

2017

The Octagon House and Mount Airy: Exploring the Intersection of Slavery, Social Values, and Architecture in 19th-Century Washington, DC and Virginia

Julianna Geralynn Jackson
College of William and Mary, [jjackson@email.wm.edu](mailto:jgjackson@email.wm.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Jackson, Julianna Geralynn, "The Octagon House and Mount Airy: Exploring the Intersection of Slavery, Social Values, and Architecture in 19th-Century Washington, DC and Virginia" (2017). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1516639577.
<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/S2V95T>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

The Octagon House and Mount Airy: Exploring the Intersection of Slavery, Social
Values, and Architecture in 19th-Century Washington, DC and Virginia

Julianna Geralynn Jackson

Baldwin, Maryland

Bachelor of Arts, St. Mary's College of
Maryland, 2012

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of The College of William & Mary in
Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

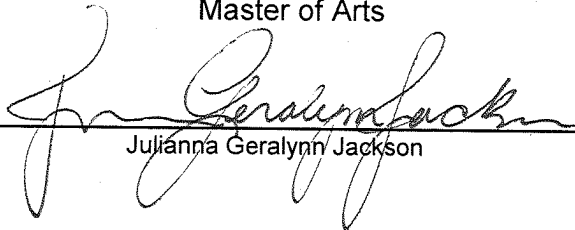
Department of Anthropology

College of William & Mary
August, 2017


APPROVAL PAGE

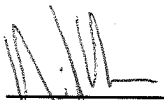
This Thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

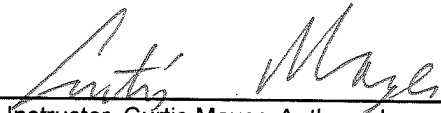
Master of Arts


Julianna Geralynn Jackson

Approved by the Committee, May, 2017

 Neil Norman signing for Michelle Lelievre
Committee Chair
Assistant Professor, Michelle Lelievre, Anthropology
College of William & Mary

 Neil Norman signing for Michael Blakey
National Endowment for Humanities Professor, Michael Blakey, Anthropology
College of William & Mary


Instructor, Curtis Moyer, Anthropology
College of William & Mary

ABSTRACT

This project uses archaeology, architecture, and the documentary record to explore the ways in which one family, the Tayloes, used Georgian design principals as a way of exerting control over the 19th-century landscape. This project uses two Tayloe homes as the units of study and investigates architectural choices at the Octagon House in Washington, DC, juxtaposed with its Richmond County, Virginia counterpart, Mount Airy, to examine architectural features and contexts of slavery on the landscape. Archaeological site reports, building plans, city maps, and various historic documents are used to identify contexts of slavery and explore the relationship between slavery, social values, and architecture at the Octagon House and Mount Airy, as well as look critically at the function of Georgian architectural features in 19th-century society.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ii
Dedications	iii
Introduction	1
Previous Scholarship	6
Origin and Architecture of Slavery and Plantations in the Chesapeake	11
Methodology	22
Data	24
Analysis	42
Discussion	46
Conclusion	49
Appendix	52
Bibliography	68

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to my thesis committee for their support and guidance throughout this research project. Thank you to Professor Michelle Lelievre, for her patience, availability, direction, and truly thoughtful and provoking comments. I am also indebted to Professors Michael Blakey and Curtis Moyer for their generosity in sharing their valuable advice, time, and insight. I also owe many thanks to Dr. Ruth Trocolli for her mentoring and encouragement, and to all my colleagues at the DC Historic Preservation Office for their help and counsel. I am also eternally grateful to my fiancé Brian, my family, and my friends whose unwavering love and support made this project possible.

This M.A. Thesis is dedicated to my fiancé Brian, my parents Joe and Janet, and my sisters Marianna and Lilianna. You inspire me every day.

Introduction

Revolution swept through 18th-century America in more ways than one, as changes in the landscape, economy, government, and culture irrevocably transformed life in the colonies, and established the foundation for the United States. During this period, two generations of patriarchs from an elite Virginia family built imposing monuments to their wealth and influence, employing Georgian architectural features, and made possible by the forced labor of hundreds of enslaved individuals. Mount Airy in Richmond County, Virginia was completed in 1765 by John Tayloe II and the Octagon House in Washington, DC, was constructed between 1798 and 1801 by his son and heir, John Tayloe III. Henry Glassie (2000) points to 18th-century architecture in particular as an embodiment of the social values that served as a catalyst for American independence, interpreting the change in house form throughout the Chesapeake “as material evidence of the change in social arrangements that brought the war that built the nation” (2000:118). The shift that Glassie mentions is that from open house plans with asymmetrical facades to closed-plan Georgian houses featuring symmetrical facades (2000:118). James Deetz (1977) describes Georgian as “a term that in its specific sense describes the architectural style that most typifies Anglo-American Renaissance building” (1977:39). The Georgian house grammar, seen throughout the Mid-Atlantic as early as 1700, was adopted by the gentry as a template for their houses, and was popularized by the circulation of pattern books and handbooks in the 1740s and 1750s (Glassie 1972:35,37). While Glassie’s interpretation of Georgian

House forms in the Chesapeake identifies social values that made an American Revolution possible, this paper explores the social values embodied in the architectural features of Mount Airy and the Octagon House, as well as the impact of those social values on a hyper-local level.

Both homes were built at a time marked not only by a shift in domestic architecture, but by a shift in world view. Referred to as the Age of Reason, the 18th century “saw the rise of scientific thought in the Western world and the development of Renaissance-derived form, balanced and ordered, in the Anglo-American world” (Deetz 1977:40). There was renewed desire for order and control that inspired a quest for refinement or gentility among the wealthy members of society. According to Richard L. Bushman (1993), “Refinement originated in an aspiration that had been revitalized in the Renaissance and spread first to the European courts and then to the upper middle classes” and eventually took root in 18th-century America (1993:xii). Genteel living took place in symmetrical Georgian houses and included “new modes of speech, dress, body carriage, and manners” (Bushman 1993:xii). Refinement permeated the physical aspects of life and “By the Revolution, it was incumbent upon all gentlemen...to live by the genteel code” (Bushman 1993:xiii). Adhering to the rules of polite society “bestowed concrete social power on its practitioners”, meaning that men like John Tayloe II and John Tayloe III were investing in and broadcasting their social capital by building genteel homes (Bushman 1993:xix).

However, the same buildings that the Tayloes constructed to project an image of gentility and refinement, also included “architectural gestures that

signaled the onset of a more rigid form of chattel slavery that would persist until the middle of the nineteenth century” (Vlach 1993:43). It was enslaved labor that earned the Tayloe’s wealth and allowed them to build and maintain plantations, mansions, farms, quarters, furnaces, mills, and countless other edifices that won them the title: gentry. Bushman writes that “gentility was the culture of the elite” in the 18th century (Bushman 1993:79). Therefore order, cleanliness, privacy, and politeness were values that were a privilege of the gentry; a privilege that the Tayloes enjoyed as two of the wealthiest men in 18th-century Virginia, and a privilege provided by the enslaved men and women spread throughout DC, Maryland, and Virginia who labored without remuneration.

Entangled with Georgian order and the ritual of refinement practiced by families like the Tayloe’s was the institution of slavery that fueled them, the physical markers of which remain in the archaeological and architectural record. Analyzing Mount Airy and the Octagon House offers the unique opportunity to investigate how architectural features at both properties reflected and/or reinforced social values in two different settings, across space and time. If the Tayloes used architectural features as a way to assert their position as members of an elite and exclusive social group, perpetuating Georgian ideals of order and control on the landscape, we would expect to see evidence that they visually and materially displayed their knowledge of refinement, symmetry, proportion, and perspective at Mount Airy and the Octagon House in the archaeological, architectural, and historic record.

According to Bushman, gentility was only attainable by wealthy

landowners, while “the middling and lower orders looked on together from the outside” (1993:79). This paper then asks if the audience for these grand houses, built according to Georgian design principles, was equally as exclusive. Were genteel houses a part of an unspoken dialogue between the elite members of 18th-century polite society or were there messages meant for the middling and lower classes? Dell Upton (1984) in his article “White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia” writes, “The common white planter, that is, was part of the intended audience of the processional landscape, and it served to affirm his *lack* of standing in it. The slaves were not intentionally a part of the audience. Few white planters imagined that slaves were susceptible to the legitimating functions of white society...” (1984:66). Upton therefore highlights the role of architecture in communicating boundaries; a conversation that ordinary white planters and enslaved workers were a part of. However, while boundaries were in place to separate the genteel from the mundane: “The rude had to be excluded for the refined to achieve the elevated condition that was their desire”, landscapes were not just white and black in the 18th century- there were shades of grey (Bushman 1993:xv). While there were limits to the access that the common white planter could gain in an elite planter’s house, the enslaved staff in many cases experienced a more fluid landscape: “as an audience slaves shared in some respects the position of the white common planter, but their status as slaves worked in other ways to alter and even to undercut the intended effects of the processional landscape” (Upton 1984:66). Enslaved people moved through some of the most intimate spaces of the house- those reserved strictly for

members of the household. Did the processional landscape Upton discusses reach the most central private spaces of the Georgian house? If the processional ritual continued into the recesses of the house, then we would expect to see architectural features that reinforced social boundaries and Georgian values.

Both generations of Tayloes owned hundreds of enslaved individuals and employed indentured servants and convicts across their sizeable landholdings in DC, Maryland, and Virginia; if there were coded messages about order and gentility imbued in the architecture at Mount Airy and the Octagon House that applied to enslaved individuals and the middling and lower class members of society we would expect to see Georgian design principles transmitted in the public-facing areas of the two properties as well as in the areas strictly used by the enslaved workers, staff, and servants.

In order to investigate the way in which the structure and design of the Georgian house symbolized and influenced social values in the 18th-century Chesapeake, and the relationship between those values and slavery, this paper will look at two properties owned and occupied by the Tayloe family- one in the countryside of Virginia and the other in urbanizing Washington, DC. Reviewing the scholarship surrounding house forms, landscape archaeology, and social values for the region of study, this paper will begin with a theoretical orientation. Once the driving theories for this research are established, I will briefly contextualize the built, demographic, and cultural landscape of the 18th-century countryside and urban centers. With background developed, I will then outline my methodology for analyzing Mount Airy and the Octagon House through a lens

that looks critically at the function of Georgian architectural features in society. Did those functions differ between country and urban contexts? In order to answer some of those questions I will reconstruct as completely as possible the households and built environments at Mount Airy and the Octagon House using historical records, maps, architectural plans, and archaeological reports. This will make it possible to critically compare the two houses and analyze them on criteria like floor plan, symmetry, degree of view-shed manipulation, and attempted obfuscation. The criteria have been selected on the grounds that there are certain characteristic Georgian design elements; including: a central hall plan, symmetrical facades, and ordered landscapes, that indicate a knowledge of the “genteel code” (Bushman 1993:xiii). The results of this analysis will be presented, along with a discussion of the findings.

Previous Scholarship

Architecture has long been a topic of study in the Chesapeake region, with a number of scholars investigating the role of the built environment in structuring lived experience and social interactions. Beginning with the impermanent architecture favored by 17th-century colonists in the Chesapeake, Cary Carson et al. (1981) explore the architectural antecedents of the Georgian house. Initially colonists resorted to “huts, hovels, tents, cabins, caves, and dugouts” in the early days of settlement (Carson et al. 1981:139). The progression moved from “hovel, house, home” and it was the impermanent Virginia House that served as the intermediary (Carson et al. 1981:141). The Virginia House was a vernacular earthfast structure constructed with posts set in the ground and its roots can be

traced back to archaic construction methods practiced in southwest England into the 17th century (Carson et al. 1981:158). The Virginia House persisted for decades in the Chesapeake as an economical and easy solution to housing. However, Carson et al. point to the “vernacular threshold” as “the cultural divide” between impermanent and more “enduring” architecture (1981:160). Crossing the vernacular threshold meant making a long-term investment and symbolized the transfer of wealth from one generation to another in the form of real estate (Carson et al. 1981:1978). Carson et al. caution against ascribing the material change in building styles solely to Georgianization, and where many scholars see a shift from medieval to refined, the authors see savvy pioneers who made strategic choices to ensure their survival and who in choosing to build more substantial permanent houses made the decision to invest in their heirs (1981:178). Therefore in crossing the vernacular threshold to permanent architecture we see culture coupled with economy.

Mark Leone’s (1989, 2005) work on “power gardens” in 18th-century Annapolis looks at another means for securing wealth and communicating messages architecturally (Leone et al. 1989; Leone et al. 2005). Baroque principles were used by wealthy landowners in the design of their town house gardens in Annapolis to convey messages about hierarchy and control through optical illusions “intended to bolster their makers’ claims to civil authority” (Leone et al. 1989:36). Leone also asserts, “that formal gardens also played a role in developing and instructing a new nation as to the proper way to organize nature, farm the land, and manage workers, enslaved or free” and thereby highlighting

the creative power of architecture to influence behavior (2005:139). One method employed in the design of these 18th-century power gardens was the use of “converging and diverging lines of sight to manipulate the relationship between distance and a focal point” in order to communicate to the viewer the “builder’s” literacy in the principles of geometry and control over perspective- making things appear closer or farther away than they were in reality (Leone et al. 2005:139). The lines of sight carefully curated in Annapolis gardens simultaneously communicated the landowner’s power over nature and sight. Similarly, the principle of “see and be seen” was at play and Leone draws the connection between power gardens, and Jeremy Bentham and Michel Foucault’s work on panopticons (2005:142). Leone implies that at Wye house the garden and house worked in tandem to communicate to the enslaved and free audience, that the watchful eye of the landowner was ever-present (2005:156). Leone writes about the garden as an extension of the house and therefore another venue to display knowledge, power, and control.

