

**Building the House:
Materials, Construction, and Community in Virginia's
Lancaster and Northumberland Counties, 1830-1860**

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Introduction

This thesis examines the underlying factors that informed house construction in Lancaster and Northumberland counties from 1830 to 1860 (fig. 1 and 2). During this period, the three fundamental components of the construction process, which are the materials, tradespeople, and clients, were influenced substantially by the two counties' financial conditions, geographic position, and the increasing connectivity with urban centers via steamboat. Although demographic information portrays a worsening economic condition for the two counties throughout the antebellum period with stagnant population growth, construction was an active and crucial component of the local economy. The 1830 to 1860 surge of house construction and remodeling relied on extensive cultural exchange that produced a distinctive building typology that spanned socio-economic classes. By examining the two counties' domestic architecture, this thesis argues that the building culture of Lancaster and Northumberland counties experienced a significant shift during the antebellum period that was spurred by mass-produced and accessible architectural components, skills and changing roles of the craftsman, and a community interested and invested in its architectural surroundings more than ever before.

In 1651, Lancaster County was established from the southern portion of Northumberland County. These two counties are located in the Northern Neck of Virginia and are bounded by the Potomac River to the north, Westmoreland and Richmond counties to the west, the Rappahannock River to the south, and critically, the Chesapeake Bay to the east. The antebellum landscape largely consisted of private tracts of land with pre-existing eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century houses that were descendants of the hall-chamber houses from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These buildings were typically of frame construction (fig. 3-5). Agricultural buildings and dependencies stood adjacent to the main house, and their

quality was often commensurate with the affluence of the owner. The most substantial houses were masonry and dated from the eighteenth century, such as Belle Isle and one of the Lee family homes, Ditchley (fig. 6). Beyond domestic architecture, taverns, shops, and offices operated along transportation routes and at private residences. Lancaster County, in particular, had prominent churches, such as Christ Church (1735), and St. Mary's White Chapel (c. 1741) (fig. 7 and 8). Historians have studied the colonial architecture of these counties extensively because the extraordinary significance of these buildings' patrons and their architectural sophistication. Architecturally, these buildings are exemplars of eighteenth-century Anglo-American colonial architecture with craftsmanship that included fine woodworking and masonry embellished by Flemish bond brickwork, glazed headers, and rubbed bricks.

The eighteenth-century prosperity and architectural legacy of the counties' elite evaporated during the early nineteenth century. Simultaneously, the two counties experienced significant decline and stagnant populations relative to other Virginia counties.¹ Some of the wealthiest families left the two counties as estates dissolved concentrations of wealth among heirs. Against this backdrop of nearly two centuries of European settlement, the antebellum community differed from its Tidewater antecedents through its diversifying economy, less-concentrated wealth distribution, and strengthening middle class. These factors were instrumental conditions that increased the demand for construction, particularly for imported architectural materials. Notwithstanding the increasing division of immense wealth and land accumulations, the counties' rising middle class and its wealthiest citizens remained the primary clients for house construction during the first half of the nineteenth century. The nineteenth-

¹ According to the US censuses, from 1830-1860, Virginia had a population increase of 52.9%. During this same period, Lancaster's population increased 7.3%, while Northumberland's decreased by 5.3%.

century houses were vestiges of the region's eighteenth-century elite architecture, however, they created a new standard of architectural production that reflected the larger population of middle class clientele.

Before introducing the nineteenth-century people and houses of Lancaster and Northumberland counties, the framework developed by scholars of material culture and building culture studies provides invaluable definitions and methodological underpinnings that are integral to this thesis. Howard Davis's *The Culture of Building* defines a building culture as "the coordinated system of knowledge, rules, and procedures that is shared by people who participate in the building activity and that determines the form buildings and cities take."² In his definition, Davis interprets "building" as a verb describing the process of making. Although the materials in Chapter I and the tradespeople of Chapter II emphasize that the construction process is an essential part of the building culture of Lancaster and Northumberland counties, a building culture must also consider the existing buildings and experiences that influence a community's architectural production and everyday lifestyle.

Davis's definition limits building culture studies to the production agents and is suited more aptly as a definition of building customs. The following chapters offer a different interpretation for building culture studies. Building culture, which is often demonstrated through the act of construction, is a collection of intangible emotions, experiences, and customs that are held by a community. Community members do not have to physically participate in building activities in order to become members of a building culture. Several material culture scholars, including Bernard Herman and Richard Bushman, have applied a similar approach to material culture studies. Richard Bushman's *The Refinement of America* emphasizes the role of material

² Howard Davis, *The Culture of Building*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.

objects in shaping the underlying sense of gentility.³ Likewise, this thesis presents the architectural record, or the collection of documents and buildings, that demonstrates the antebellum community's building culture. Bushman is not as concerned with the crafting of objects as he is in their cultural meaning and symbolic value for expression. *The Stolen House*, by Bernard Herman, considers an early nineteenth-century rural community's conception of its own cultural landscape.⁴ Herman extracts the community's sentiments and views through a contentious legal battle centered over real estate and personal property. In a similar manner, the architectural fabric of the two counties in this thesis is interpreted as evidence of the area's building culture as well as the community's opinions on its own building culture, which are made manifest through architectural expression. After positioning a building culture as a community's engagement with architecture, the changes occurring in the building culture of Lancaster and Northumberland counties become more attuned to the personal interests and daily experiences of community members than with the nation-sweeping reform of architectural styles.

The transition between the colonial and antebellum building cultures witnessed a brief architectural experiment by the counties' wealthier residents in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Several houses from this period exhibit a self-conscious exploration of the national interest in neoclassicism through the application of neoclassical ornament to houses otherwise built in the same manner as their colonial predecessors. Neoclassical ornament did not diffuse throughout the community to the same extent that Greek Revival ornament did in the following two decades for several reasons, although traces of neoclassical ornament still exist in

³ Richard Bushman, *The Refinement of America*, (New York: Knopf, 1992).

⁴ Bernard Herman, *The Stolen House*, (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1992).

the counties.⁵ Poor access to neoclassical ornamentation limited its appearance, but the dire financial situation of many of the counties' residents left little opportunity for architectural opulence. In addition to economic woes from decreased soil productivity and declining prosperity, British raids along the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers during the War of 1812 worsened infrastructure and the quality of life for the counties' inhabitants.⁶

Rev. Jeremiah Jeter expressed analogous sentiments in 1826, when he declined his invitation to the pastorate of Morattico Baptist Church in Lancaster County. Later in life, Jeter stated three reasons that prompted his decision:

First, the region was isolated, having in those days, before it was visited by steamboats, but little intercourse with the rest of the world. It was then quite a trip to get beyond the limits of the peninsula. *Secondly*, I feared the malarial diseases more or less prevalent every autumn. The apprehension was not imaginary. After my settlement there I had several sharp and protracted biliary attacks. *Thirdly*, the country was in an impoverished and depressed condition. It had not recovered from the injuries inflicted on it by the then recent war with Great Britain. Perhaps no portion of the United States had suffered more severely than the Northern Neck. The enemy kept a large and unresisted fleet in the Chesapeake bay during the war, and the Neck was bordered on three sides by deep, navigable water, and intersected by many bold and undefended streams. It was entirely at the mercy of the enemy, and they made good, or rather bad, use of their irresponsible power. A large number of slaves was enticed away, many valuable dwellings were reduced to ashes, the country was pillaged, and the inhabitants lived in constant dread of arrest or spoliation. Many of the best and most thrifty settlers, unwilling to live in such constant peril and alarm, sold their lands, at greatly reduced prices, or left them without tenants, and removed to the upper country. The Neck was slowly recovering from the evils inflicted upon it by the war, but it was far from what it was in favored times of the past, or what it became a few years afterwards.⁷

Jeter's assessment of the community parallels the state of architecture in the two counties. The

⁵ Oakley in Heathsville is one of the best remaining examples of neoclassical, or federal period, architecture in Lancaster and Northumberland counties.

⁶ Alan Taylor, *The Internal Enemy: Slavery and War in Virginia, 1772-1832*, (New York City: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013).

⁷ Rev. Jeremiah Bell Jeter, *The Recollections of a Long Life*, (Richmond, VA: Religious Herald Co., 1891), 145-146.

construction trade suffered from negligible population growth. Frequently, construction tradespeople undertook repairs instead of new construction. Traditional construction practices from the eighteenth century endured because of the counties' remoteness and the trades' apprenticeship and kinship networks. The counties' court order books from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have numerous entries of black, white, and mulatto orphans being bound to apprenticeships in bricklaying, blacksmithing, joinery, and carpentry. Through these trades, the primary structural components, such as chimneys, walls, foundations, doors, windows, and roof gables continued to be configured with similar materials and arrangements as built in the previous century. Jeter attributes the area's revival with the arrival of the steamboat, which heralded a stimulus to the financial fortunes of the counties' residents, visible through architecture.

Beginning in the 1830s, favorable economic conditions were returning to middle class farmers, who constituted a large portion of the free population. For much of the 1830s, new construction had minor neoclassical elements, such as mantel ornamentation, if any. The one-and-a-half story buildings built during this period shared commonalities with their eighteenth-century predecessors to a greater extent than they did with the houses of the following decades. The 1840s and 1850s witnessed a flourishing era of housing construction as well as churches, schools, and civic buildings. The clients were not only the extraordinarily wealthy families, such as the Harding family of Northumberland County, but also middling farmers and business owners.

Chapter I considers the tremendous impact that mass-produced materials had on the physical appearance of houses. The steamboat connected the two counties to an urban supply of consumer goods, which initially affected architectural ornament and smaller components, such as

nails. By the 1850s, building supplies were almost entirely imported to the two counties, including lumber and other structural elements. In Chapter II, the construction tradespeople are considered for their contributions to the counties' building culture. The local building culture was rooted in traditional construction methods practiced by the local network of carpenters, joiners, sawyers, plasterers, bricklayers, and laborers. Their apprenticeships, jobs, enslavement, careers, and lives materialized the antebellum building culture of Lancaster and Northumberland counties. With imported building supplies, tradespeople developed different roles in the construction process. Through tradespeople and materials, commonalities emerge among houses in both counties. The shared designs suggest that architectural pattern books circulated in the two counties.

Chapter II agrees with building culture scholars, such as J. Ritchie Garrison, who accept Davis's definition of a building culture that refers to the process of making. Garrison's book, *Two Carpenters*, engages with building culture discourse through his analysis of the buildings and records of a family of carpenters in a rural New England community. To Garrison, carpenters are the lifeblood of a building culture and receive exclusive attention in his book.⁸ For builders and clients, these imported architectural elements and architectural pattern books became essential to the construction process. Chapter III focuses on the third agent of building production, the client, but interprets the client's role as an individual contribution to the community's involvement in the antebellum building culture. As in Chapter II, buildings and records uncover the clients' experiences, educations, and personal relationships. In this way, the architectural evidence supplies biographies of clients that are more profound than simply interpreting the client's affluence. The story of the counties' building culture cannot be told

⁸ J. Ritchie Garrison, *Two Carpenters*, (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), xvii.

without considering the community's engagement in the construction trade and sentiments regarding the preexisting building fabric. This final chapter expands the building culture created by materials, construction tradespeople, and clients into a building community, where all members of the community are stakeholders in the architectural fabric of the two counties.

Methodology & Historiography

Most of the houses included in this thesis were documented through fieldwork conducted from April 2016 through February 2017. Appendix I lists each house built between 1830 and 1860 that was included, along with a façade photograph. Appendix II is the standard survey form with the questions and data sought at each site. Additional information was collected from fieldwork that was not part of the standard form, but was varied and often site-specific. When fieldwork was impossible, either through failed consent, unresponsive property owners, or natural or intentional destruction, The Virginia Department of Historic Resources (DHR) files and other publications were consulted when they contributed to the story of antebellum building culture. In addition to these sources, county records, local repositories, and research libraries have a wealth of information that inadvertently describes the building culture in the two counties. In addition to public records and published materials, antebellum ledgers, account books, and building receipts, which detail the materials, tools, and labor involved in construction projects, demonstrate the essential need to include rigorous archival research with fieldwork. Fieldwork and archival research supply distinct sources of evidence. In combination, these evidence types recover aspects of a building culture that are lost without their collaboration.

The study of the nineteenth-century cultural landscape of the Northern Neck of Virginia has been neglected in favor of more impressive religious and plantation architecture of the eighteenth century. Substantial loss of the area's nineteenth-century architecture has resulted

from this drought of inquiry and interest, which threatens the region's cultural heritage. The emerging architectural trends of the nineteenth century indicate that the members of the building culture were also members of larger architectural movements as well as international economies. Therefore, building culture members included not only builders and clients, but also all community members as interactive participants in the counties' constructed environment. The emphasis of this thesis is not placed on the two counties' contributions to a widespread architectural movement, instead, these two counties provide an example of an insular community's response to newer architectural products and tastes made available through industrialization, transportation, and publications.

Previous study of antebellum architecture in Lancaster and Northumberland counties has been limited in scope. Lancaster County has had two extensive surveys conducted by DHR and Tracerics, LLC., which cover most of the houses included in this thesis. Northumberland County, however, has had no thorough survey of its architecture through DHR. This limits the functionality of its services, such as DHR's Virginia Cultural Resource Information System (V-CRIS) and its affiliate MapViewer, by disproportionately favoring counties with more extensive surveys. Furthermore, the sites that are included in Northumberland County represent elite architectural examples to a much greater extent than other significant structures. In an effort to avoid this bias, local historians and fieldwork provided sites that were previously undocumented.

A publication by the Northern Neck branch of Preservation Virginia, *Historic Sites in Virginia's Northern Neck & Essex County*, although an architectural survey, begins to identify contextual information regarding the construction process, such as materials, builders, and clients in a brief paragraph summarizing the building's history. By drawing from the survey sources, which include Lancaster County's two DHR-sponsored surveys and *The Virginia Landmarks*

Register, the same biases that favor opulence and extravagance are perpetuated in the Lancaster County chapter. For the chapter on Northumberland County, two local publications, *The Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Magazine* and *The Bulletin of the Northumberland County Historical Society*, offer thorough articles on individual houses. More often than not, these articles emphasize prominent houses and families, albeit to an extent invaluable for future study. The most problematic issue with *Historic Sites in Virginia's Northern Neck & Essex County* is the loss of context surrounding building production. Although geographic information is an important factor, temporal divisions are more pronounced and offer a better account of building production in the two counties. Additionally, the geographic division between Lancaster and Northumberland counties has negligible architectural ramifications. The same family names appear in the 1850 censuses for both counties, as well as documented evidence that construction tradespeople worked in both counties. In contrast with architectural surveys of the two counties, this thesis is structured temporally, covering a period with extensive primary resources, but limited scholarship on these buildings. The story of Lancaster and Northumberland's antebellum building culture should not be piecemealed house by house, but deserves an exploration of the building culture as a whole.

Chapter I: Components of the Dwelling House

In 1830, most construction materials were of local origin due to the remoteness of Lancaster and Northumberland counties. Likewise, housing forms were akin to the counties' earlier houses. Initially, ornamental features and metalwork were among the first objects to be imported for housing construction. Improved connectivity by steamboats escalated the importation of architectural materials and furnishings for residents of the two counties during the 1840s and 1850s. The architectural ornament in houses built from the late 1840s and throughout the 1850s is often identical to the ornament in other houses located in the two counties. This evidence and antebellum building receipts indicate that some of these features are imported from Baltimore and Norfolk by steamboat. In addition to the increased accessibility of architectural products, builders and clients gained exposure to architectural ideas and tastes that were popular in other parts of the United States. By 1860, building supplies, both ornamental and structural were shipped en masse to the counties via steamboat. A change in building materials, and their sourcing during the 1840s and 1850s, transformed the construction process and the physical appearance of houses in Lancaster and Northumberland counties.

The construction practices in Lancaster and Northumberland counties in 1830 were similar to those found elsewhere in rural Virginia. Most houses were frame and the wood was sourced locally. Timber could be cut onsite or brought to the site where it was either hewn with an adze (fig. 9) or cut with a pit saw or a tenon saw (fig. 10). Other carpenter's tools, including drawknives, chisels, axes, and planes, trimmed and smoothed wood to dimension. Lumber that was used in obscure places or concealed was not as finely finished and sometimes retained its outer bark. These primary structural members, such as sills, joists, plates and rafters, were typically made from oak and pine. Carpenters numbered the framing pieces with Roman

numerals and joined them with mortise and tenon joints secured through a wooden peg or scarf joints for plates and sills. Plaster was applied to riven oak lathe, which was split with a froe and a maul (fig. 11). Oak was suitable for riven lathe because of its abundance in the two counties, its strength, and most importantly, its ability to be split along its grain into narrow strips that retained a rough texture for plaster application. Lathe, siding, shingle roof shakes, and structural members also required nails, most of which were wrought by local blacksmiths. Blacksmiths also made hinges and other metalwork, although, more than likely, locks, other cast metalwork, and glass were imported. Local brickmakers moulded, dried, and fired local clay to make bricks for foundations, brick chimneys, and several brick buildings.

By 1860, the materials and production of building components had evolved towards mechanized production, yet the material sourcing had witnessed the most drastic change. Although some buildings reveal that traditional methods endured beyond the antebellum period, by 1860 most lumber was cut with band and circular saws. As the receipts in this chapter demonstrate, the band-sawn and circular-sawn lumber typically came from merchants in Baltimore and Norfolk through the steamboat. Likewise, lathe was no longer produced with oak and split by hand tools, but was sawn with band saws and circular saws using pine. Lathe, flooring, newel posts, roofing shingles, windowpanes, window sashes, Carpenter locks, screws, machine-cut and hand-wrought nails, plaster medallions, marble mantels, granite lintels and windowsills, carpenter's tools, and architecture books are among the building materials that were brought to the counties between 1830 and 1860.

The shear volume of objects imported to the two counties during this period, relative to the local and handcrafted production of building components before 1830, indicates that the materials became more accessible, either geographically or financially. Both factors are valid for

Lancaster and Northumberland counties. Geographically, the steamboat repositioned the counties' relationship with cities because the two counties were located midway between Baltimore and Norfolk. Bound on two sides by navigable rivers, the Potomac and Rappahannock, with substantial frontage on the Chesapeake Bay, the two counties had optimal exposure to the steamboat trade that operated between Baltimore and Norfolk. The counties' obvious lack of improvements and transportation infrastructure on Claudius Crozet's *A Map of the Internal Improvements of Virginia* (fig. 1 and 2) deceptively portrays the counties' connectivity with other parts of the region. Lancaster and Northumberland counties had a natural advantage through their waterways. The Chesapeake Bay and the two flanking rivers that form the northern-most peninsula of Virginia were the source of the counties' colonial prosperity that would later revive the counties' economic situation during the antebellum period through advancements in steamboat technology. The counties' geographic position rekindled the counties' relationship with transportation centers, which lessened transportation costs and improved salability of local agricultural production.

Beginning in 1815, the *Eagle*, a 110-foot steamboat, was the first steamboat to travel between Norfolk and Baltimore. In 1817, The *Virginia* became the first steamboat specifically built for traversing between Norfolk and Baltimore. These early steamboats and others demanded extensive quantities of wood for fuel and were small and inefficient compared to subsequent steamboats, which would have made them inadequate for transporting architectural materials. Steamboat packet companies increased the reliability of transportation on the Chesapeake Bay and steamboat traffic escalated between the 1830s and 1850s.⁹

⁹ Alexander Crosby Brown, *Steam Packets on the Chesapeake: A History of the Old Bay Line Since 1840*, (Cambridge, Maryland: Cornell Maritime Press, Inc., 1961), 9, 10-11, 15.

