with a brick kitchen and wath houle adjoining, a new frame barn, ftables, a ftore houfe and granary, with a wharff. About 12 acres of drained fwamp meadow, and a large quantity of marth that may be drained, a well of good water hefore the kitchen with a pump, an orchard of young trees of the beft grafted fruit. The fituation is exceedingly pleafant, commanding an agreeable prospect of the river, which abounds with fifh and wild fowl in their feafon. It has been forme ly a place where an extensive trade his bren carried on, which may a; ain be reviv d, as the land Carriage between it and Appoquinomy creek. that empties into the Delaware, is but about ten mi'es. The wharf and fores are conveniently fituated for the landing and foring grain, tobacco. &c. Further particulars and the terms of payment will be made known on the day of fale. where attendance will be given, by JOHN HODGE BAYARD. JOHN BAYARD, fenior.

> 1784 Advertisement for Sale of Great House, Pennsylvania Packet.

APPENDIX D. HOUSE TYPES & PLANS

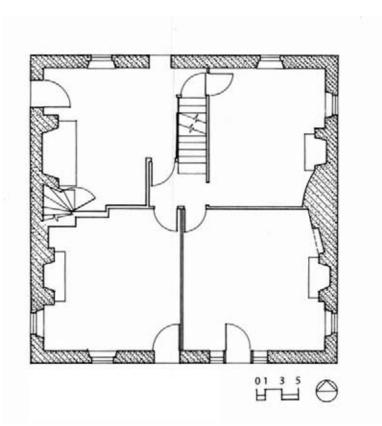


John Churchman House c. 1745. Plan and Photo from Pamela Blumgart, "At the Head of the Bay".

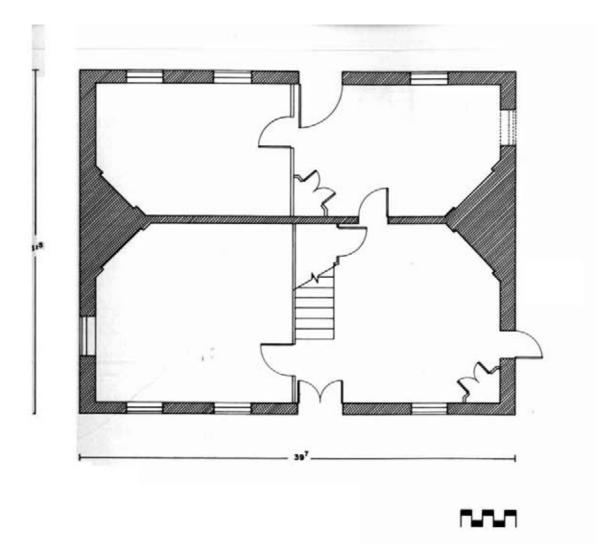
PLATE 54



Primitive Hall c. 1738. Photo and Plan from "Early Domestic Architecture of Pennsylvania" by Eleanor Raymond A.I.A.



Hopewell c. 1750, Floorplan. Plan from Pamela Blumgart, "At the Head of the Bay".



Mount Jones Floor Plan. Plan from "Everyday Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic", by Gabrielle M. Lanier & Bernard Herman.



Corbit-Sharp House c. 1771 - 72.



EXTERIOR

South Façade



North Façade



Northeast Façade



North Kitchen Wing Entrace



West Facade



Gable End T-Chimneys



Cornice Detail



Chamfered Watertable Jog Over Cellar Window



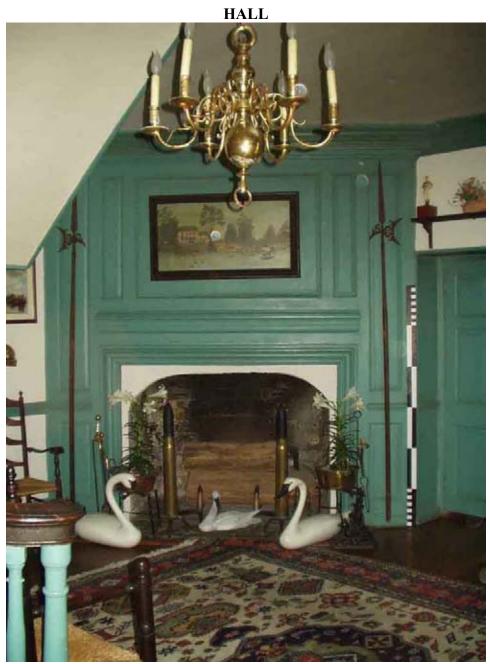
English Bond Brickwork Detail, East Gable End



