

Exploratory Excavations at the Chancellor's House on St. Peter's Freehold:

The results of the Time Team investigations

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In the Spring of 1996, Historic St. Mary's City (HSMC) was asked to participate in the production of an episode of a television series known as the Time Team in association with a group of British archaeologists, historians and geophysical scientists. Several important research questions were addressed by this program through a combination of sophisticated remote sensing and a limited amount of excavation. Of this ambitious proposal, the most successful work was done at the site of St. Peter's, the brick home of Chancellor Philip Calvert, built in 1679 and destroyed in an explosion in 1694. The present evaluation of St. Peter's is based on that research.

INTRODUCTION

The site of St. Peter's (18ST1-31) is located in an agricultural field north of Maryland Highway 5 in St. Mary's City, Maryland (Figure 1). The field is under active cultivation and at the time of the investigation, a wheat crop was close to being harvested. The only evidence of the site was a slight depression, less than a foot deep, in the northwest corner of the field.

Access to the site was graciously granted by Mr. J. Spence Howard, Jr., the land owner, and by Mr. William Bean, whose crop was growing on the land. The wheat was removed from a roughly 60 m by 60 m area. Along the northern side of the sample area, local topography made the edge irregular. On 16 May 1996, remote sensing was conducted on the site by Geophysical Surveys of Bradford. The entire sample area was surveyed with a magnetometer. Following the results of that survey, a smaller area, 40 m by 40 m, was surveyed around the structure with a resistance meter.

After the presentation of the remote sensing results, a limited testing program was begun. Because of the short time available for working on the site, the archaeology had very restricted goals. It was important to test the remote sensing by exposing portions of the foundation. To do this, a number of 5 ft. by 5 ft. test units, oriented with the structure, were excavated through plow zone. Again because of time constraints, very little of this material was screened. There were

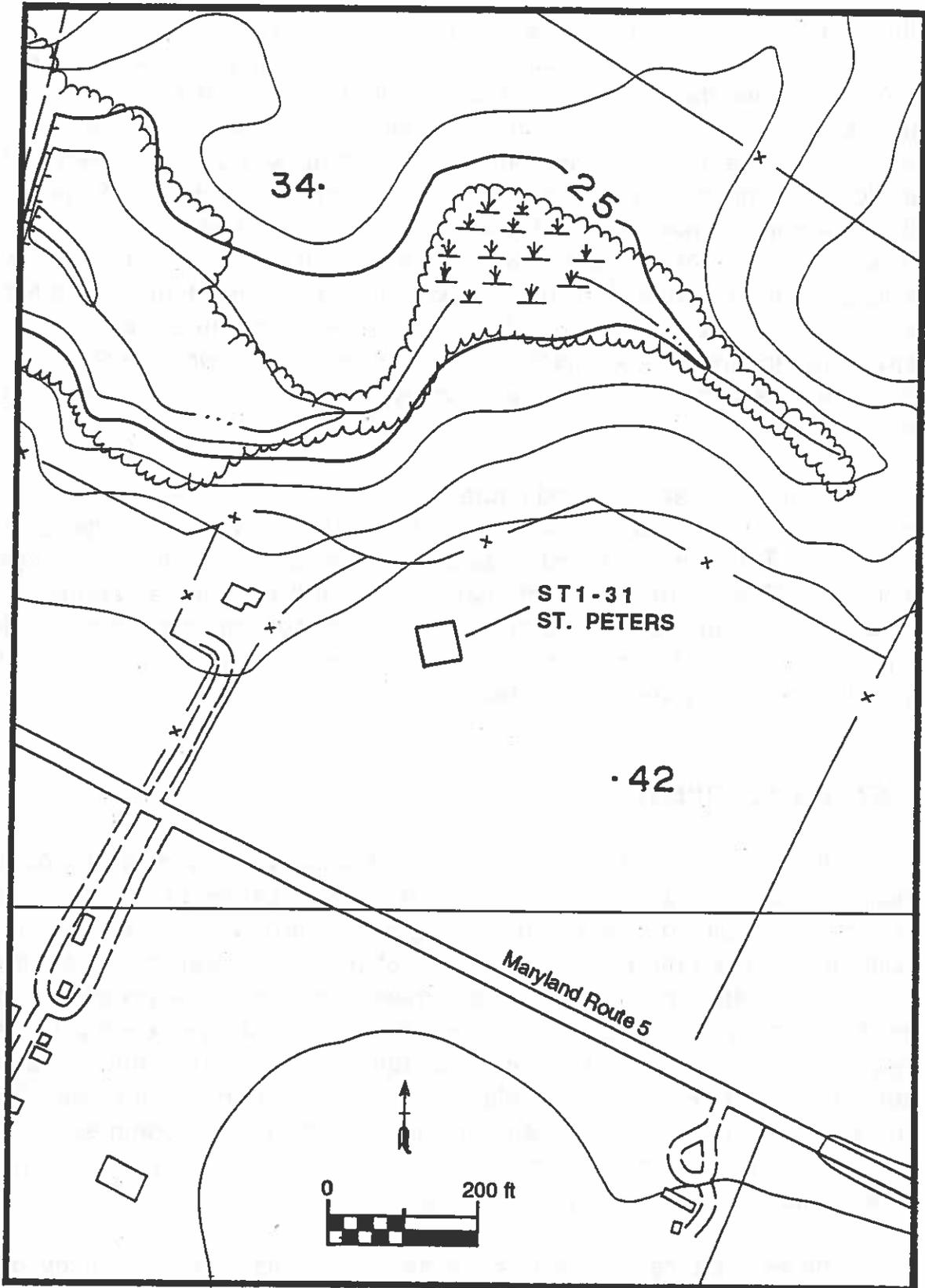


Figure 1.--Site Location Map.

three test units set to locate the east wall and five to locate the west wall. On the east side of the structure, the foundation was discovered directly under the plow zone in test unit #3. On the west side, the foundation was discovered in test unit #1 but was covered by what appeared to be a robber's trench. This feature was approximately 0.8 ft. thick and contained quantities of brick and mortar rubble. Segments of the foundation were exposed and recorded for both walls. To test the bonding pattern of the west wall, a small unit, 2 ft. long by 1 ft. wide, was excavated into cellar fill in test unit #9. In addition to the main excavations, two 5 ft. by 5 ft. units were excavated away from the structure to investigate magnetic anomalies. Following excavation, the foundation and the courtyard wall were probed with a steel rod to trace their lines.

The remote sensing and limited excavation conducted as part of this project has produced a wealth of data on the Chancellor's house at St. Peter's. This allows a partial reassessment of the previously published work. The current project has also added new observations which significantly add to the picture of this important structure. Most importantly, this research forms a solid base on which future investigations can be constructed.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The history of St. Peter's Freehold is clouded by an almost complete lack of basic documents. No other major parcel in St. Mary's City suffers from this defect to such a degree. For the first 30 years of its existence, the only evidence consists of passing references in documents written for other purposes. From these scattered references, a patchy history can be constructed. After 1664, the picture clears up and a much more detailed history is available. The surviving documents relevant to St. Peter's Freehold are summarized in a land use history prepared by Dr. Lois Green Carr for the St. Mary's City Commission (Carr n.d. a) This overview will concentrate on issues important to understanding the results presented later in the report.

The earliest reference to St. Peter's Freehold was in a survey of the Chapel Land dated on 9 November 1639 (Carr n.d. a). The boundaries of St. Peter's Freehold, the Chapel Land and the Governors Field all met at

one tree near a spring on Mill Creek. Whenever one of these other properties was described, St. Peter's would be mentioned in the description. No comparable survey or patent for St. Peter's survived. This is the only major tract in St. Mary's City which has no such record and the lack of these records has never been satisfactorily explained.

The first substantive reference to St. Peter's occurred in a letter from John Lewgar, the Provincial Secretary, to Lord Baltimore on 5 January 1638/39 (Lewgar 1889[1638/9] 1:200). Lewgar, in a discussion of West St. Mary's Manor, then in the possession of Thomas Cornwaleys, reported that Jerome Hawley, one of the Commissioners of Maryland, had a house called St. Peter's. He said that Cornwaleys was interested in acquiring it because of his affection for the deceased Hawley and his wife. He urged Lord Baltimore to compound with Hawley's heir for the house so that it could be exchanged for West St. Mary's Manor.

Whether Cornwaleys acquired the property through the suggested exchange or because he was the largest creditor of Hawley's estate is unknown but he was clearly established on the property by 1640. The survey for St. Barbara's Freehold, dated 29 May 1640, traces the southern boundary of that property into "the swamp below the brick house now used by Capt. Thomas Cornwaleys, Esq." The southern boundary of St. Barbara's was the northern boundary of the St. Peter's tract. Later in the same year, on 5 June, the patent for St. Barbara's referred to the brick house "lately set up by" Cornwaleys. Forman (1938:254; 1942:137) assumed this meant Cornwaleys was the builder of the brick house. He related this reference to the large, square, brick foundation he tested, claiming that it was built in 1639.

There are several major problems with Forman's interpretation. It is clear from the records that Cornwaleys's main residence was a house on Cornwaleys's Cross Manor, located south of St. Mary's City on St. Inigoes Creek. When Forman wrote his study, Cross Manor House was thought to be a large brick house. There would be little problem with the Captain moving from one large, brick house to another. However, the standing Cross Manor House is now dated to the mid-18th century and the original manor house was most likely a frame structure. It makes little sense for Cornwaleys to have abandoned a large, elegant, brick house for a smaller, less-sophisticated frame structure. Carr (n.d. a) suggests that the phrase "lately set up by" means that Cornwaleys set up housekeeping

in an existing building, which agrees with the earlier survey.