A vignette of travelling experiences to Lancaster County in 1840 is provided by Addison Hall in his letter to Lewson Chase:

The route from Fredericksburg to this place [Kilmarnock] is a bad one in winter as there is no public conveyance- I should therefore think that you had better take the best mode of conveyance to Norfolk and get ab. [about] to Mathews County in Colonel Hudgins packet, from thence as you are acquainted with the country you can easily get to Middlesex and drop over to Lancaster.¹⁰

Chase, coming from Massachusetts to the Northern Neck of Virginia for the first time, was advised by Hall to travel considerably farther south than the Northern Neck. Fredericksburg, located up the Rappahannock River from Lancaster County and closer to Massachusetts, might have appeared the easier option to Chase, however Hall's local knowledge of the transportation woes supplanted this route. After arriving in Norfolk, Chase should proceed back north along the Chesapeake Bay by a [steam] packet to a county in the Middle Peninsula, located below the Northern Neck. The last segment of the trip was rather ambiguous; as Chase would have had to travel from Mathews County to Middlesex County and cross the Rappahannock River near its three-and-a-half mile mouth, presumably by another packet or vessel that Hall described as a "drop over to Lancaster."¹¹ Hall's acknowledgement of the difficulties of land travel by encouraging Chase to use a [steam] packet from Norfolk is analogous to the counties' material exchanges with other areas. Instead of nearby cities, such as Fredericksburg and Richmond, Baltimore and Norfolk became the suppliers of building components, among other objects, and the purchasers of agricultural harvests from Lancaster and Northumberland counties. The

¹⁰ Letter from Addison Hall to Lewson Chase, January 4, 1840. Reprinted by Francis G. Lankford, Jr. in "Secondary Education in Lancaster and Northumberland Counties 1634-1932," "Chapter III Private Schools and Academies, 1800-1909: Mr. Chase's School," University of Virginia Master's Thesis, 1932, 56.

¹¹ Ibid.

following paragraphs detail materials and their sourcing throughout 1830 until 1860 to convey how materials altered the two counties' building culture.

A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia, and the District of Columbia, published in 1835 and known as *Martin's Gazetteer of Virginia*, numerates the buildings in Lancaster Courthouse, the county seat of Lancaster County. In addition to the county buildings, such as the courthouse and jail, the village had “about 30 dwelling houses, 3 mercantile stores, and 1 tavern. Various mechanical pursuits are carried on. Population 80 persons; of whom 1 is an attorney, and 1 a physician.”¹² Included in the thirty dwelling houses was a home built by William H. Dandridge in 1830. The house was relatively modest, being single-pile and two stories with a side-passage comprising one of the three façade bays.¹³ By this time, small schooners and steamboats traveled on the Chesapeake Bay between Baltimore and Norfolk, two important sources for material culture in Lancaster and Northumberland counties. The trip from Lancaster or Northumberland County to Baltimore lasted two to three days.¹⁴ In 1838, Daniel Payne Mitchell bought the Dandridge House and subsequently added a room to make the side-passage a central-passage. Mitchell also added an ell to the rear of the house, greatly enlarging the original structure. The ornament throughout these two construction periods has simplified neoclassical elements of sunburst elliptical paterae (fig. 12). A mahogany newel post and handrail are elegant and have similar dimensions to the newel post at Oakley in Northumberland County. For the most part, this house was built with local materials, such as oak rafters and pine doors, flooring,

¹² Joseph Martin, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia, and the District of Columbia*, (Charlottesville, Virginia: Joseph Martin, printed by Moseley & Tompkins, 1835), 205.

¹³ Mary Ball Washington Museum, “Lancaster House: Architectural History,” July 1999.

¹⁴ Jeter, *The Recollections of a Long Life*, 162.

and riven lathe visible under the staircase, however, the cast hinges, mahogany railings and newel post are straightforward clues of non-local objects and materials.

Dandridge's house and ordinary, built under Dandridge, but enlarged by subsequent owners Mitchell and Eubank, was mainly the product of local materials, however, its form was more progressive than other contemporary houses. Hard Bargain, c. 1830, has tremendous commonalities with eighteenth-century houses in form and in materials.¹⁵ The enormous brick chimney services two fireplaces at forty-five degree angles in each of the rooms on the first floor of the double-pile house. The bricks used in this chimney are handmade and spaced in variable one and three-course American bond. Although Hard Bargain is situated higher above the ground than other eighteenth and first quarter-nineteenth century houses, it is significantly lower than most of the houses built between 1830 and 1860. This shorter foundation caused problems of ventilation, moisture, and insect infestation that contributed to the disappearance of these earlier houses. The antebellum houses mitigated this problem by elevating houses above the ground and often including an English basement below the first floor.

The rise of steamboat transportation during the 1840s coincided with the earliest examples of Classical Revival architectural motifs, which replaced simpler beaded moldings and ornament found in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In addition to building materials, architectural pattern books circulated from urban centers into Lancaster and Northumberland counties, thereby changing the building culture by providing designs that differed from the area's local traditions. Classical Revival moldings, corner blocks, newel posts, Doric columns, doors, and mantels that resemble examples found in pattern books such as Asher

¹⁵ DHR attributes 1830 as an approximate date of Hard Bargain. See: DHR File ID: 066-0037, "Hard Bargain," Unpublished, DHR Archives, Richmond, VA. Accessed February 8, 2017.

Benjamin's *The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter* (1830), *Practice of Architecture* (1833), and *The Builder's Guide, or Complete System of Architecture* (1838) and Minard Lefever's *The Modern Builder's Guide* (1833) and *The Beauties of Modern Architecture* (1835). The fashions introduced in these books emerged in the lower Northern Neck in the 1840s and remained popular for nearly two decades afterwards. Early examples began in 1848, with the construction of Easton, Gascony, and Midway as well as the remodeling of Public View, followed by new construction of Chase Manor and Cloverdale in 1849, and Wheatland in 1850. These houses have architectural ornament that was likely imported, such as cast plaster ceiling medallions, while some of the structural components, including riven lathe, remained handcrafted locally.

In Northumberland County, the illustrious Harding family commissioned multiple houses from 1830 to 1860. As clients, the Hardings were involved keenly in the construction of their houses. Around 1849, Dr. William Hopkins Harding compared the material costs of his house, Wheatland, with Cloverdale, the house of his uncle, John Hopkins Harding. Harding's nuanced accounting of variable material costs illustrates his purchases and potentially the materials that he sourced himself. Harding bought materials that were probably sawn with a reciprocating band saw at a mill, such as framing, weatherboarding, shingles, flooring and sheathing, as well as other building components: skylights, "fancy cornice," window frames, "passage door frames," "out door frames," hardware and "pannel (sic) doors."¹⁶ Harding does not mention lathe, indicating that he may have had his slaves or other laborers split lathe, as found at other houses as late as 1849.

¹⁶ Lucy Lemoine Waring, copy of original document from c. 1849 in *Hardings of Northumberland County, Virginia and Their Related Families*, (Wicomico Church, Virginia: 1971), 194.

Urban factories, mills, and warehouses supplied the influx of imported goods. These companies were able to offer competitive prices that eventually replaced many of the handcrafted building components. In addition to fieldwork of extant houses and previous architectural documentation, several building receipts for houses constructed in the 1850s chronicle the increased importation of building components. Although these receipts are far less numerous than the houses from this time period, many houses have identical architectural elements as the houses with original building receipts, which suggests a uniformity of material sourcing and design. Buildings can then be cross-examined with each other to highlight telltale indicators of the components' origins and chronological period.

By the 1850s, carpenters constructed most houses with pre-fabricated building supplies brought by steamboat. The following generation of Classical Revival houses were built between the middle and second half of the 1850s. The principal distinction between these two groups is the sourcing of materials for structural purposes. Among these later examples are Cobbs Hall and Versailles in 1853, Shalango and Locus(t)ville built during 1855 through 1856, additions and modifications to Road View/The Anchorage, Gascony, and Bondfield, respectively, in 1856, additions and remodeling to Greenfield and Melrose in 1857, Apple Grove and Levelfields in 1859, and Retirement from 1857-1861.¹⁷ Sawn lathe is the most prominent distinction between

¹⁷ Locus(t)ville appears with or without its "t" throughout its history. The spelling for Locus(t)ville has been used interchangeably. Inscriptions in the closet under the staircase use both Locusville and Locustville. Recent scholarship has referred to the house as Locustville, however there is no definitive spelling. House names in Lancaster and Northumberland counties were fairly common and often self-referential. Bondfield was the home of the Bond family, while Public View and Road View were common names for houses situated along the roadside. There is no record of locust trees at Locus(t)ville and Locusville could have interpreted been as a town or place site. Road View/The Anchorage refers to the house's historic name of Road View, but it is now known by its early twentieth-century name, The Anchorage. This property, Road View/The Anchorage, is distinct from the Road View on Browns Store Road.

these houses and the 1840s houses, however, circular-sawn joists and lathe began to appear during this second period as well.

Several buildings with undetermined construction dates can have approximate dates applied to them based upon material commonalities with houses whose dates are documented. Road View, on Browns Store Road, although partially built upon an earlier brick foundation, likely dates to the late 1840s or early 1850s. This hypothesis can be corroborated with its features that are similar to Chase Manor and its neighbor, Easton. Chase Manor and Easton are among the latest houses with riven lathe. Of the houses built from 1855-1860, no houses had indications of riven lathe, with most houses still retaining their original band-sawn or circular-sawn lathes. These three houses also share the same brand of cast butt hinges produced by Baldwin, which reputedly produced hinges either in Middletown, Connecticut or Birmingham, England (fig. 13).¹⁸ Nearby Road View and Easton, Edge Hill has Baldwin hinges as well, yet no evidence exists of riven lathe. Baldwin hinges resemble the other imported cast butt hinges found throughout the antebellum houses, but the inside of the hinge is stamped "Baldwin Patent." Cast parliament hinges were used predominantly for shutters, but they also appear on some cupboards and doors throughout the 1840s and 1850s. Although Chase Manor and Easton have more ornate Classical Revival elements, seen most prominently on the double panel doors, newel posts, and corner blocks, Road View's mantels have the same simplified pilaster that is common among antebellum houses.

¹⁸ For more information on the debated origin of Baldwin hinges: James L. Garvin, *A Building History of Northern New England*, (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2001), 81. Donald Streeter, "Early American Wrought Iron Hardware: H and HL Hinges, Together with Mention of Dovetails and Cast Iron Butt Hinges." *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 5, no. 1 (1973): 22-49. and Rudolf Hommel, "The Secret Joint Hinge," *The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association* 3, no. 1 ([1944?]): 3-4.

Although architectural anomalies can prevent concrete dating based upon other examples, additional houses in both counties should be compared with the houses included in this fieldwork study to decipher ambiguous construction phases. Edge Hill, for example, likely was built between 1848 and 1856 based upon its materials and construction techniques. The staircase has identical stringer brackets found on houses built between 1849 and 1856, while the wooden medallion in the center hall is very similar to wooden medallion in the 1855-1856 addition to Road View/The Anchorage and at Rock Hall (fig. 14-20). This 1855-1856 addition has identical stringer brackets and a newel post that is very similar to the one at Edge Hill (fig. 21 and 22). The absence of riven lathe and the house's similarities with houses from the 1850s indicates that Lucy Waring's claim of an alleged construction date in the 1830s is inaccurate.¹⁹ The house has also been described as a Federal house, c. 1850, likely because of a parlor mantel with an elliptical paterae, however, the ceiling medallion, corner blocks, and staircase similarities with Greek Revival houses negates its attribution as a Federal period or Federal style house.²⁰

A house historically owned by the Lampkin and Clayton families on Crosshills Road in Northumberland County also has an undetermined construction date. This house is one of the few nineteenth-century side-passage houses still extant in the two counties. Others, such as Saratoga in Lancaster County, c. 1843, have been incorporated into larger houses. The Lampkin-Clayton house is single-pile with a once-plastered English basement, two full floors, and an unfinished attic. The double-shoulder chimney on the northern elevation is laid in five-course American bond, but has been modified around its cap. The basement has joists sawn with a band saw that measure 7" by 3" and spaced 22" apart. These dimensions are more common among

¹⁹ Waring, *Hardings of Northumberland County, Virginia*, 99.

²⁰ Elizabeth Hoge, "Historic District/Brief Survey Form 066-42," Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks, February 1989. Accessed at DHR Archives, Richmond, VA.

earlier side-passage houses, such as Saratoga. No architectural elements are explicitly Classical Revival, suggesting that the house may date from the 1840s and still reflect local architectural traditions. The circular-sawn attic with a ridge board complicates this attribution. The rebuilt top of the chimney and the attic construction presuppose that the roofing system has been replaced and perhaps elevated in the process.

The first detailed inventory of imported building supplies begins in 1841, when widower Charles Rogers died leaving one son, John Adam Rogers (1834-1920). In his will, Charles left his estate to John, who was seven years old, and requested that his friend, Dr. William H. Kirk, serve as John's guardian and see that John would receive a liberal education.²¹ Kirk's guardianship lasted until 1855, when John inherited his father's estate at the age of twenty-one. During the fourteen years, Kirk played an active role in John's education, but of equal importance, Kirk managed the 205-acre farm, house, and other assets that Charles left to his son, which were estimated to be worth between \$2,500 to \$3,500. In the accounts of Kirk's guardianship, the house Charles Rogers built in the 1830s required building materials for maintenance. In March, 1852, Ferguson & Milhade of Norfolk provided lumber and tar for a task at Rogers's house.²² The year before Kirk's guardianship ended, Rogers's house burned in 1854.²³ The following year, John A. Rogers and Kirk began assembling the materials to build a new house on the property. These two building phases of maintenance and new construction illustrate how building components were sourced from 1852 through 1856.

²¹ *Lancaster County Will Book #28*, Lancaster County Records Office, Lancaster, VA, 361. Accessed October 14, 2016.

²² *Lancaster County Orphan Account Book #5*, Lancaster County Records Office, Lancaster, VA, 47. Accessed October 14, 2016.

²³ *Lancaster County Deed Book #41*, Lancaster County Records Office, Lancaster, VA, 469. Accessed October 14, 2016.

Rogers bought windows, hardware, paint, nails, framing lumber, weatherboards, shingles and flooring for the replacement house from Baltimore. Lapourelle & Maughlin, a sash company in Baltimore, was paid \$126.63 in May 30, 1855, presumably for window sashes.²⁴ The merchant firm of Dinsmore & Kyle provided most of the paints and glass for Rogers's house. Ward & Brothers supplied seven Carpenter locks of English manufacture, several of which are still in use today.²⁵ All of the lumber for Locus(t)ville came from John Kirby & Son, which included 12,000 shingles, 5,000 feet of flooring, 6,000 feet of weatherboarding, and several thousand feet of white pine framing members.²⁶ Interestingly, some rafters are hewn, but the floor joists are both band-sawn and circular-sawn. The sheathing was band-sawn, while lathe was circular-sawn and band-sawn. This indiscriminate variety of processing methods is suggestive of the endurance of certain construction tools and processes despite more efficient production methods. As urban factories milled lumber through band and circular saws, the building components were later shaped on site with hand tools into the sizes necessary for the project. The window sashes were imported from Baltimore, along with many other features that may have been made locally prior to the increased steamship transportation.

Imported materials were typically more standardized than handcrafted supplies, which made the construction process less arduous and labor efficient. In essence, carpenters worked as sub-contractors assembling factory goods. When William H. George hired Henry Tapscott and other carpenters to remodel his house and double its size in 1857, nearly every element was ordered from Baltimore and Norfolk. The earliest receipts from George's house, Greenfield,

²⁴ John A. Rogers, copy of the "Account Book of John A. Rogers," original at Mary Ball Washington Museum, Lancaster County, VA, (unpublished) 1855-6, 12.

²⁵ Most houses have evidence of box locks that were probably Carpenter locks, however Easton and Chase Manor are among the few houses with several original Carpenter box locks.

²⁶ John A. Rogers, "Account Book of John A. Rogers," 1855-6, 12.

were from two transactions in Norfolk on February 16, 1857. George bought one keg of nails and fifty pounds of nails for a sum of \$14.75 from Allyn, Rose & Capps, who were “Importers and Dealers in English, German and American Hardware.”²⁷ In addition to these supplies, the company advertised many hand tools as well as circular, mill, cross cut, and pit saws. This represents a full spectrum of saws available for frame construction in the two counties by 1857. The other February 16, 1857 receipt was also between George and Balls, Santos & Company. Almost all of the wood needed for the house came from this purchase, including 2,509 feet of 1.25” flooring, 3,000 feet of 5/8 weatherboarding, 1,000 feet of white pine, 7,000 sawn lathes, 26 feet of oak, 3 bags of lime, and 5,000 count of shingles, all of which came to \$229.18.²⁸ The only exposed lathe in the house is from damage sustained from the Union gunboat *Harriet De Ford*’s shelling the house in 1865. This lathe is circular-sawn, indicating that the 7000 pieces of lathe ordered were all circular-sawn. Still other parts of the house are not numerated on any of the bills of sale, such as the walnut newel post, mantels, doors, and bricks used in the chimneys and foundations. They may have been part of the overall sum to Henry Tapscott, who could have imported some of these objects and crafted others.

The next receipt for Greenfield, dated June 8, 1857, is from E. M. Bosley of Baltimore. Bosley’s bill of sale lists his business as an “Importer and Wholesale Dealer in Foreign and Domestic Hardware.”²⁹ With this sale, the purchaser was not William George, but E. O. Robinson, also known as Edward Robinson, a local builder discussed in Chapter II. Robinson bought the hardware for Greenfield, such as rim locks, butt hinges, screws, shutter hinges and

²⁷ Receipt from Allyn, Rose & Capps, Norfolk, Virginia, to W. H. George, unpublished, February 16, 1857. Private Collection.

²⁸ Receipt from Balls, Santos & Co., Norfolk, Virginia, to W. H. George, unpublished, February 16, 1857. Private Collection.

²⁹ Receipt from E. M. Bosley, Baltimore, Maryland, to E. O. Robinson, unpublished, June 8, 1857. Private Collection.

fasteners from Bosley. Captain Toleman made the next purchase order for Greenfield on July 24, 1857, this time buying 208 feet of flooring and 80 feet of 4/4 white pine at the lumber merchant firm of John Kirby & Sons.³⁰ The next day, Toleman bought three handrail screws and sash springs at James Whiting & Co. hardware company.³¹ The final supplies purchased in Baltimore were the window glasses and putty bought by George at S.R. Kramer & Co. on September 21, 1857.³² These receipts identify material exchange between the Northern Neck and urban ports, such as Baltimore and Norfolk, but they do not always reveal the ultimate origins of the materials. The majority of receipts are from wholesale warehouses, whose owners were middlemen who profited from smaller regions through their proximity to transportation hubs and bulk inventory. The warehouses undoubtedly sold similar architectural elements found in other counties in Virginia and other states as well.