Shutter H-L Hinge Detail



South Door Casing Detail

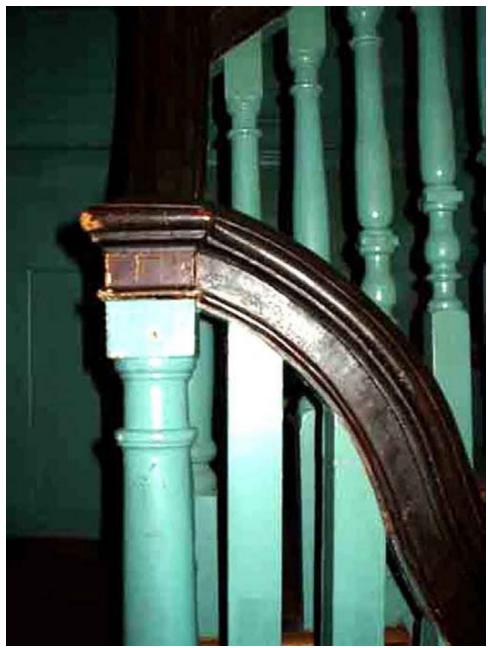


Hall Fireplace

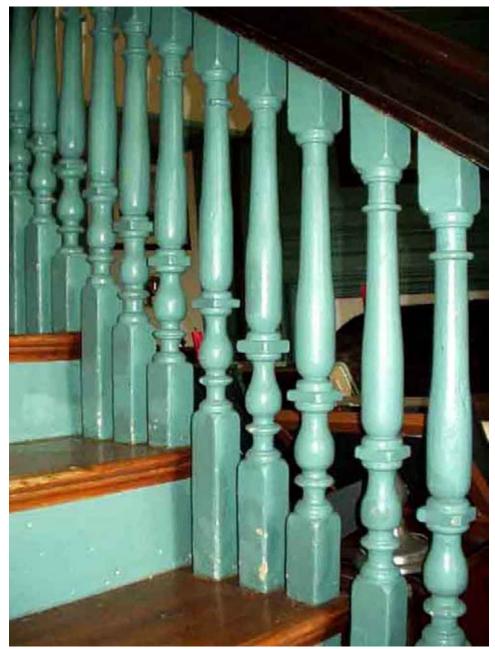


Above, Staircase and Cellar Door. Below, Newel Post Detail.