If Cornwaleys did not build the house, then Jerome Hawley must have done so. Because of the litigation that swirled around Hawley's estate, a general picture of this house can be presented. A detailed inventory of Hawley's estate does not survive but in English court records a summary of goods by room was preserved (Stone 1982:390-393). Rooms in this house consisted of a hall, a chamber next to the hall and a new chamber. In the new chamber was a wardrobe closet and a closet. Under the house was a cellar. Stone suggested that the brick house mentioned in the survey and patent of St. Barbara's was the new chamber listed in the inventory. While it may not be possible to fully visualize Jerome Hawley's house based on this description, it is obvious that this house was not the foundation explored by Forman.

By the early 1640s, Cornwaleys had moved to his new house on Cross Manor and St. Peter's virtually disappears from the historical record. St. Peter's was listed in the earliest surviving rent roll, dated 1659, but, unlike most of the other tracts listed, no information on the owner or history of the parcel was noted (Carr n.d. a). The fate of Jerome Hawley's house remains uncertain. Stone (1982:392) suggests that the structure was gone by 1645 because it was not listed in the extensive and detailed description of the property Cornwaleys lost during Ingle's Rebellion in 1645.

On 23 September 1664, Philip Calvert, Chancellor of Maryland, had St. Peter's Freehold surveyed and a patent for the land was granted to him on 7 October 1664. Neither document mentions that the property was previously owned nor do they mention any improvements. At the time of the 1664 survey, St. Peter's Freehold was 150 acres. If Philip Calvert kept the same name for the property, it is probable that the boundaries were the same but this can not be proved. Calvert received St. Peter's from Lord Baltimore as part of an exchange of land. The Chancellor gave up two manors, Morton and Swale in Baltimore County, totaling 2000 acres, so that a town could be built there (Maryland Archives 3:464).. In exchange, Lord Baltimore gave him Wolsely Manor, located in St. Mary's County, encompassing 1900 acres. The difference of 100 acres was made up by St. Peter's Freehold. Philip Calvert also claimed 50 acres for a servant imported in 1658 (Carr n.d. a). The inclusion of the last 50 acres again implies that the acreage of St. Peter's was already set at 150

before Calvert's survey.

Philip Calvert's survey of St. Peter's may have much greater significance than simply as surplus land to make the exchange even. It needs to be understood in the context of other events at St. Mary's City in the 1660s. Calvert had been instrumental in restoring Proprietary control over Maryland after the Puritan rebellion of the 1650s. Lord Baltimore appointed him Governor in 1660. Late in 1661, Charles Calvert, son of Lord Baltimore and nephew of Philip, arrived in Maryland as Governor and Philip Calvert became Chancellor.

At the time, St. Mary's City consisted of a single structure, built by the first Governor, Leonard Calvert, soon after the colony was founded. This large building, owned by Hugh Lee, served as an inn, court house and house of Assembly. The Calverts lived on plantations outside the town limits. Charles Calvert was at St. John's and Philip Calvert was at Pope's Freehold. St. Mary's City was an urban place in name only.

In the early 1660s, The Maryland government decided to change this situation and took steps to foster the growth of a town. In 1662, the government bought the 100 acres of the Governor's Field, including Lee's ordinary. By January 1663/4, the Council had indicated their willingness to give parcels of this land to anyone who would build on it. Both Adam Head and William Smith offered to construct buildings on this land but it is not known if either did (Maryland Archives 49:157). In September of the same year, the Assembly passed an act of "Encouragement for William Smith in his undertaking the Cuntry's work at St. Mary's" (Maryland Archives 1:538-539). This act gave Smith considerable remuneration and a 51 year lease on the Governor's Field. He was required to repair the ordinary, build an ambitious state house and construct a separate office for keeping the records. The act stipulated that anyone who built a 20 ft. square, two and a half story house with a brick chimney was entitled to a three acre lot within the town. They were required to fence in their land and to build within a year. William Smith did build the Secretary's office but never attempted the state house (Maryland Archives 2:138).

During the early 1660s, the Maryland government, of which Philip Calvert was a prominent member, was trying very hard to develop a town at St. Mary's. Miller (1986:123-143; 1988:57-73) argues that it was

during this period that a town plan, inspired by Baroque ideas, was drawn for St. Mary's. This plan was focused on roadways laid out geometrically and providing vistas on major public buildings and town features. The first recognizable step in this process was the granting of a three acre parcel in the town center to William Smith in 1666. It continued at least to 1676 when the brick State House was finished.

Throughout this entire period, Philip Calvert was a significant contributor to the achievement of this plan. He was the mayor of the town from its first charter in 1668. Given the nature of the structure that he would later construct on St. Peter's Freehold, it is not hard to imagine that he acquired this particular property in 1664 for the specific purpose of building an important structure. The same Baroque ideas that inspired the town plan may have defined Philip Calvert's role in the town and inspired his construction at St. Peter's. The role of the "great man" was an important concept in Renaissance town planning:

Palladio's villas were built as an extension of their owner's nobility, as honorifics. . . . Palladio remarks . . . that the very worthy knight, Giulio Capra, gentleman of Vicenza was preparing to build a palace not out of any need but to provide 'an ornament for his city': and the result was to be as honorable and magnificent as the gentleman's 'spirit' deserved . . . the idea that a man's house reflected his *animo* was commonly expressed (Holberton 1990:165).

Whatever Philip Calvert planned for St. Peter's, he either lacked the resources or was too busy to carry it out for a long time. Carr (n. d. a) demonstrated that the Chancellor was living on Pope's Freehold until at least 14 May 1677 but by 25 February 1678/9 he was signing documents at his house on St. Peter's Freehold. This would put the construction of the Chancellor's house in the period between 1677-1679. There are no contemporary accounts of the construction, appearance or furnishing of this structure. A description based on oral history collected almost 150 years after the structure was destroyed, was published in 1838:

. . . A massive building of dark brick, two stories in

height, and penetrated by narrow windows, looking forth, beyond the fort, upon the river, constituted the chief member or main body of the mansion. This was capped by a wooden balustraded parapet, terminating at each extremity, in a scroll like the head of a violin, and, in the middle, sustaining an entablature that rose to a summit on which was mounted a weathercock . . . (Kennedy 1965[1838]:40).

Philip Calvert died early in 1683 and his estate was appraised. Only a small portion of that document survives, consisting mostly of books (Carr n. d. a). The inventory does list a closet or private office, a public office, a kitchen, a wine cellar and the below stairs area. The house passed to Philip's widow, Jane Sewall Calvert who also acted as his administrator. It is not certain how long Jane Calvert stayed in Maryland but eventually she returned to England. St. Peter's Freehold was still recognized as hers as late as 10 July 1693 when part of it was condemned for a mill site. It is not known who, if anyone lived in St. Peter's between her departure and the arrival of the first Royal Governor, Lionel Copley.

Early in 1692, Governor Copley arrived in Maryland and lodged at the house of Philip Lynes in St. Mary's City. He probably stayed with Lynes until July of that year when he borrowed household goods valued at over £192 (Carr n.d. b). Copley must have arranged a lease of some kind with Jane Calvert's agents because he was soon living at St. Peter's. The Council began meeting at the "Governor's house at St. Peter's" on 13 October 1692 (Maryland Archives 8:382). However, Governor Copley did not enjoy the house for very long. By 9 September 1693, both Lionel Copley and his wife were dead.

After Copley's death, Edmund Andros came from Virginia to take over the government. His stay was extremely brief. He first appears in the Council records on 25 September 1693 and is gone from St. Mary's by 14 October (Maryland Archives 20:6,32). He returned again on 1 May 1694 but was gone by 7 May (Maryland Archives 20:53, 59). Forman (1942:138) suggested that a story about an Indian so upset with Andros that he committed suicide, took place at St. Peter's. However, it is very unlikely that Andros stayed at St. Peter's. An account of Andros's expenses, recorded in 1694, showed that he stayed at the Country's House and had

meals at Garrett van Sweringen's house (Maryland Archives 20:157).

By 26 July 1694, Francis Nicholson, the next Royal Governor, was at St. Mary's City. There is no indication that he moved into the house on St. Peter's. On 27 July, soon after his arrival, the Council informed Nicholson that the bodies of Governor Copley and his wife were still lying at the Great House on St. Peter's. Had Nicholson been living there, he probably would have noticed this on his own. As late as 27 September, the bodies were still there and they were finally buried in a vault by the State House on 5 October 1694, about a year and a half after Mrs. Copley died. Although the structure was still referred to as the Governor's House as late as June 1694, it can not be demonstrated that Nicholson ever lived there.

St. Peter's was destroyed in 1694 when 9 barrels of gun powder, being stored in the basement, exploded. This event, which would seem to have been a major disaster, is not well documented in the surviving records. The only reference to it occurs in a document filed in the Council records after 24 August and before 3 October 1695 (Maryland Archives 20:307-308). The title of this document has led to some confusion over the date of the explosion. It is entitled:

An Account of the Powder according to a Division of the same made October 9th 1694, together with an account of what Barrells were deducted upon blowing up the Chancellor's house . . .

Forman (1942:139) believed this title meant the explosion occurred in the first week of October, before the date listed. There is evidence to suggest that the actual date of the explosion would be between 17-22 October 1694. To understand this, it is necessary to look at the history of the Royal store of powder at St. Mary's City in the early 1690s.

On 16 October 1692, Col. Nicholas Greenberry inventoried all public arms and ammunition in the colony (Maryland Archives 20:150-151). He reported 110 barrels of powder distributed in three locations: 81 barrels were at the State House, 17 whole barrels and four open barrels equaling 3 barrels were in the Governor's House and 8 barrels were at Mr. Harper's house on the Patuxent. Greenberry took another inventory a year later in 1693. At that time there was a total of 81 barrels with 61 at the State

House and the rest at the Governor's House. A third inventory was made by Sir Thomas Lawrence on 26 June 1694 which also reported 81 barrels with the same distribution.