Terrence Epperson (2000) explores “panoptic plantations” in a study of the houses and gardens of Thomas Jefferson and George Mason (2000:58).

Defining the “ideal panopticon” as having a central observation tower surrounded by a cellblock one room deep and several stories high, with only one inmate per room constantly under the omnipresent threat of being monitored (2000:58,59).

Epperson argues that while this ideal form of panopticon was rarely realized, its principle has been widely replicated throughout the capitalist world (2000:59).

Epperson looks specifically at Monticello and Gunston Hall as two panoptic

houses, designed not as imposing monuments, but “as observation posts” (2000:60). When compared to contemporary Georgian-style homes, Monticello and Gunston Hall are much smaller houses where “Power was embodied in, and expressed by the ability to see rather than to be seen” (Epperson 2000:60). At Gunston Hall, Mason carefully cultivated four vast avenues of trees to appear only one tree deep from one particular vantage point, and Epperson cites this as an “exercise in alienated, individualized perception”, putting the observer in control over the landscape (2000:63). Epperson also discusses the fact that Mason and Jefferson rendered the enslaved people living at Gunston Hall and Monticello invisible on the landscape. Describing Mason’s masking of slavery on the landscape as “primarily exclusionary”, Epperson explains that Jefferson was able to maintain an unimpeded vista by building his dependencies into the hillside at Monticello, below the grade of the house, out of view, but within “the rigid, symmetrical space of the immediate plantation nucleus” (2000:68). According to Epperson, Jefferson was certainly aware of the principle of the panopticon- Jeremy Betham’s *Panopticon* was a volume in his library (2000:72). Epperson maintains that panopticism is critical to understanding or “reading” the properties of Gunston Hall and Monticello and evaluating the way in which design, control, and politics intersected on two 18th-century plantations (2000:59).

Dell Upton (1982) describes a reversal of visual control from outward surveillance, to inward awareness. Much the same way Epperson described the all-seeing central unit or tower essential to the panopticon, Upton outlines the

way slaveholders structured plantation landscapes to mimic towns, with the main house at the center, directing all attention and activity inward (Upton 1982:102). Within the main plantation house architectural features were used to further assert power with floor plans that restricted access and controlled movement, Upton points towards the emergence of the central passage as a way to regulate access to public and private spaces within the house (Upton 1982:103). All of these architectural devices were outward, overt signals meant to transmit specific messages about the authority of wealthy landholders. Robert Dalzell (1993), on the other hand, discusses certain architectural and landscape devices employed by Washington at Mount Vernon and Jefferson at Monticello to moderate or mask slavery's "visual impact on their houses"-Washington planted a grove of trees that obscured the service buildings adjacent to the house from a distance and Jefferson located his major service buildings below ground (1993:577).

James Delle (2014) writes that "Spaces are dynamic phenomena whose nature is experienced only when people move through them"; therefore by navigating the Georgian landscape, both free and enslaved participants were automatically engaged in a dialogue mediated by the built environment (Delle 2014:12). Delle in an analysis of Jamaica's plantation landscapes writes, "the built environments of Jamaica's plantations were designed and constructed to mediate the relationships between the planters and enslaved workers, not necessarily by display, but through action" (Delle 2014:12). The idea that the built environment is structured, and in turn is actively structuring, according to cultural and social values is illustrated in Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) *Kabyle house* or

Berber house. The entire structure of the Berber house is defined by oppositions or differences- light/dark, high/low, male/female. Bourdieu notes, “These relations of opposition are expressed through a whole set of convergent indices which both establish them and receive their meaning from them” (1977:136). The concept of house structures both establishing and receiving meaning from indices of opposition is a nuanced but helpful framework in discussing plantation architecture and contexts of slavery. The built environment of slavery was essential to its survival and as previously discussed scholars reiterate, was an environment saturated with many dualities; the principal of which were: free and enslaved, black and white, refined and rude. While those in power were the architects of those dualities, it begs the question whether they were realities that were realized in the lived experiences of the individuals that navigated the 18th and 19th-century landscape. Contextualizing slavery and plantation culture in the 17th and 18th-century Chesapeake further defines the oppositions that were established and reinforced by social structures.

Origin and Architecture of Slavery and Plantations in the Chesapeake

Wealthy landowners, not unlike Mason and Jefferson, commonly took on the role of “gentleman-amateur architect” in building their homes, participating at many different levels of the design and construction process (Rasmussen 1982:198,208). The Tayloes were no exception; in 1765 John Tayloe II completed Mount Airy, an impressive stone mansion overlooking Rappahannock Creek in Richmond County, Virginia. Camille Wells notes that Tayloe was not only an active participant in the building of Mount Airy, but likely selected the

design of Menokin, the estate he built for his daughter and son-in-law (Wells 2003:10). His only son, John Tayloe III, inherited Mount Airy in 1779 at the young age of eight, along with hundreds of enslaved laborers that maintained the property and sustained the Tayloes' wealth. In 1801, John Tayloe III concluded construction of a town home in the newly established capital of Washington, DC. The Octagon House, which only has six sides, was located just a couple of blocks away from the White House. Tayloe maintained residence at both Mount Airy and the Octagon House, living out the summer months in the country and the winters in the city (Dunn 2011:496).

The Tayloe household included immediate family as well as enslaved domestic servants and laborers. In 1808, 375 enslaved people resided at Mount Airy and up to 250 enslaved people worked on Tayloe's numerous properties spread throughout the District, Maryland, and Virginia (Dunn 2011:495). The Octagon House itself had a permanent enslaved staff of ten, living on the property year-round, and during the winter when the Tayloes occupied the house there was a full staff of about eighteen to twenty enslaved people who served the family and maintained the house (Dunn 2011:495). Therefore, subjects for this project include the Tayloe family and the enslaved people who worked at Mount Airy and the Octagon House. It is critical to understand the demographics of both households when analyzing the role of architectural features in transmitting messages about order and control. The way in which the resident family- the Tayloes, self-identified and presented themselves publicly helps to establish the values to which they subscribed. Additionally, the enslaved laborers that worked

and lived at both Mount Airy and the Octagon House are an inextricable part of the narrative in that they were the individuals who literally constructed the two properties. Enslaved people also constructed their own realities that existed concurrently with the realities of gentility and refinement, played out on the same stage. Upton writes that, "It is less obvious but equally true that an apparently unified landscape may actually be composed of several fragmentary ones" (Upton 1984:59). Therefore enslaved people transformed and appropriated the landscapes they were assigned, creating "their own version of the plantation" (Vlach 1993:16). Vlach notes that while the signs of these landscapes are ephemeral "they must be consciously recalled in order to be factored into our interpretation of surviving slave buildings and spaces" (193:17).

Before building a more complete profile of the individuals who lived and worked at Mount Airy and the Octagon House, it is necessary to contextualize the origin and architecture of slavery in the Chesapeake region.

Africans first reached the Chesapeake in the early decades of the 17th century; when in 1619 a Dutch ship transported twenty enslaved individuals to Jamestown (Berlin 1998:29). This did not mark the beginning of the English slave trade- beginning in the 1560s John Hawkins made voyages to the "west coast of Africa during which he plundered villages and kidnapped hundreds of people" (Smedley 2007:76). The Africans who arrived at Jamestown in 1619 were not the first Africans in the New World- Africans and "men of mixed European and African ancestry" were aboard Columbus' ships and accompanied "later conquistadors, merchants, pirates, and immigrants" (Smedley 2007:95). Ira

Berlin (1998) writes that most of the people on board the Dutch ship were creoles, having lived in the New World and knowing many European customs (Berlin 1998:29). These individuals lived and worked alongside English and Irish servants in the fields and households of early Virginia- it was not uncommon that “master, servant, and slave worked shoulder-to-shoulder” (Berlin 1998:31, 32). Audrey Smedley (2007) notes that the “the term ‘slave’ was rarely applied to these Africans during the first decades of their presence in North America”, although that is not an indication that their status was the same as that of a servant (2007:99). In the early years of the Virginia colony, there was little physical separation between free, enslaved, and indentured. In fact, housing in the Chesapeake was predominated by one and two room houses a story and a half high and often the entire household lived under the same roof (Upton 1982:96). Smedley writes that “the hardening of ‘racial’ identities and boundaries had not yet occurred in the mid-seventeenth century” (2007:106). Even the wealthiest colonists built modest structures; however, “in the latter part of the seventeenth century major social and economic transformations began to take place that eventually obliterated the uncertain status of Africans and their descendants” (Smedley 2007:99). The tobacco economy erupted and an increased labor force was required, at which point enslaved laborers and white indentured servants were brought to the colonies in rapidly growing numbers (Upton 1982:96). While enslaved laborers were marked by the color of their skin, there was a level of social mobility afforded to indentured servants in the Chesapeake, which incited growing discomfort among the elite. The elite, or

those free white men who came to the colonies with wealth and titles, turned towards architecture as a way to create divisions between themselves and the laboring class, “creating a definite spatial division where no clear social one existed” (Upton 1982:96). Russell Menard (1973) in his article “From Servant to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Prosperity Accumulation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland” discusses the level of mobility that white indentured servants were able to achieve in 17th-century Maryland; noting “Wage labor, sharecropping, and leaseholding all offered men a chance to accumulate enough capital to get started on their own plantations and to sustain themselves in the meantime” (1973:50,51). Menard’s study of 158 indentured men, brought to Maryland by 1642, who survived to be freemen illustrates that it was indeed possible for servants to accrue both wealth and status. Many of the men occupied positions within Maryland government and “at least 19 of the 158 survivors acquired the title of mister, gentleman, or esquire” (Menard 1973:46). This level of success caused anxiety among the wealthy planters who considered themselves socially superior. Allan Kulikoff (1986) also adds that “those few established gentlemen who migrated to the Chesapeake region died off as rapidly as the servants”; meaning that there was no well-defined social class in the 17th-century Chesapeake (1986:4). Kulikoff cites falling tobacco prices as the impetus for chattel slavery which “provided the material basis for the development of a gentry ruling class” (1986:6). With a sizable enslaved labor force, planters were able to leave the fields and begin work establishing “class-segregated institutions” (Kulikoff 1986:10). Wealthy planters in the late 17th and early 18th centuries

therefore used a combination of tobacco regulation, social institutions, and architecture to solidify their standing as gentleman.

The new class structure in the 17th and 18th-century Chesapeake translated architecturally into smaller houses for wealthy planters who built detached kitchens and separate buildings for enslaved workers to physically distance themselves from labor (Upton 1982:96; Vlach 1993:43). In fact, leisure in particular is mentioned by Kulikoff as a marker of gentry status (1986:6,10,276). It can be seen that this emergent gentleman or gentry class established their status through distance. Along with that distance, came an evident shift in power structure as “class formation” occurred in the late 17th and 18th centuries (Kulikoff 1986:6). Those in power- the wealthy planters, no longer asserted their power over enslaved and indentured servants through direct surveillance and instruction, but rather through ideological tactics and mechanisms like the panopticon. Therefore, while the shift in house structure to more numerous segregated buildings on the surface looks like a ceding of control, it symbolizes architecturally the structural racism based on difference that perpetuated and empowered slavery for centuries. Architecture succeeded in controlling social interactions and perceptions. While segregating enslaved workers in separate quarters meant planters lost visual control, they gained another level of control by psychologically manipulating others into seeing them as morally and socially superior.

Delle examines class formation in colonial Jamaica and the role of racialization, “a process that defines social difference and creates social

hierarchies based on perceived physical or biological differences, as well as a variety of cultural variables such as language, clothing, and cuisine” (2014:113). I would suggest that those cultural variables included housing. Architecture was yet another vehicle for physically and visually imprinting difference and maintaining control. Delle writes that, “planters created distinct social categories defined by social rules that enabled white colonials to compel captives to work for them, on punishment of death for ‘insolence’” (2014:11). The same categories were established in the American south and were bolstered by legal codes.

By the 18th century tobacco cultivation was pervasive throughout the Chesapeake, demanding a great deal of labor to cultivate and process the plant (Berlin 1998:86). Although Charles Wetherell (1984) cautions against the “Boom and Bust” model for interpreting the tobacco economy in the Chesapeake, the 17th and 18th-century market was defined by periods of fluctuating demand and therefore prices, and planters would have responded to increased demand and the chance at a high reward by investing in land and enslaved labor (1984:207). Dependency on slavery became further entrenched in the 18th century; even as planters shifted towards grain cultivation, herding, and iron production (Kulikoff 1986:52). Iron production, not unlike tobacco, required a tremendous amount of labor and it was enslaved people who carried out the majority of it; one ironworks manager advised that “one hundred to one hundred twenty-five slaves were necessary to run an iron furnace” (Lewis 1974:243). John Tayloe II was one such planter who diversified production across his estate; cultivating crops like corn, wheat, tobacco, and operating ironworks, a shipbuilding enterprise, stagecoach

lines, hotels, and ordinaries (Kamoie 2007:77,95). The planters who commanded a labor force of over a hundred enslaved people and whose properties fit the “plantation stereotype” of a well-appointed manorial estate were few. Vlach writes that “less than one percent of all slaveholding families fit the plantation stereotype” from the mid-18th to mid-19th century (1993:8). Those few elite individuals who had access to the labor and wealth necessary to sustain such large plantations also planned their properties in a way that visually conveyed messages about the planter’s status and dominance (Vlach 1993:8). The quarters for enslaved workers were often constructed in ways that enhanced the overall appearance of the planter’s house (Vlach 1993:21). Usually quarters were located to the side or back of the main house so that they did “not contend with it visually”, but in some cases the quarters were prominently located along the avenue leading up to the main house as a sign of the planter’s wealth and power (Vlach 1993:21).

Up until the 18th century, it was largely such plantations and farms that dotted the landscape. Hindered in many ways by years of tobacco cultivation, towns and urban areas did not begin accelerated or widespread development until later in the 18th century (Kulikoff 1986:105). Places like Annapolis and Georgetown, followed by the capital city of Washington, became new centers for capital investment and subsequently became new landscapes for slavery. A significantly smaller number of enslaved people lived in Washington than in neighboring plantation states, Maryland and Virginia, but in an urban setting it was no less pernicious. In 1815 Jesse Torrey, a physician from Philadelphia, was

so disturbed by the sight of a slave coffle in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of DC, that he ultimately wrote a book: *A Portraiture of Domestic Slavery in the United States* (Davis 1998:71). Torrey's publication documents the very public and highly visible nature of slavery and the slave trade on the streets of Washington.

Despite obvious differences in the public versus private nature of slavery on plantations as opposed to towns, Vlach emphasizes that southern cities still in many ways resembled their larger plantation counterparts, projecting a "plantation mentality" that included the highly visible actions of enslaved laborers at work and the grammar of plantation estates recreated on a smaller scale within city lots (1997:150,153). Similarly, David Goldfield terms southern towns "urban plantations" (Vlach 1997:150). While the number of enslaved people living within cities was significantly smaller than in more rural areas, enslaved people navigated the city streets and centers on a daily basis carrying out tasks for slaveholders, working and propelling the city activity forward, in much the same way that enslaved laborers sustained plantations. Vlach writes that "The high visibility of black people was one of the distinctive marks of southern urbanism" (1997:151). However, despite the visibility of enslaved people in public, there were still elements of visual control similar to those employed on large plantations, replicated on city properties:

"While slaves, too, moved through this landscape, occasionally dominating a particular place like the market, the waterfront, or the city square, their prime domains were hidden either behind their masters' houses or in a marginal section of the city that had been reluctantly ceded

for their use” (Vlach 1997:159).

Richard Wade (1967) elaborates on the housing practices common in antebellum Southern cities. While a “plantation mentality” was certainly possible within the city limits, plantation landscapes were not. There simply was not enough space in cities to replicate the kind of living arrangements that existed on plantations, with slaveholders in the “big house” and enslaved people in cabins or quarters at some distance. Instead, in cities the main house was located on the street with a yard and quarters for enslaved people in the rear. The quarters were either placed at the rear of the lot or connected to the house at a right angle; generally two stories, the sleeping area would have been located on the second floor and a kitchen or other service room occupied the first (Wade 1967:57). Vlach refers to this kind of arrangement as a “plantation hierarchy” with the great house situated in front and subordinate support buildings in the back (Vlach 2010:8). The proximity of the quarters to the main house meant that they were usually of better quality than those on farms or plantations and they were commonly of brick construction.

However, while these buildings may have been more stylistically appealing than cabins or quarters on rural plantations, they were far from ideal. In instances where more than a handful of enslaved people lived on the lot, the upstairs rooms would have been cramped, usually with no window to the outside (Wade 1967:59). The function of quarter design on 19th-century city lots was not aesthetic, but rather was meant to isolate enslaved people from the outside and convey messages of control (Wade 1967:59). Rear lots were encircled by high

and thick brick walls with all buildings, entrances, and exits oriented towards the slaveholder in the main house. One symbolic feature that Wade calls out is the alignment of quarter roofs that dramatically slope towards the yard or main house “drawing the life of the bondsman inward toward his master” (1967:59). In cities where enslaved people were continuously interacting with a range of people on a daily basis, slaveholders attempted to exact control over those interactions by cutting off enslaved people from the bustle on the street, simultaneously blocking them from view, using confining architecture.

Despite calculated efforts on the part of slaveholders, there were spaces within the city landscape that evaded their surveillance; those spaces took the form of alley ways, attics, basements, outbuildings, and rooms (Wade 1967:67). Berlin also notes that in urban areas like New York, enslaved people “lived in back rooms, lofts, closets, and occasionally makeshift alley shacks” (1998:58). The often crowded conditions of city residences led many slaveholders to allow enslaved people to “live out and hire their own time” (Berlin 1998:59). There were attempts to regulate the practice of hiring out, including a ticket system, where enslaved individuals were allowed to work and live apart from slaveholders.¹

However, despite opposition to the practice it persisted and in DC, “Herring Hill”

¹Richard Wade writes that the practice of hiring out was essential to the survival of urban slavery because the economy required greater flexibility in labor exchange. In some cases, a slaveholder would sign a contract with another person to hire one of their enslaved laborers for a fixed amount of time with conditions of work laid out and agreed upon for the duration of up to a year. There was also a system for short term employment, a badge would be purchased and the enslaved individual would be permitted to take on short term work as it arose. (Wade 1967:38,39).

was a well-known area where free and enslaved people lived and an African American community flourished (Vlach 1997:158).

Having control over one's dwelling space, may have given enslaved people a sense of freedom and liberty they could not experience under the watchful gaze of the slaveholder, but Berlin reminds us that "by definition, slaves had less choice than any other people, as slaveholders set the conditions upon which slaves worked and lived" (1998:2). Therefore, living out was still under the control of slaveholders, who no doubt benefitted from the practice. They were no longer responsible for the room and board of their enslaved workers and the visibility of enslaved people living and working on their property was masked, while they still reaped the monetary rewards of their labor. While many enslaved people arranged for their own lodging, preferring housing that was uncomfortable, crowded, and undesirable compared to the quarters supplied by slaveholders, the majority of enslaved people lived in controlled and monitored spaces (Wade 1967:79).

Methodology

This project investigates the Tayloe's- an elite family with landholdings and enslaved laborers in both urban Washington, DC and more rural Richmond County, Virginia. In order to better understand relationship between architecture, slavery, Georgianization, and urbanization in antebellum Virginia and Washington, DC, this project compares two Tayloe properties: Mount Airy and the Octagon House. Using these two properties it is possible to conduct a comparative analysis of architectural features employed and the extent to which

they reinforced or established social values and class consciousness.

To assess the architectural features constructed at Mount Airy and the Octagon House in the antebellum period, I draw on the architectural, archaeological, and documentary record to inform my argument. I attempt to construct as complete a building narrative of the two properties as possible, using architectural plans, drawings, maps, letters, paintings, photographs, will records, and census records.

Sources were culled from a number of different locations. The majority of the maps and architectural drawings were retrieved from the Library of Congress (LOC) digital collection. John Tayloe III's will was retrieved from the DC Archives and a copy of his 1801 Letterbook was accessed from the College of William and Mary's Special Collections Research Center. Archaeological site reports for the Octagon House were obtained from the DC Historic Preservation Office (DC HPO). Census records were accessed using Ancestry.com. Other images were retrieved from the DC Historical Society, Cornell University Library, and the DC HPO map collection. Other details regarding the two properties are gleaned from secondary sources.

In addition to the record of what was actually built at Mount Airy and the Octagon House, I will add plans that were used as inspiration or were ultimately not executed- Mount Airy is believed by historians to be a derivative of a house plan in a popular 18th-century pattern book (Bronwell et al. 1992, Waterman 1946, Wells 2003) and Benjamin Henry Latrobe produced several preliminary drawings for Tayloe that were not selected.

Understanding whether or not features are Georgian is essential to analyzing the extent to which the Tayloe's incorporated those values into the built environment. From there it can be interpreted if deeper ideologies were embedded in the landscape. Although at first glance Georgian appears to be simply stylistic, architectural historians and archaeologists have confirmed that seemingly cosmetic features are in fact symbolic of capitalistic, class-conscious rhetoric (Bushman 1993, Delle 2014, Kulikoff 1986, Leone 1989). Interpreting the data will therefore require study of the built environment, the household demographics, and social climate of each property.

Data

Measured drawings and building plans exist for both Mount Airy and the Octagon House. Much of Mount Airy's design is thought to be imported from England. Scholars cite plate LVIII (A design for a gentleman in Dorsetshire), in James Gibbs' *Book of Architecture*, published in London in 1728 as the inspiration for the South façade of Mount Airy, given that the same arched triple loggia appear in both designs (Figures 2 ,3; Waterman 1946:256, Wells 2003:19). Thomas Waterman (1946) also identifies Haddo House, in Aberdeenshire, Scotland as the basis for the main front or North façade (1946:256). The design by William Adam appeared in the book *Vitruvius Scoticus* along with drawing of other houses and buildings like Tindwall and Belhaven, whose features Waterman also identifies at Mount Airy (1946:256). Comparing the North and South elevations at Mount Airy with designs featured in Gibbs' and Adam's books, Waterman surmises that John Ariss was the designer of Mount

Airy (1946:256). John Ariss was an architect working in Maryland and Virginia and a 1751 advertisement he posted in the *Maryland Gazette* announces his services as an undertaker for “Buildings of all Sorts and Dimensions” and touts his knowledge of the “Modern Order of Gibb’s Architect” (Waterman 1946:244). Although only a church and a chapel can be definitively linked to Ariss, Waterman lists several houses that “while the evidence of his authorship is circumstantial, it is so strong as to be convincing” (1946:245).

At the time that Mount Airy was completed, the banks of the Rappahannock River were suitably settled by some of Virginia’s oldest and wealthiest families (Figure 1). John Tayloe II joined the ranks of Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, as a formidable planter and gentleman- architect² (Rasmussen 1982:202). Born in 1721, into a wealthy Virginia family with a father (also named John) who amassed an estate that secured his place among the Virginia elite, Tayloe enjoyed a level of standing and wealth bestowed upon few (Kamoie 2007:10). When his father died in 1747 he inherited “more than 20,000 acres” and 320 enslaved individuals (Kamoie 2007:33). Tayloe continued to improve and enlarge his already impressive estate over the course of his lifetime. He built Mount Airy, a Georgian mansion in the style of a Palladian villa, made entirely of Choptank and Aquia sandstone, to serve as the family seat on Rappahannock creek in 1765 (Wells 2003:19). Both Camille Wells (2003) and Laura Croghan Kamoie (2007) note that the building of Mount Airy symbolized Tayloe’s

² In the 18th century the “architect” supplied the design for a building which could often be found in pattern books, while a craftsman or “undertaker” directed the construction and realization of the design (Rasmussen 1982:202)

announcement that he was a member of the gentry (Kamoie 2007:38). In fact, by the time John Tayloe II died in 1779 he was one of the 15 richest men in Virginia (Kamoie 2007:33).

Using drawings from two 18th-century pattern books, Tayloe likely selected the design for Mount Airy with the help of architect John Ariss (Figure 2). Waterman suspects that Ariss took up residence in Richmond County, so as to oversee the construction of Mount Airy; maintaining a lease there until 1762 (1946:248). Although, Wells references Tayloe's Daybook which details that William Waite of Alexandria supervised the masonry and carpentry during the construction of the house (Wells 2003:19). William Buckland, a joiner who worked throughout Maryland and Virginia, was brought on later to put the finishing touches on the more detailed carpentry (Wells 2003:19). As noted earlier, the front façade of Mount Airy very closely matches the drawing included in Gibbs' 1728 book, complete with flanking passages and dependencies. One notable difference between the Gibbs plan and Mount Airy is the substitution of one large central hall on the main floor instead of three separate chambers (Rasmussen 1982:209).

Although Mount Airy burned in 1844 and much of the original finishes and details of the house were lost, the basic floor plan was salvaged (Waterman 1946:260). The main floor contains a "broad entrance salon" or central passage with two drawing rooms to the east and a hall and dining room to the west (Upton 1984:66, Waterman 1946:259).

Mark Wenger writes that the central passage was a new architectural feature

introduced at the beginning of the 18th century that functioned “to make the old hall and chamber far less accessible than they previously had been” (Wenger 1986:138). Therefore the central passage was one of the many barriers Upton describes as part of the processional landscape; only those who were vetted gained entrance into the private family spaces like the dining room or chamber. (1984:68). Interpretation of the large central passage at Mount Airy is twofold: it was “a means by which to declare and maintain the social boundaries that separated the planter from his neighbors” and it also likely functioned as a living space as well (Wenger 1986:139). Wenger describes that on visiting Mount Airy, tutor Philip Fithian encountered the ladies of the house playing the harpsichord in the central passage or hall as he defines it (1986:141). This would suggest that the passage was both reflective of the Georgian preference for privacy and control but also a space for elite leisure activities that were a marker of refinement.

The front lawn or court at Mount Airy was landscaped in a way that the house and flanking dependencies sat on a terrace, concealing the yard to the south (Figure 4). The south yard was landscaped in a similar manner with the ground level falling away from the main house. Other contributing buildings to the main block at Mount Airy included: a dairy, a counting house, a smoke house, and an orangery. Quarters for the enslaved people that lived at Mount Airy are no longer extant, but Upton describes the path that an enslaved worker would have taken to access the house: walking along the street of outbuildings, entering the kitchen on the west side of the house, and then into the dining room (1984:66). A plan of

Mount Airy on file at the Cornell University Library, created sometime between ca. 1910 and ca. 1950, depicts a number of outbuildings and includes a formal garden behind the house (Figure 5). When compared with modern aerials of the property, some of the plantings are still visible. While it is difficult to determine to how closely the gardens at Mount Airy resembled the plan, it is likely that the area to Southwest of the house was subject to significant landscaping.

The service buildings at Mount Airy were key components of the regulated landscape Tayloe created. The two buildings flanking the main house at Mount Airy- a kitchen to the west and matching service building to the east were eventually appended to the house with covered passages (Upton 1984:66). Waterman also describes two other “subsidiary buildings” near the main house, one of which was an office “about fifty feet beyond the east dependency” and “a balancing building” to the west (1946:259). The balanced and symmetrical treatment of the service buildings once again signals to the control that Tayloe exerted over the property between 1768 and 1779 when he oversaw the management of the estate. The covered quadrants connecting the kitchen and other service wing to the house indicate that the movement of enslaved people preparing meals and maintaining the house was both concealed and calculated. The stable “was relegated to a location outside the formal plan” (Waterman 1946:45). John Tayloe II built a mile-long race track at Mount Airy and John Tayloe III “became internationally known for the quality of his stable” (Wells 2003:6, Kamoie 2007:119). While a location outside of the formal plan of the house meant a lack of control, the stable represented both a profitable and

genteel pastime and likely stood on its own as a symbol of status and wealth.

Menokin is another property that was a testament to Tayloe's wealth-it was built as a wedding gift for Francis Lightfoot Lee and John Tayloe II's daughter Rebecca (Waterman 1946:418). The house was completed by 1775 and the design has been attributed to Tayloe himself (Wells 2003:10); although, Waterman attributes it to Ariss (1946:246). Waterman does concede that, "if Ariss were, indeed, the architect, Menokin was probably built without his supervision" (1946:309). Therefore it is likely that Tayloe played a large role in managing the construction of the house, having just concluded Mount Airy. The design according to Waterman exhibits features from Adam's *Vitruvius Scoticus* as well as "much of the character of the traditional Virginia house" (1946:308). Hamilton Hall House and Lord Milton's House (both in Adam's book) exhibit facades that appear very similar to Menokin's "especially the belt courses and window facings" (Waterman 1946:311). It is notable that Waterman describes the house as "unusual in possessing the qualities of a mansion, although the building is modest in its actual dimensions" (1946:309). This miniature mansion quality of Menokin is partially the focus of Wells' study of Menokin and Mount Airy (2003). Wells interprets Menokin as a symbol of John Tayloe II's "patriarchal primacy" (2003:5, 10). In other words, Menokin appearing as a diminutive outpost of Mount Airy signaled to the Lee's as well as to neighboring planters that John Tayloe's wealth and status was behind the house's construction (Wells 2003:11). Wells points out a number of Mount Airy's architectural features replicated or inverted at Menokin. Menokin was constructed from a rusty brown sandstone

similar to the Choptank sandstone used at Mount Airy, but was faced with stucco and whitewashed. The result of the stucco treatment was a façade that appears the foil to Mount Airy: “From a distance, the chocolate-brown architraves and quoins accenting Menokin's creamy light walls would appear precisely and wittily to reverse Mount Airy's palette”, ornamented with costly white Aquia sandstone (Wells 2003: 10). Wells also notes that the dimensions of Menokin are almost identical to the two-story outbuildings on either side of the main house at Mount Airy (2003:10). Mount Airy and Menokin are intimately associated buildings and when regarding the two structures the similarities are apparent, despite the difference in scale.

In 1783, Francis Lightfoot Lee was listed as the head of a household including 8 white individuals and 32 black individuals. At the time of his death in 1797, 48 enslaved people were listed as his property (Pogue 2004:29). Archaeological investigations conducted in 2003 uncovered several features that are interpreted as representative of housing for enslaved laborers at Menokin (Pogue 2004:35). Three structures were identified, all of which contained sub-floor pits within their footprint. All three structures were of wood construction and archaeologists found evidence that one structure was of earthfast or post-in-ground construction. The dwellings were located just a few hundred yards from the main house and were adjacent to an agricultural field (Pogue 2004:29). The structures would have been to the southeast of where the main house and offices were oriented. Archaeology has played a major role in understanding Menokin, much of whose original fabric collapsed in the late 1960s; particularly, features

identified by archaeologists as representative of slave housing on the site.

Both Menokin and Mount Airy represent country estates where the landscape allowed ample room for service buildings and quarters. It was possible to locate various outbuildings and dwellings at some distance from the main house in order to maintain an unimpeded visual approach to the homes.

Drawings and plans from Menokin compared with Mount Airy, help to establish architectural features repeated under the patronage of John Tayloe II. We would expect to see consistencies in the design of Menokin, Mount Airy, and the Octagon if all three houses represent similar social values.

John Tayloe III, born in 1771, was only eight when his father, the builder of Mount Airy and Menokin, died (Kamoie 2007:10). He was sent abroad to England for his education until 1791, when he returned and took over management of the estate (Kamoie 2007:93). By 1791 the Tayloe estate included 13 plantations in Maryland and Virginia and over 500 enslaved individuals labored on those properties (Kamoie 2007:95). Tayloe married Anne Ogle, daughter of a Maryland governor, and the family spent half of the year in the city of Annapolis with her family until they constructed a city residence of their own (Kamoie 2007:100).

Not long after the Residence Act was passed and Pierre Charles L'Enfant drew Washington, DC's plan, John Tayloe III began building his house on New York Avenue. Built between 1798 and 1801, the house was situated very close to the President's House and was designed by William Thornton, first Architect of the Capitol. William Lovering was later brought on by Tayloe to serve as the supervising architect in the actual construction of the Octagon House. Letters

from Tayloe to Lovering, copies of which survive from his 1801 Letterbook, indicate that during the construction there were hitches in the delivery of payments and a much delayed arrival of chimney pieces for the drawing room and dining room (Tayloe June 14, 1801). An excerpt from a letter sent to Lovering via the Georgetown Post conveys Tayloes' eagerness to finish construction: "my object is to be done with the Building as quickly as I can- with the least Trouble & Vexation-for the Expençe of it already alarms me to Death whenever I think about it" (June 14, 1801).

Tayloe was also then proprietor of Mount Airy, which for many years served as Tayloe's summer home (Dunn 2011:496). However, in 1820 Tayloe decided to make the Octagon House his permanent residence (Dunn 2011:500). In fact, in his will Tayloe identifies himself as "of Washington in the Territory of Columbia (formerly of Mount Airy in Richmond County, Virginia)" (DC Archives). Tayloe lived in the Octagon House until his death in 1828 and willed the Mount Airy plantation to his son William Henry Tayloe "and all the out houses & buildings, with all the lands thereunto adjoining" (DC Archives). James and Dolley Madison are notable, though temporary, residents of the Octagon House; staying at 1799 New York Avenue from 1814 to 1815, after the White House burned. President Madison signed the Treaty of Ghent, ending the War of 1812, from the Octagon House on February 17, 1815. The Tayloe family occupied the property on New York Avenue until 1855. They rented the house to various tenants until the American Institute of Architects (AIA) purchased it in 1902. Mount Airy is still occupied by Tayloe family descendants.

In Washington, DC Tayloe had to build according to the city's plan. In 1801 when the Octagon House was completed, Pierre L'Enfant had already drawn a plan for the city and squares and lots had been established. As a result, John Tayloe III was restricted in a way that his father was not; the plan for his city mansion had to conform to the dimensions of the lot. Some of the first plans drawn up for the Octagon House by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, did not fit well with the corner lot facing the Potomac (Figure 8). While the house designed by Thornton, is not in fact an octagon- it only has six sides, one of the drawings Latrobe made for Tayloe has an octagonal room in the attic (Figure 8). The house was of brick construction, with sills, beltcourse, and decorative panels of the same Aquia sandstone used at Mount Airy (NHL Form). The mansion had a total of three floors sitting on top of a basement level.

At the Octagon House the formal entrance up stairs and into a circular hall echoes the ascent into Mount Airy. The circular entrance hall then leads into an oval stair hall, and to the west of the stair hall is an enclosed service staircase. The back staircase led from the basement all the way to the third floor and was the means of access to the main house for enslaved laborers. On either side of the entrance and stair halls are the "two principal reception rooms of the house": the dining room to the west and the drawing room to the east (NHL Form). Though similar in scale to the flanking dining room and drawing rooms, the entrance hall was probably less of a living space than the passage at Mount Airy. However, the hall still acted to regulate access to the other public and private rooms of the house. Wenger writes that, "The ornamentation of these spaces

reflects, then, the ascending degrees of importance initially attached to the passage, dining room, and hall” (Wenger 1986:140). The central entrance hall at the Octagon House is rather decoratively adorned with “molded baseboard, chair rail and elaborate plaster cornice decorated with foliated ornament” and floor tiled in grey and white. This high degree of decoration would indicate that even the central hall as a receiving room connoted a higher level of access than the central passage at Mount Airy which was not fitted with such costly finishes. Perhaps simply being admitted into the house was a large feat.

The raised basement was the service level of the house and contained a kitchen, wine cellar, housekeeper’s room, servant’s hall, and central passage leading into the yard. There was no need to transport water or elaborate dishes into the dining room from a detached kitchen in the yard, instead enslaved domestic workers could move through the entire house, virtually invisibly, by way of the back service staircase (Figure 15). Behind the house J.D. Dickey (2011) describes the backyard at the Octagon House as having high walls, high enough to conceal a two story building for enslaved people, along with a stable, smokehouse, icehouse, and cowshed (2011:74). There is also an 1870 account from William Tayloe that includes “a two Story House for the Laundry & Servants room” at the rear of the yard (Ridout 1989:116). Indeed an 1887 map of the property shows four brick buildings and a stable or shed behind the Octagon House (Figure 9; G.M. Hopkins 1887). The Octagon House boasted its own stable complex, located in the rear of the house on the west side of the lot, with stalls for carriage horses on one side and saddle horses on the other (Figure 11;

Ridout 1989:70, 116). In fact, John Tayloe III built a racetrack in Washington, DC four blocks from the President's House, before building the Octagon House (Kamoie 2007:119).

There likely would have been continual movement from the back door of the basement to the various outbuildings. While these service spaces were not stylistically incorporated in the formal plan of the house like the dependencies at Mount Airy, they were all virtually erased from the formal landscape because they were obscured behind walls and below stairs (Figure 16). At the Octagon House, Tayloe escalated the "emblem of hardening social boundaries...created by slaveholders" that the detached kitchen represented by making the enslaved individuals who supported the household invisible to the outside world (Vlach 1993:43).

Three separate archaeological investigations were conducted in the basement and yard area of the Octagon House to mitigate future construction and restoration efforts and identify remaining features and artifacts. The first archaeological investigation was conducted from May until August of 1991 and was led by Carol Theobald; excavation was limited to the basement of the house. A second archaeological investigation, under the direction of Varna Boyd, took place between June and October of 1992, in preparation for extensive restoration and construction, archaeologists targeted the south yard and basement areas in order to identify cultural resources. In 1993, Boyd once again led excavations in the basement of the Octagon House, ahead of construction. The 1993 excavations focused on the servant's hall and housekeeper's room; which as late

as 1969 were converted into one room and used to house heating and plumbing equipment (Boyd 1994:4).

The archaeology conducted helps to clarify the layout functions of the rooms located in the basement. A 1991 investigation found evidence that the property was subject to significant disturbance in the second half of the 20th century, making artifact pattern analysis and feature interpretation difficult. However, a well/cistern and numerous drainage structures were located and a second archaeological investigation, under the direction of Boyd, took place between June and October of 1992, to further define and understand those features (Boyd 1992:3). The presence of a well or water cistern and drainage system, along with a kitchen, wine cellar, and Servant's Hall indicate that the basement was a center for food preparation and other domestic tasks. In the report, Boyd writes that due to the disturbance from the late 20th century renovation, none of the artifacts can be definitively linked to the original occupation of the Octagon House (1992:18). However, material from the early to mid-19th century can provide insight into the type of material culture that was accessible in the neighborhood as well as the domestic life of the enslaved people living and working in the house and yard area. A second excavation under the direction of Boyd confirmed that there was a brick wall separating the Servant's Hall and the Housekeepers room.

The Household at the Octagon House was made up of Tayloe family members and enslaved servants. John Tayloe III and his wife Anne had fifteen

children, thirteen of which survived into adulthood (Kamoie 2007:96)³. A number of the Tayloe children were born in the Octagon House and about 18 enslaved servants staffed the Octagon House and stables.

Richard Dunn (2011) extensively researched Tayloe records regarding the enslaved individuals held by John Tayloe III and his son Williams Henry Tayloe between 1808 and 1865 (Dunn 2011:493). At least ten people who worked at least part of the year at the Octagon House are known by name and occupation. Archy was John Tayloe's body servant; in his 1828 will Tayloe wrote:

"I will that my body servant Archy may be liberated and may be allowed one hundred dollars per annum during his life. My motive for liberating him is his long tried fidelity, especially since I have been in bad health, & upon one occasion, he was the means under the direction of providence, of saving my life." (DC Archives)

Winney Jackson and Betty were chambermaids who served Ann Ogle Tayloe, mistress of the Octagon and Mount Airy (Dunn 2011:496,497). Harry Jackson and Gowen were both coachmen, and Henry Jackson a stable boy, and Harry's son, managed the large two-story stable where Tayloe, an avid horseman, kept his coaches and horses (Figure 11; Dunn 2011:496, 497). Billy was the cook, likely kept busy in the basement kitchen preparing dishes for the Tayloe's table (Dunn 2011:497). The Tayloe's entertained often and would have relied heavily

³ Tayloe children included: Benjamin Ogle Tayloe, William Henry Tayloe, Edward Thornton Tayloe, George Plater Tayloe, Henry Augustine Tayloe, Charles Tayloe, Henrietta Hill Key, Catherine Tayloe, Elizabeth M Tayloe, Virginia Tayloe, Anne Ogle Tayloe, Rebecca Plater Tayloe, and John Tayloe IV; Ann and Lloyd Tayloe died before their first birthdays (Hardy 1911:502,503)

on their enslaved domestic servants like Lizza and Peter and John, butlers or footmen (Dunn 2011:497,504). Louisa Adams, wife of then Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, wrote to her husband about a party at Mrs. Tayloe's complete with dancing and reported that "We had not the pleasure of hearing the bells and it is said they have not rung since the Col returned" (Adams, 1820). There is archaeological as well as documentary evidence that the Tayloe's employed a service bell system, although it is unclear if the bells used to summon enslaved servants were the same mentioned by Louisa Adams (Ridout 1989:116). Dunn writes that "At both Mount Airy and the Octagon the domestics lived in outlying slave quarters, which have long since been torn down" (Dunn2011:497). Although enslaved workers probably slept in various rooms and buildings throughout both properties, personal attendants to the Tayloe's probably stayed close to or within the main house at in case they were needed during the night.

Mount Airy plantation required a much larger labor force than the town house property. The 1783 census listed the Estate of the Honorable John Tayloe II as the head of household containing 180 black individuals (1790 Census). In 1808, 375 enslaved individuals were inventoried as living at Mount Airy: 105 at the plantation and 270 people at the eight farm quarters (Dunn 2011:495). At the time of the first census in 1790 Virginia was the most populated state with 747,610 inhabitants, 292,627 of which were enslaved. An 1810 census lists 225 enslaved people as part of John Tayloe III's household, along with six free white males, five free white females, and one "other" free person. In addition to

domestic duties, the enslaved people living at Mount Airy were employed in various crafts, including spinning (Dunn 1977, 36). In the 1770s John Tayloe II set up a weaving shop for manufacturing cloth, which his son expanded (Dunn 2011:500). Spinners, ginners, weavers, carpenters, field hands, and household servants were just some of the occupations enslaved people filled at Mount Airy.

In much the same way that the service buildings at the Octagon House were detached from the formal plan of the house, the housing for enslaved people living at Mount Airy was excluded from the symmetrical Georgian main block. Dunn writes that “At both Mount Airy and the Octagon the domestics lived in outlying slave quarters, which have long since been torn down” (2011:497). The quarters at Mount Airy no longer remain, and the outbuildings at the Octagon House like the two-story laundry with a servant’s hall William Henry Tayloe describes, where enslaved people lived and slept have been raised. The stable was two stories in height and it is probable that at least a couple of people slept above the stalls. Dickey describes the new order in the capital with “stylish architecture in front and hidden slave quarters in back.” (2014:74). In the case of the Octagon House the slave quarters were hidden both in back of the house and below the stairs. There was both a housekeeper’s room and servant’s hall in the basement at the Octagon where enslaved people slept. In a letter to her friend Hannah Nicholson Gallatin, Dolley Madison writes “We shall remove in March to the 7 buildings, where we shall be better accomodated, in a more healthy region. Mr. M has not been well since we came to this house, & our servants are constantly sick, oweing to the damp cellar in which they are confined”, indicating

that the enslaved laborers probably worked, lived, and slept in the basement (December 29, 1814). As mentioned above, in the city the enslaved staff was further segregated from formal spaces. There was also a bell system installed in the house, which the Tayloe's could use to summon servants from the kitchen and servant's hall in the cellar. During the first phase of excavation at the Octagon House, a piece of iron thought to be part of the intricate bell system was recovered (Theobald 1991:31). Enslaved people would have had to trek up and down these narrow stairs countless times a day, at the beck and call of the bell, giving the impression that meals and service appeared almost by magic; much the same way Thomas Jefferson engineered a pulley system within his fireplace mantle to deliver bottles of wine from the cellar to the dining room. The Octagon House in many ways exaggerated the Georgian architectural features employed at Mount Airy. The property was extremely formalized and the contexts of slavery were subject to greater obfuscation.

All three properties: Mount Airy, Menokin, and the Octagon House had an enslaved labor force that was much higher than the national average. All are exceptional properties in that they were built by men of great wealth in a style that was far superior to the most common dwellings of the period. The decorative architectural features at both Mount Airy and the Octagon House enhanced the formality and decadence of the houses, when "a lavish plantation estate was beyond the reach of most southerners" (Vlach 1993:8). Mount Airy boasts two decorative facades, one facing the formal garden and the other facing the semicircular forecourt and entrance. The north front of Mount Airy is adorned with

“elaborate carved stone vase on pedestals” on either side of the stone steps leading up to the pedimented pavilion with Doric pilaster piers (Figure 4). The garden or south façade of the house features a pavilion with modillioned cornice and arched triple loggia (Figure 3). The architectural details on the exterior of the house and dependencies show a very high level of workmanship and Waterman describes Mount Airy as “perhaps the finest Palladian mansion built in the British Colonies” (1946:419). Indeed, the white Aquia sandstone used for the north and south pavilions highlights the very technical rusticated stonework and the overall impact of the house is grand. Visitors approaching from the drive to the north or from Rappahannock Creek could immediately ascertain the social position of the family living there. The Octagon House also has a high impact front façade “trimmed with Aquia Creek sandstone sills, beltcourse, and recessed decorative panels” (NHL Nomination Form). Stone steps lead up to an Ionic porch complete with Ionic columns and the second floor windows boast elliptical iron balconies. While Mount Airy is a Georgian style home in the style of a Palladian villa, the Octagon House is in the Federal style. Even though the houses are built according to two different architectural fashions, they both exhibit Georgian principles. Mount Airy is classically Georgian with its central hall and hipped roof, the Octagon House exhibits many derivative features like the circular entrance hall and symmetrical façade. The landscaping at Mount Airy is also a key feature of Georgian design. The landscape surrounding the house was terraced to “enhance the architectural effect” of the mansion and as Leone and Epperson discuss, communicate dominance over nature. At the Octagon House, such

large-scale landscaping was not possible. The yard and garden area was concealed from the street view by a wall and thus only for private consumption. Each house was carefully designed to reveal as much or as little as the owner desired and in comparing the two properties it becomes clear that Mount Airy boldly displayed Tayloe's wealth and standing, the Octagon House concealed much of its grandeur from the outside.

The following is a discussion of the Tayloe family, in light of previous research conducted by architectural historians, historians, and archaeologists, and the degree to which, if at all, they employed Georgian design principles and architectural features in a way that asserted their status as the dominant class and maintained order within their households and across the landscape. As one of the largest slaveholding families in the region, this discussion also attempts to understand how architecture was used to communicate the Tayloe's control to the enslaved people they held captive.

Analysis

Both John Tayloe II and John Tayloe III were men of means; they commanded large incomes and large labor forces. The homes that they built remain as clues to their self-identity, and at the same time as reminders of the realities of slavery in antebellum Washington and Virginia. John Tayloe III certainly identified himself as a member of the ruling class; writing to a friend, "...his reputation stands high among our sporting gentry" and the structure and style of the Octagon House fit into that narrative (June 1, 1801). Inheriting Mount Airy and other sizeable estates from his father, Tayloe was able to build whatever

style house he desired. Therefore the guardedly opulent Octagon House is particularly telling of the values Tayloe adhered to. Tayloe was at once a businessman and a gentleman, balancing leisure with enterprising. The Octagon House seems to represent the at times conflicting dualities of his nature. In the same letter to Charles Wingman where Tayloe cautions him to avoid procuring a watch “too costly” for a man with many children, he also requests “...on your arrival in England- write me of the Fashions in every thing” (June 7, 1801). At the Octagon House Tayloe projected his taste for cutting-edge fashion but hid the parts of the house that enabled it to function. Tayloe obscured the nearly twenty enslaved people that lived and worked at the house- the individuals who were responsible for his wealth.

The city of Washington during its first several decades likely would have been a sharp contrast to the ordered, regimented world of Mount Airy. The city that Tayloe encountered in 1798 was a chaotic, dirty, sparsely populated mess (Dickey 2014:1). The City Commissioners had high hopes for the capital city and William Thornton, a city commissioner and designer of the Octagon, optimistically projected that the city would soon be home to 160,000 people (Dickey 2014:1). However, when the Octagon was completed there were roughly three thousand people living in the city (Dickey 2014:1). The stately President’s House and Octagon House were surrounded by shanties, sewage, and roaming livestock. T.L. Loftin’s 1982 rendering of Washington, DC helps to visualize just how slow the city developed and the low density of buildings in 1800 (Figure 13).

Mount Airy on the other hand, functioning much like a village, was laid out

according to Georgian values of formality, order, and symmetry (Vlach 1993:3). At Mount Airy, over one hundred enslaved people were employed in maintaining the house and landscape and carried out various craft activities. Everything about the country mansion was strategically planned- from the choreographed approach to the house, to the painstakingly terraced yard, to the sited vista; Mount Airy embodied order. The ritual of access into the plantation world was marked by physical as well as social barriers that reinforced the centrality of Tayloe, with the central passage regulating entrance to other areas of the house (Upton 1984:66). By comparison, Washington must have appeared in total disarray when Tayloe arrived.

The movement of enslaved people was also controlled- domestic workers entered the main house at Mount Airy through a designated side entrance that led into the stair hall and then into the formal dining room. Despite being controlled, the movement of the enslaved household was imbued with less symbolism (Upton 1984:66). Enslaved people were granted intimate access to all of the spaces within the house; they were just excluded from the formal points of entrance and egress.

Regarding the Octagon House alongside Mount Airy and considering the context of a burgeoning city “teeming with ravines, quagmires, and other undeveloped land” it is easy to see how Tayloe would have looked to exert control over his own portion of the city (Dickey 2014:15). As one of few houses that actually adhered to the city’s building regulations, requiring only “sturdy structures of brick and stone” to be built, Tayloe’s Octagon House was a symbol

of formality and an embodiment of what the city commissioners envisioned for the city (Dickey 2014:11). Ridout writes that “The Octagon thus represented an endorsement of the city’s future” (1989:1). At the time the Octagon House was built, there was plenty of land to be had. I would suggest that the design and orientation was a manifestation of John Tayloe’s claim in the new capitol as well as a symbol of his identity as a businessman, slaveholder, and gentleman. He chose a site at the center of the city, within a short distance from the President’s Mansion, associating himself with the most powerful man in the country and once again asserting himself as a central and imposing figure. The Octagon did not have to conform to the corner presiding over the intersection of New York Avenue and 18th street. Instead, Tayloe may have chosen the orientation looking out onto the Potomac River, in order to recall the same “see and be seen” principle at play in Richmond county with countless estates situated to take advantage of impressive vistas. The repetition of a circular room on each floor of the Octagon House, visually apparent on the outside of the house from the curvilinear central block of the façade, could also function to echo a panopticon, similar to the principles at play at Gunston Hall and Monticello. The squalid city setting probably exaggerated control and the obfuscation of slavery at the Octagon House; Tayloe’s efforts to minimize the appearance of slavery and control the movement of enslaved workers can be interpreted as an attempt to maintain formality in a city that was muddy, dirty, and only half-built. I also suggest that in making enslaved workers invisible on the landscape, Tayloe was also distancing himself further from labor and the people who actually produced

his wealth. Tayloe was involved in countless business ventures and his letterbook indicates that much of his time was spent arranging sales and tracking down payments for goods- not exactly the leisurely musings of a man of leisure. It is interesting to consider whether or not the addition of the covered passages connecting the services buildings to the main block at Mount Airy were constructed during John Tayloe III's occupation of the house. Further research into the date of those additions would need to be done but if they were the work of the younger Tayloe it may point to a preference on Tayloe's part for greater formality in both the city and the country.

Looking at the plans and drawings of Mount Airy and the Octagon House it is apparent that architectural features were used to transmit messages about social values and identity. In the capital city Tayloe replicated the Georgian ideals of formality, control and power physically manifested at Mount Airy at the Octagon House in an effort to assert his own power, bring order to Washington, and control how the city viewed him.

Discussion

With the understanding that John Tayloe II and John Tayloe III both built homes with architectural features that represent Georgian ideals, it is possible to consider the questions posed at the beginning of the paper. It is true that both Mount Airy and the Octagon can be viewed as processional landscapes meant to control movement and access; and to the extent that it is possible to interpret, I would argue that at the Octagon House the processional ritual included the most private central spaces of the house. Namely, the service rooms, all located below

the stairs emphasized the hierarchy of the house with the Tayloe family and guests on top and the enslaved servants and staff below. Additionally, enslaved workers walked up and down the service stairs daily, entering and exiting rooms often through concealed doors- on the first floor of the Octagon, “servants had storage and waiting stations adjacent to every public room” (Ridout 1989:110). The strategically built service rooms and spaces would have reinforced the social boundaries of the 18th and 19th centuries that aimed to control enslaved workers. These structures similarly suggest that in antebellum DC and Virginia, Georgian values were implemented by slaveholders as a means to communicate status and hierarchy to enslaved laborers, possibly more so in an urban setting where enslaved people were able to interact with a wider circle of individuals. Another function of the heightened formality at the Octagon House could have functioned in a more localized way. They engineered erasure of enslaved people at the Octagon House may have been a psychological deceit or what Smedley describes as “...selective perception, namely, the obliteration from one’s daily experience of any consciousness of the slaves’ human qualities” (2007:154). By distancing enslaved individuals, Tayloe could have consciously or unconsciously sought to rationalize an immoral and barbaric institution.

It should be noted that the processional order was imposed on enslaved people and “planters came to realize that their systems of architectural manipulation could be easily frustrated if one simply refused, as many slaves did, to acknowledge or take note of it” (Vlach 1993:229). Berlin refers to such resistance as part of a minuet describing “the ever-changing music to which

slaves were forced to dance and in their ability to superimpose their own rhythms by ever so slight changes of cadence, accent, and beat” (1998:4). One possible rhythmic adaptation at the Octagon House could be the burn marks that appear along the hand rail of the service stair. The Octagon House now interprets bands of wear streaking the tops of the banisters in the service stair as the result of running a rope with a bucket over the rail to lift water, coal, or other unwieldy items up the multiple flights. Figure 14 illustrates the Octagon House in section and shows the rope and bucket at the basement level. These marks could be evidence that enslaved people circumvented the structure forced on them “reconceptualizing their various assigned landscapes” (Vlach 1993:230). It is likely that this reconceptualization occurred at both the Octagon and Mount Airy in ways that are today imperceptible on the landscape. It is also important to consider that if in fact the marks are remnants of a system for transporting items from the basement to the upper levels of the house, it could have been a system imposed on the enslaved staff by the Tayloes. However, regardless the marks remain as a reminder of the hard labor that the people enslaved by the Tayloes carried out each day.

In building their houses the Tayloes extended Georgian design principles to the private service areas of the house, but it cannot be satisfactorily measured to what degree the enslaved people who navigated those areas resisted, circumvented, and rebelled against the Georgian values that attempted to control them. There is evidence to suggest that the messages about order and gentility transmitted through the architecture at Mount Airy and the Octagon House were

meant not only for the elite members of society but for the middling and lower order members of society as well. Both houses were built on a grand scale and were meant to be visible from a great distance. Mount Airy, from its prominent location on Rappahannock Creek was visible to all who traveled the waterway. Similarly, the Octagon House in early Washington was clearly visible from its location close to the President's House and the Potomac River. Both houses were public displays meant for consumption by all members of the public.

While Georgian design principles are certainly used in the private and public-facing areas of the Octagon and Mount Airy, it is difficult to determine if their intended effect was achieved. Future research might look more closely at accounts from visitors or people who lived in the house. Additionally, the archaeological data recovered at the Octagon House could be analyzed to determine what kind of material culture was used on the service floor of the house. Were other Georgian rituals practiced like the tea or coffee service?⁴ How were the living spaces for enslaved people arranged and used?

Conclusion

This paper explores one specific family through the lens of architecture to identify Georgian values and suggests that their function in antebellum Virginia

⁴ Boyd, Varna G. 1992 Archaeological Investigations of the Octagon House, Washington, D.C. Prepared for the American Architectural Foundation, Washington, D.C. D.C. SHPO Archaeological Report # 017.

Boyd, Varna & Heather Lapham 1994 Archaeological Investigations of the Servant's Hall and Housekeeper's Room, the Octagon, Washington, D.C. Prepared for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C., and the American Architectural Foundation, Washington, D.C. D.C. SHPO Archaeological Report # 385.

Theobald, Carol 1991 The Octagon Archaeological Project Final Report- August 1991. Prepared for the American Architectural Foundation, Washington, D.C. D.C. SHPO Archaeological Report # 018.

and Washington, DC was to structure personal and private spaces and therefore interactions in a way that emphasized the Tayloe's power and wealth. John Tayloe II and John Tayloe III were both deeply entrenched in commerce and government and their houses reinforced that position. Louisa Adams wrote to her husband about the Tayloes: "Their family is of the highest respectability in Virginia but among the whole of them there is not one above mediocrity in point of talents Their wealth and high standing in their own State gives them great influence and they are ever tendering proffers of their services and friendship" (Adams, 1823). Louisa's statement though certainly a personal opinion, highlights the importance of wealth in securing power. This research fits into the larger framework of scholarship that has focused on the use of architecture by those in power to manipulate and control others' behavior and perception (Vlach 1993). The findings of this paper emphasize the importance of the Octagon House in shaping the image of early Washington and likewise in shaping John Tayloe III's image in early Washington. An analysis of the contexts of slavery at both houses also adds to the discussion of the obfuscation of slavery on the landscape. At the Octagon House in particular, there were numerous attempts made to minimize the appearance of enslaved laborers throughout the house and across the property. Using one family and interpreting architecture across two generations made it possible to determine that although house structure and style did change over the course of several decades, the same principles or values were replicated. Mount Airy and the Octagon- two properties whose designs were meant to reduce enslaved African Americans to mere specters,

now stand as physical testaments to the pervasiveness of an ideology that enabled the exploitation of millions of human beings. It is important to recall the past when considering these structures, oft cited for their aesthetic value and architectural merits in the present day. In an age where former plantations have been sanitized and romanticized, serving as the backdrops for weddings and celebrations, it is critical that the erasure does not continue. That is why the physical reminders of the realities of slavery- like the burn marks on the banisters, or the cold damp places where enslaved people slept, are imperative to ending the cycle of obfuscation that started in the 18th century.

Appendix

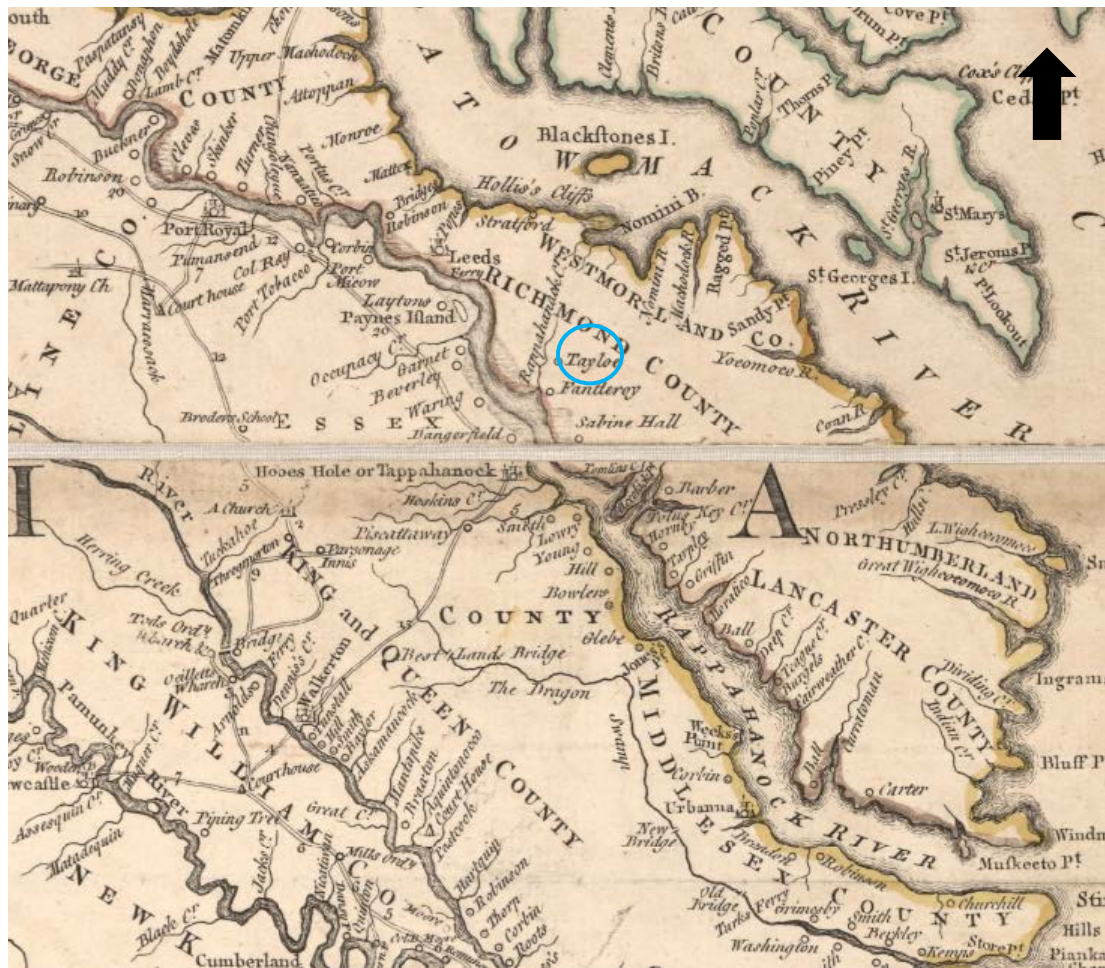


Figure 1. 1755 A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland : with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina. Fry, Jefferson, and Jefferys. Library of Congress.

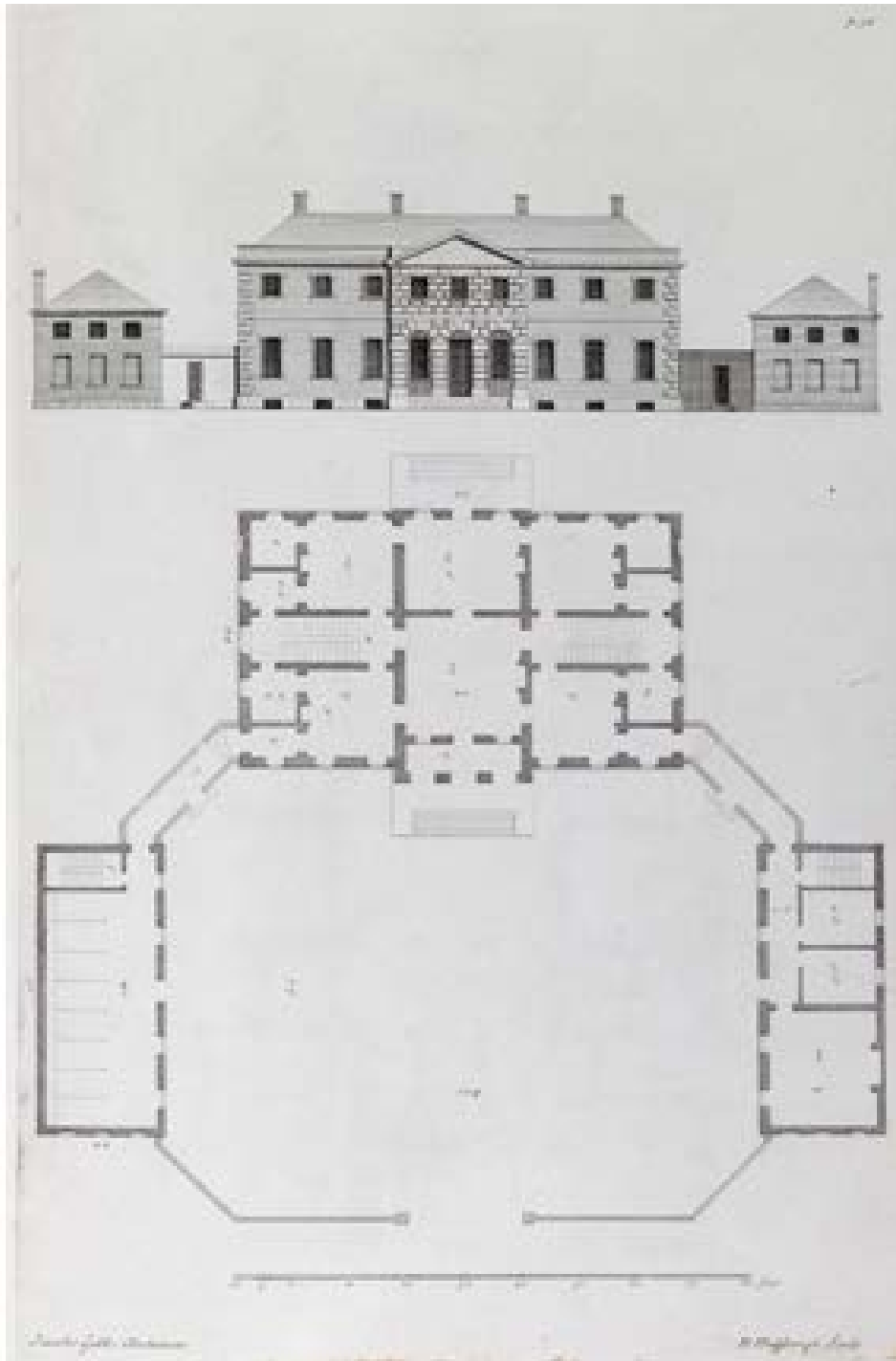


Figure 2. 1772 *Design for a country house: plan and elevation.* Pl. 58. James Gibbs. RIBA Collections.



Figure 3. Mount Airy, Warsaw vic., Richmond County, Virginia. South Façade, Benjamin Frances Johnson. Ca. 1939. Library of Congress.



Figure 4. NORTHEAST FACADE - Mount Airy, State Route 646 vicinity, Warsaw, Richmond, VA. HABS. Library of Congress.

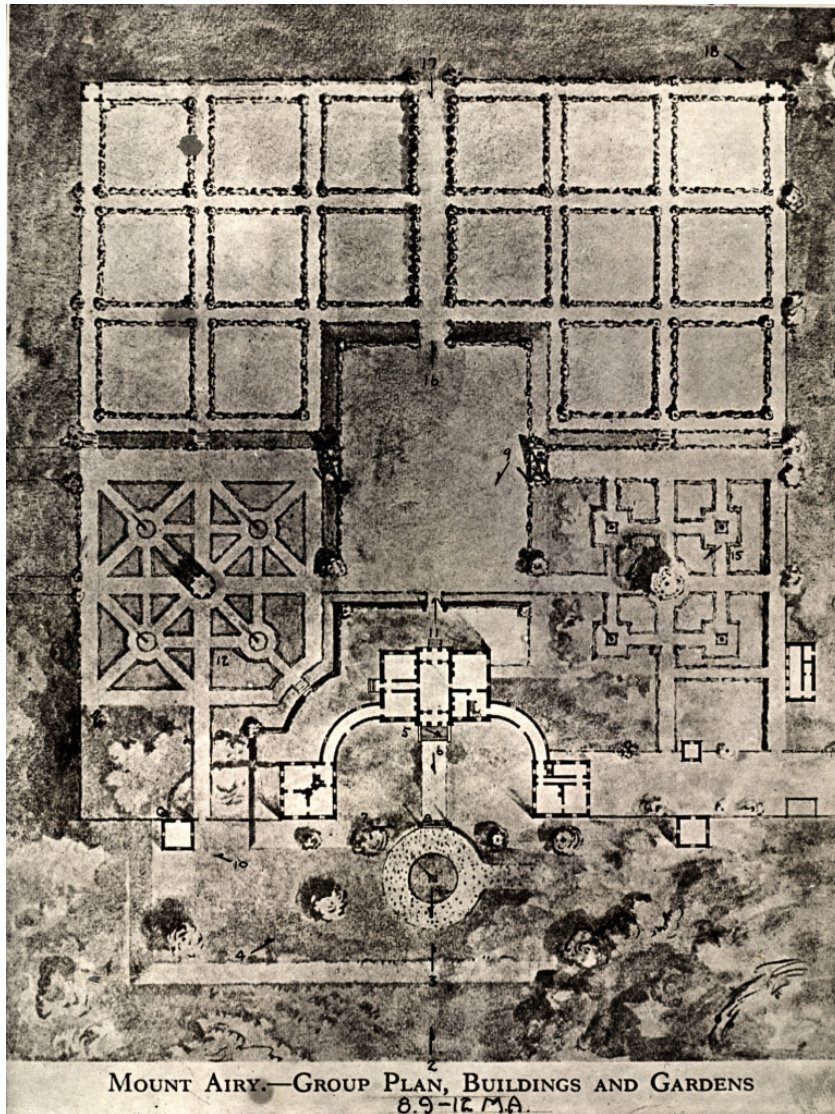


Figure 5. Mount Airy Plantation (Colonel John Tayloe Plantation). Group Plan, Buildings and Gardens. Ca. 1910-ca. 1950. Cornell University Library.



Figure 6. Main House and Office. Menokin, Menokin Bay, Warsaw, Richmond, VA. Library of Congress.



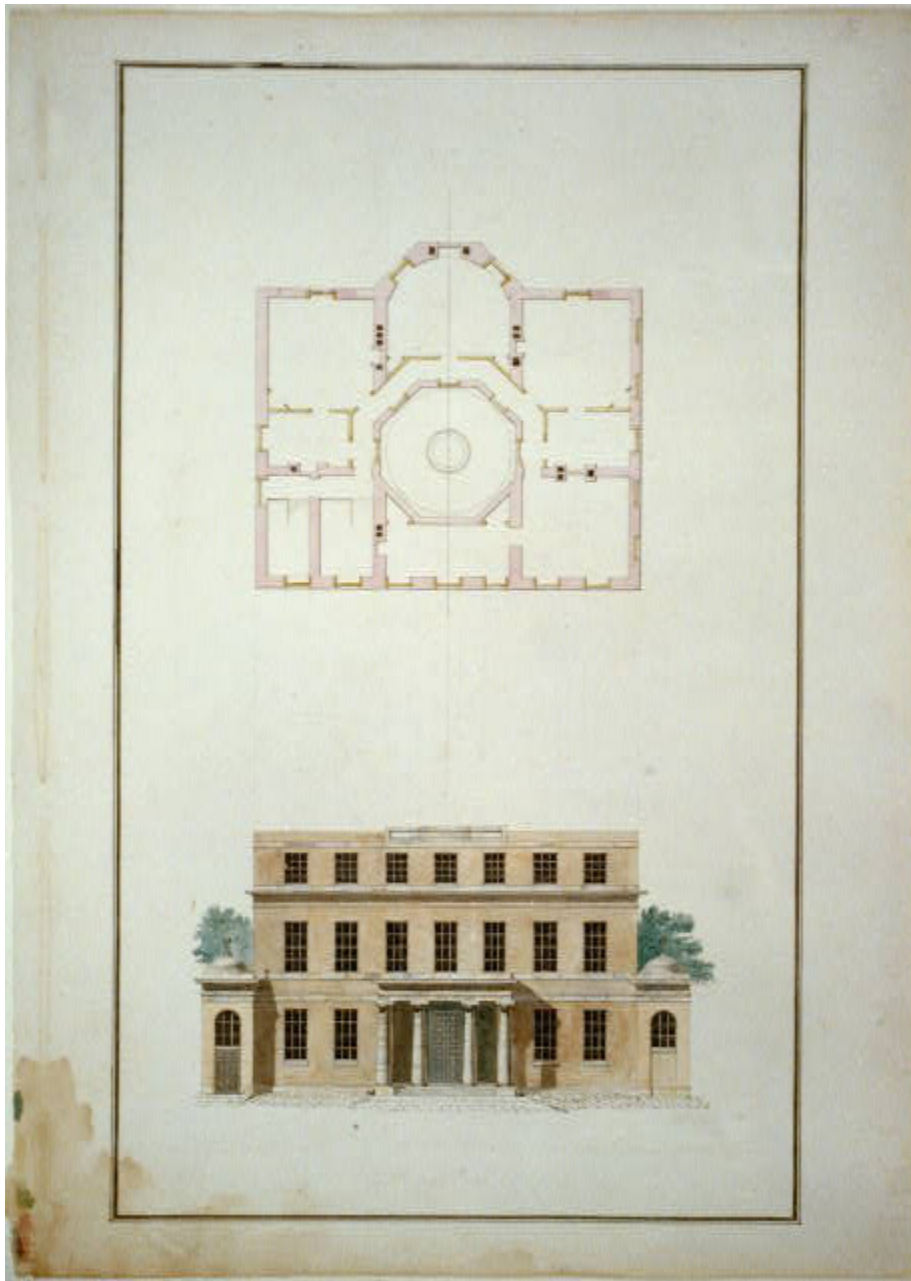


Figure 8. [Houses and a church ("Buildings Erected or Proposed to be Built in Virginia"). South front elevation and attic plan]. 1795-1799. Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Library of Congress.



Figure 9. A complete set of surveys and plats of properties in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, 1887. Plate 6. G.M. Hopkins & Co. DCPL.



No. XXVII. The Octagon in Winter.

HABS No. DC-25-29

Figure 10. The Octagon in Winter ca. 1927. Library of Congress.



Figure 11. Octagon House, Stable, 1799 New York Avenue Northwest, Washington, District of Columbia, DC. Post 1933. Library of Congress.

Richmond County brought forward

<i>John Neethers</i>	1	/	/	/	4	/	/	14
<i>John Neethers</i>				2	/	/	/	25
<i>Elephant Neethers</i>	3	/	/	/	/	/	/	16
<i>Thomas Neethers</i>				/	/	/	/	4
<i>Samuel Neethers</i>	1	/	/	/	/	/	/	225
<i>John Neethers</i>	4	/	/	/	2	/	/	1
<i>James E. Jones</i>	1	/	/	/	/	/	/	23
<i>Henry Burch</i>			/	/	2	/	/	2
<i>Benjamin Burch</i>			/	/	/	/	/	5
<i>Robert Burch</i>	2	/	/	/	/	/	/	6
<i>John Burch</i>	1	/	/	/	2	/	/	7
<i>James B. Burch</i>	4	/	/	/	/	/	/	8
<i>George Burch</i>	1	/	/	/	/	/	/	9
<i>Samuel Burch</i>	2	/	/	/	2	/	/	10
<i>Thomas Burch</i>		/	/	/	/	/	/	11
<i>Henry Burch</i>		/	/	/	/	/	/	12
<i>James Burch</i>		2	/	/	2	/	/	13
<i>William Burch</i>	1	/	/	/	2	/	/	14
<i>Henry Burch</i>		/	/	/	2	/	/	15
<i>Thomas Burch</i>	1	/	/	/	2	/	/	16
<i>George Burch</i>		/	/	/	/	/	/	17
<i>John Burch</i>	3	/	/	/	/	/	/	18
<i>John Burch</i>	1	/	/	/	5	/	/	19
<i>William Burch</i>		/	/	/	/	/	/	20
<i>George Burch</i>	1	/	/	/	2	/	/	21
<i>John Burch</i>	1	/	/	/	/	/	/	22

396

Figure 12. 1810 Richmond County, Virginia Census. Ancestry.com.

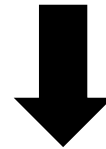
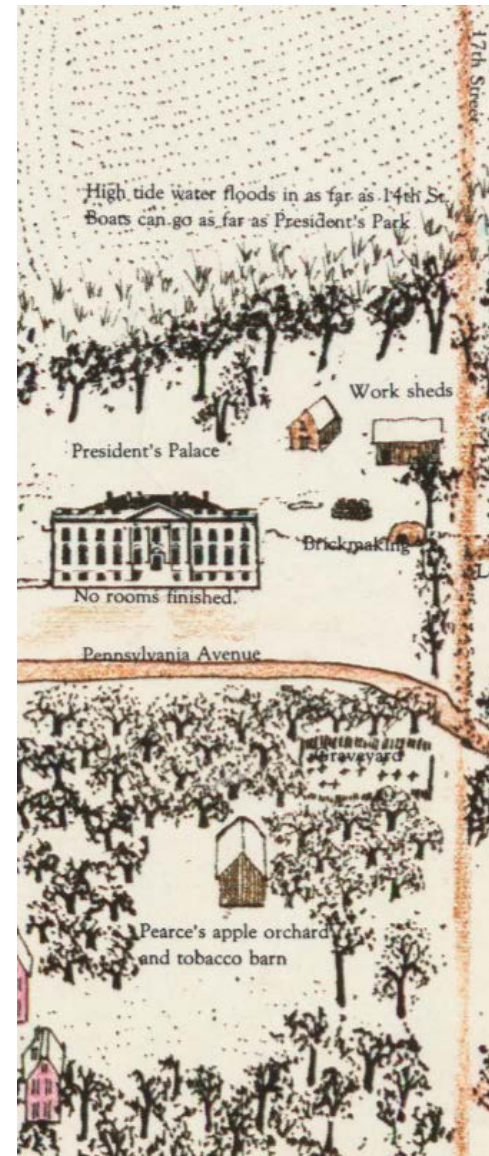
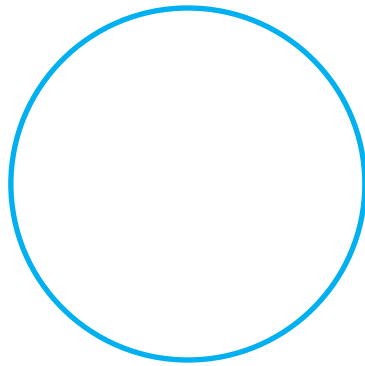


Figure 13. Detail from Bird's-eye View of Washington in 1800 showing Taylor's Octagon House. T.L. Loftin. 1982. Octagon House circled in blue. DC SHPO.

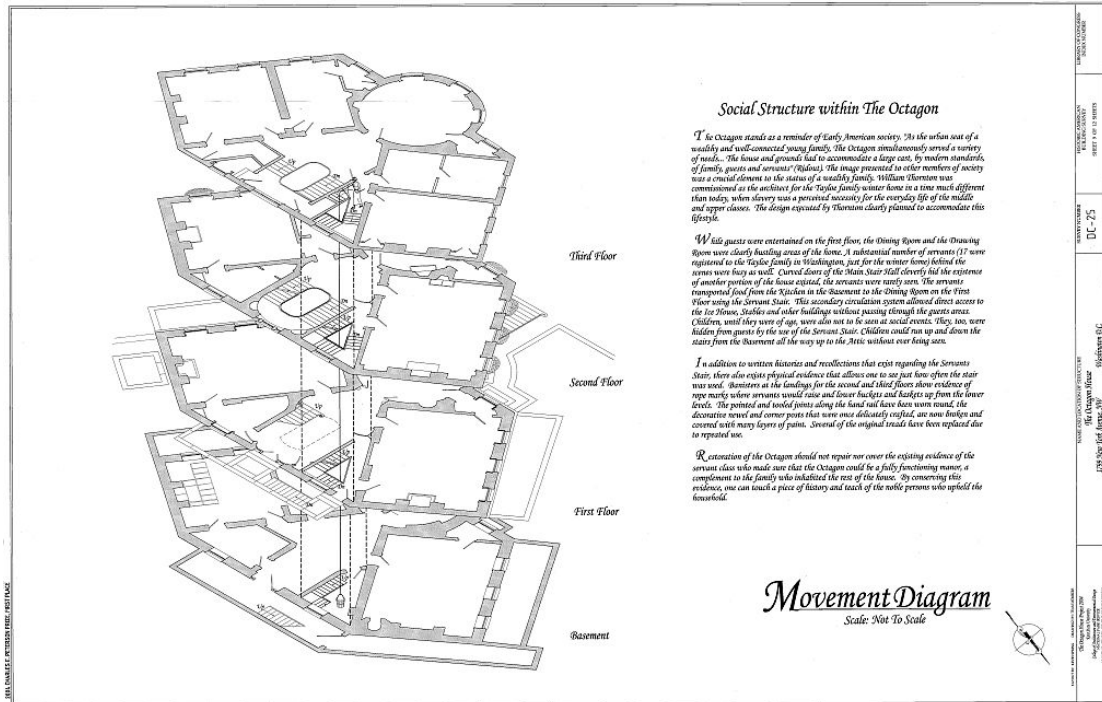


Figure 14. HABS DC,WASH,8- (sheet 9 of 12) - Octagon House, 1799 (1741) New York Avenue, Northwest, Washington, District of Columbia, DC. Library of Congress.



Figure 15. Black and white copy of watercolor painting of the Octagon House. 1815-1845. The Historical Society of Washington, DC.

Bibliography

Berlin, Ira

1998 *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1977 *Algeria 1960: The disenchantment of the world: The sense of honour: The Kabyle house or the world reversed*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boyd, Varna G.

1992 Archaeological Investigations of the Octagon House, Washington, D.C. Prepared for the American Architectural Foundation, Washington, D.C. D.C. SHPO Archaeological Report # 017.

Boyd, Varna & Heather Lapham

1994 Archaeological Investigations of the Servant's Hall and Housekeeper's Room, the Octagon, Washington, D.C. Prepared for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C., and the American Architectural Foundation, Washington, D.C. D.C. SHPO Archaeological Report # 385.

Bronwell, Charles E., Calder Loth, William M. S. Rasmussen, and Richard Guy Wilson

1992 *The Making of Virginia Architecture*. Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Bushman, Richard L.

1993 *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*. New York: Vintage Books a Division of Random House, Inc.

Carson, Cary, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton

1981 Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies. *Winterthur Portfolio*. 16(2/3):135-196.

Davis, John

1998 Eastman Johnson's Negro Life at the South and Urban Slavery in Washington, D.C. *The Art Bulletin*. 80(1):67-92

Dalzell, Jr., Robert F.

1993 Constructing Independence: Monticello, Mount Vernon, and the Men Who Built Them. *Eighteenth-Century Studies*. 26(4):543-580.

- Delle, James A.
2014 *The Colonial Caribbean: Landscapes of Power in the Plantation System*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dickey, J.D.
2014 *Empire of Mud: The Secret History of Washington, DC*. Guilford: Lyons Press.
- Dolley Payne Todd Madison to Hannah Nicholson Gallatin, [29 December 1814], in *The Dolley Madison Digital Edition*, ed. Holly C. Shulman. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2004.
<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu.proxy.wm.edu/dmde/DPM0481> (accessed 2017-03-31).
- Dunn, Richard S.
1977 A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave Life at Mesopotamia in Jamaica and Mount Airy in Virginia, 1799 to 1828. *The William and Mary Quarterly*. 34(1):32-65.
- Dunn, Richard S.
2011 Winney Grimshaw, A Virginia Slave, and Her Family. *Early American Studies*. 9(3):493-521.
- Epperson, Terrence W.
2000 Panoptic Plantations: The Garden Sights of Thomas Jefferson and George Mason. *In Lines that divide: historical archaeologies of race, class, and gender*. James A. Dell and Stephen A. Mrozowski and Robert Paynter, eds. Pp. 58-78. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Glassie, Henry
1972 "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building." *Winterthur Portfolio* 7: 29-57.
- Glassie, Henry
2000 *Vernacular Architecture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Goldfield, David R.
1975 Living History: The Physical City as Artifact and Teaching Tool. *The History Teacher* 8(4): 535-556.
- Hardy, Stella Pickett
1911 *Colonial Families of the Southern States of America: A History and Genealogy of Colonial Families who Settled in the Colonies Prior to the*

Revolution. New York: Tobias A. Wright Printer and Publisher.

Kamoie, Laura Croghan

2007 *Irons in the fire: the business history of the Tayloe family and Virginia's gentry, 1700-1860*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Kulikoff, Allan

1986 *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Leone, Mark and Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, Julie H. Ernststein and Paul A. Shackel
Source:

1989 Power Gardens of ANNAPOLIS. *Archaeology*.42(2):34-39,74-75.

Leone, Mark P. and James M. Harmon and Jessica L. Neuwirth

2005 Perspective and Surveillance in Eighteenth-Century Maryland Gardens, including William Paca's Garden on Wye Island. *Historical Archaeology*. 39(4):138-158.

Lewis, Ronald L.

1974 Slavery on Chesapeake Iron Plantations Before the American Revolution. *The Journal of Negro History*. 59(3):242-254.

Menard, Russell

1973 From Servant to Freeholder: Status Mobility and Prosperity Accumulation in Seventeenth-Century Maryland. *The William and Mary Quarterly*. 30(1):37-64.

Morton III, W. Brown

1971 National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form: The Octagon. Retrieved from
<https://www.nps.gov/NHL/find/statelists/dc/Octagon.pdf>.

Pogue, Dennis J.

2004 Archaeological Salvage Investigations at 44 RD 183, Richmond County, Virginia. Final Report. Submitted to the Board of Trustees of the Menokin Foundation.

Rasmussen, William M.S.

1982 Designers, Builders, and Architectural Traditions in Colonial Virginia. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. 90(2):198-212.

Ridout, Orlando

1989 *Building the Octagon: Octagon Museum, August 1, 1989-September 30, 1989*. Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects Press.

Sahlins, Marshall

1976 *Culture and Practical Reason*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Smedley, Audrey

2007 *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*. Boulder: Westview Press, A Member of the Perseus Books Group.

Tayloe, John (1801, June 1). [Letter to Mr. Weatherby]. Tayloe family of Richmond County, Va., papers, 1650–1970. 27,925 items. Mss1T2118d. Microfilm reels C163–213. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA. Photostatic copy accessed March 20, 2017, College of William and Mary Special Collections Research Center.

Tayloe, John (1801, June 7). [Letter to Charles Wingman]. Tayloe family of Richmond County, Va., papers, 1650–1970. 27,925 items. Mss1T2118d. Microfilm reels C163–213. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA. Photostatic copy accessed March 20, 2017, College of William and Mary Special Collections Research Center.

Tayloe, John (1801, June 14). [Letter to William Lovering]. Tayloe family of Richmond County, Va., papers, 1650–1970. 27,925 items. Mss1T2118d. Microfilm reels C163–213. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA. Photostatic copy accessed March 20, 2017, College of William and Mary Special Collections Research Center.

Theobald, Carol

1991 *The Octagon Archaeological Project Final Report- August 1991*. Prepared for the American Architectural Foundation, Washington, D.C. D.C. SHPO Archaeological Report # 018.

"To John Adams from Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams, 29 November 1820," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified December 28, 2016, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-3862>. [This is an [Early Access document](#) from [The Adams Papers](#). It is not an authoritative final version.]

"To John Adams from Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams, 7 February 1823," *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified March 30, 2017, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-4239>. [This is an [Early Access document](#) from [The Adams Papers](#). It is not an authoritative final version.]

Upton, Dell

1982 Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia. *Winterthur Portfolio*. 17(2/3):95-119.

Upton, Dell

1984 White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia. *Places* 2(2). 59-72.

Vlach, John Michael

1993 Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Vlach, John Michael

1993/1994 Evidence of Slave Housing in Washington. *Washington History* 5(2): 64-74.

Vlach, John Michael

1997 "Without Recourse to Owners": The Architecture of Urban Slavery in the Antebellum South. *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 6: 150-160.

Wade, Richard

1967 *Slavery in the Cities: The South 1820-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Waterman, Thomas Tileston

1946 The Mansions of Virginia: 1706-1776. New York: Bonanza Books.

Wells, Camille

2003 Dower Play/Power Play: Menokin and the Ordeal of Elite House Building in Colonial Virginia. *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*. 9:2-21.

Wenger, Mark R.

1986 The Central Passage in Virginia Evolution of an Eighteenth Century Living Space. *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*. 2:137-149.

Figures:

1. Fry, J., Jefferson, P. & Jefferys, T. (1755) *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland: with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina*. [London, Thos. Jefferys] [Map] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/74693089/>.
2. Gibbs, James. (1722) *Design for a country house: plan and elevation*. Pl. 58. [London, James

- Gibbs] Retrieved from the RIBA Collection.
<https://www.architecture.com/image-library/RIBApix/image-information/poster/design-for-a-country-house-plan-and-elevation/posterid/RIBA53453.html>.
3. Johnston, F. B., photographer. (ca. 1930) *Mount Airy, Warsaw vic., Richmond County, Virginia*.
[Richmond County Virginia Warsaw Vic, ca. 1930. \[Between and 1939\] \[Photograph\] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/csas200905621/.](https://www.loc.gov/item/csas200905621/)
 4. HABS. (post 1933) 19. *NORTHEAST FACADE - Mount Airy, State Route 646 vicinity, Warsaw, Richmond, VA*. Retrieved from the Library of Congress.
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0892.photos.165307p>
 5. Mount Airy Plantation (Colonel John Tayloe Plantation). Group Plan, Buildings and Gardens
 Data from: A.D. White Architectural Photographs, Cornell University Library
<http://cidc.library.cornell.edu/adw/albumen.htm>
 6. HABS. (post 1933) *Menokin, Menokin Bay, Warsaw, Richmond, VA*. Retrieved from the Library of Congress.
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0891/>
 7. Sachse, A. & A. Sachse & Co. (1884) *The national capital, Washington, D.C. Sketched from nature by Adolph Sachse, 1883 to 1884*. [Baltimore A. Sachse & Co] [Map] Retrieved from the Library of Congress.
[https://www.loc.gov/item/75693178/.](https://www.loc.gov/item/75693178/)
 8. Latrobe, Benjamin Henry (1795-1799). [*Houses and a church ("Buildings Erected or Proposed to be Built in Virginia")*]. *South front elevation and attic plan*. [Drawing] Retrieved from the Library of Congress.
[http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001699101/.](http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001699101/)
 9. Hopkins, G.M. & Co.
 1887 A complete set of surveys and plats of properties in the City of Washington, District of Columbia. Compiled and drawn from official records and actual surveys. Plate 6. DC Public Library, Special Collections.
 10. HABS. (1927) 47. Photocopy of photograph (from AIA Building

- Committee, *The Octagon: An Historic Residence of the Year 1800*, Washington, D.C., 1927.) ca. 1927 'THE OCTAGON IN WINTER' (GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTHWEST) - Octagon House, 1799 (1741) New York Avenue, Northwest, Washington, District of Columbia, DC. Retrieved from the Library of Congress.
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/dc0195.photos.030791p/>
11. Historic American Buildings Survey, C., Thornton, W., Tayloe, J. & American Institute Of Architects. (1933) *Octagon House, Stable, 1799 New York Avenue Northwest, Washington, District of Columbia, DC*. Documentation Compiled After. [Pdf] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/dc0007/>.
 12. U.S. Census Bureau 1810. 1810 United States Federal Census, Richmond, Virginia. Retrieved from
https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7613/4433236_00643/709770?backurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.com%2fcgi-bin%2fsse.dll%3fdb%3d1810usfedcenancestry%26gss%3dsfs28_ms_db%26new%3d1%26rank%3d1%26msT%3d1%26gsfn%3dJohn%26gsfn_x%3d0%26gsln%3dTayloe%26gsln_x%3d0%26MSAV%3d1%26MSV%3d0%26uidh%3duj1&ssrc=&backlabel=ReturnSearchResults.
 13. T.L. Loftin. 1982. *Bird's-eye View of Washington in 1800*. Retrieved from DC HPO map resource collection.
 14. HABS. HABS DC,WASH,8- (sheet 9 of 12) - Octagon House, 1799 (1741) New York Avenue, Northwest, Washington, District of Columbia, DC. Retrieved from the Library of Congress.
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/dc0195.sheet.00009a/>.
 15. Unknown. (1815-1845). Black and white copy of watercolor painting of the Octagon House.
Retrieved from the Washington Historical Society.
<http://historydc.pastperfect-online.com/32595cgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=BF138E20-5600-47F0-88F2-821152704853;type=102>.