Several architectural features have little variation in their production from the 1830s through the 1850s. Flooring was predominately made from heart pine and sawn at a band saw mill. Maps, county land books, and store accounts indicate that there were local sawmills and wood yards, but no documentation of the type of saw has come forth. The dimensions for flooring remained constant, with the lesser quality wide floorboards used in attics and the heartwood in primary living spaces. As with other structural components, some were imported from Baltimore, however there is no apparent difference from this flooring and the floors found in other houses. The same Baltimore lumber firm supplied flooring for Locus(t)ville and

³⁰ Receipt from John Kirby & Son, Baltimore, Maryland, to Capt. Toleman, unpublished, July 24, 1857. Private Collection.

³¹ Receipt from James Whiting & Co., Baltimore, Maryland, to Capt. Toleman, unpublished, July 25, 1857. Private Collection.

³² Receipt from S.R. Kramer & Co., Baltimore, Maryland, to W. George, unpublished, September 21, 1857. Private Collection.

Greenfield. Baltimore warehouses and lumberyards probably supplied most of the flooring during the 1840s and 1850s. Wood roofing shingles remained the dominant roofing material for antebellum houses. Without original examples, the different manufacturing processes are not distinguishable today, however the building receipts indicate that shingles were imported frequently by the 1850s.

Wood sills also remained relatively unchanged during the antebellum period. The granite sills at Apple Grove, Levelfields, and Cobbs Hall are exceptions to the more common practice of frame construction with wood sills. Floor joists and lathe underwent the greatest transformation among structural members. Earlier floor joists in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century houses had a double-square shape that was approximately three inches wide by seven inches deep.³³ For the 1840s and 1850s houses, the thickness varied joist by joist, between two and four inches wide with a depth ranging between eight and twelve inches. In addition to the discrepancies in floor joist dimensions, adzes, pit saws, tenon saws, band saws, and circular saws shaped the joists. As with floor joists, lathe could be produced several different ways. Lathe has proven to be the most consistent means of dating antebellum houses in the counties, as the houses built prior to 1850 have riven lathe, while subsequent houses have band-sawn and circular-sawn lathe. Riven lathe was the most labor-intensive process, as it consisted of splitting wood into strips that measured several feet long by one-and-a-half to two inches wide.

The frequent importation of pine and oak is unusual given the availability of natural resources in the two counties. *Martin's Gazetteer of Virginia* from 1835 emphasizes the natural resources of one area in Lancaster County by saying, "The soil is fertile, producing well. The principal crops are wheat, Indian corn, and cotton. Though situated between 2 large commercial

³³ These measurements were found at Saratoga and the Lampkin-Clayton House, both of which were probably built as side-passage houses from their onset.

rivers, not more than 1 mile from either, the view is entirely obstructed by an immense growth of oak, and pine woods, an article of considerable value in the trade of this section of country.”³⁴

Twenty years later, when Locus(t)ville was under construction in this same area near Payne’s Crossroads, the oak and pine materials came from the cities. One explanation is that these immense forests had disappeared within twenty years, but it is more plausible that the availability and efficiency of band and circular mill-sawn materials caused them to supersede the harvesting of the counties’ natural resources.

Ornamental features introduced a more obvious schism between imported items and local construction. The three most deliberate spaces for embellishment occurred on the front portico, staircase, and ceiling surfaces, covering the latter with ornamental plaster moldings and medallions that were drastically more ornate than the simplified Classical Revival moldings and pilasters. These three spaces differentiated more expensive houses from simpler structures, particularly from 1845 to 1860. The tetrastyle portico at Locus(t)ville is among the finest Classical Revival architectural features in either County. The four monolithic Doric columns, probably cypress, are spaced wider in front of the entrance door. Centered above the two inner columns are two triglyphs, which are part of a series of eight triglyphs that terminate with six guttae. The corner triglyphs are not centered above the corner columns, as seen in Plate IV (fig. 23 and 24) of Asher Benjamin’s *The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter*.³⁵ Each side profile of the portico has six triglyphs. Wheatland’s pair of two-story tetrastyle porticos has the Roman Doric order on its waterside and the Greek Doric order on the landside.

³⁴ Joseph Martin, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia and the District of Columbia*, (Charlottesville, VA: Joseph Martin publisher, printed by Moseley & Tompkins, 1835), 206.

³⁵ Asher Benjamin, *The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter*, (Boston, MA: L. Coffin, 1830, 1843 reprint), Plate IV.

Newel post design varied between three predominate types. The simplest form is a single pine post that can be found either as a square, chamfered square, or sometimes with a taper towards the handrail. This form is often found in plainer houses or in private backstairs of the elaborate houses across the 1840s through 1850s (fig. 25 and 26).³⁶ The second form is narrow, as seen in the square post, but often turned on a lathe and made of hardwoods, such as mahogany, walnut, and apple (fig. 21, 22, and 27). Instead of simply joining the handrail, a finial or curved portion concludes the top of the newel post. The largest of the three newel posts varieties has a bulbous form that was turned on a lathe (fig. 28). With one exception of a poplar newel post that has a transitional form between the second and third varieties, these were walnut or mahogany. Levelfields, built near the end of the 1860 cutoff date, has a newel post that has embellishments beyond the typical third type seen from the late 1840s until approximately 1857 (fig. 29). Instead of a square base, the newel post's base is octagonal. The shaft of the columnar form is fluted, unlike any contemporary houses. The newel post at Levelfields connects Greek Revival attributes with Italianate architecture. Later in the Victorian period, the columnar Greek Revival form was replaced entirely by the octagon. Levelfields's newel post retains the column, but the fluting and octagonal base are characteristic of these more ornate architectural forms.

The staircase configuration and placement was a critical aspect that intersected practicality, entertainment, and aesthetics. The half-landing staircase was commonplace, despite its complexity and expense. Only several houses have straight staircases and the Lampkin-Clayton house has a winder staircase, although houses that have been destroyed likely possessed

³⁶ Visible at Road View on Browns Store Road, Road View/The Anchorage, and Lampkin-Clayton House.

these staircase forms that are infrequent among extant houses.³⁷ Of the four straight staircases, Chase Manor and Public View have open staircases with balusters and railings in the center hall, whereas Midway and Cobbs Hall have enclosed staircases, without a first-floor newel post or railing, that are located in the transversal hall. Half-landing stairs appear in several of the counties' lavish houses, such as Bondfield, Shalango, Wheatland, and Melrose. The half-landing staircase was also used in simpler houses, such as Road View on Browns Store Road. Road View has minimal moldings, mantels and newel posts, however, its half-landing staircase elevates its stature by demonstrating the shared ambitions of its client with more affluent community members. Conversely, Midway and Cobbs Hall are among the largest houses in either County and have enclosed straight staircases tucked inside the transversal hall, offering no venue for an elaborate first-floor newel post, staircase brackets, or paneling. The benefit of the staircase's placement in the transversal hall is the openness of the house's central hall, unencumbered by a staircase. In effect, the stair-less wide central-passage in these houses could function for entertainment purposes without interrupting passage among the floors.³⁸

Heavy plaster composite medallions, referred to as centrepieces by Asher Benjamin, reflect the influence of Classical Revival architecture in both counties during the 1840s and 1850s. In making these high relief casts, soft plaster was placed in a mold along with splinters of

³⁷ The Matthew Oliver House in Lancaster County, dated by an inscribed 1846 on a brick, probably did not have a half-landing staircase because its diminutive façade width appears too narrow to sustain a half-landing or turned staircase. Likewise, Hopedale/Hopevale in Northumberland County probably could not accommodate a half-landing stair in the one-and-a-half story building. Staircases are often the most prominent feature of these houses' interiors. The quality and frequency of the surviving open-well, half-landing staircases suggest that the surviving houses are of a higher quality than the average antebellum home.

³⁸ Sabine Hall, located in Richmond County, which neighbors Northumberland and Lancaster counties, has a transversal hall with an elegant half-landing staircase. This configuration allowed for socializing in the central halls on the first-floor and second-floors as if they were parlors with a cross-breeze that was only available in the central hall of the double-pile house.

riven wood. After the plaster hardened, the rougher surfaces of riven wood strengthened the plaster's adhesion to the wood, which provided necessary structure to flanges of plaster. The most prevalent motifs have egg and dart molding, clamshells, and classical foliage, such as palmettes, yet no medallions have been identical among houses (fig. 30-33).³⁹ Medallions perished from humidity and separation, however several houses still retain their original medallions.⁴⁰ These medallions amplified the most elaborate rooms and dismantled the austerity of the simple moldings and trim that typically composed a room. Medallions are most likely to be found in parlors, such as the pair of medallions in the double parlor of Cobbs Hall. Cobbs Hall also has a passage medallion, as does Chase Manor and Midway. Since Midway probably had medallions in the double parlor, Road View/The Anchorage and Edge Hill are the only two houses to have medallions in their passages, but not in their parlors. Rock Hall has a wooden medallion in its parlor this is similar to the wooden medallions at Road View/The Anchorage and Edge Hill. The wooden medallion is far less common than the plaster medallion, increasing the likelihood that the same carpenters worked on Road View/The Anchorage and Edge Hill, and possibly Rock Hall. An alternative explanation is that the wooden medallions are the outer fragments of plaster medallions that have lost their plasterwork on the interior, thereby leaving a band of molding patterns in an outer concentric ring (fig. 14 and 15).

Ornate plaster cornices represented the finest additions to the ceiling and were therefore less frequent than the medallions. The "fancy cornice" that William H. Harding compared to his

³⁹ The medallion at Versailles had the same palmette and shield as in the Northumberland County Courthouse and the parlor medallion at Chase Manor, but the foliage and rims are different in each example.

⁴⁰ Extant plaster medallions: Chase Manor, Midway, Springfield, Bondfield, Ring Farm, Cobbs Hall

Destroyed plaster medallions: Levelfields, Retirement, Versailles

Extant wooden medallions: Road View/The Anchorage, Edge Hill, Rock Hall.

uncle's cornice is probably a reference to the plaster cornices found inside each house rather than an exterior cornice embellishment (fig. 34). Retirement has a moulded plaster cornice in its parlor, which originally had a fenestrated medallion with six alternating motifs of a foliate and shell design and another with a ribbon and crest (fig. 35). Bondfield's parlor cornice, added in 1856, is the most elaborate dwelling cornice in either county. The cornice is wider than the other cornices and has a rich foliate design that continues uninterrupted around the room and interior chimney. The center medallion in the parlor is also floral and more ornate than the simpler palmette reliefs of other medallions, making Bondfield's parlor exceptional, even in comparison with larger houses.

The signature pattern book-inspired features from Minard Lafever's and Asher Benjamin's books are the paneled dados, moldings surrounding windows and doors, and in mantel design. The dados are typically below the parlor windows in the best-finished houses. The panels took a variety of forms, from simple and crossette rectangles to octagons (fig. 36 and 37). Pattern books promoted this paneling, which differed from the chamfered boards and shiplap wainscoting typically used in the eighteenth century and first quarter of the nineteenth century. One of the only houses with full dado paneling around the room is the central-passage of Easton (fig. 38). The panels are plain, in that they do not have chamfered corners, however they match the molding profiles of the two-panel doors in the surrounding rooms, indicating a uniform design.

Notably, the design motifs in both counties throughout the 1840s and 1850s align with designs in Asher Benjamin's *The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter*. Plate XXVII, titled a "Design for a Front Door," has the identical transom window that is located above three doors at Cobbs Hall and is very similar to the transom windows at Greenfield and Ring Farm (fig. 39-

42).⁴¹ The following plate in *The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter*, a “Design for a Front Door Case,” and the upper chimneypiece in Plate LII of *The Builder’s Guide, or Complete System of Architecture* have pilasters with the same modified Greek key motif as Shalango’s parlor mantel in Northumberland County (fig. 43-45).⁴² Plate LII also has the pediment and acroteria on its backsplash, as seen in the parlor mantel in Chase Manor (fig. 46). The similarities between the houses and pattern books show the tremendous influence that Greek Revival pattern books, particularly the pattern books of Asher Benjamin, had on domestic architecture in the two counties, whether these objects were imported or crafted locally.

The two common types of Classical Revival frames for windows and doors had either corner blocks or oversized, or T-shaped, lintels (fig. 47-49). Houses did not combine the two types. The corner block or rosette appears more frequently in the 1840s, while the oversized lintel, sometimes with a pediment, is more common to the 1850s. The primary exceptions to this rule are Midway, built in 1848, with oversized lintels throughout, and Retirement, built from 1857-1861, with its plain corner blocks. Door design transitioned from six-paneled doors to panel orientations that imitated designs found in pattern books. The two-panel composition was a popular choice in several houses and it appears continuously through the pattern books. Retirement has octagonal panels on its exterior double-leaf doors to the front portico. Similar to the matching dados and doors at Easton, Retirement’s octagonal-panel doors are harmonious with the two octagonal panels on each of the four dados in the parlor (fig. 37 and 50).

As the 1840s elapsed, building components became increasingly factory-produced goods imported by the steamboat from Norfolk and Baltimore. Even with rising technological

⁴¹ Asher Benjamin, *The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter*, Plate XXVII.

⁴² Ibid for Plate XXVIII. Plate LII in Asher Benjamin, *The Builder’s Guide, or Complete System of Architecture*, (Boston, MA: Chase, Nichols & Hill, 1838), Plate LII.

accessibility, clients and carpenters did not immediately adopt the newest products and ideas. Authors, including Gervase Wheeler, Andrew Jackson Downing, and Alexander Jackson Davis, published designs based upon Gothic Revival and Italianate architecture before Classical Revival architecture was ingratiated by the building culture of Lancaster and Northumberland counties. Levelfields, built in 1859, was one of the few antebellum houses that also had Italianate elements, despite the national popularity of Romantic architecture movements in the United States. The cornice brackets, marble mantelpieces, and newel post at Levelfields are only the beginning of the heavily ornamented interiors of late nineteenth-century houses. These materials emphasized important spaces, such as the façade and parlor, while Classical Revival mantels with pediments and pilasters were found throughout other rooms. Along with the marble mantels, granite sills below the basement windows are definitively non-native to eastern Virginia. The most imposing feature of the double-pile, five-bay house is the large half-landing staircase at the terminus of the wide central hall. The staircase's comparable at adjacent Melrose involves the carpenters and construction tradespeople who built these houses in Chapter II.

Materials were not the only notable aspect of house construction from 1830 to 1860, however their transition during this period was a critical element of the counties' building culture. Architectural materials were the predominant medium for carpenters and clients to convey their knowledge or interest in architecture. Factory-produced ornament decreased the individuality of the carpenter and replaced it with the variability of milled design work that would continue throughout the end of the century. Imported materials provided ornamental options that allowed for unique combinations among houses, however the materials also invited imitation through their affordability. The slight variations of the six-recorded staircases with similar scroll and ball stringer brackets questions the degree to which ornamental materials were

milled in cities or produced in the counties based upon pattern-books. In the following chapter, the individuals or agents who built and assembled these materials are acknowledged for their contributions in the community's building culture. Materials resurface the next chapter as well as in Chapter III, when the clients', and ultimately, the community's role is investigated. The carpenters and builders demonstrate the regularity of the construction industry followed by the clients' contribution of the nuance and particularity involved in crafting a home.

Chapter II: The Construction Trades and Tradespeople

The antebellum construction site in Lancaster and Northumberland counties was an amalgamation of individuals and materials caught between the traditional handicraft of the eighteenth century and the increasingly mechanized building production of the nineteenth century. The steamboat's influence on construction materials resonated in the lives of construction tradespeople, who responded to the changes in their professions and lives brought forth by the importation of machine-produced supplies. Several notable carpenters rose to the occasion, using their construction talents and knowledge as construction managers and master builders. These individuals managed the assembly of materials from Baltimore and Norfolk on the fields and shorelines of rural Virginia. Other tradespeople, unable to advance their reputations in a changing industry, appear to perpetuate their handcrafting-skills and remain as local laborers and assistants to farmers and more-prominent builders. Through their professional adaptation and everyday lives, the makers of buildings in the two counties reformed the building culture.

The survival of houses built between 1830 and 1860 relative to the survival of houses from earlier periods suggests that a greater amount of these houses were more durable or more numerous than the earlier houses of Lancaster and Northumberland counties, Virginia. Many of the counties' churches and the Northumberland County Courthouse were also built during this thirty-year period. The abundance of antebellum new construction, remodeling of earlier structures, and the occupational records in the counties' censuses indicate that local tradespeople were hired for a variety of construction projects. Furthermore, the 1850 census for each County attests to the importance of the construction trade. Carpentry was the most frequently identified profession of the construction trade, followed by sawyers, bricklayers, plasterers, and painters.

The census records enumerate the slaves owned by carpenters and other tradespeople, who likely did much of the construction work. Young men, typically around the age of 18, lived with several of the carpenters, and were listed as carpenters inasmuch as they probably were serving an apprenticeship. This demographic information identifies the agents of the construction process, whereas the buildings and related documents illustrate the specific construction tasks and how these jobs were executed in Lancaster and Northumberland counties between 1830 and 1860. In particular, the account book of John A. Rogers, receipts for William H. George and Lucius Harding, orphan account books, and comparisons between surviving buildings illuminate the state of the building profession from the perspective of the tradesperson.

The antebellum construction trade operated in a similar fashion as it did in the eighteenth century. Individuals learned skills through apprenticeships and family trades. Tradespeople often owned slaves, who worked in the construction process. The only physical description of a local carpenter comes from Reverend Jeremiah Jeter after he reversed his decision to come to Lancaster County. At an 1831 Methodist revival near Lancaster Courthouse, Jeter was struck by the conversion of John Grinstead, a resident of Northumberland County, noting that Grinstead was “a remarkable man. He was more than six feet high, weighed upwards of three hundred and fifty pounds, and had the strength of an ox.”⁴³ This John Grinstead is probably the same John Grinstead of Northumberland County who bought a tenon saw at an estate auction in 1818.⁴⁴ In

⁴³ Jeter, *The Recollections of a Long Life*, 155.

⁴⁴ “Sales account of the estate of Presly Gardner,” *Northumberland County Record Book No. 21*, 1816-1819, October 1818, 552-553. For more information: *Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts* (MESDA), MESDA Craftsman Database, Grinstead, John (II). Active 1807-1830. MESDA Craftsman ID #58086. Accessed January 15, 2017.

the 1830 Census, Grinstead was the only white male in his household, yet he owned five slaves who likely played an important role in Grinstead's building career.⁴⁵

The trades were far from being segregated racially, although the sources available for investigating tradespeople often follow racial divisions. Tradespeople included enslaved people, free blacks, and whites. White tradespeople appear in the censuses and some building receipts, while information on enslaved tradespeople is frequently limited to nameless census listings, their hiring out, and appraisals. Free blacks have the greatest demographic record among the tradespeople in Lancaster County. The excessive documentation and concern expressed by whites over the free black populations produced annual records called, "List of Free Negroes in the County of Lancaster" that were filed through the county.⁴⁶ These lists are worth summarizing, as they reveal the magnitude to which free blacks, and the larger community, were involved in the building culture.

