

historic furnishing study

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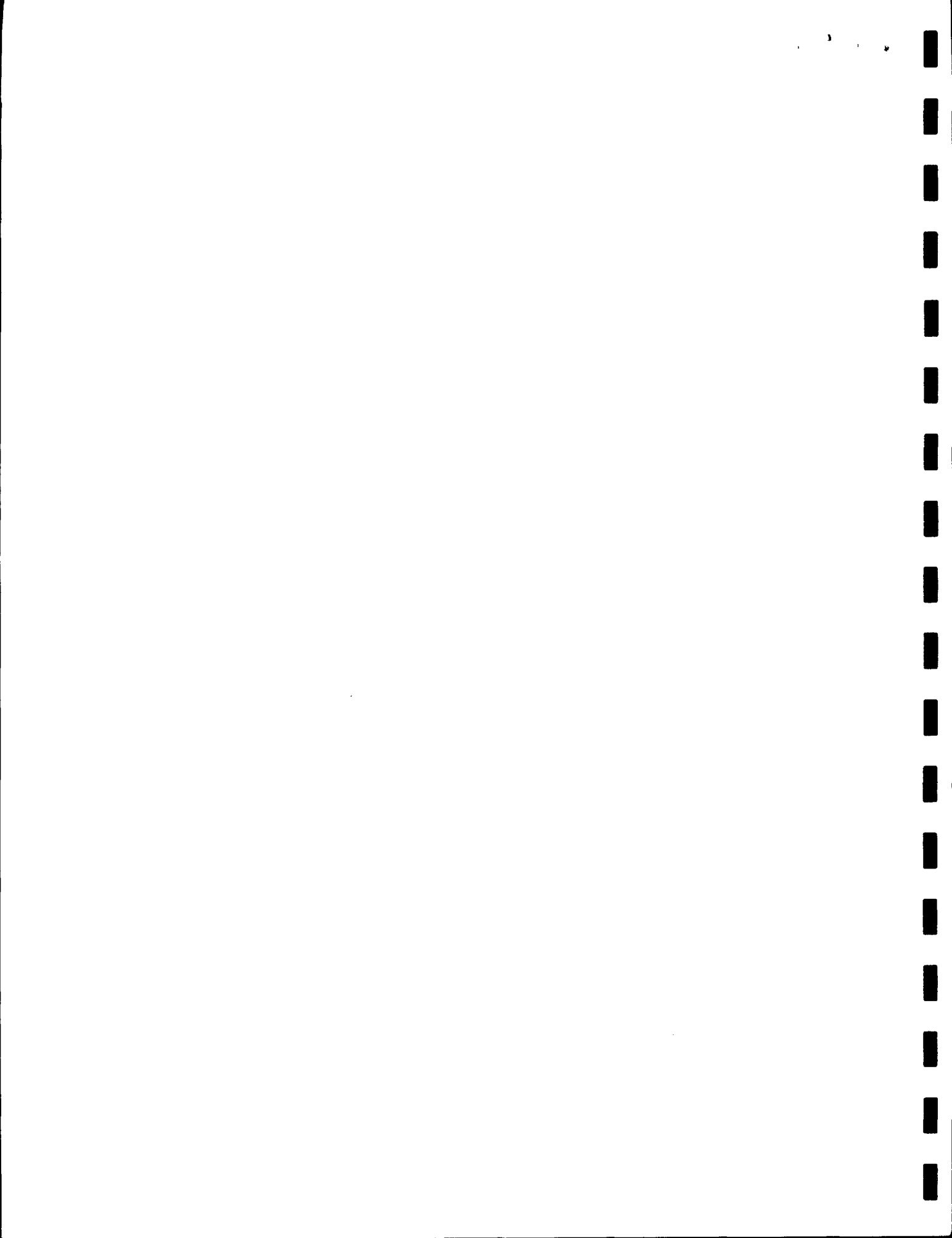
GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE

THE ANCIENT KITCHEN AND COLONIAL GARDEN

NATIONAL MONUMENT / VIRGINIA

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HISTORIC FURNISHING STUDY
THE ANCIENT KITCHEN AND COLONIAL GARDEN
GEORGE WASHINGTON BIRTHPLACE NATIONAL MONUMENT
VIRGINIA

by
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HISTORIC PRESERVATION TEAM
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
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I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The Ancient Kitchen at George Washington Birthplace National Monument ranks among the most popular "historic sites" of Virginia's Northern Neck. Here, before proceeding to the Memorial Mansion just northeast of it, the visitor gets a glimpse into long-forgotten implements and methods of colonial cookery, and he may even be passed a plate of gingerbread made from a Washington family recipe. Neither the Ancient Kitchen nor the Memorial Mansion, however, are historic. While the latter is generally dismissed today as a totally inaccurate reproduction of the birth house, both in design and location, there is very little historical or archeological evidence to either substantiate or refute the appearance of the Ancient Kitchen.

That a kitchen existed at the Popes Creek plantation and that it was located in a building separate from the main dwelling is certain. Of the several outbuildings associated with most plantations, the kitchen was the most important. A typical real estate advertisement for the period mentions a dwelling house, a kitchen, and "other outhouses" or "appurtenances."¹ And although early insurance policies recorded all outbuildings, insurance was rarely taken out on anything except the house and the kitchen.²

Overbearing cooking odors, especially in southern climates, and the danger of fire dictated that a kitchen be situated away from the main dwelling. Therefore, it is not surprising that archeologists have found no evidence of a fireplace large enough to serve a kitchen among the foundations of Building X--the actual birth house.³ Tradition has it that the fire destroying the main house at Popes Creek in 1779 spread to some cottonseed stored in an ell of the house from a "nearby" cookhouse.⁴

1. See advertisements in the Virginia Gazette (Williamsburg), 1736-80.

2. Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia Records, 1786-1820, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Va. The earliest recorded insurance policies in Virginia date from 1786.

3. B. Bruce Powell, "Archeology of the Popes Creek Area, George Washington Birthplace National Monument, Virginia," NPS typescript (1968), p. 95.

4. David Rodnick, "Orientation Report on the George Washington Birthplace National Monument," NPS typescript, (Oct. 17, 1941), p. 90.

The Popes Creek plantation property was purchased by Augustine Washington, Sr., in February 1718 from Joseph Abbington. The tract included 150 acres and "all houses edifices buildings, Tobacco houses fences, Orchards, gardens woods underwoods pastures feeding way waters. . . ."5 Although Augustine Washington probably occupied the property soon after the purchase, he did not begin construction on his own house until 1722, and it was not completed until sometime after 1725. Charles Hatch points out that the land must have been purchased complete with an existing farm operation.6 It is thought that Augustine, Sr., occupied an Abbington house until his own was completed, at which time the Abbington house was turned into a kitchen.7

The plantation became substantial under Augustine Washington and, later, under Augustine Washington, Jr., his second son by Jane Butler. It was, in the opinion of Charles Hatch, a typical early-18th-century plantation, larger than many in the area but smaller than the great colonial plantations.8

Besides the knowledge that a kitchen existed at the Popes Creek plantation, there remain only scattered pieces of historical and archeological evidence concerning this structure.

The present Ancient Kitchen was constructed on the site of a large chimney, the only above-ground evidence of occupation at Popes Creek throughout much of the 19th century. Some early visitors to the site assumed the chimney to be all that remained of the original birth house. More common, however, was the opinion that the chimney belonged to a kitchen outbuilding. Only a few construed the chimney as a remnant of something else, as expressed in an article dated 1857 in the Daily National Intelligencer:

5. Charles E. Hatch, Jr., "Chapters in the History of Popes Creek Plantation, where George Washington was born and where he spent part of his youth, George Washington NM," NPS typescript (Dec. 1, 1968), p. 56.

6. Ibid.

7. Rodnick, "Orientation Report," p. 62.

8. Hatch, "Chapters in the History of Popes Creek," p. 61.

The House in which George Washington was born was destroyed by fire. . . . A subsequent proprietor "either repaired one of the outhouses or a wing of the old one, or built a small house for his overseer out of the old materials." . . . and I am inclined to think, the . . . latter supposition correct from the appearance of the chimney of this second structure which is all of it that remains.⁹

Another concurring report, dated from 1874, resulted from visits in 1859 and 1860 by John Farley, "Assistant United States Coast Survey."¹⁰

In 1858 Gov. Henry A. Wise visited the site, and a reporter with the group noted:

[An] age[d] person present remarked, that he distinctly remembered when a house occupied the spot where the chimney now stands and that it was used for a kitchen and laundry.¹¹

An 1873 story in the Alexandria (Va.) Gazette, correcting an earlier statement that "the house in which Washington was born is only marked by the remnant of a chimney," stated:

it [is] almost certain both from tradition and from unmistakable circumstances and local indications, that this chimney was not attached to the house in which Washington was born. It was no doubt part of an outbuilding within the curtilage.¹²

In 1879 a Boston artist, Charles C. Perkins, described the site as follows:

The place where the house stood is completely bare, but just behind it are the remains of the great brick chimney of the kitchen, which in all early houses was an outbuilding. . . . Close by the ruined kitchen-chimney of the homestead, grow the fig-tree shoots, shrubs and vines spoken of by Irving as "marking the place where a garden had been. . . ." ¹³

9. Ibid., p. 117.

10. Ibid., p. 120.

11. Ibid., p. 116.

12. Ibid., p. 122.

13. Ibid., p. 124. Irving is quoted more fully on p. 114.

A garden was an integral part of every colonial kitchen operation. Another reference to the kitchen garden at Popes Creek occurred in the article already cited from the Daily National Intelligencer:

Close by [to the "birth mansion"] a luxuriant clump of fig trees and other bushes mark the garden-ground, and a few daffodils bloom along the edges, . . . There is also a solitary apple tree, said to be the last survivor of an orchard immediately around the house. . . .¹⁴

And, finally, from Moncure D. Conway, writing in 1892:

The site of the large flower garden is traceable by certain outlines, and also by descendants of the flowers once cultivated there.¹⁵

All of this, plus additional comments relating more specifically to the "birth mansion," served as the basis for the construction in 1930, and for subsequent furnishing of the Memorial Mansion and the Ancient Kitchen. These, together with the Colonial Garden to the southeast of the Memorial Mansion, were the work of the Wakefield National Memorial Association, a group of public-minded citizens formed in 1923.