Between 26 June - 9 October, several barrels of powder were distributed to the counties for defense. Ann Arundel, Baltimore and Calvert counties each received a barrel of powder (Maryland Archives 20:74, 78). At the same time, Dorchester and Somerset counties were authorized to receive as much powder as was necessary for defense (Maryland Archives 20:78). There is no way to tell how much these counties took but it was unlikely to be less than a barrel each. By 9 October, there were only 73 barrels still at St. Mary's City (Maryland Archives 20:151).

As early as 27 September, the Council was concerned at the quantity of powder in St. Mary's City which had no proper place to keep it (Maryland Archives 20:145). On that date, they resolved to distribute the supply to individual counties. The plan for the allotment of powder was made on 9 October and that list was recorded in the Council minutes on 11 October and in the Assembly records on 16 October (Maryland Archives 19:87; 20:151). On the 17th of October, this same list was sent from the Upper House to the Lower House without any further comment (Maryland Archives 19:88). As late as 16-17 October, the Council was still planning to distribute 73 barrels of powder.

The account filed in the Council records in 1695, mentioned earlier as evidence of the 'blowing up of the Chancellor's house,' reproduces the 1694 distribution list but subtracts the 9 barrels destroyed in the blast. More importantly, it reports on the total number of barrels that each county received. This list is reproduced in Table 1 and shows that there were 64 barrels to be distributed after the explosion. The destruction of St. Peter's must have occurred after 17 October and before the actual distribution of powder took place.

Information on the distribution of powder to 9 of the 10 counties is located in the Council records (Maryland Archives 20:209-211). On 22 October 1694, four counties signed receipts for powder. Charles and Dorchester counties each received their total allotment. However, the other two, Talbot and Somerset, received less than their full allotment. For example, Talbot County was to receive 7 barrels but their receipt was

for only 6 barrels. At the same time, Somerset County signed a receipt for 4 barrels of powder when they were supposed to receive 6 barrels. For both counties, this was their adjusted allotment after the explosion. If the explosion had not already occurred, these counties would have received their full allotment. The explosion that destroyed St. Peter's must have occurred between 17-22 October 1694.

Table 1
Account of Powder Distributed to Counties in 1694

County	Allotment	Deducted	Actual
Charles	10	0	10
Baltimore	10	1	9
Cecil	8	1	7
Kent	3	0	3
Talbot	7	1	6
Dorchester	5	0	5
Somerset	6	2	4
St. Mary's	6	2	4
Calvert	9	1	8
Ann Arundel	9	1	8
Total	73	9	64

The exact cause of the explosion will never be known but there are grounds to suggest a possible cause. At the time of the explosion, there were only 9 barrels of powder in the basement. Given the intensity of the explosion and fire, it is unlikely that any powder was salvaged. This means that between 26 June and the time of the explosion, 11 barrels of powder had been removed from the cellar. During virtually the same period, from 26 June to 9 October, the total number of barrels at St. Mary's City decreased from 81 to 73. The difference between these figures is 3 barrels. The powder stored at the State House was consistently reported to be 61 barrels through this period. After the explosion, there were 64 barrels of powder to distribute. If 61 of these came from the State House, then 3 must have been removed from the cellar of St. Peter's before the explosion occurred. This suggests that

the government was in the process of removing powder from the cellar and that after they had taken 3 barrels out, some accident set the rest of it off.

After the explosion and fire destroyed the Chancellor's house, St. Peter's Freehold became part of larger landholdings and reverted to farmland. On a plat map surveyed in 1787, no improvements nor any ruins were shown (Locke 1787). The surveyor showed houses and even the ruins of the Provincial jail on other parts of the map. An 1824 map of Southern Maryland depicted the St. Peter's area as farmland with no indication of ruins (Kearney 1824). The Chancellor's house would seem to have disappeared completely.

Despite these maps, some above-ground evidence must have remained because there were scattered descriptions of the building or ruins throughout the 19th century. The earliest of these was Kennedy's 1838 description, quoted above, which was based on the memories of local individuals. This description presented the structure as it was remember not how it looked in the early 19th century. Stanley (1853:16) presented the first description of the actual site and reported on the fate of the ruins. He was the first to use the term Governor's Castle in talking about the structure:

'The Castle' fronted almost due west and from the pit it appears to have been forty feet north and south by forty feet east and west . . . The bricks of the old wall have been nearly all carted away . . . even the tiles and their fragments, which were laid on the floor in the cellar, have shared the same fate.

This narrative revealed that the cellar was still visible in the 1850s, that the building was square and that the visible portion was approximately 40 ft. on a side. It reported that the surviving ruins had been robbed of brick, mortar and tile to provide fertilizer for the surrounding fields by that time. The tile floor of the cellar was reported for the first time.

The cellar at St. Peter's was a major landmark for visitors to St. Mary's City who were interested in history. Early in 1869, an article referred to the feature as visible but nearly filled with rubbish (Catholic

World 9[1869]:368). In a rather flowery article published in Lippincott's Magazine, it was described as a square hole filled with brick. Over time, people had collected a large number of musket balls from the cellar. The author was told by Dr. Brome, the land owner, that he intended to fill in the cellar and plow the site by the next spring (Bruce 1871:43). A later article, from 1877, referred to the cellar as "plowed over." (St. Mary's Beacon, June 14, 1877). Based on these references, we can suggest that Dr. Brome filled in the cellar early in the 1870s.

Bryant and Gay (1876:505) relying on local tradition, reported that the walls were still partially standing in the early 19th century. Their description referred to the structure as square with two chimneys in the middle. They repeated that the cellar was floored with square tile. Finally, they described the wall around the house, stating that it had few openings and that this gave the site the appearance of a fortress. This was later interpreted to mean that the house had few windows and was fortress like, a very different meaning. These descriptions were summarized, and somewhat elaborated in later narratives, but they added no new information (Thomas 1995[1900]:45; Forman 1938:256).

In 1940, Forman went to the St. Peter's site to conduct archaeological excavations. This work made an important contribution to the understanding of St. Peter's and demonstrated the architectural significance of the structure (Forman 1942:136-143). It is unfortunate that there is so little evidence of the extent of Forman's excavations or the nature of what he actually saw presented in the article. How much excavation he was able to do is a question that has implications for much of his interpretation. Forman reported that he began with exploratory trenches to locate the foundation and that the main outline of the cellar was uncovered. Does this mean that he exposed the entire top of the cellar wall? From our excavations, it is clear that he did not. Rather, he probably located the foundation with trenches, probed the walls with a rod and then exposed the corners, revealing the overall shape. This was the method he used on two structures in the Chapel Field in 1938. How much excavation he did inside the cellar can not be determined. He did enough to demonstrate that some parts of the cellar had a different flooring than others. He reported that the two large rooms and the two hallways were paved in tile but that the corner rooms were paved in brick. His floorplan showed a number of internal divisions and fireplaces. To get such information, his trenches must have been extensive.

Forman's description of St. Peter's, based on this archaeological work, was and continues to be the most complete and important data on the site. The use of remote sensing equipment and limited testing, presented in this report, allows some of these facts to be checked but is not extensive enough to supersede the original work. Where possible, the results of the 1996 work will be evaluated in light of Forman's published data. From this synthesis, a more complete picture of this important structure emerges.

REMOTE SENSING

The remote sensing studies at the St. Peter's site produced remarkably detailed information on the surviving brickwork (Figure 2). The gradiometry map clearly shows the outline of the foundation, suggests internal divisions and reveals the possibility of other features. The resistance map, while less detailed, also shows the structure and reflects the topography of the site. These studies can only be evaluated by comparison to the data recovered from limited excavation and the probing conducted at the site. From the synthesis of these separate data sets, a fuller, but still woefully incomplete, picture of this structure emerges. These data confirm many of Forman's published statements, add some new insights and raise many more questions. The presentation of these points is divided into sections to facilitate discussion.

Building Orientation

A structure as large and impressive as St. Peter's does not simply occur on the landscape by chance. Its location and orientation are related to many natural and cultural factors. In his published plan, Forman showed the foundation oriented to the cardinal directions (Forman 1942:Figure 2). The remote sensing clearly shows the orientation of the foundation and, combined with the archaeology, allows an evaluation of this characteristic. After the west wall was located by excavation and the corners identified by probing, a tape was stretched along the wall and extended 25 ft. to the south of the structure to avoid the magnetic influence of the foundation. The transit was set on the end of the tape