The free black community in Lancaster County, which consisted of approximately 5% of the total population in 1850, had many members involved in the building trades. As with white tradespeople, most free black tradespeople were carpenters, but others were brickmakers, brick moulders, sawyers, sawmill woodcutters, and wood haulers.⁴⁷ The brick moulders and makers suggest that bricks continued to be made locally, despite the presence of large brick factories in Baltimore. Free black families passed down trades, as many of the surnames correspond to certain professions. The wood yards and sawmills often employed free black men, such as Leroy

⁴⁵ *United States Census for 1830*. "John Grinstead- Northumberland County," 12-13. URL: <https://familysearch.org/search/film/005156041?i=25&cc=1803958> Accessed March 20, 2017.

⁴⁶ The annual "List of Free Negroes in the County of Lancaster" was recorded by the Lancaster County Commissioner of Revenue. The lists record the names, ages, family groups, and professions of the free black residents.

⁴⁷ *List of Free Negroes in the County of Lancaster,* 1837-1860 in *Register of Free Negroes and Mulattoes, 1803-1860*. Library of Virginia.

Lewin, who was a sawyer at Dr. Broun's Mill in 1837.⁴⁸ Unlike individual free black men, most free black families had plural professions. Most of these families farmed in addition to practicing a construction trade. The same can be said for white construction families, indicating marginal difference between the professions of the two groups.

The large number of carpenters in the 1850 census was not the product of a population boom in the two counties, as the counties' populations remained stagnant during the antebellum period. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the censuses and county records show that the counties had a consistent workforce of construction tradespeople. By the mid 1840s, the national economy had improved from the recession that followed the Panic of 1837. The first wave of local architectural production with imported ornament in the late 1840s happened within several years of the national economic recovery. Although Thomas Chilton was the only person in the two counties to specify his occupation as a "House Carpenter" instead of a carpenter in the 1850 census, carpenters were the primary builders of any structure. Whereas the eighteenth-century records distinguish carpenters from joiners and furniture-makers, the 1850 Census lists nearly all woodworkers as carpenters. Carpenters built houses, but they also built outbuildings and performed maintenance requests to augment the sporadic construction of houses. Examples, such as a record from December of 1852, where Robert T. Dunaway, the guardian of Sophia V. Mitchell, hired Joseph R. Hazzard to repair the arch of the chimney on Mitchell's house for \$1.00, are common occurrences in the orphan account books.⁴⁹ Construction tradespeople in Lancaster and Northumberland counties often had other occupations and some people were recorded in non-construction professions, but were paid for construction work. John M. George, a seaman in the 1850 census, was paid for building kitchens in the winter of 1851-

⁴⁸ "1837 List of Free Negroes in the County of Lancaster," 1837. Library of Virginia.

⁴⁹ *Lancaster County Orphan Account Book #5*, Entry on December 20, 1852, 141.

1852. George probably was plastering these kitchens, as he was paid \$5.25 each for his work in two kitchens that year.⁵⁰ The following year, George plastered another room for \$2.37, however Martin George received the payment.⁵¹ John was probably Martin's son, perpetuating a skill learned from his father's trade to support his family. John M. George's narrative demonstrates that more individuals were skilled in the construction trades than the census records would indicate. Furthermore, the ties of family relationships in the building trades were clearly visible.

Rev. Alfred Bagby, writing about his antebellum youth in nearby King and Queen County, Virginia, described William Ferguson, an enslaved carpenter, in the following manner: "My father bought a frail mulatto named William Ferguson. William was a carpenter, a man of quick intelligence, eager to learn; I used to sit with him by the hour, listening to his sprightly talk and teaching him arithmetic, etc. He could draw a plan, fit every post, sill, and rafter deftly into its place and finish off your house *à la mode*."⁵² Not only did Bagby recognize William Ferguson's carpentry skills in fastening lumber, but Bagby implied that Ferguson had a talent for drafting and knowledge of architectural fashions. Ferguson's skillsets indicate that individuals with considerable construction knowledge were present among the populations of enslaved people and rural communities in Virginia. In several documented instances, slaves with noted construction skills were hired out to support the slaveholder's income in the cash-poor rural community of Lancaster and Northumberland counties. The orphan account of John A. Rogers involved enslaved and free construction tradespeople. Although the materials were brought in from Norfolk, Kirk had to employ local workers in order to maintain the 1830s house that Rogers inherited from his father. On December 26, 1853, Kirk hired Harriet Saunders, a very

⁵⁰ Ibid, 61, 87.

⁵¹ Ibid, 89.

⁵² Rev. Alfred Bagby, *King and Queen County, Virginia* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1908), 268.

wealthy slaveholder, for the hire of sawyers at \$52.00.⁵³ Harriet had twin sons, who were listed as farmers in the 1850 census. She also owned sixteen slaves in the census, six of which would have been men between the ages of 18 and 33.⁵⁴ Harriet's sawyers were probably the slaves who had worked for Kirk on Rogers's behalf. One of Harriet's slaves was identified in a separate transaction with Kirk as "Carpenter Isaac" when he executed seven days of work at \$1 per day.⁵⁵ According to the 1850 census, the average day wages for carpenters without board was \$1.25, indicating that Isaac's carpentry services were billed approximate to the average charge in Lancaster County.⁵⁶

In *Our Efford Family of the Northern Neck*, Joan M. Efford claims that Retirement was built with slave labor and that the materials were brought to the site via boat from Baltimore.⁵⁷ In terms of the sourcing of materials and labor, this assertion seems plausible, if not definite. The lists that document the personal property that William Harding lost to Union forces gesture to the contributions in construction by enslaved individuals. Harding's highest valued slaves were Rawleigh, who was "28 years old, plantation carpenter" and forty-three-year-old Robert Hughlett, a "good house carpenter."⁵⁸ Rawleigh was at Harding's Fautleroy farm while Robert Hughlett was at Harding's primary home in Heathsville, Springfield. Both of these men probably worked on projects at these sites, in addition to being rented for individual projects, as seen with

⁵³ *Lancaster County Orphan Account Book #5*, Entry on April 1, 1853, 167.

⁵⁴ R. N. Crittenden, compiler, "Slave Schedule," *Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* for Lancaster County, VA, 496.

⁵⁵ *Lancaster County Orphan Account Book #5*, Entry on April 1, 1853, 167.

⁵⁶ R. N. Crittenden, compiler, *1850 Census of Lancaster County, Virginia*, "Schedule V- Social Statistics: Wages," edition from (Lancaster, VA: The Mary Ball Memorial Museum and Library, Inc., 1968), 89.

⁵⁷ Joan M. Efford, *Our Efford Family of the Northern Neck*, (Tappahannock, Virginia: privately published and printed by Design Printing, Inc., 1992), 193.

⁵⁸ Lucy Lemoine Waring, copy of original document from April 1863 in *Hardings of Northumberland County, Virginia and Their Related Families*, (Wicomico Church, Virginia: 1971), 207-208

Harriet Saunders's slaves. Robert Hughlett could work on projects at Springfield, but his location in Heathsville, the county seat of Northumberland County would have been advantageous for other jobs in the village. *Martin's Gazetteer of Virginia* describes Heathsville's sixty dwelling houses, numerous commercial enterprises, churches, schools, and county buildings as "perhaps the handsomest village in the Northern Neck."⁵⁹ Hughlett may have been leased as a day laborer to maintain these buildings, like Carpenter Isaac in Lancaster County. Heathsville's prosperity continued throughout the antebellum period and Hughlett also may have worked on many of the new buildings that were constructed during this time.

In "'Fit Objects of Charity': Community, Race, Faith and Welfare in Antebellum Lancaster County, Virginia, 1817-1860," historian James Watkinson referred to the period from 1800-1850 as a "golden age in class, social, and economic relations."⁶⁰ The three main factors that prompted this social golden age and benevolent treatment of the poor were the County's isolation, which induced more frequent encounters between races, a relative equality among citizens compared to other counties, and the prominence of Baptists in Lancaster County.⁶¹ Although Watkinson emphasizes the close-knit nature of the community, kinship is unmentioned. The ties of kinship and apprenticeships were the standard means of learning trades, which are found across most professions in the 1850 census. Of the three listed plasterers in Lancaster County, two of them were from the George family and appear to be father and son.⁶² Other individuals were trained in plastering, such as John M. George, the seaman who plastered

⁵⁹ Joseph Martin, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of Virginia, and the District of Columbia*, (Charlottesville, VA: Joseph Martin publisher, printed by Moseley & Tompkins, 1835),252.

⁶⁰ James D. Watkinson, "'Fit Objects of Charity': Community, Race, Faith and Welfare in Antebellum Lancaster County, Virginia, 1817-1860," (*Journal of the Early Republic*: University of Pennsylvania Press, vol. 21, No 1, Spring 2001), 42.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 41-70.

⁶² Crittenden, R.N., *1850 Census for of Lancaster County, Virginia*.

kitchens during the winter on behalf of eighty-seven-year-old Martin George, who was presumably his father. Personal vignettes such as these attest to the strength of kinship bonds in Lancaster and Northumberland counties. Reverend Jeremiah Jeter stressed the importance of becoming “intimate with the people” and developing personal relationships in order to succeed in the two counties.⁶³ Familial relations were omnipresent in Lancaster County, which sometimes dictated professions and were a microcosm of community relations. Not only were construction methods disseminated to younger generations of craftsmen, but capital resources were as well. The inherited tools might explain the proliferation of building techniques despite the availability of newer processes. John S. Chowning’s daybook and journal for his store in Lancaster County’s Merry Point community has numerous sales of Baltimore-imported wrought nails and pit saw files during the 1850s, when cut nails and band-sawn wood were newer processes that were available from Baltimore.⁶⁴ County residents likely preferred wrought nails for some construction applications and used the local labor force to cut lumber by hand instead of through a band saw. As the saw files and wrought nails came from Baltimore, other localities probably imported the superseded technologies because of their access to local labor or their preference for certain older materials and processes.

John A. Peirce was the principal builder for Rogers’s new Locus(t)ville, although many workers contributed to the house’s construction (fig. 51 and 52).⁶⁵ In 1850, the household of Lovell Peirce included his wife, Mary, two daughters, Mary A. and Emily, three sons; John A., William, and Samuel, two eighteen-year-old apprentices, Lemuel Lunsford and Thomas Jeffries,

⁶³ Jeter, *The Recollections of a Long Life*, 150.

⁶⁴ Chowning, John S. “John S. Chowning Daybook and Journal, 1855-1859,” Lancaster County Court Records, Library of Virginia.

⁶⁵ The 1850 census uses the Peirce spelling, John A. Rogers uses Pierce and Peirce.

and five slaves.⁶⁶ Of the five slaves, two were female, ages fifty-five and fifteen, and three were male, ages sixteen, eighteen, and twenty. John A. Peirce likely learned carpentry from his father, as all the men in the household above eighteen were listed as carpenters. The staircase of Melrose in Lancaster County is attributed to John A. Peirce's younger brother, William Peirce, who would have been only seventeen when it was built.⁶⁷ The staircase may have been built by William, but probably with the assistance of his father, brothers, apprentices, and slaves. The stringer brackets on Melrose's staircase match those at neighboring Levelfields, indicating that the Peirce carpenters may have worked on Levelfields as well.⁶⁸

In the 1855 building campaign for "Locus(t)ville," a pit saw, hand saw and hatchet were billed to Rogers from Ward & Brothers, although other building components were circular-sawn at Locus(t)ville.⁶⁹ The advent of imported millwork distinguishes the carpenters' work onsite. Several houses have joists and rafters that exhibit scarring from multiple types of saws and blades. These pieces were sawn at mills and brought to the site, where they were trimmed and fitted with more laborious tools, such as pitsaws, handsaws, hatchets, and adzes.

From December 17, 1855 through September 15, 1856, Rogers paid John A. Peirce \$545 for building the house.⁷⁰ As a carpenter, Peirce filled many roles as he supervised construction and ordered building materials from multiple sources locally and from Baltimore. Alongside building materials, Rogers was responsible for other labor expenses during construction. A man by the name of Mr. Stackey was paid \$58.75 for making and burning the bricks for

⁶⁶ Crittenden, R.N., *1850 Census for of Lancaster County, Virginia*, 81.

⁶⁷ Thomas Wolf, ed., *Historic Sites in Virginia's Northern Neck and Essex County: A Guide*, (Warsaw, Virginia: Preservation Virginia, Northern Neck Branch and University of Virginia Press, 2011), 168.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 168-169.

⁶⁹ John A. Rogers, copy of the "Account Book of John A. Rogers," original at Mary Ball Washington Museum, Lancaster County, VA, (unpublished) 1855-6, 1.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 12.

Locus(t)ville's foundation and interior chimneys.⁷¹ In May of 1856, Rogers paid Jason W. Warrick (Warwick), a carpenter, \$43.67 for a service ordered by Peirce. The 1850 census for Lancaster County identifies Warwick as a 24-year-old carpenter with \$1,900 in real estate. Warwick and Peirce may have worked together on other projects, as the *Lancaster County Land Book of 1855* records Peirce acquiring 100 acres from Warwick.⁷²

Concurrent to the work at Locus(t)ville, the Peirce carpenters, headed by John A. Peirce, remodeled Gascony, the home of Lucius Thorwalsen Harding (fig. 53). Harding's father, John Hopkins Harding of Cloverdale had given him the parcel upon which he built in 1848.⁷³ Lucius paid Peirce \$160.00 for "building 1 doric porch to front of house, 1 ditto to the rear of building, 1 closet and porch attached to end of same, 1 pair front steps to front."⁷⁴ The Peirces worked multiple jobs simultaneously, indicating a quick pace of construction and the possibility that carpentry crews worked at different locations. More importantly, the communication between Harding and Peirce implies that the Doric order is a familiar and understood term in the vocabulary of both parties, being lowercase with no additional elaboration. Of the two Peirce tetrastyle porticos, the Doric portico on Gascony has square columns, whereas, Locus(t)ville's columns are round and fluted.

Henry Tapscott's bill to William H. George conveys his role at Greenfield. As the building material receipts demonstrate, the building process started in February by placing supply orders. By early September, Tapscott billed George \$237.50 for "building house and

⁷¹ Ibid, Entry from January 1st, 1856.

⁷² *Lancaster County Land Book of 1855*, Lancaster County Records Office, Lancaster, Virginia.

⁷³ The 1850 census for Northumberland County records that Lucius Harding was still in his father's household in 1850, indicating that Gascony may not have been completed by that point.

⁷⁴ Waring, Lucy Lemoine, copy of receipt from John A. Peirce to Lucius T. Harding, June 5th, 1856, published in *Hardings of Northumberland County*, 198.

repairing old part.”⁷⁵ Tapscott added several additional charges that explicitly address his tasks. Tapscott made a door and a frame for the basement wall, built a closet, and hung three pair of door shutters.⁷⁶ Greenfield was probably finished at this time, making the estimated construction time seven months, whereas Rogers bought building supplies from March of 1855 and last paid Peirce in September of 1856.

The material world was changing, and with it, the livelihood of the construction worker. As a thirty-year-old, John A. Peirce’s role in Locus(t)ville as the house builder would have differed from what his father, Lovell, would have built when he was thirty in 1832. The changes were not limited to the tools and ornamental details, but to the process of building. The improved accessibility to urban factories and products via the steamship meant that carpenters could finish houses faster, and therefore be more prolific.

Historians have identified architectural similarities among three Harding houses, William Harding’s Springfield, William H. Harding’s Wheatland, and John H. Harding’s Cloverdale, but have been unable to pinpoint the master builder behind these houses.⁷⁷ From compiling previous research and fieldwork, one of the most recognized and prolific builders in Lancaster and Northumberland counties has emerged as the probable master builder for these houses and several others. Before its destruction, a mantel in Cloverdale bore the signatures of Hiram Harding and the client, John Hopkins Harding, along with that of Edward Robinson.⁷⁸ At this

⁷⁵ Receipt from Henry Tapscott to William H. George, September-December 1857.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Division of Historic Landmarks Staff, “National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form: Wheatland,” (Published electronically, original in February 1986), 8. This nomination form corrects the flaw in Jett’s assumption (see below) of Cloverdale’s construction in 1835 by looking at County land books.

⁷⁸ David Jett, “A Shifting Symbol: Clover Dale and the Greek Revival Style in the Northern Neck of Virginia,” *The Bulletin of the Northumberland County Historical Society*, Vol. XXII, (Heathsville, Virginia: Northumberland County Historical Society, 1986), 16.

stage, Edward O. Robinson is attributed as a possible builder of Cloverdale.⁷⁹ The 1850 census lists Robinson as a twenty-five-year-old carpenter living with an overseer of John Hopkins Harding's brother, William Harding, the wealthiest landowner in Lancaster and Northumberland counties. Wheatland's nomination form for the National Register of Historic Places establishes critical evidence that connects Robinson to the three houses:

Architectural evidence suggests that the same unknown builder who worked at Wheatland and Cloverdale also remodeled and enlarged nearby Springfield around 1850. Erected in 1828-1830 and located about six miles from Wheatland near the county seat of Heathsville, Springfield belonged to Captain William Harding, brother of Cloverdale's owner and uncle of William H. Harding of Wheatland. Improvements to Springfield included the addition of matching 1-story, brick wings to the 2½ main block, and the erection or remodeling of the two-tier front portico in the same Greek Doric style as that employed at Wheatland and Cloverdale. In remodeling the interior of the original block, the builder gave Springfield a stair, plaster ceiling medallions and mantels closely similar to and in some cases identical to those at Wheatland.⁸⁰

Springfield's additions and remodeling in 1850 explain Robinson's presence with William Harding in the 1850 census. Edward Robinson connects the three houses because of their shared architectural features during a three-year span for related clients. Wheatland and Cloverdale have two pairs of mantels with semi-engaged fluted Greek Doric columns that are identical (fig. 54 and 55). One variety has an elongated panel recessed along its face, while the other mantel faces are plain with a rectangular raised panel in the center. Surrounding this raised panel are rectangular beads that accentuate the depth of the panel. In both mantel forms, the inner legs and face are dressed with reeds at forty-five degree angles (fig. 56).

Jett dates Cloverdale to 1835 and does not provide any reference for this date or consider other houses from Lancaster and Northumberland counties. If Cloverdale dated to 1835, the mantel would not be original, as Edward Robinson would have been either ten or thirteen years old. Furthermore, the house has identical features as other Harding houses that were built or remodeled between 1848 through 1850.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Division of Historic Landmarks Staff, "Wheatland," Continuation Sheet 9.

The juxtaposition of the Greek Doric order and the Roman Doric order on each of Wheatland's tetrastyle porticos has been attributed to "the eclecticism of antebellum Virginia builders and the ambivalence of their clients, who reached for the stylishly new with one hand while grasping the comfortably familiar with the other."⁸¹ Instead of undermining the architectural sophistication of Wheatland by characterizing Robinson as eclectic and William H. Harding as ambivalent, the porticos exemplify the changing tastes and experimental nature of Classical Revival ornament in the two counties, where floor plans and elevations did not adopt the temple forms advocated in Benjamin's and Lafever's pattern books.