Archeological surveys conducted by the National Park Service in 1941 and 1968 revealed how misleading such 19th-century reports as those cited earlier were:

in 1930 the foundations of the old kitchen were uncovered, and subsequently a colonial-style building was constructed on the site. . . . There are no records of the excavation or of the reconstruction. The east chimney of the reconstructed building (now serving an enormous fireplace in a furnished colonial kitchen) stands over the location of a chimney which was still standing in 1872. . . . However, the present chimney foundation is apparently larger than the original . . . and there is no direct evidence that the original fireplace was used for cooking. The best

14. Ibid., pp. 117-18.

15. Ibid., p. 123.

we can say is that the present reconstruction stands over a building believed to be of the Colonial period. No artifacts are known to have been associated with the remains of this structure.¹⁶

There is no evidence to show that either the present "Ancient Kitchen," or the Colonial Garden, is on the site of the kitchen or garden in Augustine Washington 1st's time, or even as late as 1779. . . . In fact, there is reason to believe, on the basis of Augustine Washington 2d's inventory, that the kitchen was next to the dining room in the mansion.¹⁷

The 1762 inventory of Augustine Washington, Jr., lists kitchen items after the contents of the dining room and before those of the parlor. The Ancient Kitchen, however, stands 81 feet behind Building X (the actual birth site) rather than to one side of it.

Further archeological work is scheduled for 1974 and, realizing the desperate need for additional study, neither Rodnick nor Powell was willing to speculate on a revised location for the kitchen and garden. Both archeologists, however, recommended further work in the present Colonial Garden area.¹⁸

Although it is impossible at this point to establish the overall arrangement of the Popes Creek plantation, some documentary material exists concerning kitchen and garden furnishings. By examining inventories taken at Popes Creek which postdate George Washington's birth by several decades, together with earlier kitchen inventories and records of life in early-18th-century Virginia, this report will attempt to re-create a kitchen and garden environment suitable to that at Popes Creek in the 1732-35 period.

16. Powell, "Archeology of Popes Creek," p. 98.

17. Rodnick, "Orientation Report," p. 95.

18. Rodnick suspected that the original Abbington house, which Augustine Washington supposedly turned into a kitchen, and its out-buildings were located in the garden area. The Ancient Kitchen site was ruled out early as a possibility for the Abbington dwelling. It is possible, of course, that the Ancient Kitchen site served as a later kitchen. Rodnick, "Orientation Report," pp. 62, 99.

In addition, there is a small foundation as yet unidentified in the garden area that contained a number of artifacts suggesting food preparation. Powell, "Archeology of Popes Creek," p. 80.

II. SOURCES

The primary value of extant travelers' accounts, histories, diaries, and cookery and gardening books from the early 18th century is the insight they provide on the sorts of dishes prepared in a colonial kitchen and on the foods available in Virginia at the time. Less material, however, is available on the implements used in food preparation. Advertisements for kitchen equipment did not appear in the Virginia Gazette until 1746, and only a few orders for household goods are available. Among these are the papers of John Norton & Sons, merchants, but unfortunately these are more valuable for furnishings after the 1750s.¹

The best sources for kitchen furnishings are the appraised inventories taken upon the death of plantation owners. These, however, cannot be considered a definitive guide to the items found on a given property, because the widow's share of an estate and other articles disposed of by will did not appear on the inventory, nor did immovable objects--that is, built-in objects. Another problem encountered, especially with regard to kitchen furnishings, concerns many metal items listed by weight rather than by description; the researcher often confronts "448 lbs. iron" or "54 lbs. pewter" instead of a quantity of iron pots or pewter plates. The order in which items are listed poses additional problems. A running list of items with no indication of their location on the plantation appears just as often as a listing grouped by building or by room. But even the grouped listings can be misleading because, in order to ease the appraiser's task, similar items were often gathered in one place for recording. Finally, if a man owned more than one piece of land within a single county, his inventory might have recorded his personal property without specifying which plantation it belonged to.

Unfortunately, the inventory taken in Westmoreland County upon the death of Augustine Washington, Sr., represents only a partial inventory, limited primarily to slaves and livestock; it is also possible that this inventory included, in addition to the Popes Creek property, other Washington holdings in Westmoreland County.² The will of Augustine Washington, Sr., contains certain items--again

1. Frances Norton Mason, ed., John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1937).

2. King George County Inventories, 1721-1744, pp. 289-90, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Va.

only labor and livestock--designated for Augustine Washington, Jr., the heir to the Popes Creek plantation.³ Perhaps, as Charles Hatch points out, Augustine Washington, Jr., had already been given household items and farm equipment necessary to operate the Popes Creek plantation.⁴ Whatever the case, no description exists of either household items or kitchen equipment used at the plantation during Augustine Washington, Sr.'s, tenure in 1732.

In order to re-create the Popes Creek kitchen, we must study inventories for plantations of a similar time period and size which somehow relate to the branch of the Washington family at Popes Creek. The following documents are referred to throughout this study as comparative inventories.

In addition to the inventory taken in Westmoreland County, the King George County records contain Augustine Washington, Sr.'s, inventories from Stafford County (an abbreviated listing resembling the one from Westmoreland County) and from King George County.⁵ The latter is our most valuable comparative source, because the King George County plantation and the Popes Creek plantation represent the work of the same man, and because it seems unlikely that Augustine Washington, Sr.'s, tastes would have undergone a drastic change between 1735, when he left Popes Creek, and 1743, when he first occupied the King George County property. Fortunately, the inventory from the King George County plantation is organized, for the most part, according to rooms and includes a separate heading for the "Kitchen."

A second inventory valuable to this study is one taken in Stafford County for John Washington, a cousin to Augustine, Sr.⁶ Also dated 1743, it contains a section labeled "in the Kitching."

A third comparative source is the 1735 inventory of George Eskridge's property in Westmoreland County.⁷ Eskridge was the guardian of George Washington's mother, Mary Ball, and Charles Hatch states that her tutelage under Eskridge "involved not only material

3. Worthington C. Ford, ed., The Writings of George Washington (New York, 1893), 14: 410-16.

4. Hatch, "Chapters in the History of Popes Creek," p. 71.

5. King George County Inventories, 1721-1744, pp. 285-91.

6. Stafford County Wills, 1729-1748, pp. 373-75, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Va.

7. Westmoreland County Records and Inventories, 1723-1746, pp. 159-61, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Va.

inheritance, but also an upbringing in an environment perhaps not unlike that customary at Popes Creek."⁸ The fact that the Eskridge inventory was taken in Westmoreland County is an asset here as are its early date and its arrangement by building. However, one word of caution about this inventory: it seems to reflect a grander life-style than either Augustine, Sr.'s, King George County inventory or John Washington's Stafford County inventory. One explanation for Eskridge's apparent affluence is that his inventory seems to include at least three distinct properties.

Numbers of slaves, cattle, and horses were a fair index to wealth in the 18th century, because these were the items first taxed in 1782.⁹ The three comparative inventories cited thus far show similar status regarding slave holdings. Augustine Washington, Sr., had 27 slaves on his King George property (with an additional 7 "at the quarters"); John Washington had 26; and George Eskridge had 37. To the Eskridge count, however, were added 3 white servants and 26 slaves recently turned over to his relatives. Augustine, Sr.'s, return for Westmoreland County lists only 11 slaves. Augustine, Sr., owned 62 cows in Westmoreland County and 38 in King George County; John Washington had 39 (plus 10 calves); and Eskridge had 147. The Eskridge inventory, more moderate in its number of horses, lists 12, while the John Washington inventory lists 18, and Augustine Washington, Sr.'s, lists 15 between his two properties (9 in Westmoreland County and 6 in King George County).

Two inventories remain that cannot be ignored within the context of this study: Augustine Washington, Jr.'s, taken upon his death at Popes Creek in 1762; and his wife's, dating from 1774.¹⁰ Ann Washington's inventory appears to be the widow's share of the 1762 inventory, because it shows very few entries for livestock and is quite explicit regarding household items that might have been claimed by the lady of a house. The primary value of these inventories lies in the fact that they represent the Popes Creek plantation as it evolved

8. Hatch, "Chapters in the History of Popes Creek," p. 82.

9. Westmoreland County Personal Property Tax Lists, 1782-1799, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Va. The earliest tax records distinguished between various types of slaves and also included a tax on "wheels," or a carriage tax. The tax on cattle disappeared quite early in the Virginia records.

10. Westmoreland County Inventories, Book 4, pp. 177A-80, and Book 5, pp. 270-73, Westmoreland County Courthouse, Montross, Va.

from Augustine Washington, Sr.'s, tenure.¹¹ Both postdate George Washington's birth by 35-40 years; therefore, items that do not appear on earlier inventories must be carefully scrutinized. The amount of brass and copper, for instance, far exceeds that on earlier lists, as does the number of slaves, cattle, and horses (the 1762 inventory shows 77 slaves and white servants, 175 cattle, and 49 horses). One advantage, however, of inventories dating from the second half of the 18th century is that they tend to be more explicit and include items, such as food supplies, rarely found on early inventories.

Finally, there is the will of George Washington's mother, who specified: "I direct my executor to give no security nor to appraise my estate."¹² A few generalized items in the will, such as "iron kitchen furniture," are of some use to this study.

11. For the further evolution of the plantation, see the inventory of William Augustine Washington, in Westmoreland County Records and Inventories, No. 9, 1806-1815, pp. 282-90, Virginia State Archives, Richmond, Va. After the sudden demise of the Popes Creek plantation in 1779, William Augustine Washington moved to his plantation called "Blenheim" and then to "Haywood," both in Westmoreland County. His inventory probably reflects a combination of the life-style at all three places.

12. Will, probated Oct. 23, 1789, Fredricksburg Will Book A, Clerk's Office, Fredricksburg, Va.

III. FOOD

The diet of colonial Virginia was comprised primarily of meat, both wild and domestic. Although a portion of the cultivated grain and vegetable crops was used in food preparation, the larger part was used for livestock feed (slaves shared much the same status as livestock) and for the improvement of tobacco fields. Even vegetables from the kitchen garden (the garden is further discussed in section V) were more often served in sauces for meat than by themselves.

The main meal of the day came at midafternoon and generally included five courses, which William Hugh Grove enumerated as "Pigg meat" and greens; tame fowl; beef, mutton, veal, and lamb; venison, wild fowl, or fish; and pudding.¹ The pudding, a boiled or baked dish of meal, milk, and eggs, was often served in the middle of the meal.