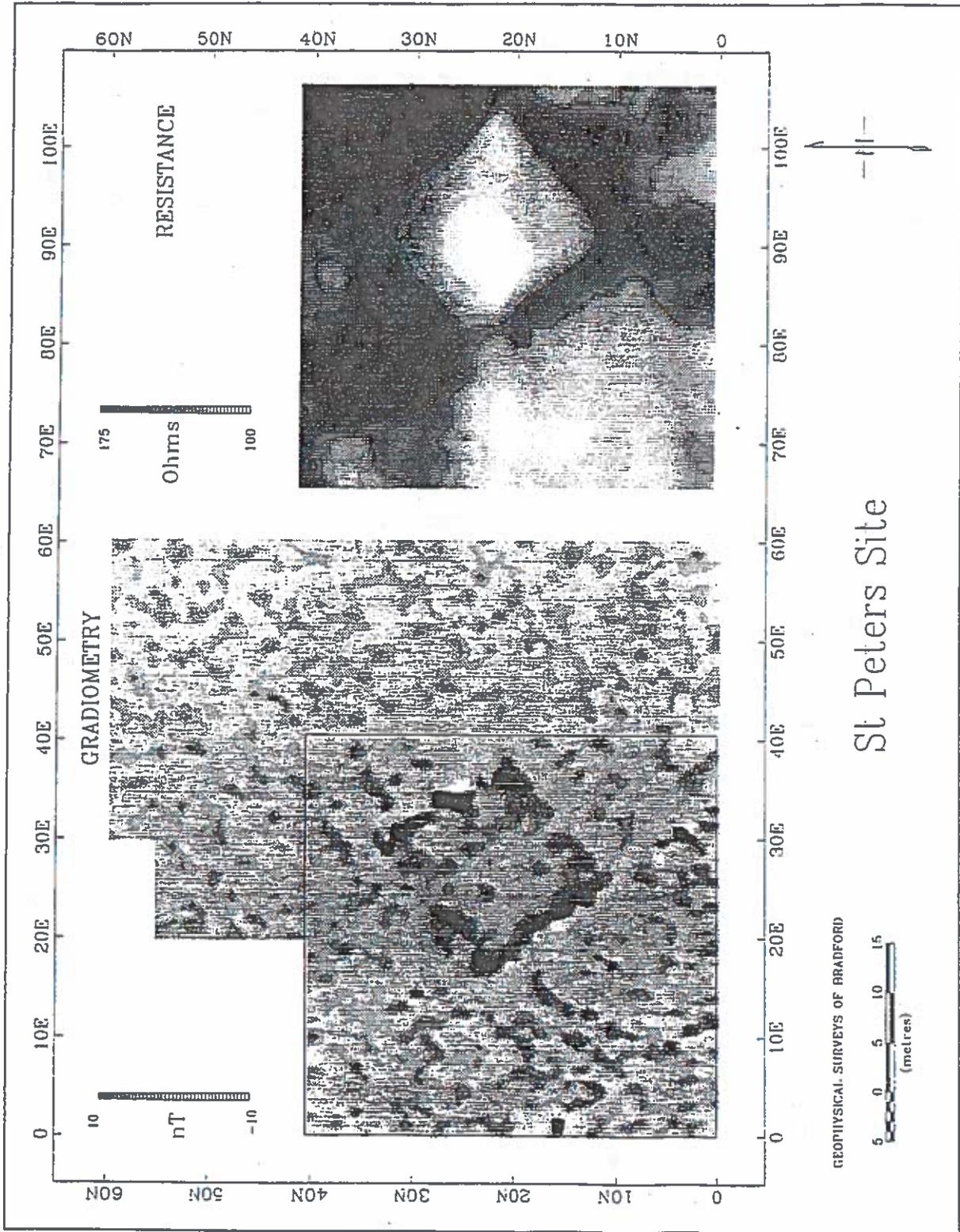


Figure 2.--Maps of the Remote Sensing Data.

and sighted on the northwest corner of the foundation. The orientation of the structure was measured at 2° east of magnetic north. The current declination between magnetic north and true north at the latitude of St. Mary's City is approximately 12.5° west of true north (Bevan 1992: Figure 10). The orientation of St. Peter's is therefore 10.5° west of true north.

It is clear that Forman's plan is oriented to magnetic north not true north. The problem with such an orientation is that magnetic north is not fixed but varies considerably over time. In the 56 years since Forman did his work, the declination at St. Mary's City has changed by 5° (Bevan 1992:Figure 10). In 1940, the declination was approximately 7° west of true north and the plan should have been set at an angle of 3.5° west of magnetic north rather than oriented directly to it.

A more important question is the relation of the building to magnetic north in the late 1670s. The declination in 1680 was approximately 5.5° west (Beavin 1975). Thus, St. Peter's was built at an angle of 5° west of magnetic north in the 1670s. While it may be acceptable to say that St. Peter's was set approximately on the cardinal directions, there may be other factors which determined its orientation. One possibility is that it was oriented, as other important structures in the City were, to the road system. Miller (1988:63) suggests that there is a road intersection, an important part of the town plan of St. Mary's City, located southeast of the Brick Chapel. St. Peter's is located a quarter mile from that intersection and appears to be facing towards it. This would fit well with the concept of a Baroque plan emphasizing vistas leading to major buildings. Further investigation of St. Peter's in relation to its topographic setting and other cultural factors may help to explain its orientation.

Size of the Foundation

In Jamestown and St. Mary's, Forman reported the oral tradition that St. Peter's was square and about 40 ft. on a side (Forman 1938:256). After he excavated at the site, he revised the dimension of the square to 54 ft. (Forman 1942:140). The gradiometry map accurately reflected this dimension. After excavation uncovered a portion of both the east and west walls, a direct measurement of 54 ft. was made across the foundation, confirming Forman's published plan.

Perhaps more interesting is the variation shown on the gradiometry map. The south and west wall are almost exactly 54 ft. long while the east wall appears to be 56 ft. long and the north wall is 58 ft. long. The variation is apparently due to a blossoming of the northeast corner. The other three corners are well defined but the northeast corner is very amorphous. It is tempting to speculate that the gunpowder was stored in this corner and the 1694 explosion caused this anomaly. However, it is dangerous to read too much into the map. In the middle of the east wall is a very intense magnetic signal extending beyond the line of the foundation. Part of this area was uncovered by our excavations and no evidence of this anomaly was found. Before the gradiometry map can be fully assessed, more information on what it measures needs to be explored.

Excavation has demonstrated that both the east and west walls are 2 ft. wide but the average thickness of the "wall" shown on the gradiometry map is 4 ft. wide. Since the width of the foundation shown on the map measures 54 ft., which was checked by the archaeology, the exterior of the recorded square must represent the contact between the foundation and the subsoil. What accounts for the extra width on the interior of the wall? It is possible that the wider signal is an artifact of the measuring unit used in the survey. If that were true however, the extra width should have been spread evenly between interior and exterior. The foundation would have been represented as larger than 54 ft. across. Alternately, the extra width could represent the upper portion of a rubble layer slumped into the cellar and accumulated against the walls. Such a layer may be represented in test unit #3 on the east wall. It was not seen in the test units on the west side but there were other features there that may have blocked such an accumulation. Further excavation can help explain this aspect of the gradiometry.

The density of the magnetic signal is not evenly distributed but varied considerable around the foundation. There are areas of the north and south walls where the signal is very weak and almost disappears. To see if this variation is related to the preserved depth of the foundation, a series of probes were made along the walls. The deepest area probed is 2.3 ft. below the present surface and occurs in the area of light density along the north wall. However, along the south wall, in the light density area, the probed depth is only 1.6 ft. below surface. This depth

is comparable to the depth along the west wall where some of the strongest signals were recorded. It does not appear that the density of the magnetic signal is effected by the buried depth of the foundation.

It was suggested in the field that the density of the signal might be related to the intensity of the fire that destroyed the building. The heat would have realigned the magnetic particles making for a stronger signal. If this is true, then the most intense part of the fire must have been along the west wall. None of the other walls are as well defined as this one on the gradiometry map. The archaeological evidence is not sufficient at this time to adequately assess the variability of the magnetic signal.

Depth of the Cellar

The cellar under St. Peter's is the most significant feature on the site and, not surprisingly, Forman provides the best description of it. He reports that the hallways and two other rooms are paved with square tiles but that the other rooms have brick paving. From this description, it is obvious that Forman saw the cellar floor in a number of places. However, he does not mention the depth of the cellar in any of his articles. This is a critical factor for assessing the appearance of the structure. If the cellar is extremely deep, then the first floor would be at ground level, an older style of building. A shallow cellar would require the first floor to be raised above ground level and marked in the water table. This was an important part of the new style of architecture (Holberton 1990:118). Fortunately, Forman provided enough clues to estimate the depth of the cellar.

Forman (1942:136) reports that the cellar is estimated to contain more than 11,500 cubic feet of fill. If we divide the square footage of the structure into this figure, the depth of the cellar can be determined. The problem is determining which figure Forman used. He reports that St. Peter's has a floorplan of 2934 square feet. This would indicate a structure 54 ft. 2 in. on a side. In calculating this figure, Forman included the foundation and this can not be part of the fill. If, on the other hand, the actual cellar hole is used, then the area would be 2500 square feet. The depth of the cellar must be between these extremes in a range of 3.9 ft. to 4.8 ft. below the present surface.

None of the excavations completed during this project were deep enough to uncover a portion of the cellar floor. Only in test unit #9 was the base of the unit deep enough for the probe rod to have a chance of hitting the floor. Probing in this unit reached a depth of 5 ft. below the present surface without hitting any tile or brick. Forman (1942:141) reports that large areas of the floor had been stripped of tile and brick. It is possible that the probing was in one of these areas. As a further test, a 2 in. bucket auger was used to core the cellar fill. At an approximate elevation of 96.50 ft. a distinct soil change was noted. The brick-laden fill stopped at that point and was replaced by a sterile yellow sand. Coring continued to a depth of approximately 94.5 ft. with no further change in the soil. The transition from fill to subsoil was 4.7 ft. below the present surface. This figure is very close to the upper limit of the suggested range. Since the present surface is variable, 4.7 ft. is a reasonable estimate of the depth of the cellar.

The shallowness of the cellar indicates that the first floor of St. Peter's was raised above ground level. During this period in London, the depth of cellars was supposed to be 6.5 ft. (Moxon 1970[1703]:263) or 1.8 ft. deeper than the present hole. When the thickness of the summer beam and joists are added, the first floor of St. Peter's was probably 3 ft. above ground level. This would match the height specified for the water table in the 1674 contract for the brick State House (Maryland Archives 2:405). Forman (1942:Figure 3) recognized the importance of this feature and shows a water table about 3 ft. above the ground. Although the type and size can not be specified, the raising of the first floor implies the need for steps on the east and west facades.

Floorplan of the Cellar

Forman (1942:Figure 2) presents a plan of the first floor of the building which he reports is based on what was found in the cellar. This plan is detailed but the basis for it is uncertain. Before any new information can be presented about the plan, it is necessary to review what is already known. If the width of the foundation is subtracted, the cellar contains a square space, 50 ft. on a side. Looking at the west wall of the plan, Forman shows a 20 ft. wide room on each corner. In another context, he reports that the hall between these rooms is 10 ft.