In addition to Robinson's career beginnings with the Harding clients, documented through his signature at Cloverdale and his residency at Springfield in 1850, Robinson's name has surfaced in several other houses and construction records. The similarity among houses with a documented affiliation with Robinson allow for the identification of several defining features of his work. These include a staircase stringer bracket with two incised horizontal cyma curves or waves with two protruding balls or beads on each bracket. This motif has been observed at six houses in the two counties: Litchfield, Edge Hill, Chase Manor, Wicomico View, Springfield's 1850 staircase, and the 1855-56 wing on Road View/The Anchorage (fig. 16-20).⁸²

Although a carpenter in the 1850 census, Robinson worked on masonry houses, such as the reconstruction of the ancestral home of the Lee family, Cobbs Hall, in 1853. Above Cobbs Hall's waterside second story doorway, a large granite lintel reads, "L. G. Harvey, 1853 E. O. Robinson." Instead of a concealed signature on the reverse of a mantel, as in Cloverdale, Robinson's name appears prominently with the client's, boasting the collaborative effort between builder and client (fig. 57). After working with the prominent Harding and Harvey (Lee)

⁸¹ "Wheatland," Continuation Sheet 1.

⁸² Now known as The Anchorage. See footnote 17.

families, Robinson built the Lancaster County Courthouse in 1861. Little is known about Robinson's biography, as his tombstone and the 1850 census have a three-year discrepancy concerning his birth. Robinson is buried with Jane E. Robinson, who was possibly his sister, as in 1855 he married Martha A. Cox. Robinson and his family lived in Lancaster County by the 1860 Census. In addition to his wife and two young children, Robinson's household had four white apprentice carpenters and one mulatto laborer, all between the ages of 17 and 21.⁸³ As a carpenter, Robinson had amassed a sizeable estate by 1860, with \$3,000 in real estate and over \$3,700 in personal property. The personal property value includes Robinson's five slaves, who likely worked in the construction trade. His burial at White Marsh Methodist Church near Lancaster Courthouse indicates that he spent most of his life in Lancaster and Northumberland counties. Several brick Methodist churches were built in the end of the 1840s and throughout the 1850s, which may have been built by Robinson. As for his training as a carpenter or builder, Robinson's name appears on disparate architectural objects, such as the wood mantel at Cloverdale, granite sill at Cobbs Hall, and Baltimore hardware orders for Greenfield. Despite dying in his early forties, Robinson was very prolific and sought to attribute his name to these structures.

The same sources were repeated across multiple houses, which suggests the work of the same carpenters or manufacturers. One example includes the elegant newel posts that taper to walnut railings, which differ from the large walnut newel posts at Shalango, Chase Manor, and other houses (fig. 28 and 29). It is evident that Robinson used architectural pattern books or ordered components based upon these pattern books because the most Classical Revival

⁸³ William Mitchell, enumerator. "1860 US Census- Lancaster County, Virginia, Schedule 1," August 13, 1860, 57. Accessed online on March 15, 2017: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33SQ-GBS6-HC8>

architectural features are found in houses where Robinson's role is affirmed. The primary conflict with attributing buildings to Robinson is that so doing promotes a sole carpenter narrative that immediately contradicts census records of the numerous carpenters in both counties whose work has not been identified. The incredible homogeneity among individual architectural features may represent the collaboration between carpenters and construction tradespeople. At Greenfield, Robinson supplied Tapscott with the hardware from Baltimore. Apart from a similar transom window at Greenfield and Cobbs Hall, Greenfield shares no features with other buildings on which Robinson is known to have built. More than likely, this sort of collaborative work environment pervaded the antebellum construction trade with certain carpenters providing the same specialized task at each house.

Collaboration, primarily among carpenters, as they were the largest group of construction tradespeople, would also lead to specialization that would explain the numerous matching staircases. Robinson, or a carpenter affiliated with him, could be the staircase specialist who produced the stringer brackets. Molding elements, such as corner blocks, from Wheatland also appear in its contemporary, Chase Manor. Some of the corner blocks in Chase Manor are identical to the ones found at Wheatland. Furthermore, the parlor mantel at Chase Manor has semi-engaged columns and the rectangular banding arranged in the center of the mantel's face (fig. 46). The same forty-five degree reeds that surround the mantels of Wheatland and Cloverdale are in the four frontispieces at Chase Manor (fig. 58).

Some biographical accounts of master builders and carpenters, such as Garrison's, *Two Carpenters*, overemphasize the builder's influence in a building culture, however, the importance of the construction tradespeople of Lancaster and Northumberland counties has been marginalized. The pervasiveness of an architectural style has overshadowed the human agents.

John A. Peirce's younger brother, William Peirce, is one of the few tradespeople who has been acknowledged for his work and talent, yet Peirce would have been seventeen when he built Melrose's staircase. Given the collaboration among family members, such as the George family of plasterers, and apprentices in the construction trade, multiple members of the Peirce household contributed to the staircase.

The Peirce family also worked with James W. Warwick and his tradespeople on Locus(t)ville. Warwick, like Robinson, had approximately \$6,700 of real estate and personal property combined, placing him as one of the wealthiest construction tradespeople in either county in 1860. He had doubled the value of his real estate during the 1850s. Warwick did not operate a family trade as the Peirce family did, but he typifies the changing role of the carpenter during the antebellum period. The 1860 Census lists several individuals who worked with Warwick in his construction business.⁸⁴ In addition to an eighteen-year-old laborer, C. J. Webb, Warwick had Thomas Jeffries and Richard Mealy working for him. Jeffries, a carpenter, had served an apprenticeship with the Peirce family before switching to Warwick. Mealy was a twenty-three-year old mason. Warwick's employment of tradespeople of different disciplines, masonry and timber construction, was unusual for antebellum builders in the counties. With Mealy, Jeffries, Webb and several slaves, Warwick could offer full construction services for house construction. Warwick expanded his business beyond his profession as a carpenter, making him a master builder and construction manager of multiple services.

The distribution of buildings was scattered across the landscape of Lancaster and Northumberland counties, with some building concentration in courthouse villages and transportation routes. This setting promoted the dispersal of construction tradespeople

⁸⁴ Ibid, 19.

throughout the counties. For example, Edward O. Robinson's residence in Northumberland County in the 1850 Census and Lancaster County in the 1860 Census coincide with where Robinson had work. In the 1850 Census, while residing in Heathsville and remodeling William Harding's Springfield, Robinson was near his 1850 work at William H. Harding's Wheatland. Robinson had previously been engaged at John H. Harding's Cloverdale, another Northumberland County property. In 1853, Robinson's work at Cobbs Hall brought him back near Cloverdale and in 1857 Robinson ordered materials for Greenfield in Lancaster County, outside Kilmarnock. By 1859, Robinson was a regular customer of John S. Chowning's store in Merry Point, indicating that Robinson was working or living nearby.⁸⁵ The following year, the 1860 Census listed his family, apprentices, and slaves in Lancaster County, where Robinson likely lived when he worked on the Lancaster County Courthouse in 1861. Although Robinson and his workmen built buildings in both counties, the censuses and commissions seem to suggest that most of his work from the late-1840s through mid-1850s was in Northumberland County, while work after the mid-1850s was concentrated in Lancaster County, such as the Lancaster County Courthouse in 1861.

Unlike the Peirce and Robinson builders, who travelled across the counties for work, free black tradespeople appear to remain in the same places throughout the antebellum period.⁸⁶ John Harrison, who was the head of his family and listed as a mulatto in the 1850 Census, lived near Lancaster Courthouse, prior to 1837 and after 1861, as a carpenter, who allegedly could not read

⁸⁵ Chowning, John S. "John S. Chowning Journal, 1855-1859," Entries on March 10, 1859, 378, 387, Lancaster County Court Records, Library of Virginia.

⁸⁶ List of Free Negroes in the County of Lancaster," 1837-1860 in Register of Free Negroes and Mulattoes, 1803-1860. Library of Virginia.

or write.⁸⁷ Thaddeus Rich, the Lewin family, and Overton Nicken were also free black carpenters who lived in the same vicinity throughout the antebellum period. Some carpenters may have remained in the same area because they could not financially afford to leave, however free black carpenters could also jeopardize their freedom and security by leaving the area. Established reputations, employment, kinship, and property were factors that enticed tradespeople to remain in the two counties. In the 1850s, brick moulders, brickmakers, and sawyers would have faced challenges applying their skills in cities, where brickmaking and sawing had become industrialized processes. The two counties, who lacked the industrial infrastructure of Baltimore and Norfolk, provided employment for dwindling trades. Compared to the financial situations of most tradespeople in the counties, the wealth of Edward Robinson and James W. Warwick was exceptional. Frequently, free black and white construction tradespeople owned no real estate and their personal property was minimal.

Most assessments of the architectural fabric from 1830 through 1860 highlight the similarities among houses.⁸⁸ The homogenous cast of clients, craftspeople, and materials makes this observation less acute because the urban warehouse sources and builders largely remained the same from the 1840s until the end of the antebellum period. The Baltimore firm of Dinsmore & Kyle, the same business that supplied paints and glass for Locus(t)ville, were major suppliers

⁸⁷ Crittenden, R.N., *1850 Census for of Lancaster County, Virginia*, 22 and “List of Free Negroes in the County of Lancaster,” 1837-1860 in Register of Free Negroes and Mulattoes, 1803-1860. Library of Virginia.

⁸⁸ Thomas Wolf, ed., *Historic Sites in Virginia's Northern Neck and Essex County: A Guide*, (Warsaw, Virginia: Preservation Virginia, Northern Neck Branch and University of Virginia Press, 2011). & E.H.T. Traceries, Inc., *Phase Two of a Historic Architectural Survey in Lancaster County, Virginia*, (VDHR and Lancaster County, Virginia Historic Resources Commission, 1999), 8.

to Chowning's store in Merry Point throughout the 1850s.⁸⁹ Many of the construction tradespeople, including Edward O. Robinson, James W. Warwick, and the Peirce family patronized Chowning's store for building supplies, as well as domestic products for their personal homes and agricultural production. This demonstrates the interconnectivity of tradespeople and material culture from Baltimore. The Baltimore firms supplied farming implements, fabrics, food stores, and building supplies to stores in the county, which served as single-stop sources, professionally and personally, for construction tradespeople. More importantly, the factory-produced building supplies did not prevent variations and inconsistencies among houses. This phenomenon shows the particularities in architectural production in the wake of industrial manufacturing. In some cases, technological innovation and adoption was gradual and haphazard for Lancaster and Northumberland counties. Most of the houses built in the 1840s and 1850s exhibit multiple types of saw marks from this initial construction, which complicates the necessity of technological chronology and continuous improvement. A more accurate approach is to follow the tradespeople groups and study the patterns in relation to court records, account books, and the work of identified craftsmen.

⁸⁹ Chowning, John S. "John S. Chowning Daybook and Journal, 1855-1859," Lancaster County Court Records, Library of Virginia.

Chapter III: Buildings as Biographies: Clients and the Community

The client's role in housing construction in both counties has received the greatest amount of scholarly attention due to the relative ease of identifying property owners and construction dates.⁹⁰ The primary aim of this chapter is not to portray the clients' biographies, but to utilize the buildings as biographies of the clients. In this line of inquiry, buildings express the social relationships of their clients and the remarkable commonalities among individuals who commissioned similar houses. The major themes of education, affluence, and influence characterize the circumstances of house production and shape their appearance. Materials, transportation, tradespeople, and clients demonstrate major facets of the building culture, but they are not a building culture individually. It is the community that disseminated these architectural objects, experiences, and sentiments throughout the counties. The community members comprised the public's opinions on the pre-existing built environment and, on occasion, they responded through new construction.

The first stage of assessing the client's role in the construction of a house is the impetus or reasoning that necessitates construction. This factor is variable and highly particular to the individual or family that is having a house built. Ultimately, architecture is a manifestation of social history, which is precisely why the demand for new construction and remodeling must be considered through the client's viewpoint. In some instances, the perceived need for housing can be implied from records of house fires in deed books and marriages in County marriage bonds books.

As discussed in Chapter II with the George family plasterers, kinship was tied intimately to building production from the perspective of the construction trades. Clients were also

⁹⁰ See Wolf's *Historic Sites in Virginia's Northern Neck & Essex County*, Waring's *Hardings of Northumberland County, Virginia and Their Related Families*.

influenced by their family connections and circumstances. Many of the antebellum house clients married immediately prior to building their houses. In addition to the need of establishing a home, financially-advantageous marriages spurred house construction. Beyond financing construction through marriage, the contributions of women to house production deserve significant attention. After the original Cobbs Hall burned in 1846, Martha Lee Harvey and her husband, Lewis Harvey, built the present 58' by 40' brick house over the ruins of Martha's ancestral home in 1853. Allegedly, Martha's experiences as a child growing up in the original Cobbs Hall prompted her to replicate the earlier house without northward windows, as the cross-breeze made the earlier house uncomfortable during the winter.⁹¹ Although Cobbs Hall came from Martha's family, where Richard Lee the Emigrant settled and was ultimately buried, and Martha influenced the design of the 1853 house, it is her husband's name, L. G. Harvey, that appears alongside Edward Robinson's on the granite lintel.

Kinship manifested itself architecturally through clients in other ways as well. The Harding family of Northumberland County demonstrates the strongest outward signs of architectural interest. According to the 1850 census, the Hardings were the wealthiest family in the County and were positioned to commission multiple houses, all of which had very prominent Classical Revival elements. The Harding brothers, William and John, and their nephew, William H., shaped Edward Robinson's career, along with the careers of many other laborers, free and enslaved, that they required to build Cloverdale and Wheatland and remodel Springfield. Many other antebellum houses in Northumberland County are affiliated with the Harding family,

⁹¹ DHR Staff, "Cobbs Hall," DHR File: National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet, DHR Archives, Richmond, Virginia, Section 7, 1.

thereby multiplying the family's substantial involvement in the County's antebellum architecture.⁹²

The open-ended question of the antebellum community's perception of its own architecture remains a vague topic unexplored in other research on Lancaster and Northumberland counties. Architectural elements from Greek and Roman orders appear to have mass appeal to clients, whether in the elaborate Doric porticos at Locus(t)ville and Wheatland or simple mantels with pilasters and pediment backsplashes seen throughout the 1840s and 1850s. Classical Revival's popularity was diffuse among a broad age group. One of the few opportunities to understand how a community responds to its architectural surroundings is when the community becomes involved in construction. The choice to emulate pre-existing houses or start anew involves the client's taste towards particular architectural features. Clients may have been inhibited by constraints of available materials, budgets, and training of tradespeople, however, clients still had the ability to express their intentions to the builder.

Several houses built in Northumberland and Lancaster counties influenced the design of successive houses. The connection between these houses is founded upon material and spatial similarities, but this influence stems from the client more than the builder. Chase Manor was the home of Lewson and Virginia Chase, and later Lewson's second wife, Julia Gordon Chase. The Chases built the house between 1848 and 1849, along with a schoolhouse, which housed the Kilmarnock Seminary. In addition to operating the school, the Chases boarded students in Chase Manor, particularly orphans from Lancaster County. Of these orphans who lived at Chase

⁹² In *Hardings of Northumberland County, Virginia and Their Related Families: Mini-History, Homes and Churches*, Waring identifies the following additional antebellum houses owned by members of the Harding family: Chestnut Hill (or Waterview), Edge Hill, Gascony, and Texas.

Manor, John A. Rogers, Hugh Henry Hill, and Virginia Stott went on to build houses that reflected on their time as adolescents growing up in a Classical Revival building.

John A. Rogers spent fourteen years as an orphan in school, several of these years as a boarding student with his teacher, Lewson Chase, before the house he was to inherit from his father burned to the ground. The *Lancaster County Land Book of 1855* reduced the value of improvements on Rogers's land in half because of the fire. The remaining \$500 probably accounted for barns and outbuildings and possibly salvageable material from the fire, although no extensive evidence of the earlier structure exists today.⁹³ Rogers married Adeline Heath and by 1857, they had a son, William Kirk Rogers, who was named after John's guardian, Dr. William Kirk. Instead of duplicating his father's house, Rogers built an expensive house that made his buildings worth \$3,000 collectively in 1856.⁹⁴ The 1855 to 1856 construction period yielded a five-bay single-pile house with central hall and two rooms on each side. The plan repeated itself upstairs and in the attic, which is accessed through a large half-landing stair in the central hall. The originality of the rear ell has been debated,⁹⁵ despite its construction features that are consistent with the main portion of the house. The crawlspace under the ell is where the 1855 date is incised in the foundation mortar.

Immediately after leaving The Kilmarnock Seminary, two more of Chase's boarding students built a house. Hugh Henry Hill, an orphan, and Virginia Ella Stott met as boarders at Chase Manor and were married on December 22, 1855.⁹⁶ Hill's cousin and guardian, Addison

⁹³ Under the crawlspace of Locus(t)ville's center hall, there are brick footings or wall remnants that may belong to the earlier house or have been used in the construction of the present Locus(t)ville.

⁹⁴ *Lancaster County Land Book of 1856*, Lancaster County Records Office, Lancaster, VA, 19.

⁹⁵ Mason B. Cook, "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form: Locustville," January 1994, Continuation Sheet 1-2.

⁹⁶ Joan Efford, *Our Efford Family*, 192.

Hall, was instrumental in founding The Kilmarnock Seminary and recruiting Lewson Chase from Kilmarnock, which is documented in Hall's letter describing travel to Lancaster County in Chapter I. As with the Rogers family at Locus(t)ville, the Hills built upon a tract of land, called Retirement, that was owned by Hugh's parents. Several accounts state that the house was started in 1857 and took four years to build, however by 1858, the property had only \$300 of improvements listed in the *Land Book of 1858*.⁹⁷ It was not until the *Land Book of 1861*, when the improvements were valued at \$1,800, that the Hills' house was completed.⁹⁸ The construction pace was probably delayed by the Hills, as other contemporary construction projects, such as Greenfield and Locus(t)ville took only a small fraction of four years to build.

The house replicated the five-bay central hall plan at Chase Manor and Locus(t)ville, along with the rear ell behind the dining room. The originality of its ell has also been questioned because of its simpler moldings and foundation wall, which is recessed from the plane of the other foundation wall.⁹⁹ This evidence is not conclusive, as other features are consistent among the ell and the I-house section. The ell repeats the same exterior cornice dental molding from the five-bay portion and has similar floor joist dimensions. The greatest indication that the ell is original comes from the second-floor entry between an upstairs bedroom and the attic of the ell. The doorframe and door have moldings that match the other original moldings in the house. The biography of Hugh Henry Hill and Virginia Stott Hill at Chase Manor solidifies the architectural evidence that the ell dates from the same period as the central-passage portion of Retirement.

⁹⁷ *Lancaster County Land Book of 1858*, Lancaster County Records Office, Lancaster, VA, 12. & Joan Efford, *Our Efford Family*, 193.

⁹⁸ *Lancaster County Land Book of 1861*, Lancaster County Records Office, Lancaster, VA, 12.

⁹⁹ DHR Staff, "Reconnaissance Level Survey Report: Retirement," DHR File # 051-0148, DHR Archives, Richmond, VA, January 31, 1997.

In many respects, Retirement is a truer imitation of Chase Manor than Locus(t)ville. All three houses have dados under the parlor windows, however Chase Manor and Retirement have corner blocks instead of oversized lintels. Chase Manor and Retirement had ornate plaster ceiling medallions in their parlors, while Locus(t)ville does not have any evidence of this feature. In addition to ornamental similarities, the plans of Chase Manor and Retirement are nearly identical. Locus(t)ville diverges from these two houses by its original two-and-a-half story ell, single-story portico, and absence of a basement.