Salt pork was the mainstay of plantation subsistence; pork was rarely eaten fresh. Cattle were an important source of meat, milk, and butter. The diaries of William Byrd reveal a generous daily consumption of milk;² however, Byrd was somewhat of a health fanatic and, although milk was certainly a standard colonial beverage, probably less of it was consumed at Popes Creek than at Westover. Many writers of this period complain about the domestic cheeses; by mid-century, if not earlier, cheese was a common import item.³ Many also considered domestic mutton inferior to the English variety.

Next to pork, tidewater Virginians probably consumed more fish (in the summer) and more fowl (in the winter) than any other meat.

1. William Hugh Grove, "Virginia in 1732: The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove," ed. Gregory A. Stiverson and Patrick H. Butler III, p. 13, typescript on file at Archives of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., Williamsburg, Va.

2. William Byrd, The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover 1709-1712, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1941); William Byrd, Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover 1739-1741, ed. Maude H. Woodfin (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, Inc., 1942).

3. Mason, John Norton & Sons, passim.

Robert Beverley describes oysters and wild fowl as the "cheapest victuals they have in their season."⁴

Domesticated fowl included chickens and sometimes ducks and geese. Only the rarer species, however, were appraised, as exemplified by the 140 geese that appeared on Augustine Washington, Sr.'s, Westmoreland County inventory. Beverley enumerates the following wild fowl: swans, geese, sheldrakes, mallards, teals, bluewings, cranes, curlews, herons, snipes, woodcocks, saurets, ox-eyes, ploves, and larks; and further inland, turkeys "of an incribable Bigness," pheasants, partridges, pigeons, and a large variety of small birds.⁵

Hunting in Virginia was not yet the sport it would become later in the 18th century; however, fishing seems to have been an activity for which even the housewife abandoned her chores.⁶ Beverley records the following fish "of the eating kind":

Herrings, Rocks, Sturgeons, Shads, Old-Wives,
Sheep's Heads, Black and Red Drums, Trouts,
Taylors, Green-Fish, Sun-Fish, Bass, Chub, Place,
Flounders, Whitings, Fatbacks, Maids, Wives,
Small-Turtle, Crabs, Oisters, Mussels, Cockles,
Shrimps, Needle-Fish, Brems, Carp, Pike, Jack
Mulletts, Eels, Conger-Eels, Perch, and Cats. . . .⁷

William Grove reports that only Negroes ate turtles, "more because their belly resembles an overgrown toad than for any Ill tast[e]."⁸ But, turtle soup was esteemed early as a great Tidewater delicacy.

4. Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), p. 292.

5. Ibid., p. 153.

6. James Gordon, "Journal of Col. James Gordon, of Lancaster County, Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st Ser., 11 (1902-1903): 98-112, 195-205, 217-36; 12: 1-12. Colonel Gordon often went with his wife to "draw the seine."

7. Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, p. 147.

8. Grove, "Travel Journal," p. 27.

Finally, the woods contained venison and, according to William Byrd, bear; and on several occasions, William Grove ate squirrels, raccoons, and possums.⁹

The chief domestic grain was corn, which, as a food crop, was used almost exclusively for slaves. Grove describes it as the slaves' sole support, and William Byrd's boatwright, apparently a white man, was offended when fed corn pone instead of English bread for breakfast.¹⁰ Hugh Jones, however, reports a more extensive slave diet:

The Indian corn . . . is of great increase and most general use; for with this is made good bread, cakes, mush, and hommony for the Negroes which with good pork and potatoes (red and white, very nice and different from ours) with other roots and pulse, are their general food.¹¹

Regardless of color, everyone breakfasted on corn in the form of hominy or "farmity." Oatmeal may have been somewhat of a delicacy, because it was once brought as a gift to William Byrd by visitors to Westover.

Other grain crops included wheat, barley, oats, and rye.¹² The alternative to pone was wheat bread.

And as they brew, so do they bake daily, bread or cakes, eating too much hot and new bread, which cannot be wholsom, though it be pleasanter than what has been baked a day or two.¹³

9. Letter dated Apr. 3, 1729, in William Byrd, "William Byrd 1728 [June]-1729 April 3," MSS Div., Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va.; Grove "Travel Journal," passim.

10. Grove, "Travel Journal," p. 17; Byrd, Secret Diary, p. 308.

11. Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 78.

12. On repeated occasions Grove observed the planting of wheat and barley; Byrd mentioned oats and winter wheat; Colonel Gordon recorded a calendar for the planting and reaping of wheat, oats, and rye.

13. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 86.

Probably much of the flour used in Virginia kitchens was imported. In 1728 William Byrd reported a "want of bread," and after mid-century many orders were still being placed for flour and some for bread.¹⁴ Rice grew wild but was also imported, as was macaroni.

Several references to the remains of orchards at the Popes Creek plantation appear during the 19th century.¹⁵ Apple and, especially, peach orchards were common in Virginia. Although Hugh Jones deemed Virginia peaches delicious, William Grove thought them "mealy and dry."¹⁶ Pears were much less in evidence.

There was an extensive selection of wild fruits; Beverley lists cherries, plums, persimmons, grapes, mulberries, currants, huckleberries, cranberries, raspberries, strawberries, and several sorts of nuts.¹⁷ Although early attempts were made at cultivating vineyards, none were very successful. Raisins and currants were common import items, but the most common fruit on import lists was lemons.¹⁸

14. Letter dated Sept. 5, 1728, in Byrd, "William Byrd 1728 [June]-1729 April 3"; Mason, John Norton & Sons, passim.

15. William Augustine Washington's 1787 lease to John Muse gave explicit directions for the planting and care of apple and peach trees. Westmoreland County Deeds and Wills, No. 18, p. 1, Westmoreland County Courthouse, Montross, Va., cited in Hatch, "Chapters in the History of Popes Creek." The only recollection of the main dwelling at Popes Creek came from a man who hunted "crab apples which remained all winter in the dead leaves and grass in the orchard to the south of the Wakefield House," cited in Hatch, p. 115. In 1857 someone reported "a solitary apple tree, said to be the last survivor of an orchard immediately around the house," cited in Hatch, p. 118. In 1802 William Augustine Washington advertised Haywood and three other properties as having "upwards of 1,000 bearing apple trees and 3,000 peach trees, with a variety of other choice fruits," Washington Federalist, cited in Hatch, p. 103.

16. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 78; Grove, "Travel Journal," p. 21.

17. Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, pp. 129-35.

18. Mason, John Norton & Sons, passim. Lemons, cheese, biscuits, and garden seeds were often ordered together, and may have had common storage needs.

Besides nurturing the land and sustaining the hogs, the fruits of plantation orchards were used for cider and brandy. Cider was an inexpensive drink to produce and, according to Grove, was consumed by the pailful with little concern for keeping a stock on hand.¹⁹ The Byrd diaries contain several references to sillabub, a drink concocted from cider.²⁰ There was a "good small drink" made of "parsimmon" cakes and also "Quince-drink," which Frances Phipps defines as hot rum with quince jelly.²¹ Among the "Strong Drinks" cited by Robert Beverley was punch, a combination of homemade and imported beverages.²² William Byrd and his wife prepared and bottled a punch made from lemons, white sack, and Madeira brandy.²³ Byrd frequently hauled "Rhenish" and white wine out of his cellar.

Other commonly imported beverages were English beer (a domestic beer was produced from wild hops), Madeira, claret, canary, port, rum, and brandy. Grove's meals were usually accompanied by a "small beer," made from molasses, Madeira, and English beer.²⁴

No specific beverages are indicated at Popes Creek until 1762, when the Augustine Washington, Jr., inventory included: 11 gallons of spirits, 7-1/2 gallons of brandy, an illegible amount of Teneriffe wine, 14 bottles of white wine, and 3 bottles of ale.

Salt and sweets had to be imported. Colonel Gordon regularly boarded docked ships to secure barrels of sugar and molasses;²⁵ and the chocolate that William Byrd consumed daily must also have been imported.

19. Grove, "Travel Journal," p. 14.

20. The Samuel Sewall diary describes sillabub as "Syder" with sugar, nutmeg, and thick cream added. For this and other citations dealing with common colonial beverages, see Frances Phipps, Colonial Kitchens, Their Furnishings, and Their Gardens (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1972), pp. 283-88.

21. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 86; Thomas Glover, An Account of Virginia, cited in Hatch, "Chapters in the History of Popes Creek," p. 196; Phipps, Colonial Kitchens, p. 287.

22. Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, p. 293.

23. Byrd, Secret Diary, p. 279.

24. Grove, "Travel Journal," p. 13.

25. Gordon, "Journal of Col. James Gordon," passim.

IV. THE FURNISHED KITCHEN

Early-18th-century plantation kitchens were rarely the inviting rooms they are so often depicted as today. They were dark, smoke filled, and either cold or unbearably hot. Although colonial New England kitchens tended to house a number of activities other than cooking, kitchens in the southern colonies were restricted almost entirely to food preparation. Kitchen items unessential to the meal at hand were kept under lock and key. At night the kitchen, including its personnel, was carefully locked from the outside.¹ The few furnishings in the kitchen were selected for their utility and were often plain to the point of drabness. Before examining these furnishings, however, it is necessary to include a brief description of the typical kitchen structure.

A. The Structure

Convenience dictated that a plantation kitchen be as close as possible to the main house, with easy access to the main dining room. The earliest Westmoreland County insurance records show kitchens 30 to 80 feet from dwellings--any closer than 30 feet was considered a fire hazard. Kitchens were often placed on the dining room side of a dwelling--an arrangement already indicated by the inventory of Augustine Washington, Jr. In 1800, William Augustine Washington took out an insurance policy for his plantation called Haywood.² The kitchen stood 60 feet to one side of the dwelling.

Kitchens averaged 24 by 16 feet. The overall dimensions of the Ancient Kitchen are 31 feet 4 inches by 19 feet 7 inches; however, nearly half of the building has been converted into a museum, and the kitchen itself now measures only 17 by 9 feet.

1. Although some of this data is the result of conversations with the research department at Colonial Williamsburg, other general information included in this chapter comes primarily from two sources: Jane Carson, Colonial Virginia Cookery (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1968); and Phipps, Colonial Kitchens.

2. Mutual Assurance Records, vol. 14, no. 409; vol. 40, no. 1141. Tradition states that Haywood was built partially out of the debris at Popes Creek, but there is nothing to indicate that William Augustine built a duplicate of Popes Creek at Haywood. Making allowances for a degree of affluence never approached at Popes Creek, it seems unlikely that he would have deliberately eschewed a building arrangement he had grown to know at the earlier plantation. The distances between buildings appear on the second policy, taken out for Haywood in 1805.