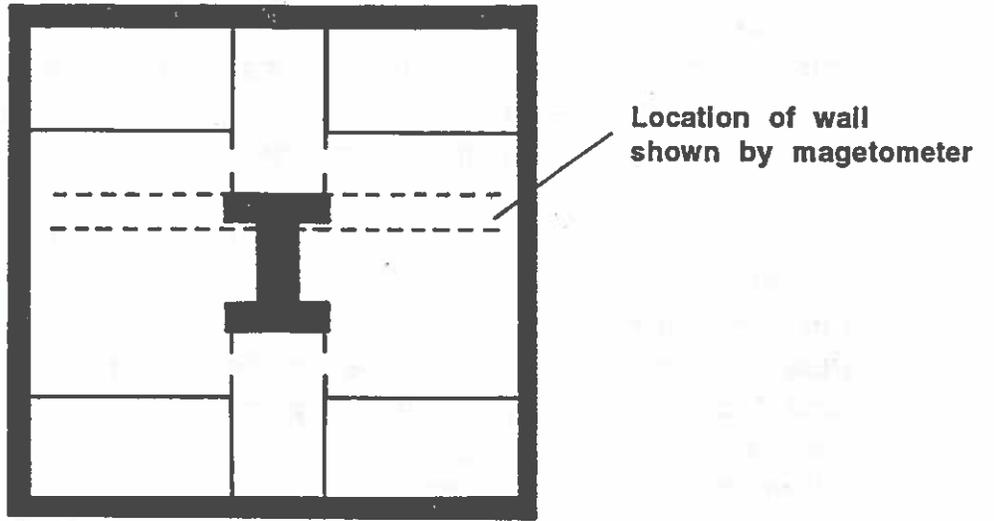
wide (Forman 1942:141). Taken together, these rooms fill the available space and leave no room for internal walls. It can be assumed that the walls are narrow and that their width is distributed evenly between the rooms. This is not an entirely satisfactory explanation but it is possible.

The situation is not so easily explained along the south wall. The center is taken up by a 25 ft. wide room which is flanked by two 11 ft. wide rooms. Together these rooms only add up to 47 ft. or 3 ft. short of the available space. As in the previous discussion, there are two internal walls but they would have to be 1.5 ft. wide to account for the missing space. Why would the wall width be added to the size of the rooms in one case and not the other? This can not be explained with the present evidence and there are obvious problems with this floorplan.

Another problem, which Forman himself mentioned, is the location and orientation of the chimneys (Forman 1942:140). Based on the plan, the chimneys would be arranged perpendicular to the main facade rather than parallel with it. Anyone approaching the building would not see the now familiar profile typified by the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg with a cupola flanked by chimneys. Rather the front chimney would block all of the rest of the detail. This makes no architectural sense and is out of character with the symmetry of the rest of the structure.

With these problems in mind, it is time to assess the gradiometry evidence for internal divisions in the cellar. The map clearly shows one internal wall and suggests another one. Both of these are running between the north and south exterior walls. These should correspond to the two walls on Forman's plan which form the division between the 25 ft. wide room and the corner rooms. According to the plan, these walls should be located about 13 ft. from the exterior edge of the outside walls. There is some uncertainty, given the fuzzy nature of the map, yet these walls are 18 - 22 ft. from the exterior walls not 13 ft. away as the plan would indicate (Figure 3). It is impossible to reconcile the plan with this evidence. The gradiometry map accurately shows the size of the foundation and the relation of the structure to other features on the site. Wherever it is possible to directly measure a distance, the map has been shown to be accurate. Based on the magnetic evidence, the internal walls simply do not occur where they should be.

However, if the plan is rotated 90° then it would more closely match



Floorplan redrawn from Forman (1942:140)



Figure 3.--Comparison of the Floorplan and the Magnetometer.

the magnetic signature. The walls shown on the map do correspond to the walls forming the hallways on the plan and are about 10 ft. apart. Such an arrangement would make much more sense with the architecture. When the plan is rotated, the chimneys are brought parallel to the main facade, producing the desired effect on the roofline. It would also mean that the entrance to St. Peter's would be into a large reception area, 20 ft. by 25 ft., rather than through a narrow, ill-lit hallway. Both of these changes would be more in keeping with the architecture of the building. The gradiometry strongly suggests that this is the correct arrangement for the cellar floorplan. Forman seems to have had the correct arrangement but, for unexplained reasons, oriented the plan in the wrong direction.

This new evidence supports Forman's contention of a relationship of some kind between St. Peter's and the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg. By rotating the plan, the resemblance between these structures is greatly increased. Both would have had entrances leading into large, impressive rooms. At the Palace, this room was rectangular, 21 ft. by 23 ft. while it was 20 ft. by 25 ft. at St. Peter's. These rooms are virtually identical in size. In both cases, the main room is flanked by smaller rooms. The Palace has square rooms, almost 17 ft. on a side. The flanking rooms at St. Peter's are 11 ft. by 20 ft. and are again almost the same size. As one moves towards the back of the house, the similarity between the structures is reduced but this needs to be more fully explored.

In the center of the house, on Forman's plan, is a massive chimney. The gradiometry shows no evidence of this feature. To test for the presence of this feature, the center of the house was extensively probed.

This testing was completed to a depth of 3.25 ft. below the present surface, the limit of the rod, without encountering any brick. Earlier it was suggested that the floor of the cellar was at an elevation of 96.74 ft.

The probing in the center of the house reached a depth of 97.5 ft. and indicated that only the lowest courses of this chimney could remain.

Based on the available data it is not possible to confidently describe the floorplan of St. Peter's. There are clear problems with Forman's plan. The present project has suggested a somewhat different arrangement, more in keeping with the architecture of the rest of the structure. These problems can only be solved by detailed excavation.

Other Features on the St. Peter's Site

Oral history has long held that St. Peter's was surrounded by a brick wall enclosing a courtyard and Forman (1942:142) reports finding evidence of this courtyard fence. He shows the west wall of the fence as 170 ft. long and both the north and south walls as more than 130 ft. long. Forman never found the east wall nor the ends of the north and south walls. On the plan, the west and north walls are shown 54 ft. from the structure while the south wall is 56 ft. from the building. Forman also reports finding the main gate, described in the oral history, in the west wall. This was complete with pillar bases to support the iron gate and a 10 ft. wide gap between the bricks.

The gradiometry map shows a strong, very obvious, linear feature running parallel to the west facade and located 54 ft. away from it. Approximately 70 ft. of this feature shows on the magnetic map. To test the nature of this line, a tape was stretched along the south wall of the house and extended 54 ft. to the west. At this point a shovel test trench was cut across the line and directly below the plow zone the trench for the brick wall was uncovered. The foundation trench for the wall was 2.5 ft. wide and contained only jumbled brick bats and mortar. Using the shovel test trench as a starting point, the wall was followed using a probe rod, both north and south within the limits of the cleared area. There was a noticeable gap on the magnetic map where the gateway should be located. Probing in this area confirmed the presence of a 10 ft. wide gap in the brick and supported Forman's observations.

The other walls of the courtyard fence were not obvious on the gradiometry map. To locate these walls, the same method was used. In each case a tape was stretched along a wall of the house and extended to the specified distance. On the north side, probing was done at 1 ft. intervals from 45 ft. to 65 ft. away from the northwest corner of the house. No evidence of the wall was found by the probing. Because Forman had no east wall on the plan, it was decided to probe eastward, in 1 ft. intervals, from 40 ft. to 80 ft. away from the northeast corner of the structure. Again, no evidence of a wall was found.

South of the house, probing began 56 ft. from the southeast corner of the house and immediately located a brick wall. From this point it

was possible to follow the wall 40 ft. to the west where it disappeared into the uncleared area. Remarkably, no evidence of this wall was found east of the starting point. While attempting to determine the width of the wall, a second wall, perpendicular to the first and heading towards the southeast corner of the structure, was discovered. Although there were some gaps, the wall seemed to extend to within 4 ft. of the structure. Both of the walls located in this area were 2 ft. wide instead of 2.5 ft. wide as the west wall was. When the new wall was discovered, probing was done on the northeast corner to look for a similar wall but no evidence of such a wall was found. It is possible that this wall represents a division of the courtyard between the front and back areas.

A reexamination of the magnetic map reveals that both the south and east walls are partially visible. There is also a possible corner located opposite the one discovered by probing. This raises the possibility that an outbuilding is located in this area. Oral history reports that there were a number of outbuildings on the site but none were found in the 1940 work (Forman 1942:141-142). Based on the magnetic map, this possible building would be 50 ft. long on an east-west axis and 20 ft. wide in the other direction. During the fieldwork phase, a distinct cluster of roofing tiles was noted in this area, perhaps supporting the idea of an outbuilding. The definition of additional structures and the arrangement of the St. Peter's landscape should be significant parts of future research.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION

The limited testing conducted as part of this project also produced important data on the Chancellor's house. Because of the unique opportunity presented, the field work concentrated on very specific goals. It was considered vital to expose parts of two walls of the foundation to test the remote sensing information. The short time available to find the foundation and expose parts of it, dictated significant modifications in the standard excavating procedures.

Excavation Summary

When the project began, there was no previously established grid on the site so the test units were set parallel to the foundation. Using the remote sensing data, a baseline was established along the west wall of the foundation. All of the test units were laid out in relation to this baseline. A point was established on the northwestern edge of the field to serve as an elevational datum. This was arbitrarily assigned an elevation of 100.00 ft. and all vertical measurements were made in relation to this point.

Initially, three test units were established, with one on the west wall, one on the east wall and the third set to investigate an area of strong resistance north of the structure. Through the course of the weekend, seven other units were excavated (Figure 4). In all cases, the plow zone soil was shoveled off and placed next to the unit. The plow zone soil in test unit #1 was the only stratum to be completely screened. Excavation in all units stopped at the base of plow zone except in units #1, #3 and #9. Additional excavation was completed in these units to expose the foundation.