The largest two discrepancies between the plans of Chase Manor and Retirement are the ells on the rear of each house and the porticos. Chase Manor's ell has two stories, but no access to the attic above, compared to Retirement's one-and-a-half story ell. In fact, both of these variations are derived from subsequent alterations. When Retirement was built, it copied Chase Manor's plan of a one-and-a-half story ell before it was raised an additional full story. The raised story required the ell's original chimney to be reworked upstairs as a smaller chimney for a woodstove. The chimney's initial size was retained downstairs and in the basement. The upstairs room also had its flooring replaced, probably because the floorboards in the half-story portion were rough-cut slabs that matched the attic floorboards. The replacement flooring also concealed the large void created by the chimney's reduction. These modifications question the originality of the ell at Chase Manor, however substantial architectural evidence confirms its presence originally. The first indication that the ell dates to the first period is that the masonry foundation wall is continuous with the five-bay section. Secondly, the floor joists in the basement of the ell have consistent dimensions and saw marks with the floor joists elsewhere. From the basement, the underside of the original flooring in the ell also matches the flooring in the rest of the house. The first floor windows also match, but the doorways into the ell from the first and second floors

are the most compelling indications. The doors are both interior doors that never had transom windows, which were above the four original exterior doors on the main part of the house. As seen at Retirement, the doorframe on the second floor is significantly lower than all other doors, indicating that a full-sized door would have interrupted the rafters.

The front porticos at Retirement and Chase Manor have undergone extensive renovations that have compromised their original appearances. Withstanding these alterations, both of these houses had a two-story covered portico with a transom window above the door, which makes the plans and façade elevations quite similar. The front portico at Chase Manor retains its original Greek Doric pilasters on both floors, with the bottom pilasters elevated on pedestals. Although Chase Manor has a straight staircase and Retirement's staircase has an open well and half-landings between each floor, both houses had doorways that presumably led to a rear second-story porch or portico. The rear portico at Retirement was accessed from the half-landing, whereas Chase Manor's rear portico was accessed from the second floor, exactly opposite the front portico. The two second-story frontispieces, consisting of double panel doors, transom windows, and louvered shutters are paired at Chase Manor, while large windows have replaced the two second-story frontispieces at Retirement. Based upon their original constructions, Chase Manor and Retirement have harmonious plans and corner blocks, despite the prevalence of corner blocks among the earlier Classical Revival houses. The association between the clients indicates that the similarities are not coincidental.

Higher education may have been instrumental in the client's choice of architectural ornament. The asymmetrical contrast between the Roman Doric order portico on Wheatland's water façade and the Greek Doric order on the roadside façade is reminiscent of the juxtaposition of classical orders at the University of Virginia. Wheatland's owner, William H. Harding

attended the University of Virginia from 1835-1837. As mentioned previously, one historian has argued that Wheatland's Roman and Greek orders demonstrate the "ambivalence of their clients."¹⁰⁰ Instead of this interpretation, knowledge and education should be substituted for ambivalence. William H. Harding, and probably Edward Robinson, were familiar with the two forms of the Doric order. Including both orders, but on opposite sides, provided a subtle difference between the two facades that would be noticeable, but perhaps not identifiable, by visitors and family members.

Wheatland's likeness to Cloverdale is part of the evidence that attributed them both to master builder Edward Robinson, whereas the differences between Wheatland and Cloverdale distinguish the County's wealthiest family members apart from one another. William's uncle, John H. Harding, was only thirteen years older than William, and the comparable houses indicate that they had a close relationship. John did not go to the University of Virginia, and Cloverdale originally only had one two-story portico with the Greek Doric order. The Greek Doric was more common in the two counties, hinting that the combination at Wheatland is an exceptional choice.

On a national scale, the Greek form of democracy ushered in a new phase in American politics under Andrew Jackson's presidency from 1829 until 1837. More universally democratic, the Greek system replaced the oligarchical Roman democracy. Most Virginia democrats resisted this increased electorate. By the late 1840s, the Greek Doric order appeared in many of the counties' elite houses, while Wheatland exhibits both the Greek and Roman forms. In an oligarchical sense, the Harding family's immense wealth placed them among the County's richest residents for most of the nineteenth century. At his death in 1856, Harding was the representative for Lancaster and Northumberland counties in the House of Delegates. The

¹⁰⁰ Division of Historic Landmarks Staff, "Wheatland," Continuation Sheet 1.

combination of Greek and Roman orders might be explained through William H. Harding's political involvement. Harding may have sought to represent both the Greek and Roman orders in the same fashion as a bicameral legislature had elected and appointed members or as a nostalgic tribute to the more oligarchical society that his family would have been members of during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

To the wealthy politician and to the members of a close-knit community, buildings signified identifiable landmarks of the landscape. The builders and clients were responsible for physical construction, but the community as a whole necessitated architectural production. This section evaluates the community's relationship with its own architecture starting with the architectural knowledge and experiences of the counties' residents. After considering the perceptions of the counties' residents, the community's contributions to the variations of floor plans, subsequent alterations, and distinctive architectural features of Lancaster and Northumberland County's houses are examined. These details are more than architectural facts. They communicate the lived experiences of the community, and how architecture addressed both the basic need of shelter and more complex social relationships.

The constant repairs to the counties' public buildings and private houses in court order books and orphan account books indicate the substantial use and climatic abuse that plagued frame and brick buildings. Reverend Jeter's account of preaching in St. Mary's White Chapel (fig. 8), an eighteenth-century brick church in Lancaster County, which he describes as "an old colonial edifice, large, much out of repair, and little used," indicates the dilapidated state of the church. Jeter continues, "I had proceeded some distance in my discourse, with usual freedom, when a large mass of plaster, more than two feet square and several inches thick, fell from the

lofty ceiling, just grazing me in its descent.”¹⁰¹ Jeter’s description acknowledges both the impressiveness of the eighteenth-century church and its crumbling condition by the first half of the nineteenth century.

Baltimore was the pinnacle of taste and architectural fashion for antebellum Lancaster and Northumberland counties. Rev. Jeremiah Jeter traveled on a schooner to Baltimore in 1829. In the “Monumental City,” Jeter “traversed its streets, surveying its fine buildings and examining its curiosities.” It was in Baltimore where Jeter met his doppelganger in a large framed mirror in Peale’s Museum. When his trip to Baltimore ended, Jeter “returned to my plain country home quite impressed with the greatness and grandeur of the Monumental City. It was certainly the most magnificent place that I had seen.”¹⁰² The counties’ residents brought their infatuation with Baltimore home both sentimentally and materially. Ornamental architectural features were imported before larger structural members because the clients desired fashions not obtainable locally. It was only after structural materials became more cost effective to import, due to the increased steamboat trade and efficiencies of band and circular saws, that they also came from urban warehouses and factories. Building materials are but one dimension of material culture that flooded into the counties from Baltimore. Lucius T. Harding’s receipt from W. P. Spencer furniture ware-rooms on Baltimore’s South Calvert Street lists purchases of a marble-top sofa table, two tête-à-tête sofas, two octagonal post mahogany bedsteads, a washstand, four mattresses, and a wardrobe in 1854.¹⁰³ The material exchange was not one-sided. Another receipt of Harding’s details the four hundred bushels of white corn that Captain Toleman sold on

¹⁰¹ Jeter, *The Recollections of a Long Life*, 200.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 163-164, 167.

¹⁰³ Lucy Lemoine Waring, copy of a receipt from Wm. P. Spencer Furniture Ware-Rooms to Lucius T. Harding, December 7, 1854 in *Hardings of Northumberland County*, 196.

commission to John S. Williams & Bro. of Baltimore.¹⁰⁴ The materials and types of crops had changed, but the same exchange of crops for luxuries existed in the antebellum period as it did for the two previous centuries.

Despite the two counties' close-knit rural community, residents travelled extensively across the United States and sometimes abroad, such as Addison Hall's trip to Canada and his daughter's missionary work in Hong Kong in the 1840s. Lewson Chase and his second wife, Julia Gordon Chase, were both from New England. Residents took steamboat voyages to Baltimore and other cities, thereby giving them great exposure to architecture outside of rural Virginia. Books and other publications augmented personal experiences with architecture. Architectural books appear in Lancaster County's orphan account books, suggesting an interest among students, who were learning Latin and Greek as Greek porticos began to embellish surrounding buildings. One example of this student interest is from March 21, 1853, when Richard W. Brown sold a "book on architecture" to orphan Charles B. Hubbard for \$3.75.¹⁰⁵ With the circulation of architectural books among individuals not involved in the construction trade and the presence of architectural components that reflected a national interest in Greco-Roman architecture, the community's engagement with architecture and ornament extended beyond suppliers, builders, and clients. Any attempt to identify these local pioneers of classicism is fraught with challenges. Certainly by the 1850s, some residents were familiar with the Greek orders, particularly the Doric order through its continued usage in the two counties. Pattern books circulated around the counties, as well as carpenters and clients. Beyond word-of-mouth dissemination, Greek Revival architecture became a standard visual image of taste and affluence.

¹⁰⁴ Lucy Lemoine Waring, copy of receipt "Received Per Schooner Fairview Capt. Tolman," March 26, 1855, in *Hardings of Northumberland County*, 197.

¹⁰⁵ "Account of Charles B. Hubbard, administered by Warren Hubbard," *Lancaster County Orphan Book #5*, Lancaster County Records Office, Lancaster, VA., March 21, 1853, 127.

Furthermore, the ornament represented an educational status to some degree, whether authentic or not. William H. Harding started at the University of Virginia, but ended his studies at the University of Pennsylvania. Lewson Chase attended Amherst College, but did not graduate. Some of the other clients did not go to college, but had affiliations with those who did, either through kinship or local education.

In contrast with classicism's objective goals of symmetry and proportion derived from temple architecture, houses had to accommodate nineteenth-century families and functions of everyday life. These practical considerations often manifested themselves through asymmetrical features that undermine the definition of an I-house. The deviations from the plan of the I-house, which consisted typically of a central-passage with two rooms on each side, are prominent features of antebellum house construction that have not received sufficient attention.¹⁰⁶ Across most of the socioeconomic spectrum, houses such as the Lampkin-Clayton House, Saratoga, Public View, Greenfield, Dandridge House, Road View/The Anchorage, Ring Farm, Easton, Chase Manor, Locus(t)ville, Shalango, and Retirement, express the classical ideal of a symmetrical façade I-house, however, they all have an asymmetrical dimension in their exterior appearance. The façade contradictions of these houses reflect the dichotomy between presentation and occupation. Midway, Cobbs Hall, and Levelfields are all double-pile houses with transversal halls. The double parlor configuration on the side opposite the transversal hall necessitates an asymmetrical plan and central hall, which may have been more excusable than the asymmetrical facades seen on the smaller houses. The asymmetrical plan may have been

¹⁰⁶ See Thomas Wolf, ed., *Historic Sites in Virginia's Northern Neck and Essex County: A Guide* and E.H.T. Tracerics, Inc., *Phase Two of a Historic Architectural Survey in Lancaster County, Virginia*, DHR, 1999.

compensated by a more rigid adherence to external symmetry, as each of these houses had at least three porticos on the more visible sides of the house.

The asymmetry for the single-pile houses is caused architecturally by the construction of houses intentionally asymmetrical (Lampkin-Clayton House and Saratoga), the incorporation of earlier houses into antebellum construction (Public View, Greenfield, Dandridge House, Road View/The Anchorage, Ring Farm), and original ells (Chase Manor, Locus(t)ville, Shalango, and Retirement). Practically, symmetry could be cost prohibitive or unnecessary. Symmetry and the back of the house were significant considerations of the building culture. Otherwise, the playfulness of Wheatland's Roman and Greek renditions of the Doric order is forgotten, in addition to the Doric porticos at Gascony and the numerous porticos and transom-light frontispieces that faced the houses' backs.

The Lampkin-Clayton House and Saratoga represent the homes of middling farmers and younger sons who inherited land, but not significant structures. These two houses, although built during the antebellum period, do not share similar ornamental motifs with contemporary houses. Beaded boards and trim based upon eighteenth-century moldings decorated the simple houses. Saratoga, and possibly the Lampkin-Clayton House, started as a one-and-a-half story side-passage house with an English basement. Despite the less advanced construction methods at Saratoga, the Lampkin-Clayton House has an exterior end chimney, whereas Saratoga's end chimney is interior. The interior chimney appears more frequently with the antebellum houses, while the exterior chimney is a vestige of earlier house construction in the two counties.

The houses that incorporated preexisting houses used two different approaches. One approach involved an attached addition to the earlier structure. Both Ring Farm and Road View/The Anchorage exemplify this strategy, which required less modification to the earlier part

(fig. 59 and 60). Furthermore, the earlier side-passage house would now have a central-passage. The 1850s additions on both of these houses had three bays consisting of a side-passage and a parlor. The differences between the two periods of construction are more pronounced on the façade than they are in the alternative version. Although the exterior remained asymmetrical, the interior could now function as a five-bay I-house.

The other option modified the preexisting structure to make the façade appear more symmetrical and possibly as one construction period. Whether through conjoining different roofs or building a continuous roof, the earlier structure is absorbed into a four or five-bay central-passage house. Although this process required substantial reworking of the earlier structure, clients may have preferred this option, which presented the building as a more unified and cohesive structure. Public View and Greenfield have the four-bay, central-passage plan, where the earlier portion has a single window and the antebellum side has two windows (fig. 61 and 62). The front door is centered between the asymmetrical composition of window bays. Both of these houses have exterior chimneys in the earlier part and the typical interior chimney for the later antebellum side. The Dandridge House, unlike Public View and Greenfield, has the usual five-bay façade, which completely masks the earlier portion. This house operated as an ordinary and as a boarding house on the court green. Instead of a series of various additions, the façade presents the building as a contemporary antebellum house. Daniel Mitchell's additions, probably in the 1840s, which made the façade symmetrical, may have been in response to the building's prominent location and use as a public space. Following additions were built through a wing that was expanded further from the back of the house, forming a very long stem of a "T." This section was mostly hidden from the public façade of the building, therefore the house was harmonious with the visual identity of counties' elite houses.

Previous documentation has emphasized the inconsequentiality of rear ells by doubting their originality or ignoring them altogether.¹⁰⁷ This approach self-serves the I-house building typology, meanwhile, it undermines an accurate understanding of antebellum life experiences. Several houses were built with ells originally and that asymmetry was an essential, albeit undesired, feature of these houses. Public buildings, such as churches and courthouses, unencumbered by the necessities of habitation, exemplified an ideal that gestured towards their elevation above the everyday lives of the counties' residents. The homes of the counties' wealthiest residents built larger scale houses or paired wings on each side of the I-house in order to maintain symmetrical facades.

Of the houses with rear ells, including Easton, Chase Manor, Locus(t)ville, Shalango, and Retirement, every rear ell, except for Easton, is located behind the less ornate room of the first floor. The parlor maintains its setting without disturbance from an abutting room. This near uniformity indicates that the ell warranted privacy, and inversely, parlor activities should not be interrupted by the ell. Two distinctive types of ells, a shed-roof and a gable roof, accommodated secluded rooms. Easton's configuration is unusual in that it has both a one-story shed-roof lean-to with two rooms off of the back of the house and a two-story ell that intersects the enclosed lean-to rooms.

Despite the local popularity of Greek Revival architecture, architectural plans and elevations never adopted the temple form that other regions, such as houses built in New York and Ohio. Instead, the side-passage and central-passage plans from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continued to serve practical climatic conditions with cross-breezes, as well

¹⁰⁷ See Thomas Wolf, ed., *Historic Sites in Virginia's Northern Neck and Essex County: A Guide* and E.H.T. Traceries, Inc., *Phase Two of a Historic Architectural Survey in Lancaster County, Virginia*, DHR, 1999.

as social functions through their indoctrination as a normative configuration of rooms. Some eighteenth-century houses that lacked a central-passage later became central-passage houses through antebellum additions. This commitment to the central-passage plan was a practical means of adding rooms, but it also attempted to mask a humbler structure. Under the veil of porticos and Greek Revival ornament, these houses exuded confidence through their well-defined structural members, such as Doric columns, open well staircases, pilasters, and pediments, and through their affiliation with neighbors and urban material culture.

Conclusion

Although architectural surveys have documented many of Lancaster and Northumberland counties' houses, an analysis of specific periods and communities recreates the cultural landscape and building community, where specific themes emerge. For this thesis, the two counties shared architectural traditions through material sourcing, carpenters, educational systems, and close-knit, if not familial, relationships because of its geographic position and rural landscape. These commonalities fostered architectural homogeneity between the two counties. The transition to mass-produced architectural elements did not occur in a standard chronological progression, as each house was an individual product of materials, makers, and clients. Therefore, some earlier houses may exhibit more progressive technological or architectural features than later houses with more traditional methods and designs. This oddity demonstrates that the building culture cannot be encapsulated by the study of single houses. Analyzing the buildings and primary sources in relation to one another is fundamental to a building culture study. Furthermore, building culture studies benefit from the inclusion of diverse objects, individuals, and themes. The intention of this thesis was to untangle the fundamental factors that comprised house construction from this scale of a building culture. In order to do this, Howard Davis's definition required modification. The methodological imperative of the redefined study of building cultures is particularly fruitful for understanding the construction process as an expression of the particular set of available materials, technologies, tradespeople, and clients, but also the underlying influences and personal experiences of the community's members. A broader application of this approach could be applied for interpreting the marginalized voices of the building culture and their reactions to the build environment.

Together, the houses comprise a legacy of the antebellum building culture. The larger economic process undergirding an individual construction process is manifest in the development of mass-produced architectural products through increasingly time and labor-efficient means. Donna Rilling, in her book, *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism*, identifies a similar shift of the construction trade caused by increased industrialization in Philadelphia.¹⁰⁸ As with Lancaster and Northumberland counties, the role of the carpenter changed during the nineteenth century. Although similar themes, such as the rise of mass-produced building supplies and changing roles of the carpenter, permeate Rilling's work and this thesis, undeniable differences exist between the houses of Philadelphia and those of Lancaster and Northumberland counties. Building culture studies are the most effective way of explaining these individual responses to similar national phenomena and circumstances.

Despite the existence of more efficient building components in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, many rural communities lacked affordable access to them. Improved transportation not only brought these materials to Lancaster and Northumberland counties, but also increased the purchasing power of the farmers, who had more efficient means of selling agricultural products. The steamboat trade along the Chesapeake Bay recast the architectural future of communities directly on the Bay. Through increased educational opportunities, and exposure to travel, books, and neighboring houses, the architectural products typically associated with Classical Revival, particularly Greek Revival, designs gained significant weight, becoming an accepted cultural form akin to the central-passage house. Some carpenters and other tradespeople embraced the new wave of architectural products, utilizing faster and easier means

¹⁰⁸ Donna Rilling, *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

to assemble materials instead of crafting them. Still, not everything came pre-fabricated. Hewn marks on the side of a circular-sawn joist attest to the need for local craftspeople.

Carpenters, such as Edward O. Robinson, John A. Peirce, and James W. Warwick were enterprising young carpenters when the steamboat connected the forgotten bottom of the Northern Neck to urban industry. As white males in patriarchal, rural Virginia, these individuals were afforded the tremendous opportunities that were denied to over half of the population. Rev. Bagby's description of the emaciated appearance of his father's carpenter, William Ferguson, vividly reinforces the social injustices imbedded in the building culture of antebellum Virginia. In this same setting, Robinson, Peirce, and Warwick capitalized on the demand for imported architectural elements, and, undoubtedly, the system of human labor exploitation, which the tradespeople used to build houses and through whom the farmers amassed the capital to afford these houses.