Except for the Lee plantation, all early kitchens insured in Westmoreland County were constructed of wood. Owing to the substantial foundations uncovered at the Building X site, it is possible that at least a portion of the main house at Popes Creek was brick.³ Although it is generally assumed that the kitchen was a wooden structure, its historic fabric cannot, for the present, be documented.

Kitchen floors were either brick, tile, or hard-packed earth, since wooden floors were considered fire hazards. But, no archeological evidence has been found to substantiate the present reconstructed brick floor in the Ancient Kitchen.

Tidewater kitchens had unique ventilation problems. For this reason, higher pitched roofs and more numerous windows were installed. Frequently a window was situated beside the door and on each wall except the fireplace wall. Some interior kitchen walls were lathed and plastered: they were always whitewashed.

B. Furniture

Kitchen furniture included only the essentials--one or more work tables and a limited amount of shelf space. Kitchen tables, however, do not appear on the comparative inventories used for this study, but after the mid-18th century, entries for the kitchen often list "pinetables" or "old square tables."⁴ Earlier inventories appraised kitchen tables along with household furniture.

Boards laid across barrels provided both storage and additional table space. Although all of the Popes Creek-related inventories include a variety of large wooden vessels, only one specifically mentions barrels, which are listed for the dairy. A York County kitchen inventory dating from 1739 lists "2 square pine tables," followed immediately by "a parcel of tubs and casks."⁵ Although these items may have been grouped together on the inventory because of their common fabric, the order may also imply a common usage.

Although chairs were frequently listed as stored kitchen supplies, it is hard to tell how often they were a functioning part of the kitchen proper. The 1762 appraisalment of the Popes Creek plantation

3. Powell, "Archeology of Popes Creek," pp. 29-36.

4. Frances Phipps cites a New England kitchen inventory dating from 1717 that lists "an old long Table," in Colonial Kitchens, p. 87.

5. Inventory of Robert Davidson, 1739, in Helen Duprey Bullock, "Kitchens in Colonial Virginia," mimeographed article in files of Colonial Williamsburg (Aug. 19, 1931), p. 9.

included an illegible number of "old elbow chairs." The placement of this entry indicates that they were either located in the kitchen or stored near it.

Some sort of shelves, placed at arbitrary points near the fireplace, and cupboards were a necessity. Small utensils hung on iron or wooden pegs. According to Jane Carson, the mantel shelf was not a common feature in private kitchens of this period.⁶

Parish records that detail kitchen construction or repair often include specifications for "Dressers and Shelves" or for double-doored "Closets."⁷ Helen Bullock defines the dresser as a large cupboard with bottom doors and with four open shelves above. Occasionally the dresser was a built-in feature, but more often it was a freestanding piece of furniture, sometimes built in conjunction with other kitchen construction. A closet, on the other hand, usually consisted of a small cupboard built into the breast of a chimney.⁸ The York County inventory previously cited contains a separate heading for the closet under which is listed a variety of dinnerware; however, a closet more commonly held small cooking vessels. Possibly the York County inventory refers to a cupboard rather than a built-in closet.

A third variety of cupboard, the safe, closely resembled a dresser. The upper shelves, however, were protected with perforated tin or brass wire doors. While a dresser held dishes or cooking equipment, a safe served as a temporary storage place for meat. Of course, the smokehouse provided long-term meat storage. The King George County inventory of Augustine Washington, Sr., and the Westmoreland County inventory of George Eskridge list a safe in the dairy. The coolness of a dairy made it a logical repository for fresh meat; however, both the 1762 and 1774 inventories taken at Popes Creek list safes along with the kitchen equipment.

An early-18th-century kitchen was lit by its fireplace and by candles. Nina Fletcher Little indicates that lighting implements used in the main dwelling were often stored in the kitchen, and many early Virginia inventories indicate such an arrangement by listing

6. Carson, Colonial Virginia Cookery, p. 17.

7. Christ Church Parish Vestry Book, Lancaster County, Virginia, 1739-1788; Parochial Vestry Books of Virginia, Vestry book of Cumberland Parish, Lunenburg County, ed. L. C. Bell, cited in Bullock, "Kitchens in Colonial Virginia."

8. Telephone conversation, Helen Duprey Bullock with author, Feb. 20, 1974.

large numbers of brass candlesticks for the kitchen.⁹ The comparative inventories, however, show very few entries for candlesticks. John Washington's kitchen had the largest number with two candlesticks, and these were not brass, but tin and iron, the latter complete with "snuffers." A brass candlestick was found in the garden structure at Popes Creek (the garden structure remains unidentified, but is thought to have been associated with food preparation.)¹⁰ Orders placed with John Norton show that, at least by the second half of the century, brass candlesticks and steel snuffers were in strong demand. Other forms of candleholders, such as lamps and "lanthorns," appear only on the later Popes Creek inventories.

Candlemaking probably took place in the kitchen, although an adjoining laundry may also have been used, as well as the yard area immediately around the kitchen. Interestingly enough, the only candle molds shown on the comparative inventories are listed for dairies.

Tallow candles were the least expensive variety to produce. The 1762 inventory lists 30 pounds of tallow along with the kitchen supplies at Popes Creek. A more efficient and generally more pleasant candle, however, was made from myrtle berries:

Myrtle, bearing a Berry, of which they make a hard brittle Wax, of a curious green Colour, which by refining becomes almost transparant. Of this they make Candles, which are never greasie to the Touch, nor melt with lying in the hottest Weather: Neither does the Snuff of these ever offend the Smell, like that of a Tallow-Candle; but, instead of being disagreeable, if an Accident puts a Candle out, it yields a pleasant Fragrancy to all that are in the Room; insomuch, that nice People often put them out, on purpose to have the Incense of the expiring Snuff.¹¹

9. Nina Fletcher Little, "Historic Houses: An Approach to Furnishing," American Association for State and Local History, Technical Leaflet 17.

10. Powell, "Archeology of Popes Creek," p. 92.

11. Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, p. 137.

Wax from cedar berries provided much the same effect. In 1732 myrtle or cedar wax cost 9 pence a pound as opposed to 5 pence a pound for tallow.¹²

C. Articles for Food Preparation

The dominant feature of every colonial kitchen was the fireplace. In the Ancient Kitchen, the fireplace occupies most of the east wall, and the chimney back measures 8 feet across.

In colonial Virginia, wood provided endless stores of fuel for the kitchen fireplace. Throughout much of the 18th century a pair of tongs and a shovel sufficed to control the fire. Tongs and a shovel are appraised on the Eskridge inventory, as well as on Anne Washington's Popes Creek inventory. In 1770 the following note was addressed to John Norton from Yorktown: "the Tongs, Shovels, and Pokers are too heavy for me to lift; and you know wee burn wood in Kitchens here."¹³ Pokers, however, rarely appear on early inventories.

Additional fireplace equipment on the 1762 and 1774 Popes Creek inventories include fenders, chimney screens, and a pair of bellows. These last items were probably restricted to use at small fireplaces in the main house, but, for convenience, they were appraised along with the fireplace tools in the kitchen.¹⁴

Another set of equipment was necessary to enable the huge fireplace to accommodate the various techniques of colonial cookery. Pots were elevated above the fire on a bar, generally iron, set high into the chimney. A more elaborate variation of the chimney bar was a movable crane attached to one side of the fireplace. Pots were attached to the chimney bar by hooks that adjusted to the height of the fire. The 1743 King George County inventory lists "5 pr Pothooks"; the Eskridge and John Washington inventories list "Potracks"; and Augustine Washington, Jr.'s, inventory lists a "parcell iron hooks"--all refer to the same basic device.

Andirons held wood and also roasting spits. There were a series of spit hooks along the vertical member of an andiron. Andirons appear only on the Eskridge inventory--"1 & Doggs"--and on later

12. Grove, "Travel Journal," p. 24.

13. M. Jacquelin to John Norton, Aug. 23, 1770, in Mason, John Norton & Sons, p. 144. The reminder that Virginia kitchens were wood burning was probably meant to emphasize the importance of these tools.

14. Jane Carson feels that these items, along with the poker, are part of the coal burning grate first used in Virginia in small bedroom fireplaces. Carson, Colonial Virginia Cookery, p. 21n.

Popes Creek inventories. Spits, however, appear on all the comparative inventories. In the 1732 period, spits averaged two per kitchen--George Eskridge had four. Spits had handles for turning and were sometimes pronged to hold particular varieties of meat. In a two-spit kitchen, the spit rack (sometimes attached to the wall above the kitchen fireplace) was not a necessity.

Little else was required for roasting. Flesh forks are listed on all the comparative inventories; the Eskridge inventory shows three, while other entries simply list flesh forks in the plural. Each of these inventories also lists a dripping pan. These not only helped keep the fireplace free from grease but also served as a basting pan. Although the fabric of dripping pans is not specified on the inventories, there is a 1736 inventory belonging to William Blaikley that lists one "iron" dripping pan.¹⁵ Three "baisters" are cited, but only on the 1762 Augustine Washington, Jr., inventory.

According to Jane Carson, small birds were sometimes roasted in a tin or copper Dutch oven.¹⁶ Only the 1774 inventory lists a Dutch oven--without a top. Because the fabric is not described, it is difficult to tell whether it was used for baking or for roasting. A 1771 description of a roasting oven in John Norton & Sons reads: "One Copper Dutch Oven lined with Tin 20 Inches over the Top."¹⁷

Although the colonial fireplace did not allow for a large variety of cooking methods, as much diversity as possible was achieved. At mid-century, Sarah Harrison wrote:

there should never be two Dishes at a Dinner of the same Sort of Meat, tho' they are diversified by boiling one and roasting the other, or baking it; but make as much Variation as you can.¹⁸

15. Cited in Bullock, "Kitchens in Colonial Virginia," p. 9.

16. Carson, Colonial Virginia Cookery, p. 29.

17. Peter Lyons to John Norton, Sept. 25, 1771, in Mason, John Norton & Sons, p. 191.

18. Sarah Harrison, The House-keeper's Pocket-book, cited in Carson, Colonial Virginia Cookery, p. 7.

Food was more often boiled or stewed than roasted. Baking, frying, and broiling were the least commonly used methods. Boiling and stewing were accomplished with a wide variety of pots, kettles, and skillets, which appear on every 18th-century inventory.¹⁹ Most such vessels were iron and were imported. Kitchen items mentioned in Mary Washington's will were limited to pewter, crockery, and ironware. She designated "one-half of my iron kitchen furniture" to each of two grandchildren. The first kitchen imports advertised for sale in the Virginia Gazette were iron, wood, or straw.²⁰ Although most of the early advertisements simply read "ironware," a few specify "Iron Potts," and by 1742 specific mention is made of frying pans. Copper or brass vessels were rarely advertised before mid-century;²¹ only a few appear on the early inventories used here and, of the two types, brass was more common.