At the end of the project, all soil was mechanically backfilled. Because the field is in active agricultural use, it was necessary to remove almost all evidence of this excavation. The only plastic left to mark the bottom of the units was directly on the foundation and below the level of the modern plow zone. All spikes, nails and string were removed from around the excavations. To allow this project to be related to future research, two points were established in the vegetation on the northern and western edges of the field and they will provide references to tie in the present map with a more permanent grid on the site.

To aid discussion of the excavation results, the test units are grouped by area. Test units #1, #4, #6, #7 and #9 are termed the west wall trench. The east wall trench is composed of test units #3, #5 and #8. Test units #2 and #10 are described separately (Figure 3).

West Wall Trench

The surface of this trench sloped gently towards the foundation. It fell about 0.4 ft. over a 25 ft. length. The field is currently used for

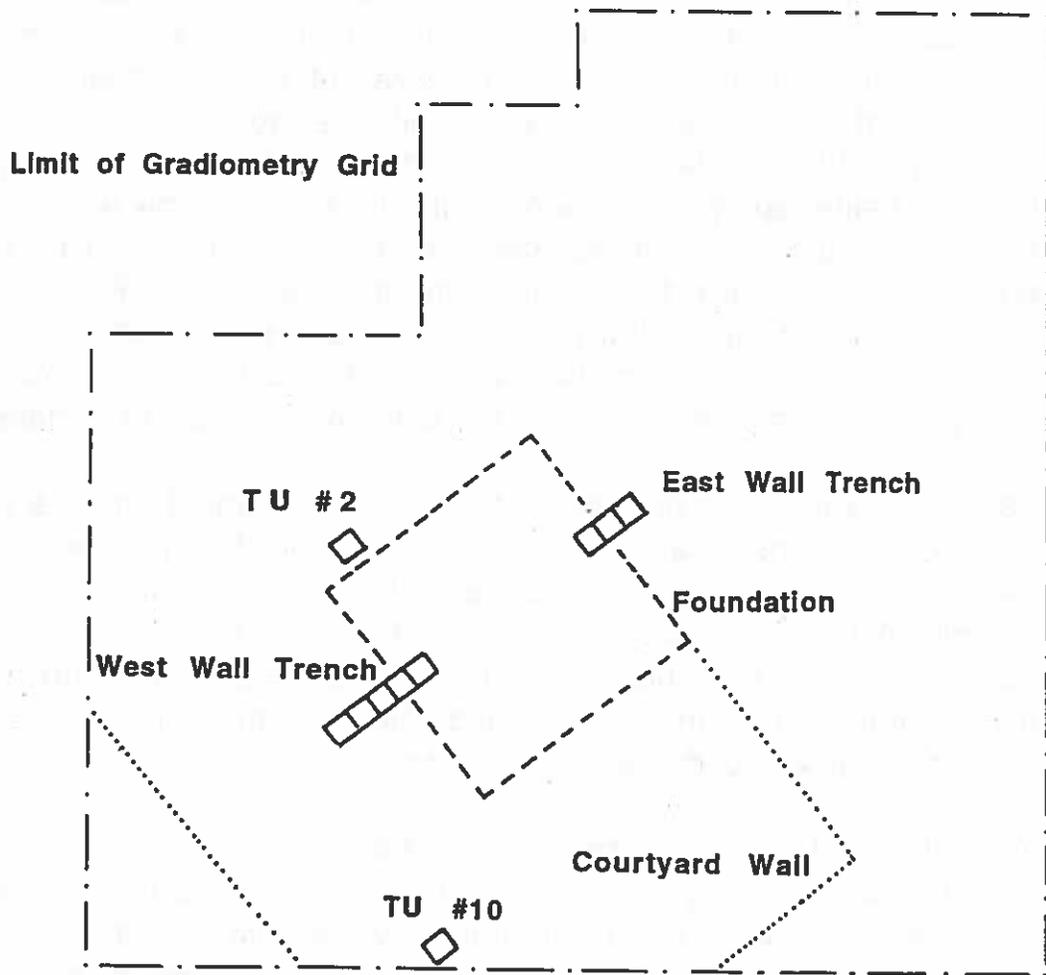


Figure 4.--Features Discovered on the Site.

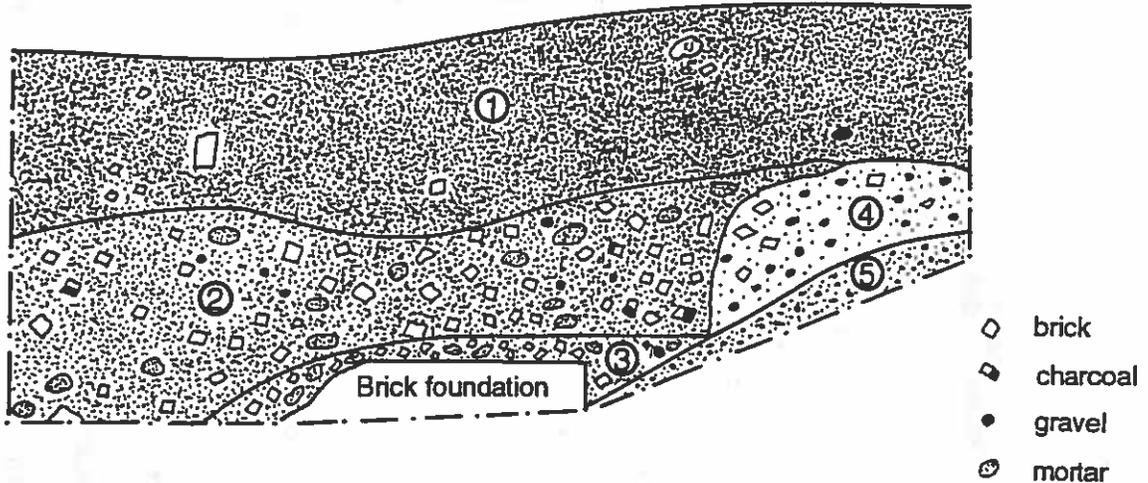
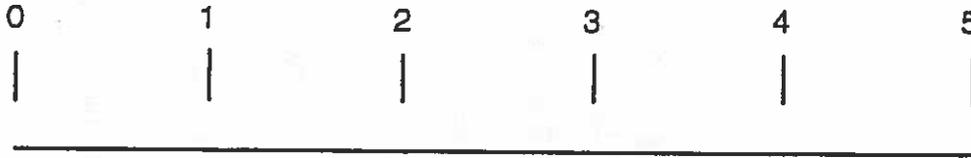
agriculture and the top soil was a plow disturbed, dark yellowish brown silt loam which contained a small amount of brick and gravel. This was shown as stratum 1 in Figure 5. The average depth of the plow zone was 0.84 ft. but the base of plow zone sloped from a shallow 0.67 ft. on the west end of the trench to 1.05 ft. on the east end. Below the plow zone were a series of soils that related to the construction and destruction of the building. The sequence revealed by this trench is important to understanding the history of the structure and in assessing Forman's work at the site.

During the construction phase, the masons apparently laid the west wall of the foundation against the edge of the cellar hole. On the exterior of the wall was a coarse, gravelly sand which had no noticeable brick or mortar in it (stratum 5). This would have been considered a natural subsoil except that the normal soil profile in this area does not contain significant amounts of sand or gravel at such a shallow depth. The soil survey of St. Mary's County described this type of soil, Sassafras loam, as mostly silt and clay loams, with very little gravel, to a depth of at least 40 in. below surface (Gibson 1978:38-39). On the western end of the trench, stratum 5 was found, beneath stratum 4, barely 1 ft. below the present surface (Figure 6). This stratum was not seen in the east wall trench nor in test unit #2 which was adjacent to the north wall. In test unit #10, located 30 ft. southwest of the foundation, a normal clay loam subsoil was found at a depth of 0.85 ft. below the present surface.

If stratum 5 is not a natural layer but rather spoil from the cellar hole, it implies considerable earth movement outside the cellar hole during the construction phase. The base of this layer was not discovered but it extends at least 2 ft. below the present surface near the foundation. The slope of this layer may indicate a filled in ramp used to facilitate the removal of spoil from the cellar and the introduction of building materials to the work site during construction.

Lying above stratum 5 was a hard packed, light colored, gravelly sand which contained a large number of brick fragments but only a small amount of mortar. This soil was identified as stratum 4 and appeared to be related to the construction of the building. The same stratum was noted adjacent to the exterior of the foundation in the east wall trench. The dating of this stratum to the construction phase is based on several observed relationships. In the west wall trench, the east end of this

ST1-31
 ST. PETERS
 West Wall Trench
 view south



1. Dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam with 2 % gravel, 1 % brick. [Plow zone]
2. Dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy clay loam mottled with 10 % yellowish brown (10YR5/6) clay loam, 20 % brick, 5 % mortar. [Cellar fill]
3. Dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) clay loam mottled with 20 % brown (10YR4/3) clay loam, 20 % brick, 5 % mortar, 2 % gravel. [Robbers trench]
4. Yellowish brown (10YR5/4) silty clay loam, 10 % brick, 1 % mortar, 1 % oyster shell, 1 % charcoal. [Construction debris?]
5. Yellowish brown (10YR5/3) compact coarse sand with 30 % gravel. [Cellar spoil?]

Figure 5.--Profile of West Wall Trench Above Foundation.