Most of these clients belonged to a rising middle class of farmers, who owned farms of several hundred acres. Other common livelihoods were water-related, whether as seamen and oystermen. As a cultural landscape, the direct correlation between architecture and the landscape is indisputable. The land made architecture affordable, while the water facilitated architecture's arrival. Materials, construction, and clients, alike, transformed Lancaster and Northumberland counties' building culture through interrelated, yet discernable, factors. These include economic factors related to the transportation and accessibility of materials and the adaptability of the construction trade, in addition to social interests of the community, whether tradespeople, clients, or residents, who employed architecture functionally and aesthetically for shelter, self-representation, and social promotion.

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Illustrations

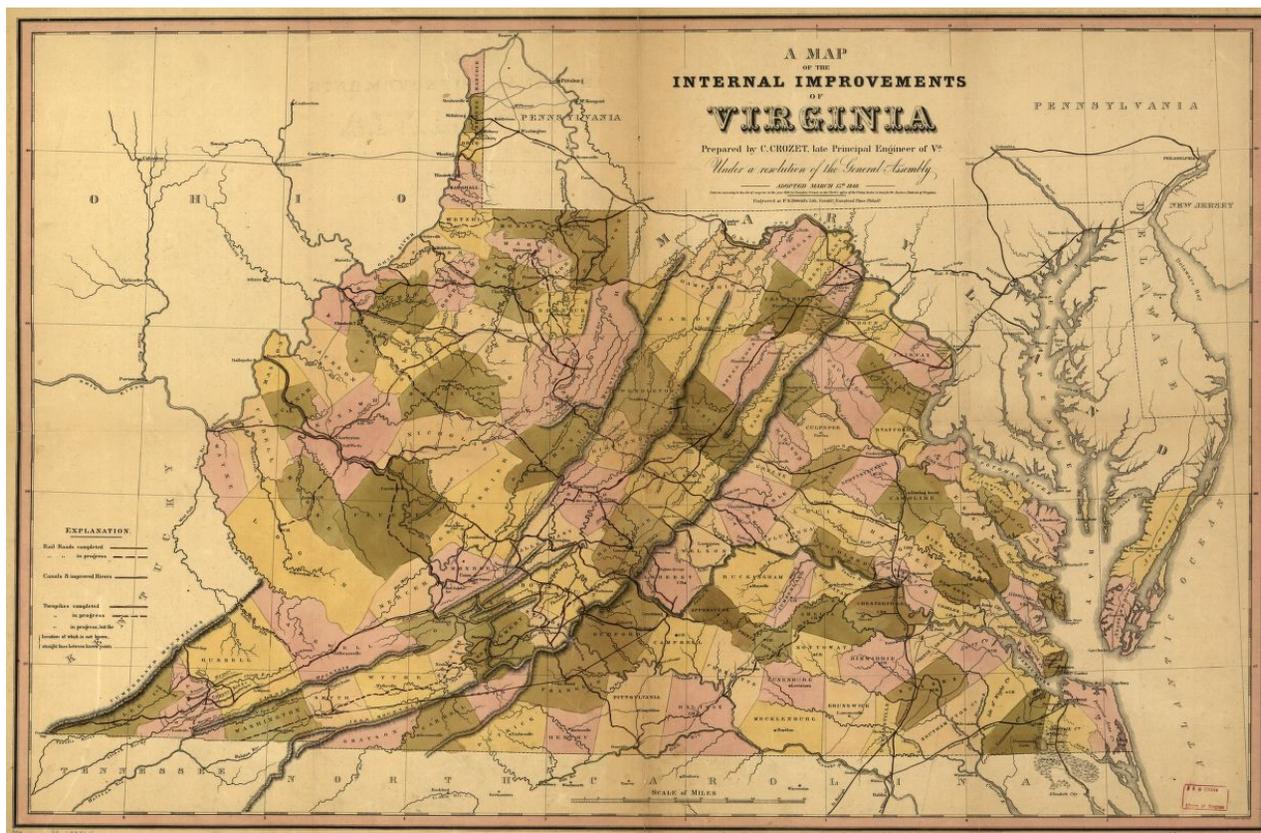


Figure 1: Crozet's *A Map of the Internal Improvements of Virginia*, 1848.



Figure 2: Detail of Crozet's map with Lancaster and Northumberland counties, 1848.



Figure 3: Watercolor drawing and survey by James M. Booth. This survey illustrates the open and undeveloped landscape of the two counties. The two blue houses are likely antebellum. The houses illustrate a typical side-passage house plan that has largely disappeared or been incorporated into larger structures. See “Moss Cottage,” c. 1845, in Appendix I for an extant example. September 16, 1878.

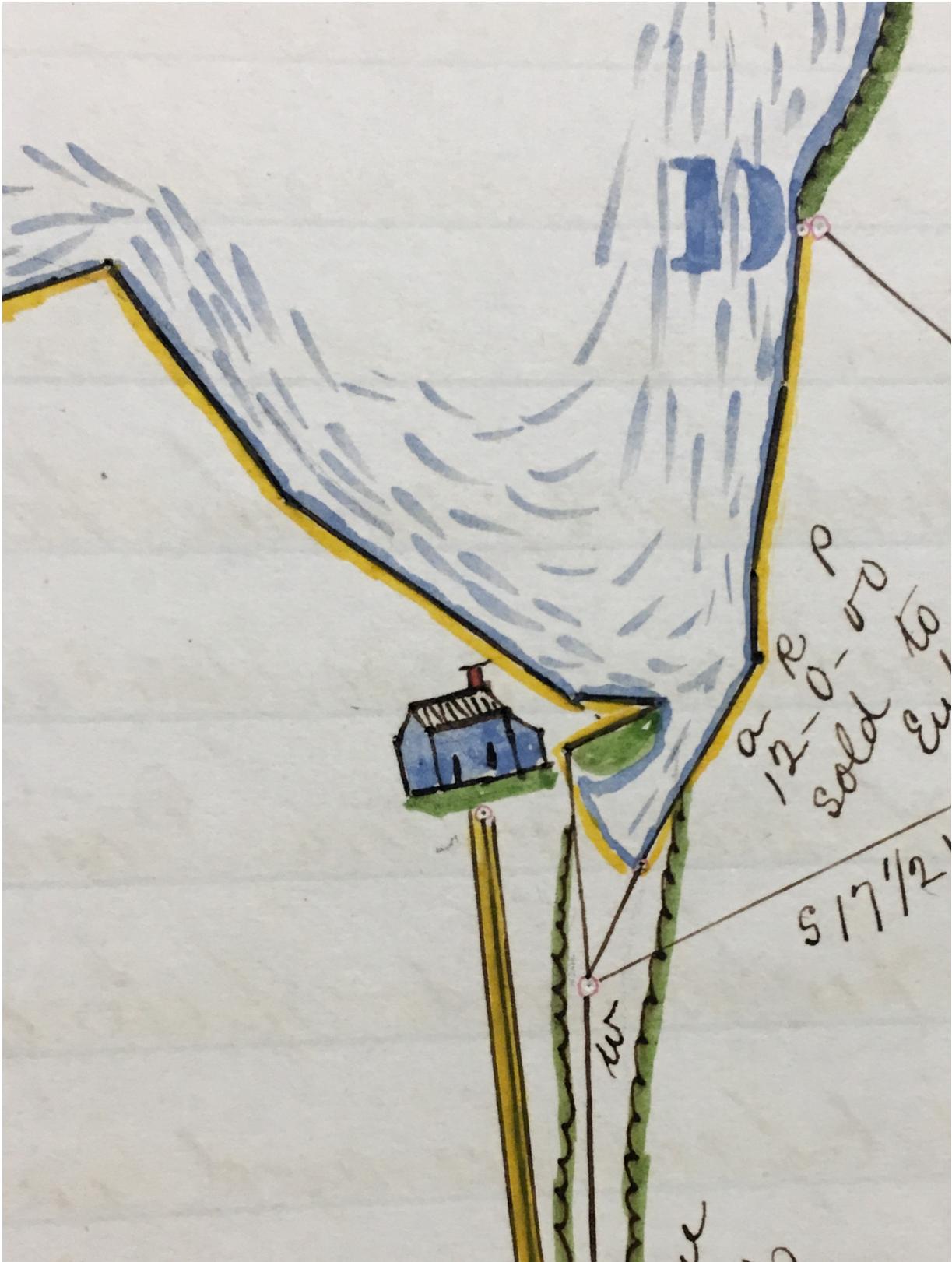


Figure 4: Detail of Figure 3 survey showing side-passage house and lean-to.

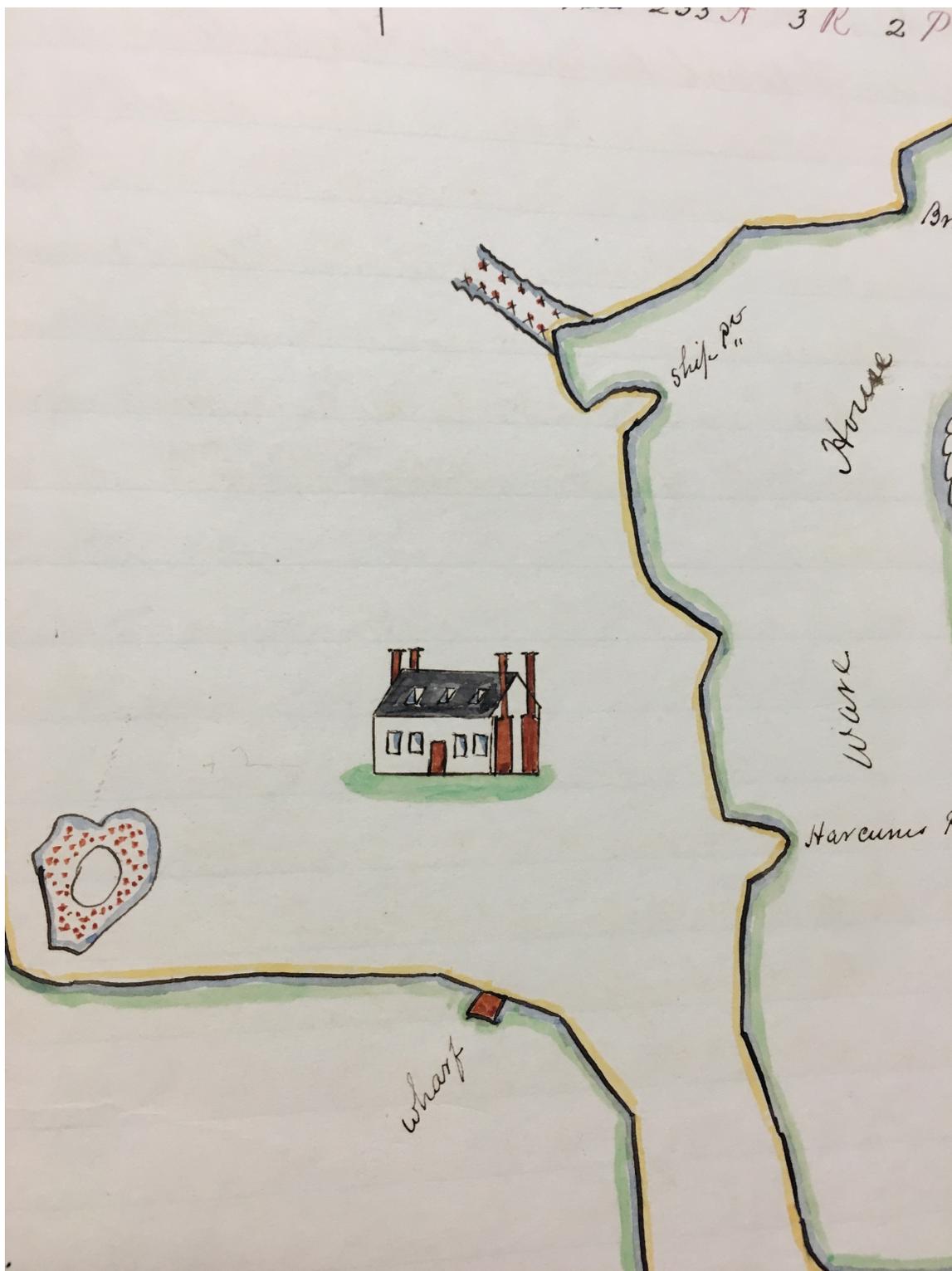


Figure 5: Detail of Robert W. Eubank's watercolor survey of Melville, a Northumberland County house, likely from the early nineteenth century. The four exterior end chimneys, dormer windows, and symmetrical façade are characteristic of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century houses built in the counties. October 6, 1869.



Figure 6: Ditchley, mid eighteenth-century, five-bay center with added wings.



Figure 7: Christ Church, 1735.



Figure 8: St. Mary's White Chapel, c. 1741+.



Figure 9: Antique hewing adze.

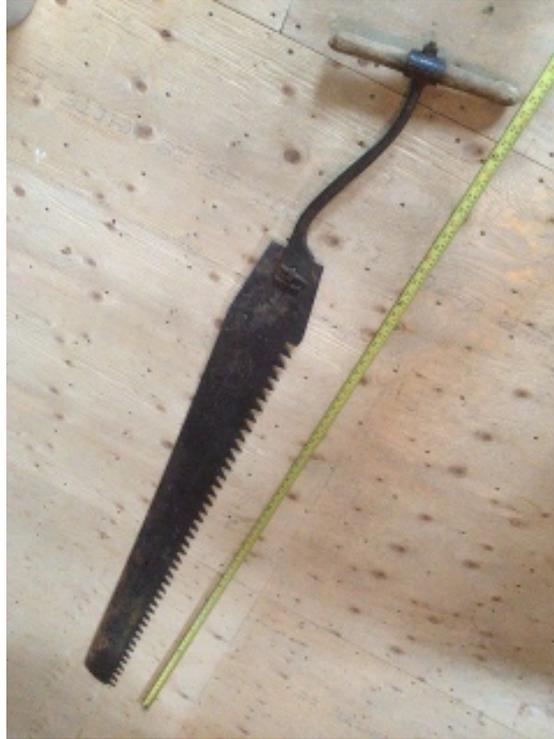


Figure 10: Antique pit saw.



Figure 11: Froe and maul.



Figure 12: Mantel with paterae from Dandridge House, c. 1830.



Figure 13: Baldwin cast hinge from Chase Manor, c. 1849.



Figure 14: Wood medallion at Edge Hill, c. 1850s.



Figure 15: Wood medallion at Road View/The Anchorage, c. 1856.



Figure 16: Stringer brackets at Litchfield, c. 1850s.



Figure 17: Stringer brackets at Chase Manor, c. 1849.



Figure 18 (left): Stringer brackets at Springfield, c. 1850.

Figure 19 (right): Stringer brackets at Edge Hill, c. 1850s.



Figure 20: Stringer brackets at Road View/The Anchorage remodeling of passage, c. 1856.



Figure 21 (left): Newel post at Edge Hill, c. 1850s.



Figure 22 (right): Newel post at Road View/The Anchorage remodeling of passage, c. 1856.



Figure 23 (left): Doric portico at Locus(t)ville, c. 1855-56.

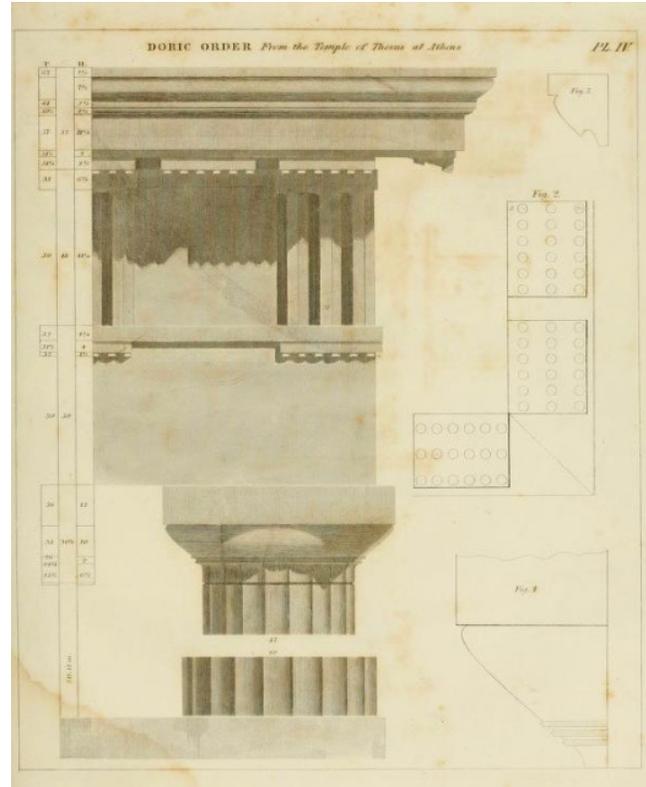


Figure 24 (right): Plate IV: “Doric Order *From the Temple of Theseus at Athens*” in Asher Benjamin’s *The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter*, 1830, 1843 reprint.



Figure 25 (left): Newel post at Lampkin-Clayton House, c. 1850s.

Figure 26 (center): Newel post in Road View on Browns Store Road, late 1840s or early 1850s.

Figure 27 (right): Newel post at Dandridge House, after remodeling, c. 1838-1850s.



Figure 28 (left): Newel post at Retirement, c. 1857-61.



Figure 29 (right): Newel post at Levelfields, c. 1859.



Figure 30: Parlor medallion from Chase Manor, c. 1849.



Figure 31: Central-passage medallion from Cobbs Hall, c. 1853.



Figure 32: One of a pair of medallions in the double parlor of Cobbs Hall, c. 1853.



Figure 33: Plaster medallion and cornice in the parlor of Bondfield, c. 1856.



Figure 34: Plaster cornice detail from Cloverdale, c. 1849.



Figure 35: Fragment of medallion from the parlor of Retirement, c, 1857-61.



Figure 36: Portion of a crosssette window dado from parlor of Locus(t)ville, c. 1855-56.



Figure 37: Octagonal paneled dado below parlor window in Retirement, c. 1857-61.



Figure 38: Portion of the dado paneling in the central hall of Easton, c. 1847.