Augustine Washington, Sr.'s, King George County kitchen had seven iron pots plus two "at the quarters." "Potts" and "frying Pans" seem to have been the most essential kitchen furnishings because they are listed, on all inventories, not only under the kitchen but also under every section headed "quarters." The Eskridge inventory shows a 448-pound collection (plus a few more) of iron pots, while John Washington's inventory lists "264 lbs. potts & pans." In addition, two large boilers, or "Coppers," existed in the King George County kitchen, and a collection of "old Copper" was in use at the Eskridge plantation.

Although kettles were often designated specifically as fish or tea kettles, they were also of a more general nature, such as the small brass kettle in the dairy at the King George County plantation,

19. For physical descriptions of all these 18th-century vessels, see Carson, Colonial Virginia Cookery, pp. 29-31.

20. Robert Beverley made the following comment on importing wooden objects:

Nay, they are such abominable Ill-husbands, that tho' their Country be over-run with Wood, yet they have all their Wooden Ware from 'England'; their Cabinets, Chairs, Tables, Stools, Chests, Boxes, Cart-Wheels, and all other things, even so much as their Bowls, and Birchen Brooms, to the Eternal Reproach of their Laziness.

21. See the following advertisements in the Virginia Gazette: Jan. 5, 1738, p. 42; Nov. 3, 1738, p. 61; Feb. 9, 1738, p. 42; May 29, 1746, p. 32.

and the large brass kettle in John Washington's kitchen. These kettles, in addition to serving as vessels for boiling meals, might have satisfied Dr. William Salmon's 1761 instructions for the preparation of medicines in a brass kettle.²² A 1736 inventory also mentions "1 old brass kettle to put ashes in."²³

Fish was often boiled in kettles. The King George County inventory lists a fish kettle with the dairy items; Anne Washington's Popes Creek inventory also mentions one; and Augustine Washington, Jr.'s, inventory lists a copper fish kettle. Every measure was taken to keep the fish whole while boiling them. Directions for boiling turbot in The Art of Cookery specify this method:

set on your fish kettle with clean water and salt, a little vinegar, and a piece of horse-raddish. When the water boils, lay the turbutt on a fish-plate, put it into the kettle, let it be well boiled, but take great care it is not too much done; when enough, take off the fish-kettle, set it before the fire then carefully lift up the fish-plate and set it across the kettle to drain. . . .²⁴

Although a number of cookbooks were available in 18th-century Virginia, Hannah Glasse's The Art of Cookery is especially useful to this study because it appears by title on the 1762 inventory and seems to have been in use at the Popes Creek plantation, at least by the end of Augustine Washington, Jr.'s, tenure.

An alternative to a fish plate was a napkin, as suggested by a recipe for "salmon au court bouillon," also in The Art of Cookery.²⁵ A fish drainer is appraised with the dairy items of the King George County property and a pewter fish dish and strainer is listed on the 1762 Popes Creek inventory. The latter also shows an entry for "26 Huckoback Napkins," some of which may have been used in preparing fish. Other cuts of meat, such as those stuffed with forcemeat, were wrapped in cloth for boiling in order to preserve their shape. Boiled puddings and certain herb seasonings also required the use of some sort of kitchen cloth.

22. William Salmon, Compendium of Physick, cited in Phipps, Colonial Kitchens, p. 205.

23. Inventory of William Blaikeley, 1736, cited in Bullock, "Kitchens in Colonial Virginia," p. 10.

24. Hannah Glasse [pseud.], The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy, . . . By a Lady (London, 1765), p. 172.

The book was first published in 1747 and first advertised for sale in the Virginia Gazette in 1767. Hannah Glasse was a pseudonym for a Fleet Street hack writer--possibly a Dr. John Hill.

25. Ibid., p. 177.

In spite of Hannah Glasse's repeated advice that boiling pots be "covered close," pot covers were rarely appraised: none appear on the comparative inventories.

Fat had to be periodically removed from the top of a boiling pot, and although it is not unusual to find skimmers, both brass and pewter, on early kitchen inventories, of those used for this study, only the 1774 inventory includes such an item, described simply as "1 large Skimmer." However, the cooking utensil most in evidence on early inventories, besides the flesh fork, is the ladle. John Washington had only one, but there were five in the Eskridge kitchen.

Earthenware and woodenware vessels were used primarily for preserving and measuring and were mostly kept in dairies rather than in kitchens. The Art of Cookery, however, refers to puddings boiled in wooden dishes and to soups stewed "softly" in an earthen pan or pipkin.²⁶ Although pails, piggins, and firkins appear on the comparative inventories in both kitchens and dairies, earthen pots are listed exclusively with dairy furnishings, except for a few on the 1774 inventory.

No hard-and-fast rule governed the use of any of these kitchen vessels. Although Hannah Glasse mentions stewing in pots, as well as in the earthen pan or pipkin, stewing was generally accomplished in skillets and saucepans. The Eskridge kitchen had two iron skillets, and the John Washington inventory lists one bell-metal skillet and one iron skillet with a broken handle. By 1762 there was a copper skillet in the Popes Creek kitchen.

Only the 1762 Popes Creek inventory mentions vessels similar to the two "old sauce" pans appraised in the King George County dairy. It lists three copper saucepans, one "stue" pan, and two tin saucepans.

Hannah Glasse refers to the "stew-pan you fry . . . in," and, in turn, many colonial frying pans had legs and were set over coals for stewing.²⁷ The Eskridge and King George County inventories list, in the kitchen, two and three frying pans respectively.

26. Ibid., pp. 129, 133.

27. Ibid., p. 118.

A chafing dish served as a portable stove, in which a portion of the meal could be conveniently prepared independently of the large fireplace, which often imposed an uncontrollable schedule on food preparation. The chafing dish also kept broiled or fried foods hot. George Eskridge and John Washington each had a chafing dish, and in 1762 the Popes Creek kitchen had four brass chafing dishes. There is also a brass warming pan listed in the Eskridge kitchen.

For stewing, chafing dishes were frequently combined with a pair of pewter plates. The process is described in The Art of Cookery:

Take two fine chickens, half boil them, then take them up in a pewter, or silver dish, if you have one; . . . cover it close with another dish, set it over a stove or a chafing-dish of coals, let it stew till the chickens are enough, and then send them hot to the table in the same dish they were stewed in.²⁸

Every inventory used for this report shows entries for pewter. Some specifically mention plates, and doubtlessly plates were implied in those entries reading so many "pounds of pewter dishes" or "a collection of old pewter."

It is impossible to tell how closely the Popes Creek kitchen sympathized with the contempt for frying held abroad in the 18th century:

After broiling we are to mention frying, though little need be said about it. It is a coarse and greasy Kind of Cookery, in Fashion in the Country, where there are great Appetites and strong Stomachs, but is at present entirely left off in genteel Families, except for nice Things, and in a particular Manner; These we shall shew how to dress in their proper Places, but we here treat only of plain frying. As nothing shall be omitted that can be useful to a Servant in any Rank or Condition, we here give the Rules for doing this. Frying Meat answers the Purpose of broiling, but not so well; the Heat of the Dish is a great Matter, so that there must always be a Chafing-dish of Coals ready

28. Ibid., p. 76.

to set it over, that the Meat may be put into it hot. Let the Frying-Pan be clean, and the Fire brisk and clear, for Smoak will get in it if there be any.²⁹

Broiling employed the gridiron, which appears on all the comparative inventories; one per kitchen was standard. The distance of the broiled dish from the fire could be adjusted by placing a trivet beneath the gridiron. Trivets, however, are found only on the later Popes Creek lists, and appear infrequently on other early Virginia inventories. Another item related to broiling that rarely appears on inventories before mid-century, and that does not appear on any used in this report, is the salamander.

Domestic baking was limited to bread, cake, and pastries. In towns with a bakery, large cuts of meat were sent out for baking. No such service, however, was available in the rural Popes Creek area. Any oven at Popes Creek was probably an outside oven, since inside ovens were not common until the 1780s.³⁰ Generally, outside ovens were built of brick, stuccoed over, and attached to the kitchen chimney. They were not flued.

Fireplace baking required a Dutch oven or bake kettle; Anne Washington's 1774 inventory lists a Dutch oven "without a top." The absence of Dutch ovens on earlier inventories may be because, in an age without interior ovens, this item was valuable enough to be set aside under the widow's share of an estate.

Muffins and the like could be baked on griddles suspended from the chimney bar. None are listed, however, on the early inventories, but three appear on the Augustine Washington, Jr., inventory and one on Anne Washington's.

The common broad hoe was used for baking in many Virginia kitchens--thus, the term "hoecake." Although hoes are normally appraised with the farm equipment of a plantation, several appear, along with many other sorts of tools, under John Washington's kitchen.

Other items on these inventories, which were restricted for the most part to oven baking, include biscuit and patty pans. There are 6 biscuit pans listed in George Eskridge's dairy and 12 patty pans

29. British Housewife, cited in Carson, Colonial Virginia Cookery, p. 89.

30. This is the opinion of Paul Buchanan, Director, Architectural Research, Colonial Williamsburg, in a conversation on Jan. 29, 1974, with Harold LaFleur, Historical Architect, National Park Service, DSC.

in John Washington's kitchen. In addition, tin pans, with no further designation, appear on these and other period inventories. Tart molds seem to be found only in later kitchens. They are not advertised in the Virginia Gazette until after the mid-century and appear only on the 1762 and 1774 inventories; however, a pair of spoon molds are listed on the 1743 John Washington inventory.

Many other items went into the preparation of food before it ever reached the fireplace: graters, mortars and pestles, colanders, and sifters, for instance.

A grater was probably a later addition to the Popes Creek kitchen. Only Augustine Washington, Jr.'s, inventory lists one, and graters are not advertised in the Virginia Gazette until 1766.³¹ At that time the most popular variety was the nutmeg grater. The 1736 inventory cited lists a hominy mortar and an iron pestle; mortars and pestles of iron were standard on all early inventories.³² John Washington's inventory simply lists an "old broken Spice Mortar & pestle." By 1774 Anne Washington had both a marble mortar and a bell-metal mortar and pestle. Similarly, John Washington's 1743 kitchen had both a grindstone and a pair of "old hand" millstones.

Only John Washington's inventory includes a colander, appraised with the dairy. Several other inventories of this period specify tin colanders; John Norton received an order for a tin colander in 1769.³³

For "jarring cherries, Lady North's Way," The Art of Cookery recommends the use of a wicker sieve.³⁴ Sifters of all sorts were common. The Eskridge inventory shows one large sifter in the "old dairy," and two meal sifters are listed in the John Washington kitchen. Although "lawn searches" were present in many early kitchens, they appear here only in the 1762 Popes Creek kitchen.

A pair of steelyards was also standard equipment. The King George County kitchen had one pair, and John Washington's kitchen had both a pair of "old" steelyards and a pair of "scales."

By 1762 there were six "egg slices" in the Popes Creek kitchen, but this item rarely appears on inventories before mid-century. Along with the "egg slices" were listed a number of cleaning tools--brooms, brushes, and scrubbers. In the early period, however, janitorial

31. Virginia Gazette, Balfour and Barroud, July 25, 1766; and Purdie and Dixon, June 25, 1767, p. 32.

32. Bullock, "Kitchens in Colonial Virginia," p. 9.

33. M. Jacquelin to John Norton, Aug. 14, 1769, in Mason, John Norton & Sons, p. 103.

34. Glasse, The Art of Cookery, p. 300.

equipment was limited, for the most part, to "basons," which appear in both kitchens and dairies on all three early inventories. In 1768 an order was placed with John Norton for "1-1/2 Dozen blue and white slop Basons to wash in after Dinner at about 1/ each."³⁵

One of the few items appraised on Augustine Washington, Sr.'s, Westmoreland County property in 1743 is a still; a limbrick still is also listed with the kitchen equipment on the 1774 Popes Creek inventory.

Dinnerware was a valuable commodity; probably for security reasons, the average early Virginia inventory shows far more dinnerware appraised with the main house and the dairy than with the kitchen. When not in use, any dinnerware kept in the kitchen remained out of sight, and probably under lock and key. A 1739 inventory belonging to Robert Davidson lists a kitchen subheading for the "closet" that includes all the kitchen dinnerware.³⁶

Pewter was the dominant form of dinnerware in early-18th-century Virginia. Of the comparative inventories, John Washington's contains the most complete listing for kitchen pewter: 3 dozen new plates, 2-1/2 dozen old plates, and 6 new dishes. Augustine Washington, Sr.'s, King George County inventory shows 16 pewter dishes in the dairy. One inventory dating from 1718 contains, under the kitchen, a separate heading for pewter that reads: *

Pewter.

1 doz. new plates, 9 new plates, 263/4 lbs. pewter,
7 pewter basons, 2 pewter porringers, 1 tankard, 1
salt, 2 pewter dishes, 1 parcel old pewter, 1 pestle
and mortar.³⁷

Of the early inventories, only Eskridge's shows a collection of silver plates in the kitchen; it was not until the later occupation at Popes Creek that kitchen stone plates were appraised. Nor were serving dishes of any sort generally appraised in early kitchens. The King George County inventory shows three dish covers in the dairy.

A tea kettle is appraised in the John Washington kitchen, but coffee pots are rarely found on early kitchen inventories, appearing

35. R. C. Nichols to John Norton, Sept. 6, 1768, in Mason, John Norton & Sons, p. 72.

36. Bullock, "Kitchens in Colonial Virginia," pp. 8-9.

37. Mackerty Inventory, in Bullock, "Kitchens in Colonial Virginia," p. 7.

only on the 1762 and 1774 Popes Creek inventories. William Byrd first refers to coffee in his second published diary, which begins in 1739.³⁸

Knives and forks appear on very few kitchen inventories from the 1732 period. The John Washington inventory lists, under the kitchen, "1 Doz. of Case knives & forks," and in 1774 Anne Washington's dairy furnishings include a parcell "old" knives and forks.

D. Other Properties of the Kitchen Structure

Laundries abutted many early-18th-century kitchens. Given this arrangement, it was common practice to place a chimney in the center of the structure to service both areas. Although contained within the same building, the kitchen and laundry were maintained as separate functions.

On the 1743 King George County inventory the kitchen furnishings are followed by a section headed "Linnen," which is the closest thing to a separate laundry heading found on any of the comparative inventories.³⁹ Inventory items such as soap jars, water jugs and pails, brushes and scrubbers, and wash tubs were usable in both kitchens and laundries. The boxirons and flatirons, however, that are listed with Augustine Washington, Jr.'s, kitchen furnishings were primarily for laundry use; during his tenure, therefore, it is reasonable to envision a laundry in half of the kitchen outbuilding at Popes Creek.

Most plantations had at least one slave who lived in the kitchen and whose duties were restricted to cooking. William Byrd refers on one occasion to "my cook-maid," and in 1740 Carter Burwell of Carter's Grove ordered a "rugg" for "Molly in the Kitchen."⁴⁰

38. Byrd, Another Secret Diary.

39. By 1805 Haywood had a separate laundry/schoolroom at the side opposite the main dwelling from the kitchen. It seems unlikely, however, that in 1732 Popes Creek would have had as extensive a network of outbuildings as this.

40. Byrd, Secret Diary, p. 293; Burwell Papers, cited in Mary A. Stephenson, Carter's Grove Plantation (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1964), p. 296.

Kitchen quarters were usually located in a loft reached by a ladder ascending from the kitchen proper. The loft often accommodated more than one female slave, or even some of the cook's family. In many cases, it doubled as a sleeping and storage area. Only John Washington's inventory has entries for beds in the kitchen--one "old bedstead" and one child's bed.

Any miscellaneous nonperishable items that appear on these kitchen inventories, such as chests, trunks, parcels of books, and a large variety of tools, might have been stored in the loft.

Perishables, on the other hand, were rarely kept in that area. The majority of plantation food was stored in the smokehouse, in the dairy, and under the main dwelling. Excavations at Popes Creek have uncovered extensive cellar space, including evidence pointing to the existence of a wine cellar, beneath Building X.⁴¹ Food storage conditions, however, specified by 18th-century gardening and cookery books seem to imply some sort of storage provision in, or just adjacent to, the kitchen.

Onion and garlic were to be hung in "some room or garret, as close from air as possible," while lemons required hanging "in a dry airy place."⁴² Joseph Ball recommended hanging Cardusy tea "in [the] kitchen all year."⁴³ A root cellar would have satisfied some of these conditions, and in a few isolated instances in 18th-century Virginia, root cellars were entered through the kitchen floor. Jane Carson, however, considers the root cellar a 19th-century innovation and, furthermore, unsuited to the humid Tidewater climate.⁴⁴

Many New England kitchens had a small ell projecting from their northernmost, or coldest, side. Excavations at Wetherburn's Tavern in Williamsburg disclosed the 18th-century practice of storing bottles--in this case filled with cherries--by burying them in the ground adjacent to the kitchen.⁴⁵

Several references are made to underground potato storage. Robert Beverley mentions burying potato cuttings near the fire hearth

41. Rodnick, "Orientation Report," pp. 55-57.

42. John Randolph, A Treatise on Gardening, cited in Carson, Colonial Virginia Cookery, p. 198; Glasse, The Art of Cookery, p. 311.

43. Joseph Ball Letter Book, 1743-1780, p. 7, Microfilm M-21, Colonial Williamsburg Research Center, Williamsburg, Va.

44. Carson, Colonial Virginia Cookery, p. 198n.

45. Ivor Noel Hume, "Archaeology and Wetherburn's Tavern," Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series No. 3 (Colonial Williamsburg, 1969), p. 19.

in the winter, and William Byrd refers to hanging potatoes underground near the fire hearth.⁴⁶ In 1759 Colonel Gordon spoke of getting his potatoes "in the house."⁴⁷

One New England inventory dating from 1748 shows a separate listing for the kitchen cellar, which includes "30 Barrels of Cyder, some Casks of Apples, Turnips and other sorts of Sauce, some Butter Beef & Cheese w/ Tubs & Earthen potts."⁴⁸

It is impossible to tell exactly how or where the kitchen storage space was arranged at Popes Creek, but there is a strong argument that at least by Augustine, Jr.'s, tenure some sort of kitchen storage facility existed. The 1762 inventory includes, along with the kitchen furnishings, a large number of bottles, jars, and cannisters containing everything from spices and fruit to molasses and sugar. It seems likely that such stores would not have been kept where they were accessible to the kitchen slaves.

46. Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, p. 144; William Byrd's Natural History of Virginia, cited in Hatch, "Chapters in the History of Popes Creek," p. 186.

47. Gordon, "Journal of Col. James Gordon," p. 110.

48. Inventory of John Bridge, 1748, cited in Phipps, Colonial Kitchens, pp. 87-88.

V. THE KITCHEN GARDEN

Some sort of kitchen garden accompanied every colonial kitchen. However, with the exception of the parcel of garden seeds on Augustine Washington, Jr.'s, inventory and the several hoes included under the John Washington kitchen, there is little reference to kitchen gardens on the comparative inventories. When the Haywood property was advertised for sale in 1803, the garden was considered a strong selling point: "a large commodious garden and yard lately railed in with red cedar posts and chesnut pailings, containing a great variety of fruit trees. . . ."¹ Most of the several plantations William Hugh Grove visited had "pleasant gardens."² A part of William Byrd's daily routine consisted of walking in his garden at Westover, which was reputedly one of Virginia's finest.

The primary function, however, of the early-18th-century garden was to serve the kitchen rather than to provide pleasure for the plantation proprietors. Robert Beverley had little praise for Virginia gardens:

A garden is no where sooner made than there, either for Fruits, or Flowers, Tulips from the Seed-flower the second year at farthest. All sorts of Herbs have there a perfection in their flavour, beyond what I ever tasted in a more 'Northern' Climate. And yet they han't many Gardens in the Country, fit to bear that name.³

The standard garden formed a rectangle and had a path that bisected it lengthwise. One or both sides might then be divided into three smaller sections. Ideally, a kitchen garden was given a southern and western exposure and, depending on the building arrangement of a plantation, the garden was often planted with the dwelling house and kitchen adjacent to two of its four sides.

It seems unlikely that the products of the Popes Creek garden were planted with any aesthetic end in mind; however, it was only practical to segregate flowers or herbs from the dominating crop--

1. The Washington Federalist, cited in Hatch, "Chapters in the History of Popes Creek," p. 103n.

2. Grove, "Travel Journal," p. 12.

3. Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, p. 316.

vegetables. When extra care was taken, particularly beautiful or sweet smelling plants were located near the dwelling house; herbs were next to the kitchen; and strong or offensive smelling vegetables were placed so that the odors would be carried away by the wind.⁴

The average garden path, or paths, consisted of crushed shells or gravel. The former was especially common in Tidewater Virginia. Fences were usually paled; the split picket fence, such as the one surrounding the present Colonial Garden at Popes Creek, did not become common until after the Revolution.⁵ At one place in his diaries, William Byrd was upset with his pregnant wife for climbing over the garden pales, and on another occasion he found a drunk man hanging over the pales.⁶ At least by 1764, the garden at Carter's Grove had a similar fence, as shown by an entry in the Estate Accounts for that year: "£5.5-paid for 1500 garden Pails."⁷

Several references occur during this period to garden hedges, which may have taken the place of fences. Grove observed "strong hedges of Peach plants" in gardens,⁸ and in 1737 John Custis was planting "dutch box edgeings" in Williamsburg. When the "edgeings" were destroyed by an unusually hot season, Custis's London correspondent, Peter Collinson, wrote to him suggesting:

I think as your sun is so Hott if you raised tall
Hedges of Quick growing plants & then sett our
European plants in Rows behind them, Hedges of your
Cedar may be very proper for this Work, which will
Run High & may be kept clip'd or Hedges of Phileria
or Yoppon Bays or Laurell. . . .⁹

4. Phipps, Colonial Kitchens, p. 187. Although this book deals more heavily with gardens in New England than in Virginia, no distinction was drawn concerning the general arrangement of gardens.

5. Charles E. Hatch, Jr., and Jerome A. Green, Developed Sites and Colonial Rural Fences, Yorktown, Colonial NHP, forthcoming NPS typescript (Denver Service Center).

6. Byrd, Secret Diary, pp. 31, 233.

7. Estate Accounts of Carter Burwell, cited in Stephenson, Carter's Grove Plantation, p. 51.

8. Grove, "Travel Journal," p. 19.

9. John Custis to Peter Collinson, [Aug. 28] 1737, and Collinson to Custis, Dec. 5, 1737, in Earl G. Swem, ed., Brothers of the Spade, (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1949), pp. 62, 65.

For the most part, one person tended the colonial garden. Although this responsibility often fell to the housewife, some plantations had gardeners. William Byrd was continually angry with Tom "for not doing well in the garden," and in 1739 the Virginia Gazette carried an advertisement for a gardener in King William County.¹⁰ Garden tools seem to have been kept in the kitchen, as evidenced by the John Washington inventory. In 1770 the following order for garden tools was placed with John Norton: "2 Iron rakes one large and the other very small fit for Gardening," and "2 very small hoes of the best kind for gardening"; and in 1771 Norton received an order for "3 Bell Glasses for the Garden."¹¹ It is unlikely, however, that the latter were used at Popes Creek.

Only those crops requiring special care were planted in the kitchen garden. Peas and beans, for instance, needed little care and were planted in tobacco fields to improve the soil. John Custis reported grossing "yearly hundreds of bushes [bushels] of . . . black eyed indian peas. . . ."¹² Smaller crops also requiring little care were planted between rows of corn. In New Jersey, Peter Kalm observed asparagus growing in corn fields, and, in Virginia, William Hugh Grove criticized the similar treatment of muskmelons.¹³

Certain varieties of beans and peas that were more difficult to produce were planted in the kitchen garden. Additional kitchen garden products most early-18th-century travelers mention include several varieties of lettuce, cabbage, onions, and turnips. William Grove notes the following products in Virginia gardens: six weeks beans, Indian peas (kidney beans), cabbage, curled green kale, some cauliflowers, artichokes, cucumbers, broccoli, and squash. The "Hartichoak" was only an experiment among the high-class citizens.¹⁴ Hugh Jones considered the "artichoak" the worst thing in Virginia

10. Byrd, Secret Diary, p. 86; Virginia Gazette, Nov. 23, 1739, p. 41.

11. John Robinson to John Norton, 1770, and Peter Lyons to John Norton, 1771, in Mason, John Norton & Sons, pp. 120, 191.

12. John Custis to Peter Collinson, July 29, 1736, in Swem, Brothers of the Spade, p. 50.

13. Pehr Kalm, Travels in North America (1753), in Phipps, Colonial Kitchens, p. 186; Grove "Travel Journal," p. 19.

14. Grove, "Travel Journal," p. 18.

gardens, but felt that it could probably be improved with a little skill and management.¹⁵ Interestingly enough, very few early writers mention potatoes or yams. They probably did not constitute one of the major products of the kitchen garden, but were planted elsewhere on a plantation.

Seed advertisements do not appear in the Virginia Gazette until after mid-century. By 1759 the following garden seeds were available: beans (four sorts), peas (six sorts), curled colewort, garden and winter cress, white curled endive, lettuce (five sorts), white mustard, cabbage (seven sorts), early and late cauliflower, Italian celery, "colliflower" and purple broccoli, leek, English and Spanish white onions, radishes (four sorts), and turnips (four sorts). Advertisements dating from the late 1760s and early 1770s list additional sorts of garden products, as well as corn salad, kale, spinach, asparagus, celeriac, beets, carrots, parsnips, rape, and skirret. Vine crops included cucumber, muskmelon, watermelon, and pumpkin.¹⁶

Also dating from the second half of the 18th century are the following seed orders placed with John Norton:

Garden Seeds

1 oz. Flanders Onion	1 Gallon Charlton Peas
1 oz. large Orange Carrot	1 Gallon large Marrow fat Do.
2 oz. early White Garden Turnep	1 Gallon large Sugar Pea
1/2 oz. early prickly Cucumber	1 Gallon Dwarf Do.
1/2 oz. long green prickly Do.	1 Gallon Windsor Beans
1 oz. Colliflower	6 Garden spades
1/4 oz. Colliflower Brocoly	2 pruning Knives
1/4 oz. Purple Do.	12 lb. Blue Grass seed
1 oz. early Cabbage	2 ps. Nanquin with Trimmings
1 oz. Sugar Loaf Do.	10 oz. Wire for a Harpsicord
1 oz. large English Do	from No. 3 to No. 13
1 oz. green Savoy	

Let the Good be Insured when sent

Mann Page

15. Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 92.

16. Seed advertisements up to 1778 were compiled from the following Virginia Gazettes by the research department at Colonial Williamsburg: Nov. 30, 1759, p. 32; Mar. 26, 1767, p. 31; Mar. 10, 1768, p. 32; Oct. 10, 1771, p. 32; Dec. 31, 1772, p. 32; Dec. 16, 1773, p. 31; May 3, 1774, p. 32; Apr. 6, 1775, p. 43; Sept. 9, 1775, p. 32; Mar. 6, 1778, p. 11.

Garden Seeds to be sent as early as possible in the Cabbin if it can be done,

2 Galls. earliest Pease	1 oz. Celleriack. 1 oz. sollid
4 do midling	Cellery
2 do. of the Latest Sort	1 pt. water Cresses. 1 pt. white
1 Gal Windsor Beans	Mustard- 1 do. corn Sallad-2
2 qts best french Beans	qts Rape Seed
8 oz. orange Carrot	2 oz. early Colliflower-Seed-2 oz.
4 oz. swelling Parsnip	latter do.
1 lb. earliest Turnip	2 oz. earliest sugar Loaf Cabbage
4 lb. hardiest Winter do.	1 oz. red Cabbage. 2 oz. green
4 oz. Turnip Radish. 1 pt.	Savoy-2 oz. yellow do.
Salmon do.	1 oz. green Brocoli- 1 oz. red do.
1 oz. white Cass Lettuce	1 oz. purple do. 1 oz. white do.
1 oz. Silecia do.	1 oz. prickly Cucumber-1 oz.
1 oz. dutch Cabbage do.	earliest do.-1 oz. green & white
1 qt. round Spinage- 1 qt.	Turkey Cucumber
prickly co.	1 oz. Roman Mellon 1 oz.
1 oz. best Endive. 1 oz. best	Cantalopes
Cellery	

N. B. if these Seeds are not quite fresh & good it will not be worth while to send them; many of those last sent faild to my great disappointment.¹⁷

Disappointed at the lack of herb cultivation in Virginia gardens, Robert Beverley complained that all "Spicery" had to be imported from England.¹⁸ Beverley was writing at the turn of the century and the situation had probably only changed slightly by the 1732 period. Augustine Washington, Jr.'s, 1762 inventory includes a few spices--pepper, nutmeg, mace, and cloves. All appraised food supplies were imported and probably only a very few herbs were cultivated in the garden. Early writers mention thyme, hysop, and marjoram as standard garden herbs, and as early as 1676 Thomas Glover notes the following herbs that grew wild in England but were planted in Virginia: wormwood, "fetherfew," "horselick," *Carduus*, "benedictus," rue, coriander, and enula (elecampane).¹⁹

Primarily, garden herbs were used for seasoning food rather than for medicinal purposes; nevertheless, the cook was usually responsible for the care of the sick. The Art of Cookery even contains a chapter headed "Directions for the Sick." According to the notes

17. Mann Page to John Norton, Feb. 22, 1770, and R. C. Nicholas to John Norton, Sept. 7, 1771, in Mason, John Norton & Sons, pp. 126, 185.

18. Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, p. 291.

19. Glover, An Account of Virginia, cited in Hatch, "Chapters in the History of Popes Creek," p. 183.

accompanying William Byrd's diaries, the sage he and his wife picked daily in late May and early June was used primarily for medicinal purposes.²⁰ For a plantation owner, however, Byrd took an unusual amount of interest in medical affairs. One servant at Westover was sweated with "tincture of saffron and sage and snakeroot" and another was sent tea with 10 drops of spirits of saffron.²¹ Colonel Gordon reported taking rhubarb for his ills.²² Sage, and perhaps saffron and rhubarb, were grown in kitchen gardens. But medicines were mostly either used in their wild state or imported. John Norton & Sons contains numerous orders for bottled medicines.

By 1767 the Virginia Gazette advertised flower seeds and roots, and by 1771 offered annuals, all of no particular description.²³ However, flowers were an infrequent luxury in plantation gardens. In 1728 William Byrd wrote to England bemoaning the lack in Virginia gardens of the flowering curiosities found in English gardens.²⁴ According to Byrd, all such pleasures suffered in the face of the tobacco preoccupation.

Although Glover mentions "Roses" and "Clove-Gilliflowers" in Virginia gardens,²⁵ most early writers tend to note the large variety of wild flowers in Virginia instead. With his own elaborate garden at his fingertips, William Byrd nevertheless sought flowers "in the wood" with which to decorate his house.²⁶ And although John Custis, in Williamsburg, took exceptional interest in garden flowers, he admitted that "greens are [the] chief fruit of endeavors."²⁷

The Art of Cookery gives several recipes for candied flowers or for syrups made from flowers. When used for cooking, flowers were probably more easily justified in the utilitarian kitchen garden.

20. Byrd, Secret Diary, p. 177n.

21. Ibid., pp. 160, 179.

22. Gordon, "Journal of Col. James Gordon," entries for Oct. 5 and 6, 1762, p. 234.

23. Virginia Gazette, Mar. 26, 1767, p. 31; Oct. 10, 1771, p. 32.

24. Letter dated July 15, 1728, in Byrd, "William Byrd 1728 [June]-1729 April 3."

25. Glover, An Account of Virginia, cited in Hatch, "Chapters in the History of Popes Creek," p. 187.

26. Byrd, Secret Diary, p. 223.

27. John Custis to Peter Collinson, [1730], in Swem, Brothers of the Spade, pp. 39-40.

Undoubtedly some types of fruit grew in the Popes Creek garden. At certain points the orchard and the garden may even have been indistinguishable one from another. The Haywood plantation had a "commodious garden and yard" with a "great variety of fruit trees"; one 19th-century visitor to Popes Creek noted "a solitary apple tree said to be the last survivor of an orchard immediately around the house. . . ."

Cherry trees, at least, were part of the garden at Westover. Byrd often picked or ate cherries from his garden, and on one occasion he was "out of humor" with his wife about stewed cherries.²⁸ Although Byrd often mentions eating cherries and strawberries at the same time, one of the few gardens in Virginia that can be documented as having strawberries is John Randolph's Williamsburg garden.²⁹ Byrd may have been eating wild strawberries.

There is no further evidence of fruit in kitchen gardens. Nineteenth-century accounts of the Popes Creek plantation note a fig tree adjacent to the garden area. Interestingly enough, Robert Beverley reports that there were "not 10 people in Virginia who plant Almond, Pomegranate and Fig."³⁰

Although Hannah Glasse considered the kitchen garden and orchard separate entities, she included the products of both under a single gardening calendar:

Fruits and Garden-Stuff throughout the year.

January fruits yet lafting, are,

SOME grapes, the Kentifh, ruffet, golden, French, kirton and Dutch pippins, John apples, winter queenings, the marigold and Harvey apples, pom-water, golden-dorfet, renneting, love's pearmain, and the winter-pearmain; winter burgomot, winter-boncretien, winter-mafk, winter Norwich, and great furrein pears. All garden things much the fame as in December

February fruits yet lafting.

THE fame as in January, except the golden-pippin and pomwater; alfo the pomery, and the winter-peppering and dagobent pear.

28. Byrd, Secret Diary, pp. 32, 33, 37.

29. Randolph, A Treatise on Gardening, cited in Hatch, "Chapters in the History of Popes Creek," p. 187.

30. Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, p. 316.

March fruits yet lafting.

THE golden ducket-daufet, pippins, rennetings, love's pearmain and John apples. The latter boncretien, and double-bloffom pear.

April fruits yet lafting.

YOU have now in the kitchen-garden and orchard, autumn carrots, winter fpinach, fprouts of cabbage and cauliflowers, turnip-tops, aparagus, young raddifhes, Dutch brown lettuce and crefles, burnet, young onions, fcallions, leeks, and early kidney beans. On hot beds, purflain, cucumbers, and muhfrooms. Some cherries, green apricots, and goofeberries for tarts.

Pippins, deuxans, Weftbury apple, ruffeting, gilliflower, the latter boncretien, oak pear, &c.

May. The product of the kitchen and fruit garden.

ASPARAGUS, cauliflowers, imperial, Silefia, royal and cabbage lettuces, burnet, purflain, cucumbers, nafturtian flowers, peafe and beans fown in October, artichokes, fcarlet ftrawberries, and kidney beans. Upon the hot beds, May cherries, May dukes. On walls, green apricots, and goofeberries.

Pippins, deuxans, or John apple, Weftbury apples, ruffeting, gilliflower apples, the codling, &c.

The great karvile, winter-boncretien, black Worcefter pear, furrein, and double bloffom-pear. Now is the proper time to diftil herbs, which are in their greateft perfection.

June. The product of the kitchen and fruit garden.

ASPARAGUS, garden beans and peafe, kidney beans, cauliflowers, artichokes, Batterfea and Dutch cabbage, melons on the fuft ridges, young onions, carrots, and parfnips fown in February, purflain, burrage, burnet, the flowers of nafturtian, the Dutch brown, the imperial, the royal, the Silefia, and cofs lettuces, fome blanched endive and cucumbers, and all forts of pot-herbs.

Green goofeberries, ftrawberries, fome rafpberries, currants white and black, duke cherries, red harts, the Flemifh and carnation-cherries, codlings, jannatings, and the mafculine apricot. And in the forcing frames all the forward kind of grapes.

July. The product of the kitchen and fruit garden.

RONCIVAL and winged peafe, garden and kidney beans, cauliflowers, cabbages, artichokes, and their fmall fuckers, all forts of kitchen and aromatic herbs. Sallads, as cabbage-lettuce, purflain, burnet, young onions, cucumbers, blanched endive, carrots, turnips, beets, nafturtian flowers, mufk melons, wood-ftrawberries, currants, goofeberries, rafpberries, red and white jannatings, the Margaret apple, the primat-ruffet, fumpter-green chiffel and pearl pears, the carnation-morella, great bearer, Morocco, erigat, and begarreux-cherries. The nutmeg, Ifabella, Perfian, Newington, violet, mufcal, and rambouillet-peaches. Nectarines, the primodial, myrobalan, red, blue, amber, damafk-pear, apricot, and cinnamon-plumbs; alfo the king's and lady Elizabeth's plumbs, &c. fome figs and grapes. Walnuts in high feafon to pickle, and rock-fampier. The fruit yet lafting of the laft year is, the deuxans and winter-ruffeting.

Auguft. The product of the kitchen and fruit garden.

CABBAGES and their fprouts, cauliflowers, artichokes, cabbage-lettuce, beets, carrots, potatoes, turnip, fome beans, peafe, kidney-beans, and all forts of kitchen-herbs, raddifhes, horfe-raddifh, cucumbers, creffes, fome tarragon, onions, garlick, rocumboles, melons, and cucumbers for pickling.

Goofeberries, rafpberries, currants, grapes, figs, mulberries and filberts, apples, the Windfor fovereign, orange burgamot fliper, red Catharine, king Catharine, penny-pruffian, fummer poppening, fugar and louding pears. Crown Bourdeaux, lavur, difput, favoy and wallacotta-peaches; the muroy, tawney, red Roman, little green cluffer, and yellow nectarines.

Imperial blue dates, yellow late pear, black pear, white nutmeg late pear, great Antony or Turkey and Jane plumbs.

Cluffer, mufcadin, and cornelian grapes.

September. The product of the kitchen and fruit garden.

GARDEN and some kidney-beans, round pease, artichokes, raddishes, cauliflowers, cabbage-lettuce, cress, chervil, onions, tarragon, burnet, fennel, endive, mushrooms, carrots, turnips, fennel, beets, fennel, horseradish, raddish, garlic, shallots, rocket, cabbage and their sprouts, with favours, which are better when more sweetened with the froth.

Peaches, grapes, figs, pears, plums, walnuts, filberts, almonds, quinces, melons, and cucumbers.

October. The product of the kitchen and fruit garden.

SOME cauliflowers, artichokes, pease, beans, cucumbers, and melons; also July round kidney-beans, turnips, carrots, parsnips, potatoes, fennel, fennel, beets, onions, garlic, shallots, rocket, chard, cress, chervil, mustard, raddish, rape, spinach, lettuce small and cabbaged, burnet, tarragon, blanched fennel and endive, late peaches and plums, grapes and figs. Mulberries, filberts, and walnuts. The bullace, pines, and arbutus; and great variety of apples and pears.

November. The product of the kitchen and fruit garden.

CAULIFLOWERS in the greenhouse, and some artichokes, carrots, parsnips, turnips, beets, fennel, fennel, horseradish, potatoes, onions, garlic, shallots, rocket, fennel, parsley, sorrel, thyme, favours, sweet marjoram dry, and clary cabbages and their sprouts, favour-cabbage, spinach, late cucumbers. Hot herbs on the hot-bed, burnet, cabbage, lettuce, endive blanched; several sorts of apples and pears.

Some bullaces, medlars, arbutus, walnuts, hazel nuts, and chestnuts.

December. The product of the kitchen and fruit garden.

MANY sorts of cabbages and favours, spinach, and some cauliflowers in the conservatory, and artichokes in sand. Roots we have as in the last month. Small herbs on the hot-beds for fallads, also mint, tarragon, and cabbage-lettuce preserved under glasses; chervil, fennel, and endive blanched. Sage, thyme, favours, beet-leaves, tops of young beets, parsley, sorrel, spinach, leeks, and sweet marjoram, marigold-flowers, and mint dried. Asparagus on the hot-bed, and cucumbers on the plants sown in July and August, and plenty of pears and apples.³¹

31. Glasse, The Art of Cookery, pp. 325-28.

Finally, there is a beehive at the border of the present Colonial Garden at Popes Creek. Most Virginia colonists kept bees, although not necessarily as part of their gardens. According to Beverley, the "careful Huswife . . . will easily yield . . . two Crops of Honey in a Year, and besides lay up a Winter-store sufficient to preserve their Stocks."³² However, Beverley also notes wild "Honey" and "Sugar Trees" in Virginia.³³ Beehives in or near kitchen gardens were most ideally located near the herb patch.³⁴

32. Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, p. 317.

33. Ibid., p. 133.

34. Phipps, Colonial Kitchens, p. 190.

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