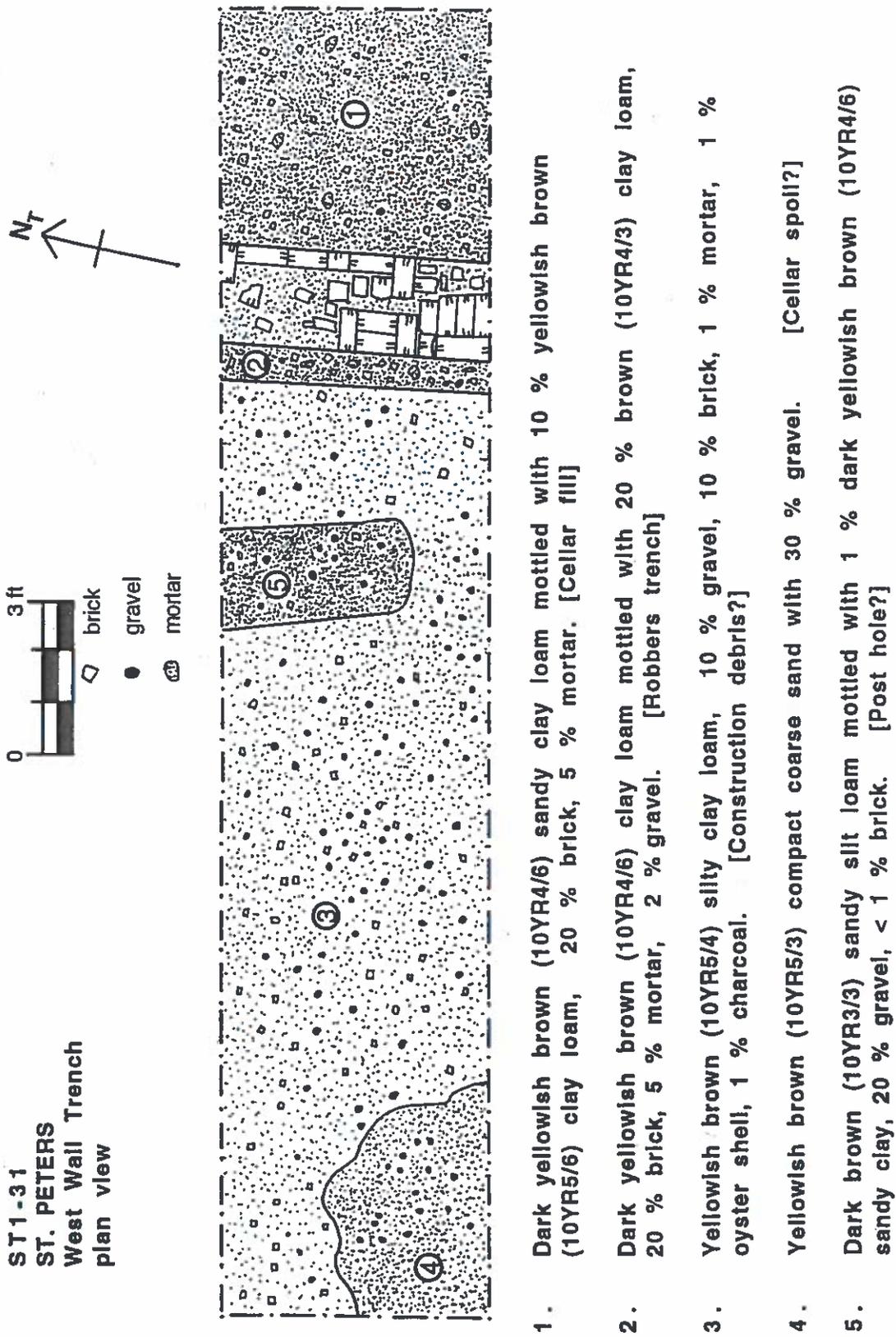


Figure 6.--Plan View of West Wall Trench.

stratum was truncated by stratum 3, the robbers trench, and must have been in place before the creation of that layer. Further west in the trench, stratum 4 was intruded by a feature that appeared to be a post hole. This was filled with a very dark soil which contained some brick fragments but no mortar. The lack of mortar both in stratum 4 and in the post hole intruding it suggests an association with the construction phase as opposed to the destruction phase.

The surface of stratum 4 may be the original construction grade on the site. At least a portion of this soil was exposed at the time the cellar was filled because stratum 2, the top cellar fill, partially overlay stratum 4. The plow zone, stratum 1, is very shallow over portions of stratum 4, being only 0.67 ft. thick on the western end of the trench. Yet the plow zone did not contain nearly the amount of gravel or brick fragments that the underlying soil did. This suggests that the original top soil in this area may have been very thin and that the modern plow zone may be an imported soil to make the area agriculturally productive.

Stratum 4 probably extended directly up to the foundation wall but it was truncated after the destruction of the building by a robbers trench. This was a feature created by the workmen who salvaged brick from the foundation. The fill lying directly on the foundation was deposited as a result of this activity and is identified as stratum 3. The matrix of this soil was a dark clay loam which may have washed into this area during the time the foundation was left exposed after the removal of the brick. It contained a large proportion of brick and mortar rubble. This stratum was not fully removed but enough was excavated so that the bonding of the foundation, described below, was observed.

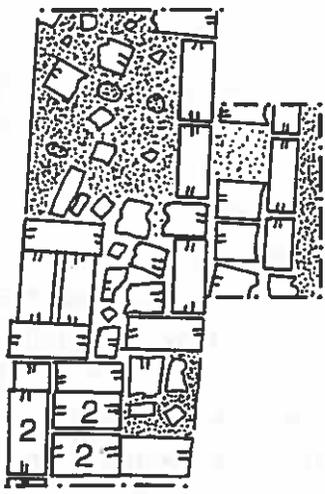
Lying above stratum 3 and partially above stratum 4 was a dark clay loam with high percentages of brick and mortar rubble. This was identified as stratum 2 and was clearly the top fill of the cellar. It was deposited after the salvaging of the foundation. This agreed with the historical references which suggested that the cellar hole was open until late in the 19th century. The fill contained destruction rubble and 17th-century artifacts but most likely dated to the 19th century. A small test unit (#9C) was excavated into this fill to expose the inner face of the cellar wall. It contained a machine cut nail and a piece of modern earthenware which demonstrated the recent nature of this deposit. Stratum 2 appeared to be an intentional fill related to the transformation

of this part of the field to agriculture.

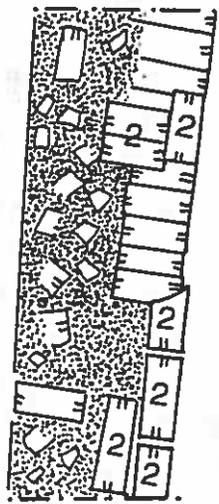
The profile was capped by a typical plow zone soil consisting primarily of silt loam. While there was some brick in this soil, the quantity was much less than would be expected if the plow zone had developed over the destruction rubble of the of St. Peter's house. Only one plow zone unit was fully screened but it demonstrated the overall lack of destruction rubble observed in the other units. The plow zone in test unit #1 contained approximately 6,700 grams of brick. This quantity of brick represents an average of 330 g/ft³ of excavated soil. In contrast, the average quantity of brick over the structure on the Chapel site, a smaller and less elaborate building which was also heavily salvaged, was 715 g/ft³ of excavated soil. The section of stratum 2 excavated in this unit was only partially screened but it yielded over 13,000 grams of brick. By volume, this soil contained a quantity of brick in excess of 2,250 g/ft³ of excavated soil. Even considering the small sample available, the plow zone contained much less brick than would be expected if it had been churned up from the underlying strata. This evidence suggests that the present plow zone, at least in the area of the foundation, was introduced after the cellar hole was filled.

The west wall of the foundation was exposed, after the removal of stratum 3, at a depth of 1.8 ft. below the present surface.. The width of the wall was 2 ft. or the equivalent of two and a half bricks thick. This portion of the foundation was laid in Flemish bond (Figure 7) and this bond was noted in both courses observable on the exposed wall. The use of Flemish bond in a c. 1677 context is a very early expression of this architectural feature. It has been seen in several other 1670s contexts in St. Mary's City and has recently been described from a c. 1662 context in Virginia (Pickett 1996). In contrast, the east wall of the structure was laid in English bond. If St. Peter's was built like other structures, the use of Flemish bond on the west facade would indicate that this was the main entrance or formal side of the structure.

The discovery of Flemish bond in the west wall of the foundation has implications for understanding the amount of work Forman did at the site in 1940. He did not mention the bonding of the foundation of St. Peter's in his article on the structure nor in any subsequent description of the building. It is clear from his writings that he knew of this bond before excavating at St. Peter's, stating that it was introduced to England in the



West Wall & Step



East Wall



header, laid on bed



stretcher, laid on bed

Figure 7.--Bonding Pattern of Bricks in the Foundation.

second quarter of the 17th century (Forman 1938:85-86). In the same publication, he described Clocker's Fancy, a house he suggested was dated to 1658, as having Flemish bonded gables (Forman 1938:298). Given the detail that he normally lavished on brickwork, it seems strange that he would not mention the use of Flemish bond in a structure that he believed was built in 1639. Either Forman did not expose the west wall or the use of Flemish bond is restricted to a small section near the center of the that wall. Neither of these alternatives is very satisfactory and only further work can lead to a resolution.

To observe the bonding pattern better and see if the cellar wall was plastered, a small excavation, 2 ft. long and 1 ft. wide was completed near the interior edge of the west wall. Neither of these goals was accomplished because almost immediately, more *in situ* brick was encountered. Excavation revealed that there was a row of half bricks adjacent to the foundation but not bonded to it. These were oriented perpendicular to the wall and were fronted by a row of bricks parallel to the foundation wall. The excavation was not taken down any further than the top of this row of bricks but probing demonstrated that another brick, lower than the exposed row, was present in front of these bricks. This feature had the appearance of steps leading into the cellar although other interpretations are possible. Large quantities of rubble in the cellar fill prevented the probing of this feature to see if additional steps might be present.

On the north side of the excavation was a rectangular area of loose soil surrounded by brick. After it was uncovered, the loose soil began to collapse inward. Probing with a rod showed that the hole was filled with rubble to a depth of approximately 4 ft. below the present surface where a solid brick or tile was hit. The hole was 8 in. long and extended 7 in. out from the wall. It appeared to be the location of a post that had brick laid up against it. If this were a stairway into the cellar, this post could have been a hand rail set on one side.

Forman's lack of comment concerning the Flemish bond brickwork and the discovery of a possible stairway into the cellar in the center of the western facade, raise the possibility that there was a porch of some kind on this side of the structure. As is common on later buildings, the entrance to the cellar would be under that porch. Kennedy's description of St. Peters suggested that there was an "arched brick porch which

shaded the great hall door" (Kennedy 1965[1838]:40). He said this porch was on the west facade. If the reorientation of Forman's plan, mentioned earlier, is correct, then a porch on this side would have been in front of a large room. Forman (1942:141) reported that he found no evidence of the porch but, as mentioned above, we have no idea how much of the west wall he exposed. Looking at the gradiometry map (Figure 2), there is a faint suggestion of a square signal, about 27 ft. on a side centered on the west facade. Even though the west wall trench extended 15 ft. from the front of the structure, it would not have been long enough to reach this area. The presence of such a feature would dramatically change the appearance of this building and its exploration should be an important part of any future work at the site.

The east end of this trench was deep enough that the depth of the cellar could be tested. Adjacent to the east wall of this trench, a 2 in. diameter bucket auger was used to test the depth of the cellar. The coring showed a consistent fill with brick and mortar rubble to a depth of 96.5 ft. where a sterile, yellow sand was found. This transition appeared to mark the bottom of the cellar hole. No *in situ* brick or tile was noted at the base of the hole. Nor was there any sign of burning or a deposit of charcoal at the base. Coring continued to a depth of 94.5 ft. with no further change in soil. It is probable that the area tested had been robbed of its flooring and any evidence of the actual destruction of the building was removed at that time.

West of the foundation a dark feature was discovered cutting through stratum 4. This appeared to be a post hole and was located 3 ft. from the exterior of the foundation. It was 1.8 ft. wide and at least 3.5 long. The feature contained a large quantity of gravel and brick but no noticeable charcoal or mortar. The post in this feature would have been located approximately 20 ft. from the northwest corner of the foundation. It is possible that this feature is a scaffolding hole related to the construction of the building.

East Wall Trench

The stratigraphy of the east wall trench was similar to that seen in the other trench. On the exterior of the foundation was a hard packed, light colored, gravelly sand which contained a large number of brick

fragments but only a small amount of mortar. This soil appeared to be the same as that identified as stratum 4 in Figure 5 and was given the same designation in Figure 8. As in the other trench, stratum 4 was cut through by a robbers trench, identified as stratum 3. Unlike the earlier profile, the robbers trench was directly below the plow zone. It was overlain by cellar fill only slightly on its western edge. The cellar fill, stratum 2, was similar to that in the west wall trench but it had much larger brick fragments in it. The plow zone was somewhat deeper in this trench, averaging 1 ft., but still did not contain the quantity of brick or mortar rubble which might be expected.

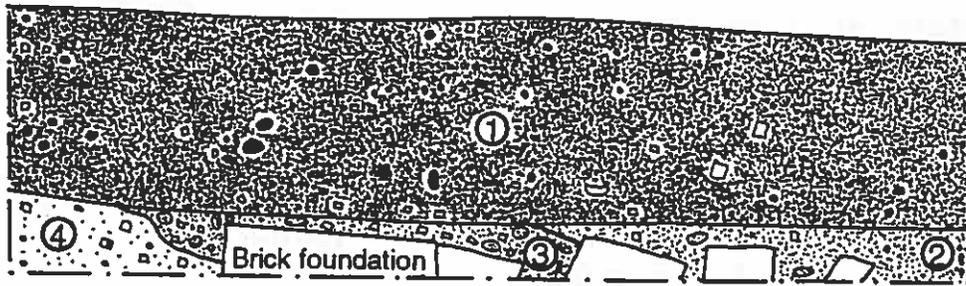
The robbers trench was only excavated sufficiently to expose the edge of the wall and to determine the bonding pattern. The east wall of the cellar was two and a half bricks thick and laid in English bond. Both the interior and exterior edges of the lowest course exposed were laid as headers (Figure 8). Above these, on the exterior, was a row of stretchers. No trace of this course was seen on the interior edge. After this wall was exposed, a tape was used to measure from the exterior of this wall to the exterior of the wall in the other trench. As expected, the foundation was 54 ft. wide.

A test core was made in unit #8 using the 2 in. diameter bucket auger. The coring reached a depth of 4.9 ft. below the present surface where a brick or tile was encountered. This may be the floor of the cellar and would be at an elevation of 96.45 ft. or approximately a half inch deeper than the suggested floor in unit #9. There was no evidence of burning or significant amounts of charcoal in the fill brought up by the core.

Test Unit #2

This unit was located northwest of the structure and was set to investigate a strong, linear signal shown by the remote sensing. The plow zone in this unit was a dark sandy silt loam and was 0.8 ft. thick. The cause of the resistance signal was not determined. At the base of plow zone, an amorphous feature containing a large quantity of brick rubble was noted. The feature occupied the southwest corner of the unit and the rest of the area appeared to be subsoil. This subsoil was described as a dark sandy clay loam with a moderate amount of gravel.

ST1-31
 ST. PETERS
 East Wall Trench
 view south



- brick
- ◇ charcoal
- gravel
- ⊖ mortar

1. Dark yellowish brown (10YR4/4) silt loam with 2 % gravel, 1 % brick. [Plow zone]
2. Dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) sandy clay loam mottled with 10 % yellowish brown (10YR5/6) clay loam, 20 % brick, 5 % mortar. [Cellar fill]
3. Dark yellowish brown (10YR4/6) clay loam mottled with 20 % brown (10YR4/3) clay loam, 20 % brick, 5 % mortar, 2 % gravel. [Robbers trench]
4. Yellowish brown (10YR5/4) silty clay loam, 10 % brick, 1 % mortar, 1 % oyster shell, 1 % charcoal. [Construction debris?]

Figure 8.--Profile of East Wall Trench Above Foundation.

It was typical of the described soil profile for Sassafras loam. While this unit was only 3 ft. from the north wall of the structure, there was no evidence of either the coarse, gravelly sand nor the hard packed, gravelly sand seen in both of the wall trenches. This evidence strongly supports the hypothesis that those strata were construction related.

Test Unit #10

This unit was set 30 ft. southwest of the foundation and it was specifically excavated to test the nature of the subsoil on the site. As with the previous unit, the subsoil in this excavation was typical of the described profile for Sassafras loam. It was a yellowish brown clay loam with very little gravel. No evidence of the gravelly sands noted east and west of the structure, was found in this unit. This again argues that those soils were related to the construction. There were no features at the base of this unit.

RECOVERED ARTIFACTS

Because of time constraints, not all of the soil was screened and the artifact sample can not be considered to be a valid sample of the area excavated. Nevertheless, the artifacts that were collected show the types and relative proportions of material that exist at the site. The most common items were, as would be expected, brick and mortar rubble. The small amount of soil screened, less than 10 % of the total, produced over 44 kg of brick and 8 kg of mortar.

Table 2 list the artifacts, exclusive of the brick and mortar rubble, collected during the project. The quantity of Colonial Period ceramic fragments is high compared to other groups. These represent almost 20 % of the total and, if only the Colonial materials are considered, the ceramics constitute almost 30 % of the sample. This is a very high percentage compared to other sites in St. Mary's City (Miller 1986:16,111) and may reflect the high status of the occupants of this site. The types of ceramics recovered reflect a late 17th-century date for the occupation (Table 3). This dating is also reflected in pipe bore diameters. Of the 20 measurable bore diameters, 9 or 45 % are 2.4 mm or less. These are the types of pipes that Miller (1986:41) used as a marker of the c. 1660-1700+ period in St. Mary's City.

Table 2
Artifacts Recovered During Excavation

Material	Number
Roofing tile	31
Wrought nails	18
Unidentifiable nails	61
Colonial Ceramics	58
Tobacco Pipes	32
Colonial Glass	14
European Flint	1
Lead Shot	2
Bone	26
Shell	27
Prehistoric	38
Modern Materials	29
Total	337

Table 3
Ceramic Types in the Collection

Type	Number
English Brown Stoneware	4
Manganese Mottled Earthenware	2
Rhenish Brown Stoneware	1
Staffordshire Slipware, early	3
Tin Glazed Earthenware	4
Proto-Buckley Earthenware	2
Buckley Earthenware	12
Miscellaneous Earthenware	30
Total	58

SUMMARY OF PROJECT FINDINGS

Although this project was limited in scope and time constraints hampered the work, many of Forman's conclusions about the site have been confirmed and significant new information has been collected. The size, shape and orientation of main structure have been confirmed. The presence of Flemish bond on the west wall not only provides a well dated, early example of the use of this bond but also confirms the west facade as the main one. The presence of a possible stairway into the cellar suggests some arrangement of stairs leading up to the main entrance. The existence of a courtyard wall is confirmed but it is suggested that the rear of that wall is even with the rear of the structure. A possible outbuilding has been suggested.

Of equal importance are the questions this project has raised concerning the structure. It is clear that the understanding of the site and its architecture is limited at best. Major problems with the floorplan have been suggested but can not be resolved with the present data. This question is basic to any description of the building and effects all other aspects of the architecture. Much more survey and excavation need to be completed before it can be fully assessed.

Nevertheless, the Chancellor's house at St. Peter's represents a truly significant milestone in the history of American architecture. It was clearly the largest domestic structure built in the colonies in the 17th century. Counting the full cellar, this structure had over 10,000 square feet of floor space and would be considered a big house even by modern standards. The fact that it was built in 17th-century Maryland makes it even more remarkable. This structure deserves much more attention than it has received and it is hoped that this report will add to the appreciation of the significance of the building.

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