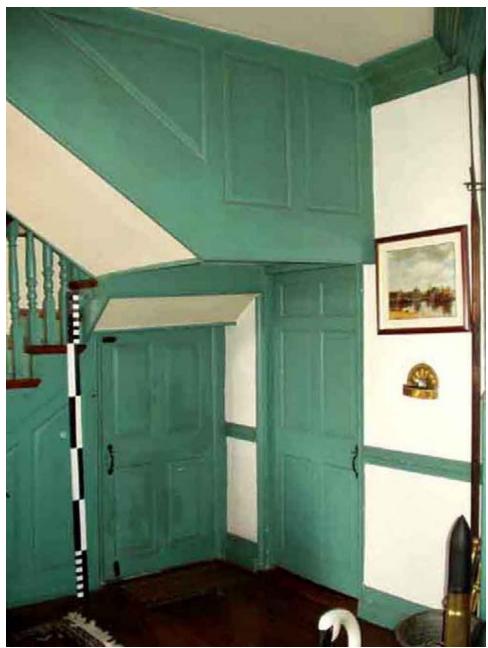




Stair Railing



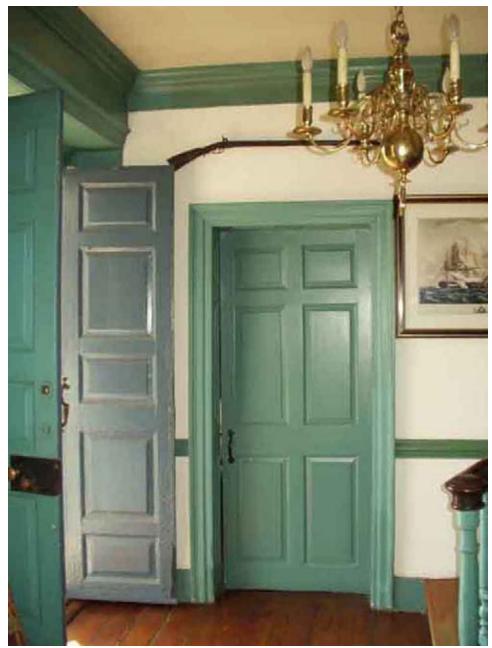
Balusters



Staircase Paneling and Cellar Door



Front Door



Door to Parlor



South Wall 152



Above, Staircase Detail. Below, Window Seat Detail.





Fireplace Overmantel and Bolection Molding Detail



Corner Cupboard



PARLOR

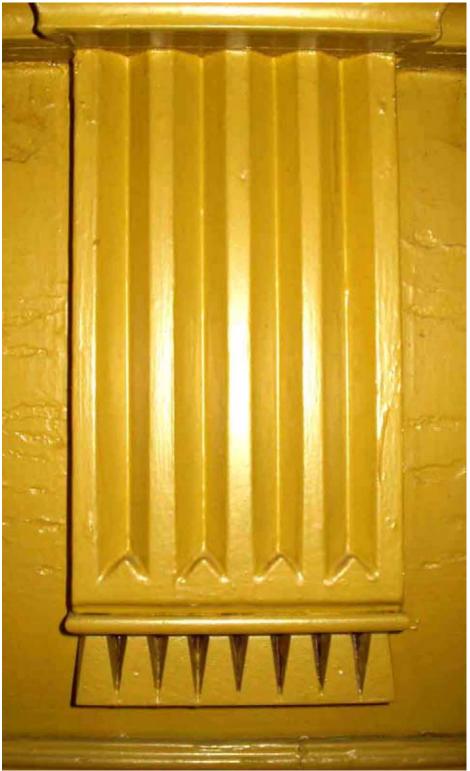


Parlor Fireplace



Parlor Overmantel Details





Overmantel Triglyph Detail



Parlor North Wall



Parlor East Wall



Parlor Corner Cupboard







Overmantel Pilaster Detail

APPENDIX E. PHOTOGRAPHS PARLOR



Above, Southwest Corner. Below, Window Seat Detail.





Above, South Wall. Below, Window Detail.





Cornice and Pilaster Detail



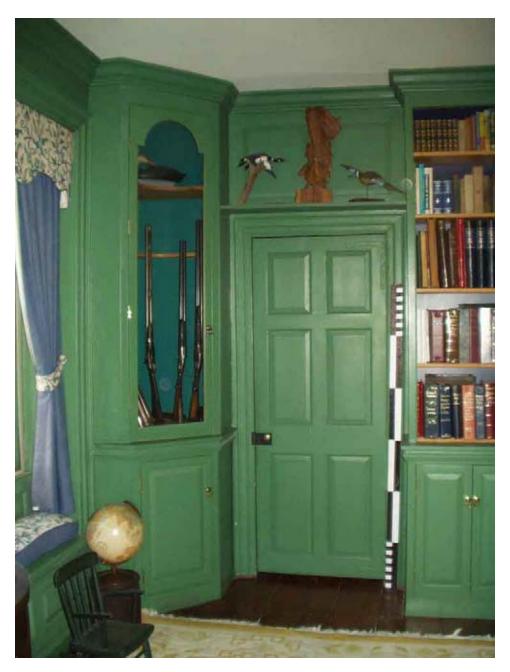
Window Seat Detail



Above, Door Casing and Chair Rail, Below, Baseboard



NORTHWEST ROOM, PLANTATION OFFICE



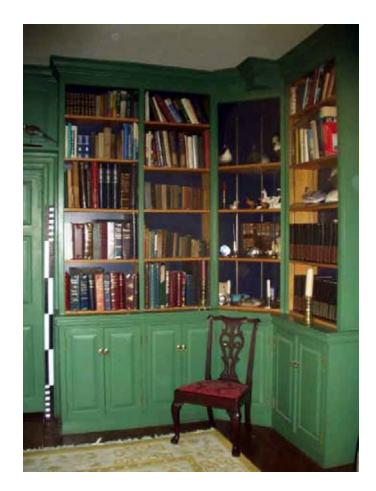
Door to North Hall, Corner Cupboard and Book Shelves



North Window, Corner Cupboard



North Wall



Library Shelves Added in 1990s

DINING ROOM



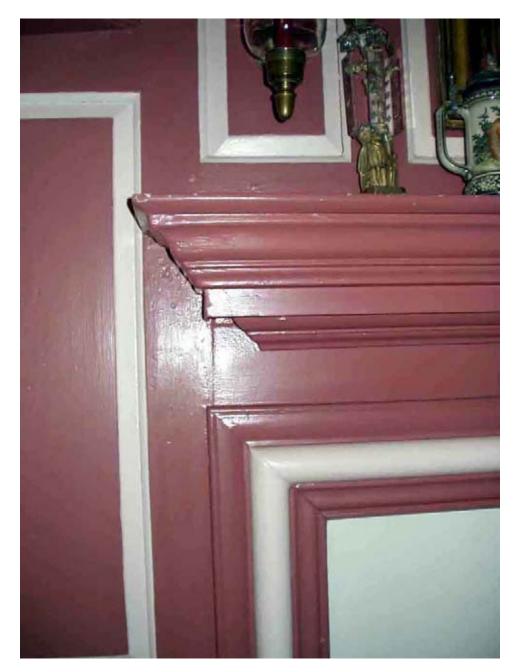
Corner Cupboard

DINING ROOM



North Wall

DINING ROOM



Mantel Detail

-

DINING ROOM

Raised Six Panel Door

UPPER HALL



Upper Hall Fireplace



Upper Hall Partition Wall



Upper Hall Landing and Partition Wall



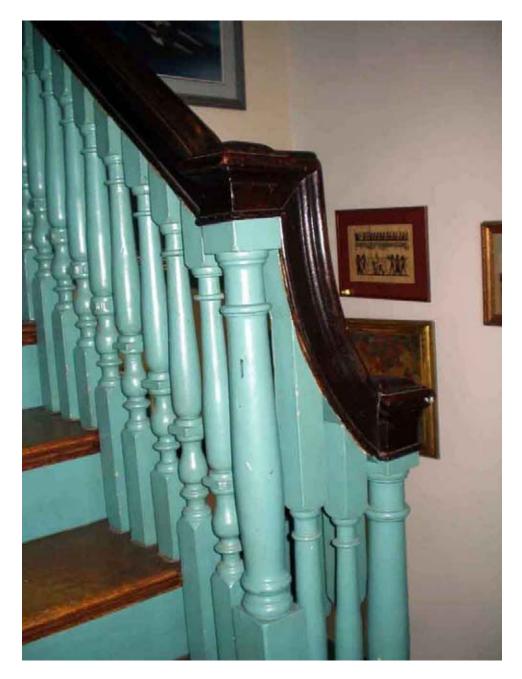
Upper Hall Staircase



Staircase Railing Detail



Staircase Railing Detail



Staircase Railing Detail

MASTER BEDCHAMBER



Above, Fireplace. Below, Fireplace Detail.





Above, Southwest Corner. Below, South Wall.



Master Bedchamber



Above, Window Seat Detail. Below, Northeast Corner.



NORTHWEST CHAMBER



Above, Fireplace Mantel. Below, North Wall.

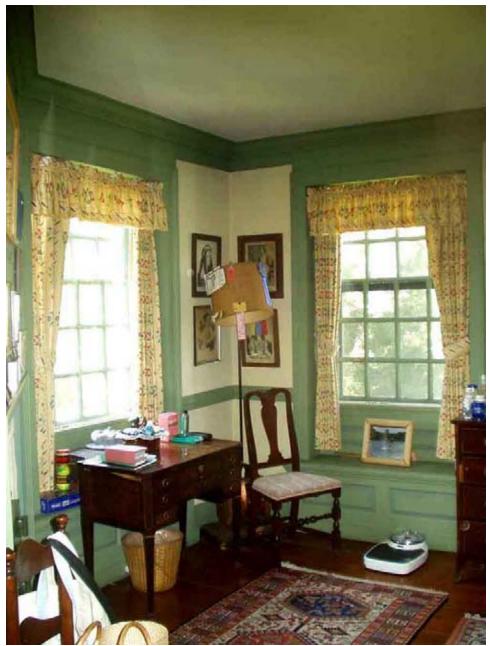


Northwest Chamber



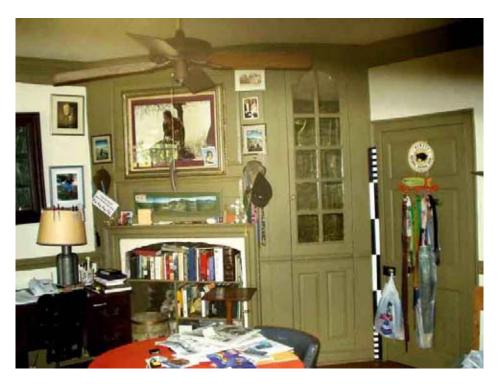
Northeast Corner

Northwest Chamber



Northwest Corner

NORTHEAST CHAMBER



Above, Fireplace. Below, Northeast Corner.





Above, Northwest Corner. Below, South Wall.



Northeast Chamber



Chair rail and Window Casing Details

GARRET



Southwest Bedroom. Above, West Wall. Below, East Wall.



Northeast Room

East Wall

Bathroom



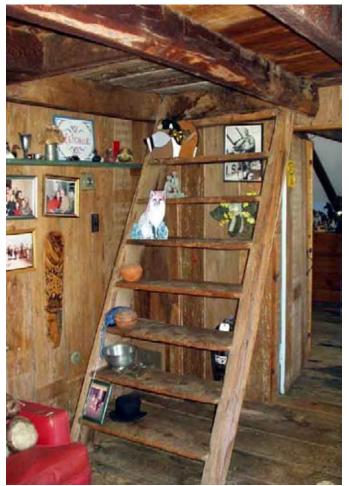
West Wall and Chimney



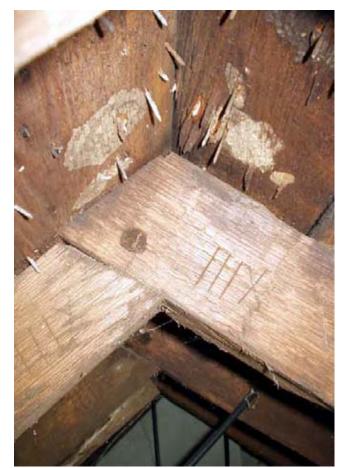
Southeast Room

East Wall

Southeast Room



Ladder Stair to Upper Attic



Upper Attic Rafter Details



CELLAR



First Floor Joist Details



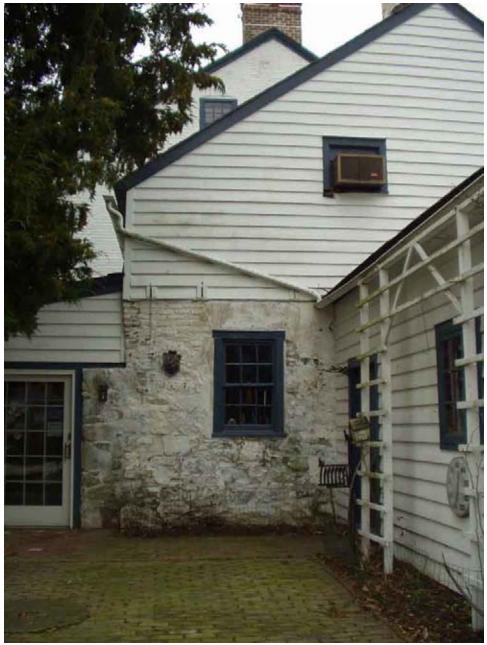
Cellar



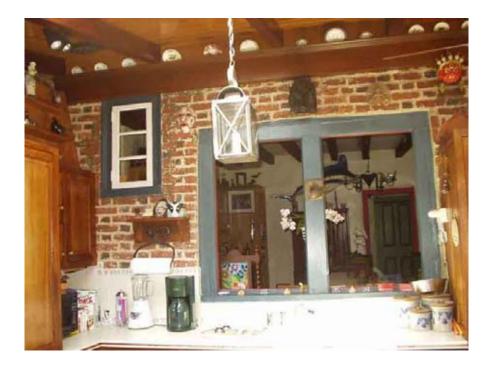
Above, Falsework. Below, Corbel Fireplace Support.



KITCHEN WING



East Façade



Above, South Façade of Original Kitchen. Below, Rebuilt Wall.





1990 Kitchen Addition



Above, Kitchen Fireplace. Below, North Wall.





Above, Kitchen South Wall. Below, Kitchen East Wall.





Above, North Kitchen Hall. Below, East Wall.

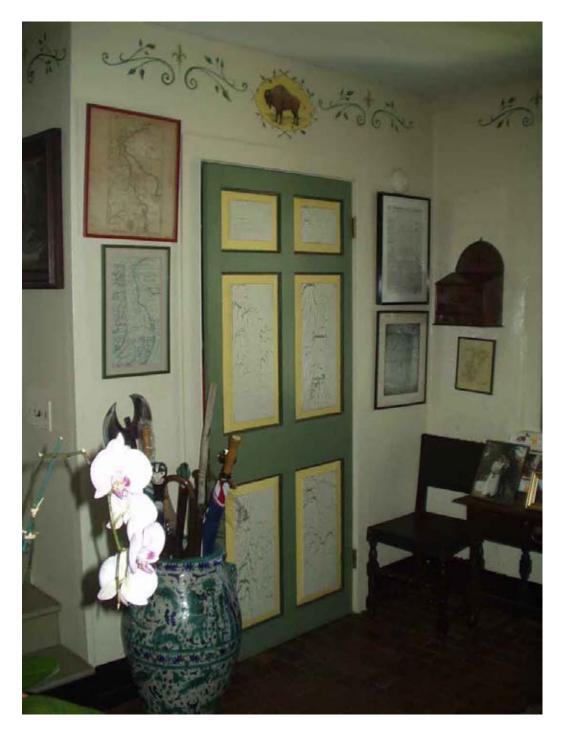




North Kitchen Stair Hall, East Wall Fireplace Chimney Scar.



North Kitchen Hall South Wall, Dining Room Door.

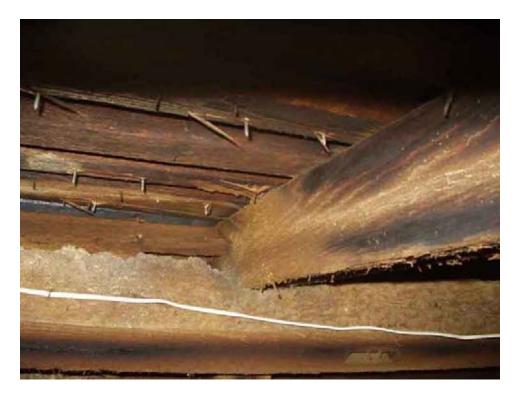


North Kitchen Hall, West Wall Closet.



Bedroom Above Kitchen, West Wall. Below, East Wall.





Above, Kitchen Roof Rafters. Below, Scar From Original Kitchen Roof on Main Block's East Façade.



INDEX

А

Anglican, 17, 33

Appoquinimink. See . See . See . See . See

Augustine Herman, 2, 5, 13, 14, 16, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 108, 2

В

- Bohemia, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 69, 85, 97, 100, 103, 104, 107, 109, 110, 111, 2
- Bohemia Manor, 2, 3, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 85, 107, 110, 111, 2
- Bohemia River, 2, 18, 19, 26, 30, 35, 101
- bolection moldings, 43, 45, 51, 57, 84, 108

Bouchelle, 31, 35, 38

С

Captain John Smith, 7

Casparus Herman, 12, 29

- Cecil County, 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32, 35, 42, 96, 97, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 2
- Cecil County,, 1, 3, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 27, 42, 96, 97, 103, 104, 105, 110, 2

chamfered water table, 43, 80, 96

Chestertown, 91

Closed plan houses, 99

Corbit Sharp House, 100

corner fireplaces, 1, 43, 68, 70, 88, 89, 92, 93, 97, 100, 106, 107, 108

Customs House, 91

D

Delaware Valley, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 19, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 98, 99, 107, 108

dining room, 44, 45, 50, 57, 61, 67, 70, 74, 78, 79, 106

Dutch West India Company, 8, 22

Е

early Georgian, 1, 20, 43, 44, 46, 51, 54, 70, 83, 85, 88, 92, 97, 99, 104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111

Eastern Shore, 1, 9, 13, 25, 91

English roots, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 108

F

Flemish bond, 43, 47, 85, 88, 92, 95, 96, 97

four-room plan, 1, 20, 49, 95, 100, 105, 107, 108

G

Graystone Manor, 105, 106

- Great House, ii, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 13, 16, 17, 20, 21, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 51, 57, 60, 61, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 80, 82, 83, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111
- Great House Plantation, ii, 1, 2, 4, 20, 21, 29, 33, 43, 71, 83

Η

hall-parlor plan, 44, 49, 90, 91, 96, 98

Henry C. Forman, 2, 73

Henry Sluyter, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42, 110

Hopewell, 105, 106

J

James R. Edmunds, Jr, 74

Jesuits, 18

John Bayard, 41

John Rolfe, 11

Κ

Kent County, 14, 80, 91, 93, 95, 96, 2

L

Labadie tract. See Labadists. See Labadists. See Labadists

Labadie Tract, 17, 21, 33, 34, 35, 37, 110

Labadist Tract, 21, 30, 31, 43

Lord Baltimore, 2, 9, 14, 25, 26, 28

Μ

Michael Bourne, ii, 81

mid-Georgian, 97, 103, 107, 109, 111

Mount Jones, 106

Ν

Nathaniel Utie, 10

New Amstel, 10, 12, 13, 14, 21, 24, 27, 29

New Castle, 14, 28, 29, 90, 100, 106

North Kitchen Hall, 78

0

Odessa, 16, 27, 29, 90, 99, 106

Р

Palladian, 19, 55, 103, 104, 109

Palmer Island, 9, 10, 11

Partner's Addition, 91, 96

pattern books, 44, 70

pent roof, 97, 108

Peter Sluyter, 16, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38

Peter Stuyvesant, 23, 24, 37, 85

Pilasters, 92

plantation architecture, 1, 15, 43, 84, 102, 103, 108, 109

Primitive Hall, 89

S

Samuel Bayard, 4, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 39, 41, 67, 85, 109, 110

segmental arched windows, 43, 81, 84, 88, 92, 97, 106

St. Mary's colony, 9

Stenton, 86

Susanna Bayard, 38, 39, 42, 110

Т

T-chimneys, 43, 46, 70, 83, 84, 86, 90, 92, 108

The Cellar, 68

The Dining Room, 57

The Exterior, 46

The Garret, 68

The hall, 45, 53, 62, 65, 96

The Hall, 51

The Kitchen, 69

The Kitchen Wing, 75

The North Hall, 61

The Northeast Chamber, 67

The Northwest Chamber, 67

The Northwest Room, 60

The parlor, 45, 54, 57, 74

The Parlor, 54

The Plan, 49

The Reward, 93, 95

The Southwest Bedchamber, 66

the Susquehannock Indians, 9, 10

The Upper Hall, 64

Trent House, 88

U

Upper Chesapeake, 4, 7, 13, 21, 83, 84, 87, 91, 108, 109

Upper Chesapeake region, 4, 84, 109

V

vernacular architecture, 84, 90, 109

Violet Farm, 92

W

Whitefield's Room,, 2

William Claiborne, 9

William Penn, 14, 15, 84, 86

Worsell Manor, 19, 97, 100, 104, 106