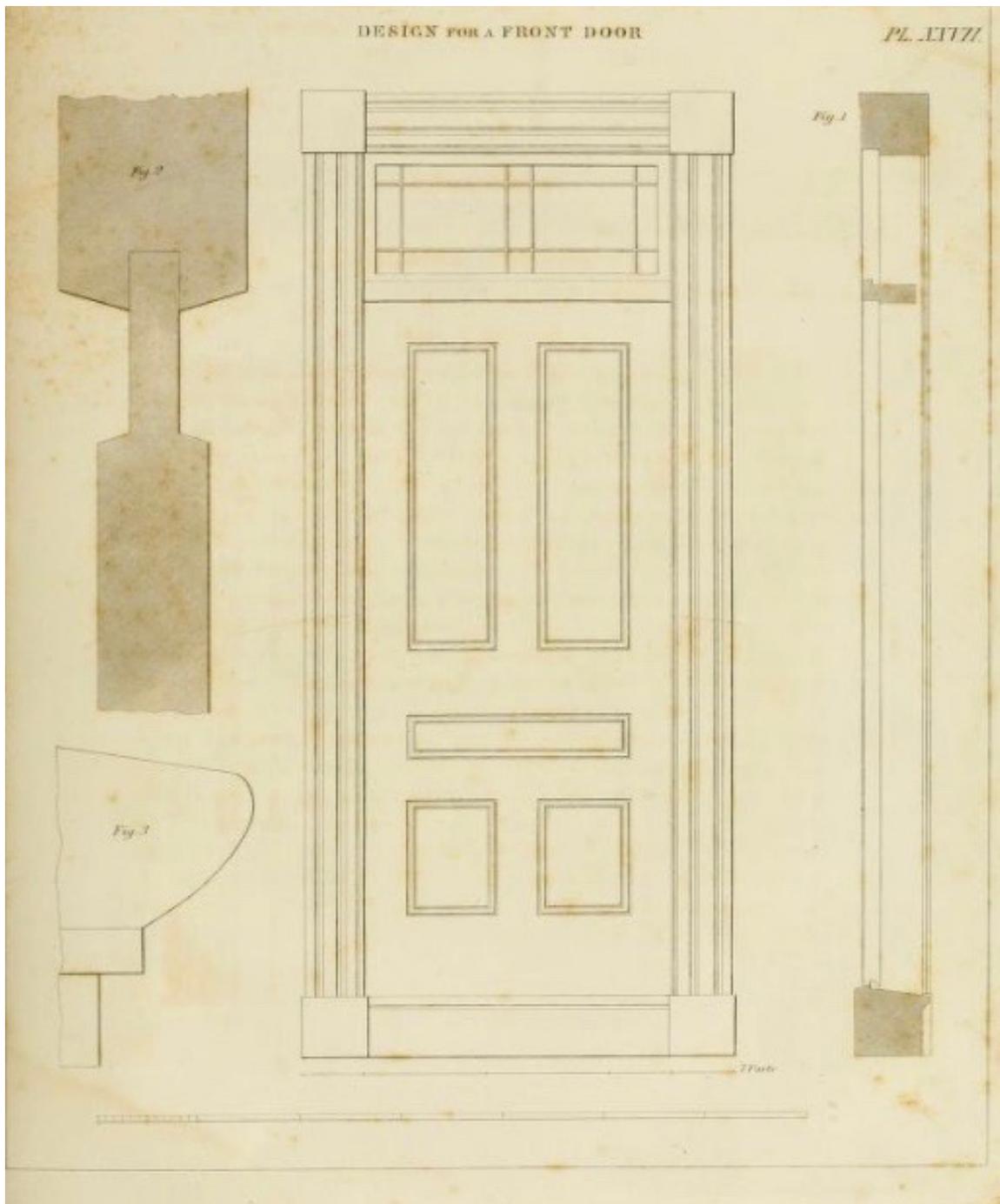


Figure 39: Plate XXVII: “Design for a Front Door” in Asher Benjamin’s *The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter*, 1830, 1843 reprint.



Figure 40: Transom window on second-floor waterside doorway to portico on Cobbs Hall, c. 1853.



Figure 41: Transom window above front door of 1857 portion of Greenfield.



Figure 42: Transom window above front door of c. 1850s portion of Ring Farm.

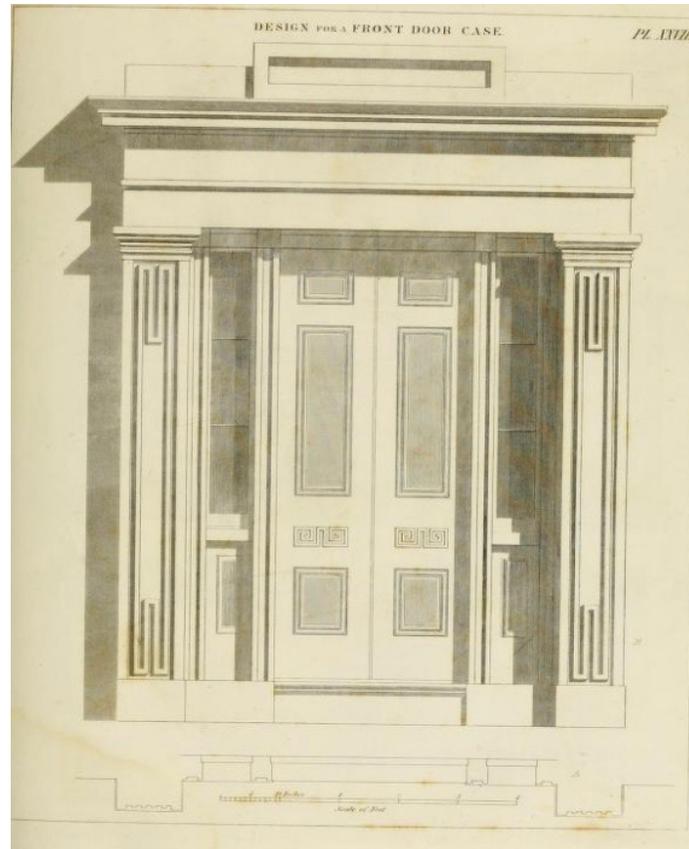


Figure 43: Plate XXVIII: “Design for a Front Door Case” in Asher Benjamin’s *The Architect, or Practical House Carpenter*, 1830, 1843 reprint.

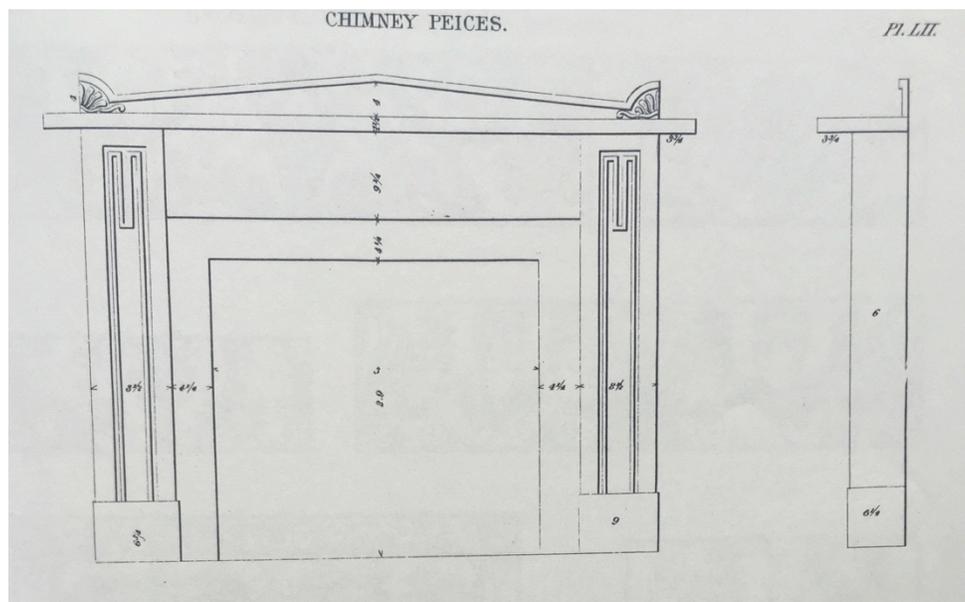


Figure 44: Plate LII: “Chimney Peices (sic)” in Asher Benjamin’s *The Builder’s Guide, or Complete System of Architecture*, 1838.



Figure 45: Mantel in the parlor of Shalango, c. 1855-56.



Figure 46: Mantel in the parlor of Chase Manor, c. 1849.



Figure 47: Simple corner blocks at the intersection of the head and side casings of the doorframe in Retirement's parlor, c. 1857-61. Simple corner blocks seen in Figure 30.



Figure 48: Bull's eye corner block at Chase Manor, c. 1849.



Figure 49: T-shaped door casings with dog-ears and pediment lintel in Greenfield's central-passage, c. 1857.



Figure 50: Double-leaf doors with octagonal panels from Retirement's façade, c. 1857-61.



Figure 51: Façade of Locus(t)ville, c. 1855-56.

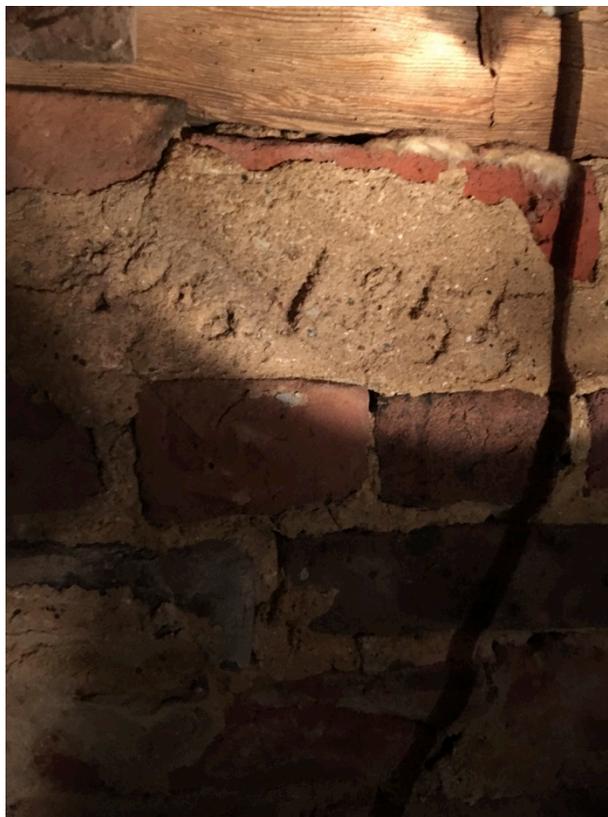


Figure 52: Mortar in crawlspace of Locus(t)ville inscribed 1855 with “J A P” for John A. Peirce not photographed.

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 Lucius J Harding
 From the 5th 1856
 To John A Peirce
 To building 1 doric porch to front of house \$ 75⁰⁰ = 00
 1 ditto to the rear of building 60 = 00
 1 closet and porch attached to end of same 20 = 00
 1 pair front steps to front 5 = 00
 \$ 76 00
 Received payment in full for the
 above account 5th June 1856
 John A. Peirce

Figure 53: Photocopy of receipt between John A. Peirce and Lucius Thorwalsen Harding, June 5, 1856.



Figure 54: Mantel in Wheatland, c. 1850.



Figure 55: Mantel in Cloverdale, c. 1849.



Figure 56: Cloverdale mantel without central panel, c. 1849.



Figure 57: Granite lintel from waterside façade of Cobbs Hall dated 1853 and bearing the initials for Lewis G. Harvey and Edward O. Robinson, 1853.



Figure 58: Detail of frontispiece at Chase Manor with forty-five degree banding used at Wheatland and Cloverdale, c. 1849.



Figure 59: Façade of Ring Farm with taller antebellum addition, c. 1850s.



Figure 60: Façade of Road View/The Anchorage with two-story 1855 addition between original gambrel roof portion and dependency, which as been moved adjacent to 1855 addition, c. 1855.



Figure 61: Asymmetrical façade of Public View, 18th century core behind large tree, possibly 1830s modifications, substantially constructed in 1848 as photographed and dated on interior chimney.



Figure 62: Asymmetrical façade of Greenfield, early nineteenth-century single bay window portion, remainder 1857.

Appendix I:

Houses Built or Significantly Modified in Lancaster and Northumberland Counties between

1830-1860

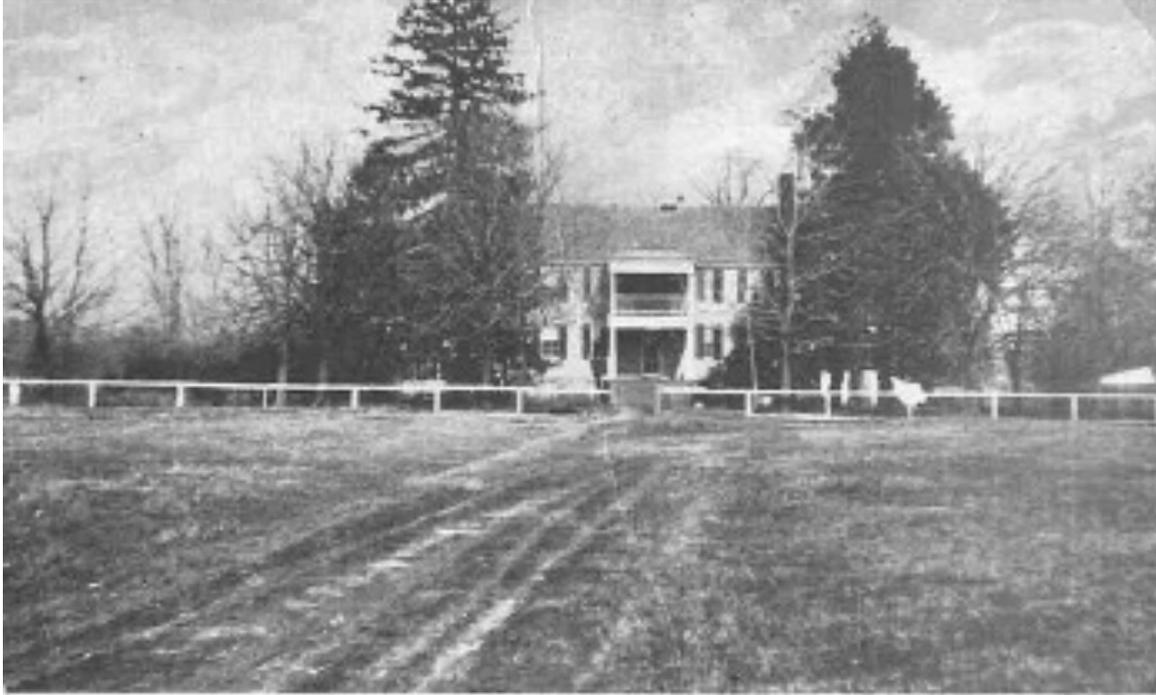
Author's Note: Unless specified, all appendix images are from author. This list is not comprehensive.

Lancaster County Houses

Apple Grove (not pictured)



Bondfield (Kim Chen, DHR File Image, 1997)



Chase Manor, Home of Dr. H. J. Edmonds, Kilmarnock, Va. Built 1849.

Postcard of Chase Manor dating from the first quarter of twentieth century. (Private Collection)



Dandridge House (Site of the Mary Ball Washington Museum) (Photograph from Yelp.com)



Edgeley (DHR File Image)



Enon Hall (1850s addition with staircase) (EnonHall.com)



Eubank House/Hopedale/Hopevale (DHR File Images) (Destroyed)



Greenfield



Greenvale (Trulia.com)



Hampton Gardens

Lawson Bay Farm (not pictured)



Levelfields



Liberty Square (DHR File Image) (Destroyed)

Litwalton House (not pictured)



Locus(t)ville



Matthew Oliver House (Destroyed) (DHR File Image)



Melrose (DHR File Image)



Midway

Monaskan (not pictured)



Public View (DHR File Image)



Retirement



Ring Farm (Antebellum portion on far right) (DHR File Image)



Wakeforest

Windsor Farm (not pictured)

Northumberland County Houses



Cloverdale- (Destroyed)



Cobbs Hall

Cypress Farm (not pictured)



Easton



Edge Hill



Flood Point



Gascony (<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~bush22031/chapter1.html>)



Hard Bargain

Ingleside (not pictured)



Litchfield (Melrose Plantation Real Estate, LLC.)



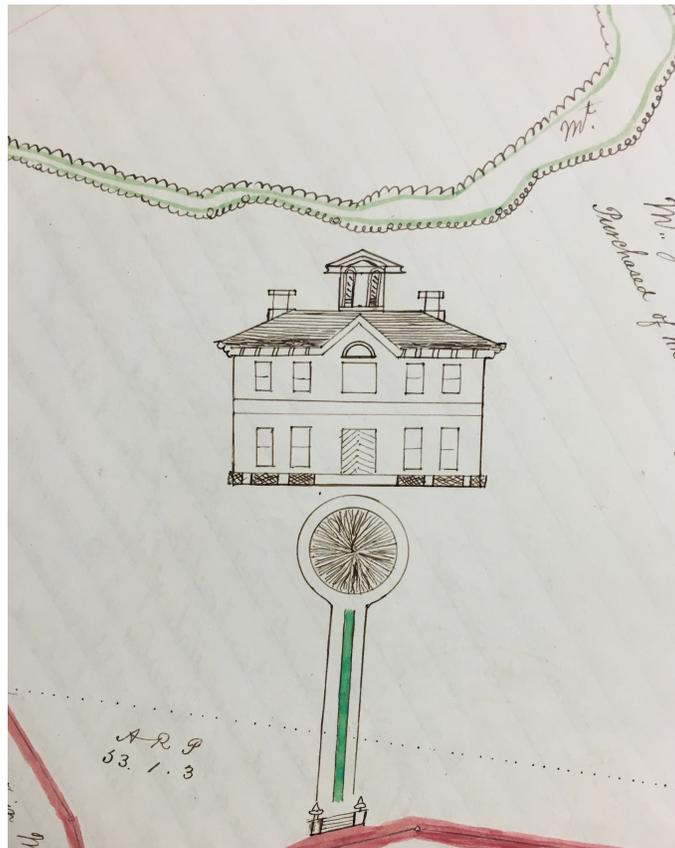
Magnolia (Destroyed)



Moss Cottage



Mount Zion (Virginia Waterfront, Inc.)



Mount Zion (Pricked drawing by William P. Booth in Northumberland County Records Room, "Deed Book F," 413.)



Oakley



Road View- Browns Store Road



Road View/The Anchorage (DHR File Image)



Detail of 1855 addition on Road View/The Anchorage.



Roanoke (Antebellum portion is in center) (Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Society)



Rock Hall



Salt Pond (John Frye)



Shalango



Springfield (DHR: National Register Nomination)

Sunnyside (not pictured)

Texas (not pictured)



Versailles (DHR Archives)



Waterview (Chestnut Hill)
Waterloo (not pictured)



Wheatland (Ferol Briggs, "Northern Neck Scrapbook," DHR Archives)



Wicomico View (DHR Archives)

Appendix II: Fieldwork Evaluation Form

MA Thesis
Field Work
Henry Hull

House:
Date Visited:
Page 1

General Information:

Date or Estimated Date:

County:

Owner history:

Dimensions:

Stories:

Ornament decisions:

If original ornate plasterwork remains, what are the design motifs?

How are corner blocks decorated when vertical and horizontal members meet on windows and doors?

Are the central hall exterior doors single leaf/double leaf? How many panels are arranged on the door and what are their shapes?

What molding profiles are used around trim and baseboard?

Newel post ornament: Hardwood or pine? Simple geometric mass or patternbook-inspired?

What other ornament is used in the staircase?

Mantel ornament?

Is there a clear hierarchical distinction between the rooms in the house articulated through ornament?

MA Thesis
Field Work
Henry Hull

House:
Date Visited:
Page 2

Construction evolution:

Is the lathe riven/band-sawn/circular-sawn?

How many courses of stretchers are between header courses on foundation?

What are the thicknesses of floor joists (and spacing between them) and common rafters?

What joinery methods used (including type of nail, pegs, etc)?

What are the dimensions of windowpanes?

What are the measurements of the staircase treads and risers? Is there variation between floors?

How does original construction deviate from the typical central hall with two rooms flanking it?

What similarities does this house share with other houses in the counties?

Plan:

Elevation/Important Details: