

“THE BEST ACCUSTOMED HOUSE IN TOWN”: TAVERNS AS A
REFLECTION OF ELITE CONSUMER BEHAVIOR IN EIGHTEENTH-
CENTURY HAMPTON AND ELIZABETH CITY COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

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Abstract: Christopher L. McDaid, “The best accustomed house in town”: Taverns as a Reflection of Elite Consumer Behavior in Eighteenth-Century Hampton and Elizabeth City County, Virginia.

This thesis examines how two mid-eighteenth-century tavern keepers in Hampton chose to mirror the consumer behaviors of the local elite in the manner that food and beverages were prepared and served in their taverns. In order to understand the consumer behavior of Elizabeth City County’s elite, fifty-four probate inventories from the 1760s were analyzed. The analysis focused on the material culture associated with dining, cooking, the consumption of alcohol, and the serving of the warm caffeinated beverages, tea, coffee and chocolate.

Documentary and archaeological data indicated that social elites had adopted complicated behaviors associated with dining, cooking, drinking alcohol and serving warm caffeinated beverages. The complexity of quotidian behaviors noted in the archaeological and documentary data are explained by multiple factors. The first factor is the world-view or *habitus* of the gentry elite of colonial Virginia that was based on the competition for respect based on social status. The second factor was the increasing availability of consumer goods in mid-eighteenth-century Virginia which meant that individuals of less wealth and social status could acquire items that had previously been available only to the wealthy. The third factor was the transition from a social practice that privileged the age of status items to one that judged the fashionability of items and behaviors. The level of variety and diversity identified in the homes of the elite was observed in the materials excavated from the two taverns.

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CHAPTER ONE: Background

Introduction

On 11 March 1755, Madam Browne was traveling with her brother, an officer in the British Army under General Braddock. She noted in her diary that while in Hampton, a port in the colony of Virginia, she stopped at the King's Arms and enjoyed a dinner of ham, turkey, breast of veal and oysters and she drank Madeira wine, punch, and cider. Madam Browne summed up Hampton and the King's Arms as "a very agreeable place" (Harrison 1924: 306).

On Wednesday, the fourth of June 1766, the gentlemen of Hampton and Elizabeth City County, Virginia, celebrated the King's birthday and the repeal of the "Stamp Act." After a royal salute the men repaired to the Bunch of Grapes tavern where according to *The Virginia Gazette*, "an elegant entertainment was provided" after which "the following healths were drunk, under the proper discharges of cannon." They drank to: The King, The Prince of Wales, the Queen and Royal Family, The Duke of York and the navy; the Army; His Honor the Governor; Virginia; the glorious and immortal memory of King William; the memory of the Duke of Cumberland; the King of Prussia; the hereditary Prince of Brunswick; the illustrious five and glorious majority; the Parliament of Great Britain; Unanimity between Great Britain and her colonies, on solid and lasting foundations; The Marquis of Rockingham; the Duke of Grafton; Mr. Secretary Conway; The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Duke of Newcastle; Earl of Chesterfield; Lord Camden; Mr. Pitt; COL Barre; General Howard; Our Sister Colonies; and Trade and Navigation. In the evening there was a ball and supper at the King's Arms tavern where the ladies graced the

company. “A plentiful dinner was provided to the other inhabitants at some distance” (Figure 1) (Purdie and Dixon, 13 May 1776: P(age) 2 C(olumn) 1)¹.

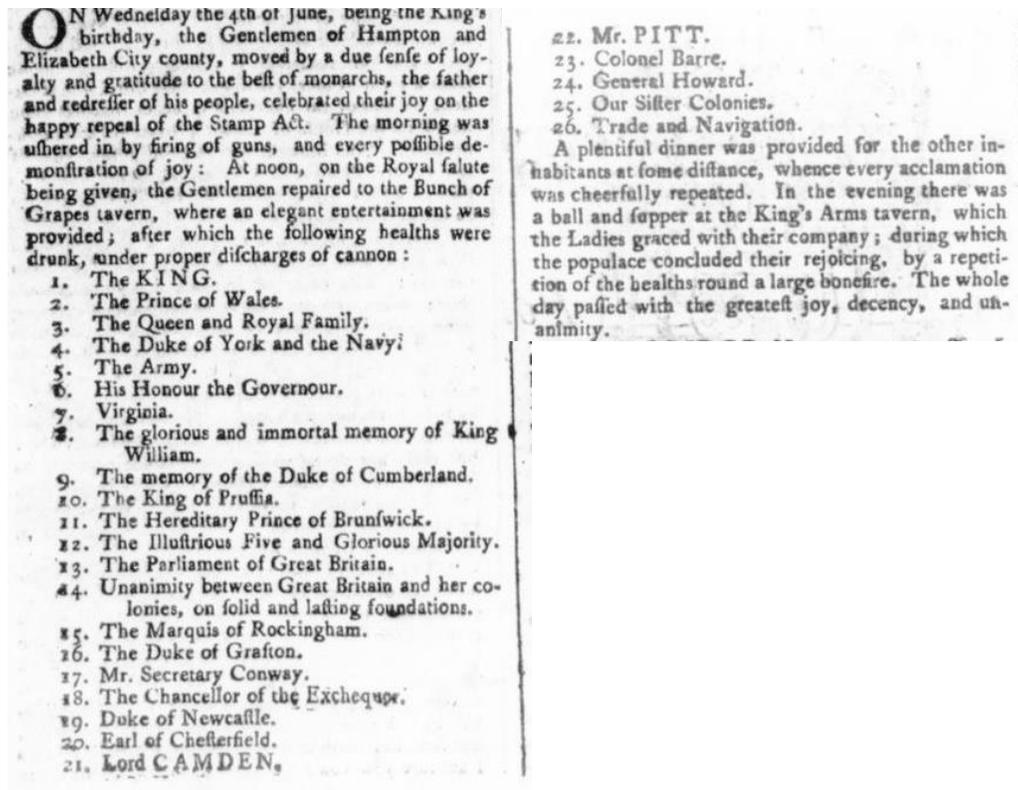


Figure 1 – *The Virginia Gazette's* account of the King's Birthday

In the spring of 1767, Nathaniel Elby needed to travel to Great Britain and he paid to run an advertisement in *The Virginia Gazette* asking that individuals who owed him money pay him before his trip. In his advertisement Elby explained that he would be staying at the sign of the “Bunch of Grapes ...best accustomed house in town” (Purdie and Dixon, April 16, 1767: P 3 C 1).

These vignettes all occurred in the taverns of Hampton, Virginia, in the mid-eighteenth century; Hampton was the only town in eighteenth-century Elizabeth City

¹ For *The Virginia Gazette* the citations contain publisher’s names when there were competing Gazettes.

County. Although not documented to assist future scholars, the descriptions shed light on the world of colonial Hampton and its surrounding county. The brief snippets also raise some questions about life in Hampton and Elizabeth City County in the mid-eighteenth century.

These examples illustrate that the taverns of colonial Hampton performed multiple functions: they were a location for public ritual, a place for travelers far from home to have a nice meal and a place where people conducted business. An account of the King's birthday event also demonstrates that these Hampton taverns were used by the elites of Elizabeth City County.

The description of the King's birthday gala clearly articulates the existence of a social hierarchy in colonial Elizabeth City County. The gentlemen of the county and later in the event their ladies were the ones celebrating and enjoying the "elegant entertainment" inside of the taverns. The rest of the populace was fed a "plentiful dinner ... at some distance." Who fit the category of "gentlemen" and who constituted "the other inhabitants" that were kept at some distance? What were the trappings that made the entertainment "elegant"? Was there a reason for the "ladies" joining the event only after the festivities had left the Bunch of Grapes and moved across the street to the King's Arms?

Madam Browne was a traveler passing through Hampton and had choices regarding where to take a meal after her long sea voyage. Although Browne did not explain why she selected Mrs. Mary Brough's King's Arms, there must have been some aspects of the tavern that drew her. Something clearly informed her decision to visit Mary Brough's King's Arms and not one of the other Hampton taverns. Many of these establishments catered to a less genteel clientele than Madam Browne. One historian has claimed that it

was “the vast number of seadogs” drawn to Hampton by its status as a customs port that led to Hampton having an “excessive number of ordinaries” (Starkey 1936: 16). What attributes might have informed recent arrival Mrs. Browne that the King’s Arms was a tavern she would find comfortable and what told the “seadogs” that they should move on to another establishment? When Mr. Elby referred to the Bunch of Grapes as the best accustomed house in town, what did he mean and what would readers of *The Virginia Gazette* have envisioned when they read that phrase? What characteristics of the Bunch of Grapes made it better than the other taverns in town?

This thesis examines two principal research questions. The first is how did the elite members of a small and economically stagnating county in colonial Virginia use the quotidian behaviors of eating and drinking to differentiate themselves from the lesser sort in the changing world of the eighteenth century. The second question is how did the tavern keepers of Hampton’s two taverns which catered to the elite attempt to mirror the behaviors of their clientele. These questions are addressed using a combination of archaeological data recovered from the two taverns and documentary data from Elizabeth City County. The documentary data is used to determine the ways in which the material culture of individuals differed throughout the various social strata of Elizabeth City County. The archaeological data is examined to determine the correlation between the material culture of the two taverns and the elite households of Elizabeth City County in the mid-eighteenth century. Examining the differences between the various social strata in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County and simply determining that the rich had “more stuff” or that they had “better (more costly) stuff” would be simplistic and not worth doing. Rather, this study explores the ways the goods owned by individuals at various

social levels could be used in the household setting and how that use signaled information about the user's current place in society and whether that user had aspirations.

Background

The scholarly study of towns in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake has been dominated by the investigation of the colonial capitals of Williamsburg, Virginia, and Annapolis, Maryland (Miller 1988, Leone and Hurry 1998, and others). Other communities such as Norfolk or Richmond are mentioned in passing usually to point out how they grew into towns only in the early nineteenth century. This lack of focus on urban spaces is not unique to the Chesapeake region but is true throughout the American South (Young 2000: 3). The traditional interpretation of the landscape of colonial Virginia overlooks and minimizes the role of a town such as Hampton, reducing all the other communities in colonial Virginia into failed versions of the capital at Williamsburg and implies a shabbiness to the non-capital towns that does not withstand scrutiny (Lutton 2009; 2011; 2012).

The town of Hampton, Virginia, was carved out of Elizabeth City County by an act of the colonial Virginia legislature in 1680 and declared an official port in 1708 (Salmon and Campbell 1994: 191). Eastern Virginia is made up of a series of peninsulas and rivers, the Northern Neck between the Potomac and the Rappahannock, the Middle Peninsula between the Rappahannock and the York and the Peninsula between the York and the James. The portion of Virginia south of the James is the Southside. Elizabeth City County was located at the eastern tip of the southernmost peninsula, the one between the James River and the York River. That is where the Hampton River, the James River, and the Elizabeth River meet the lower portion of the Chesapeake Bay to create Hampton Roads.



Figure 2 - Map of the Chesapeake Bay region with Elizabeth City County highlighted

Elizabeth City County was one of Virginia’s original shires established in 1634 (Salmon and Campbell 1994: 164). In 1638 the county of Lower Norfolk was separated from Elizabeth City County (DenBoer and Sinko 2010). Elizabeth City County maintained that configuration until the twentieth century (Figure 3)(DenBoer and Sinko 2010).

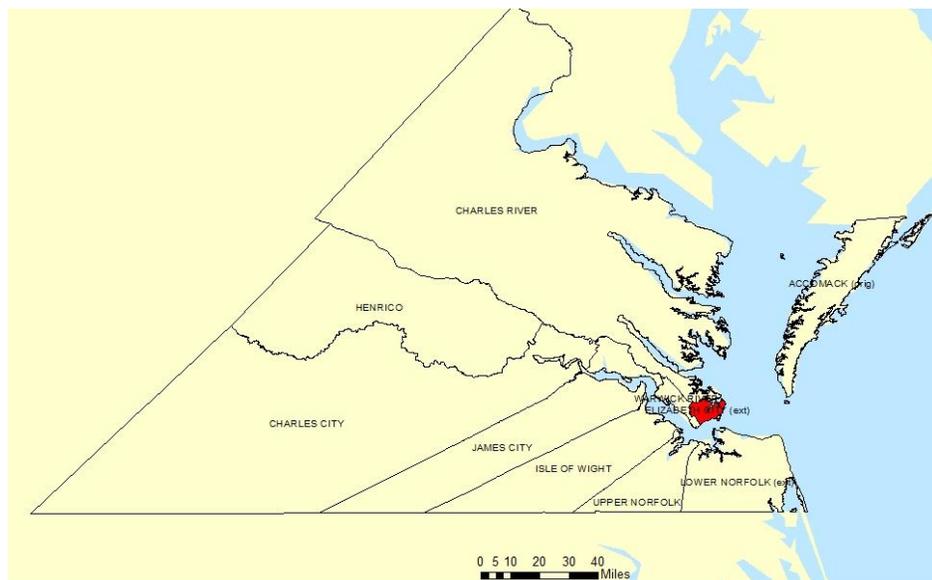


Figure 3 - Virginia Counties in 1638 (DenBoer and Sinko. 2010)

Elizabeth City County had been sparsely occupied by English colonists since 1610 when the Native Virginia village of Kecoughtan was attacked by the English. As the seventeenth century progressed a perceived lack of towns in the colony resulted in the passage of several town acts by the Virginia legislature. The 1680 Town Act led to the creation of Hampton on land that had been owned by sea captain Thomas Jarvis; the land was transferred to William Wilson by 1692 (Higgins *et al.* 1993: 28-29, Tyler 1922: 29). In 1692 Hampton's two principal streets, King and Queen, were laid out as the basis for a traditional grid pattern town plan (Miller 1988). By late 1693, twenty-six half acre lots had been sold (Frankoski and Milteer 1985: 18). John Fontaine, an Irish Huguenot traveling in Virginia, reported in 1716 that the town had 100 houses and the "greatest trade" being transacted in Virginia (Tyler 1922: 31, Alexander 1972: 110).

Hampton was enlarged in 1729 and the residents were ordered to replace any chimneys made of wood with ones made from brick in an attempt to protect the town from fire (Frankoski and Milteer 1985: 19). Madam Browne, traveling in March 1755 with her brother, an officer in Braddock's Army, noted that Hampton was "a very agreeable place and all the houses extremely neat" (Harrison 1924: 306). An anonymous French traveler described Hampton in 1765 as "a small town of very little trade, but the Naval and Collector's offices being here makes it more considerable than it otherwise would be..."(Anonymous 1921: 741). Approximately 1,000 people lived in Elizabeth City County at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and by 1730, the population had doubled. The population was 2,700 in 1750 and in 1775 had grown to 2,900 people (Hughes 1975: 16). During the War of American Independence (1775-1781) the city was attacked by the British in 1775 (Frankoski and Milteer 1985: 24). The traveling diarist

Nicholas Cresswell described Hampton in April of 1777 as “a little port town but almost ruined by the soldiers who were quartered here last winter, who made terrible havoc by pulling the wooden houses to pieces for fuel” (Cresswell 1924: 206). The winter after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown portions of the French army wintered in Hampton (Frankoski and Milteer 1985: 26).

In 1760 the population of Elizabeth City County was 2,772 and the population of Virginia was 339,726. By 1770, Virginia’s population had increased over twenty-five percent to 447,016 but Elizabeth City County’s population had increased only five percent to 2,909 (Hughes 1975: 13, Salmon and Campbell 1994: 92). There is also evidence that this small old eastern county was not so wealthy as the newer, larger counties to the west. In a study of the political elite of colonial Virginia, Emory Evans examined twenty-nine families that had members on the colonial council, the body that aided the royally appointed governor in ruling the colony. None of those families resided in Elizabeth City County (Evans 2009: 1-4). The wealthiest planters in Virginia were identified by Jackson Turner Main (Main 1954) and then used by Eric Ackerman to create a “Wealth Index” for the Chesapeake region (Ackerman 1991: 30). According to Ackerman, the average wealth amongst those wealthiest 100 planters was much greater than any of the inhabitants of Elizabeth City County identified in this thesis. The colony’s wealthiest averaged 140 enslaved people, 160 head of cattle and thirty-two horses (Ackerman 1991). None of the Elizabeth City County inventories analyzed had anywhere near those numbers. For example, Westwood Armistead had only twenty-four enslaved people in his inventory, the largest number in the data set (Elizabeth City County Records (ECCR) Vol. E: 145-150). Col. John Tabb the man with the highest inventory value had eleven enslaved people,

twelve horses and 100 head of cattle (ECCR Vol. E: 440-450). The average number of enslaved people owned by the wealthiest inhabitants of Elizabeth City County was 11.3, the average number of horses owned was 6.4 and the average number of cattle was 38.5, all well below the averages described by Ackerman. The mid-eighteenth-century inhabitants of Elizabeth City County were not the truly elite of the colony. However, there were in each of the colony's counties a group that while not wealthy on the levels of the colonial councilors were the elite for their county. They were the men who were elected to the colonial legislature, the House of Burgesses as was Col. John Tabb between 1748 and 1761 (Leonard 1978: 81, 83, 86); they were elected as officers in the militia, as was Col. Tabb. In the documents of the county they were called "Gentleman" as was Starkey Robinson (ECC Vol. E, 440 and 425).

Although Hampton prides itself as "one of America's oldest cities and with a proud and rich history," the community has not received the sort of scholarly attention as have other places in Virginia (http://www.hampton.gov/living/welcome_to_hampton.html accessed 8 June 2008). This is not unusual as the towns in the Chesapeake region that have received long-term scholarly analysis are the four colonial capitals, Jamestown, first capital of Virginia; St. Mary's City, first capital of Maryland; Williamsburg, second capital of Virginia; and Annapolis second and current capital of Maryland. Archaeological study of Jamestown has been conducted intermittently since the 1930s. A program of work at St. Mary's City, Maryland's first capital, began in the 1980s (Miller 1988). The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation has been conducting research on Williamsburg, Virginia since the 1930s (Barka 1996: 5-8).



Figure 4 - Map of Hampton, Virginia 1787 (Rice and Brown 1972: 171)

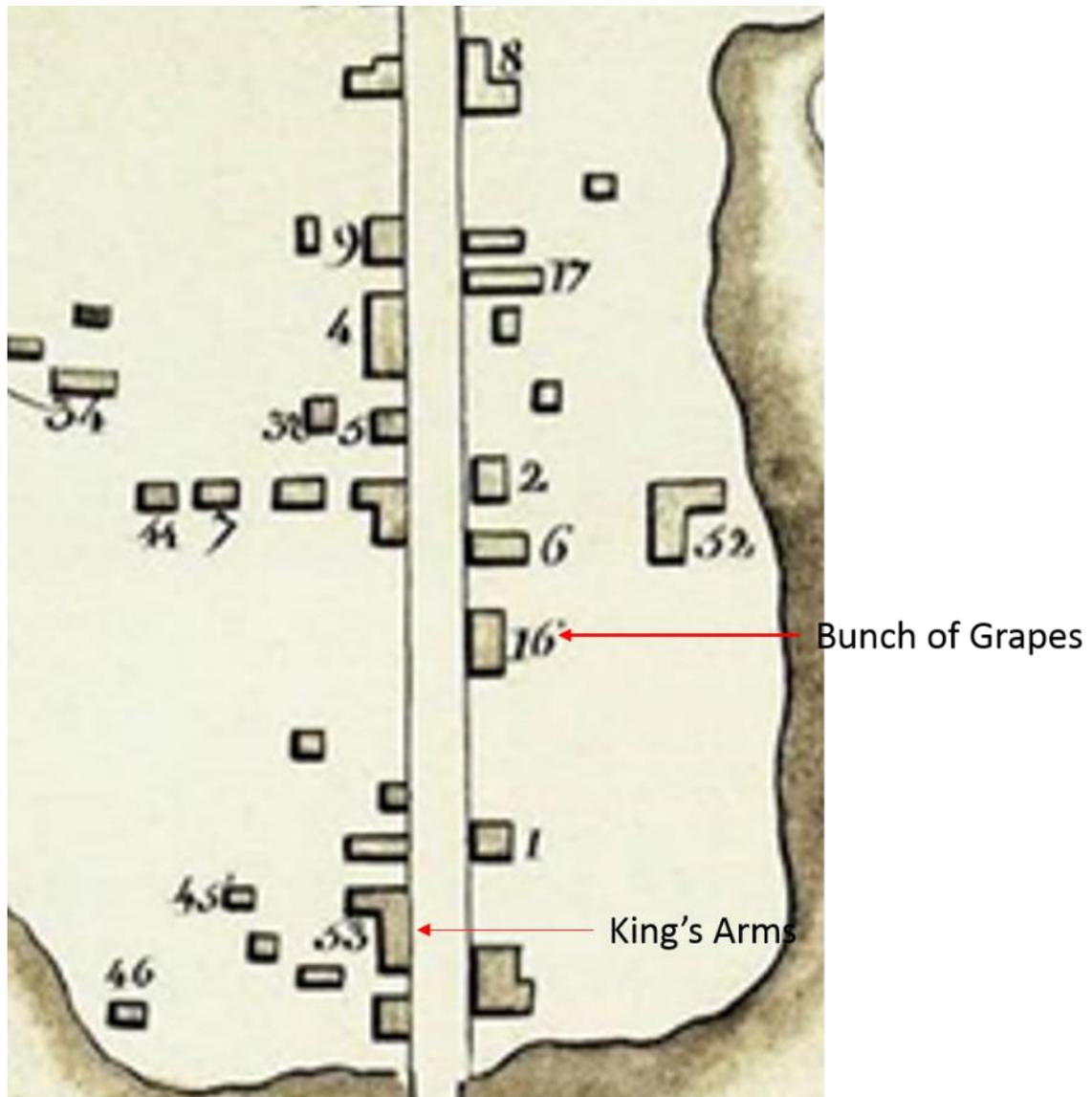


Figure 5 - Detail of Figure 4 showing tavern locations (Rice and Brown 1972: 171)

Maryland's current capital Annapolis has been the subject of extensive research by the Archaeology in Annapolis project since 1981 (Shackel, Mullins and Warner 1998: xvi, Leone 2005,). On one hand the lack of serious study of Hampton is surprising due to the quantity of documents from the colonial period and the number of archaeological excavations that have been conducted in the city's core area over the last twenty-five years (Edwards *et al.* 2001, Higgins *et al.* 1999, Higgins *et al.* 1993 Travers 1989, and Lucchetti

and Lutton 2007). On the other hand most of the projects were compliance-oriented and not the result of a long-term research focus.

One of the major Hampton archaeological projects conducted by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR) in 1989 and 1990, uncovered the archaeological remains of the Bunch of Grapes and the King's Arms two of Hampton's colonial taverns. Both sites were part of large-scale projects on adjacent city blocks. The excavations revealed archaeological materials ranging from 1680 through the end of the nineteenth century including the remains of nine structures dating from 1680 to 1730 and fourteen structures from 1730 to 1800. The features associated with the structures range from small post hole - post mold complexes to large trash pits and wells.

The excavations, sponsored by the City of Hampton, were reported in *The Evolution of a Tidewater Town: Phase III Data Recovery at Sites 44HT38 and 44HT39 City of Hampton, Virginia* by Thomas F. Higgins III with historical research by Charles M. Downing. For that report architectural historian William Graham developed a conceptual drawing of the project area (Figure 8). In that figure the Bunch of Grapes is in the lower left circle and the King's Arms is in the upper right circle. Graham's illustration show the neighborhood of the taverns as it appeared between 1730 and 1800. No further analyses of the sites were conducted until a series of conference papers focused on the taverns were presented by the author at regional archaeology conferences starting in 2004 (McDaid 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c) .



Figure 6 - Excavations of the Bunch of Grapes (44HT38) (photo courtesy of WMCAR)



Figure 7 - Remains of the King's Arms dairy (Structure 16 44HT39) (photo courtesy of WMCAR)



Figure 8 - Artist's conception of Hampton Project Area by W. Graham 1730-1800 (Courtesy WMCAR)

Taverns in Colonial Virginia

Taverns occupied an uncomfortable place in colonial Virginia. But were seen as necessary it was often required that all towns have at least one tavern (Brown *et al.* 2001: 15). Activities such as celebrating the King's Birthday or Madam Browne finding a nice meal while away from home seem removed from the evils feared by a concerned citizen in his letter to *The Virginia Gazette* in April of 1751. That author, concerned that ordinaries had been perverted from their original purpose of providing a safe place for travelers to rest and eat, wrote that they had been transformed into "a common receptacle and rendezvous of the very dregs of the people" where "time and money are vainly and unprofitably squandered away" in cards, dice games, horse racing and cock-fighting. Along with the gaming, the author continued, were "their inseparable companions or concomitants, drunkenness, swearing, cursing, perjury, blasphemy, cheating, lying and fighting...." (Hunter 11 April 1751: P 3 C 1). While the author of this letter used the term "ordinary", both "ordinary" and "tavern" were used in the eighteenth century. The term "ordinary" was the more common until the mid-eighteenth century and "tavern" was used more often in the later eighteenth century (Lounsbury 1994: 239).

The fear that taverns would let loose the worst in people was manifested in the approach officials of colonial Virginia took when they regulated taverns. While accepting that taverns could be the site for notable celebrations like the King's Birthday or benign behaviors such as providing travelers places to dine and rest, they could also be sources of disruptions. Taverns could easily become places of vice and corruption that needed the constant attention of the county officials. In colonial Virginia the county court granted licenses to operate a tavern on an annual basis and it set the prices that tavern keepers could charge for food, drink and lodging. The 1748 law, "An Act for Regulating

Ordinaries and Restraint of Tippling Houses" stressed that the tavern keeper must be able to provide "sufficient houses, lodging, and entertainment for travelers, their servants and horses." The law also required that the county courts not give a license to "any person chargeable to the parish;" meaning receiving public aid. An establishment that could not accept travelers was more of a tippling house, something the authorities were trying to eliminate (Hening 1819: VI: 71-76). Besides describing the economic requirements for a tavern keeper, the law proscribed certain behaviors. A tavern keeper must not allow, "unlawful gamming [sic], or suffer any person or persons to tipple in his house, or drink anymore than is necessary, on the Lord's day, or any other day set apart by public authority for religious worship, or shall harbour or entertain any seamen or servant" (Hening 1819:VI: 74).

An exchange in *The Virginia Gazette* between "An Enemy to impositions" and "A Tavern Keeper" indicates that the public was willing to believe the worst about tavern keepers. In his letter complaining about the treatment he received from a publican, "An Enemy of impositions" claimed "The impositions and exactions on the public by the TAVERN-KEEPERS in this colony in general... is [sic] so exorbitant...No colony on this continent is allowed greater profit on vending and retailing provision than this. But that does not satisfy the voracious publican" (Purdie, 19 April 1776: P 4 C 1). The zeal with which self-styled "A Tavern Keeper" challenged the complaint indicates that he or she was convinced that his or her profession's standing in the community could be shaken easily. The defender challenged the critic by writing, "And I think it would have been but manly to have given us his proper name, as thereby the innocent might have known their professed enemy; for such I must think him who, for the loss perhaps of sixpence in the

settlement of a bill, would injure the characters of hundreds (if not more) at least as reputable in life as himself” (Purdie: 3 May 1776: P 3 C 2).

While the sex of the person who wrote to the *Gazette* is unknown, many women clearly served as tavern keepers in colonial Virginia. In York County, a neighbor to Elizabeth City County, in 1731, seventeen percent of the tavern keepers were women and in 1751 half of the licensees were women (Sturtz 2002: 93). In Elizabeth City County, the court was either haphazard in granting licenses or haphazard in recording them which was common; between 1759 and 1769 they granted twelve licenses to eight different individuals (Gibbs 1968: 19). Two of those individuals who received tavern licenses were women, Ann Pattison and Mary Brough (ECCR Vol. E). Tavern keeping was a trade that women often practiced if they became widowed. In colonial America if a man or woman was in financial straits they could petition for the right to keep a tavern (Thompson 1999: 30-31). Unlike other trades, widows had learned the skills needed to run a public house as they learned the skills to run a private house (Sturtz 2002: 94). Mary Brough was the widow of Robert Brough, whose family had been running a tavern in Hampton since Coleman Brough received a license in 1694 (Neal 2007: 32). The widows of printers and coopers may not have had the skill set to run the family business but often the widow of a tavern keeper did.

This publicly-licensed business that generated so much regulation and such heated discussion in the newspaper clearly was connected to aspects of society that people believed were significant. Taverns in colonial Virginia were important enough, or dangerous enough, to hold the attention of the colonial legislature and the county courts on a consistent basis (Yoder 1979). The fact that the people of colonial Virginia thought

taverns warranted that level of attention suggests that modern scholars of colonial Virginia should give taverns greater attention. There have been few serious academic studies of the history of taverns in America; two notable archaeological studies include Dixon's recent volume on nineteenth-century Virginia City, Nevada, and Spude's analysis of the Mascot Saloon in early twentieth-century Skagway, Alaska (Dixon 2005, Spude 2005). Dixon focused on the African American community of Virginia City and how they were able to create a place of their own in a racist society. Spude focused on the effects of the community transitioning from a boom economy to a more stable economy. Three examples based solely on documentary history are Conroy's work on colonial Massachusetts, Thompson's work on colonial Philadelphia, and Brennan's book on eighteenth-century Paris (Conroy 1995, Thompson 1999, Brennan 1988). Conroy studied the processes which allowed taverns to develop a role as public stages that empowered the people of Massachusetts to speak out and then act out against the social and political order. Thompson's study examined the manner by which the taverns of Philadelphia catered to different types of clientele and how this difference influenced the social and political life of the city. Brennan studied why in the crowded city of Paris the space a customer occupied in a tavern was a vital aspect of the way its patrons interacted. Taverns have been studied in Williamsburg and there is a considerable body of work associated with the taverns in that community (Brown *et al.* 2001, Noël Hume 1969, Gibbs 1968). A typical tavern in Virginia's tidewater would have several outbuildings, a garden, and the building had several rooms. More fashionable taverns had porches, many linens and enough rooms that the keeper could rent them out for private events while still being able to accept the general public (Gibbs 1968, Brown *et al.* 2001: 17-18). Research into the Shields tavern in

Williamsburg concluded that during the early tavern period (1708-1738) the owner catered to the wealthiest most powerful men in the colony (Brown *et al.* 2001: 41-46). During the late tavern period (1738-1751) from the perspective of Williamsburg the tavern catered to less elite persons. However, this meant shifting from the men who controlled the colony to those who ran the counties. Compared to the majority of Virginians the customers of Shields tavern were elite and genteel (Brown *et al.* 2001: 79-83). The truly elite the men who ran the colony had begun to visit the Raleigh Tavern run by Anthony Hay and Henry Wetherburn's tavern (Brown *et al.* 2001: 82).

A review of the goods owned by Hay at the time of his death provides insight into what types of goods were in a tavern frequented by the truly elite in Virginia. A sample of the items Hay owned are silver punch bowls, silver punch strainers, a back gammon table, two card tables, porcelain tea cups, fifty-nine ivory handles forks, porcelain coffee cups, sixty-three ivory handles knives and three pots of sweetmeats in syrup. The less elite, those who were significant in one of the counties would visit Shield's tavern. Shield's tavern was located in the building that had been the tavern operated by Jean Marot. James Shields began to run the tavern when he married Marot's daughter Anne. The tavern was operated in the same location. However by the middle of the century the most elite in the colony had moved on to the more fashionable Raleigh and Wetherburn taverns.

Shields did not take the steps needed to keep the most elite and discerning patrons and so his guests shifted to those who were elite in their home counties but not the upper most families (Brown *et al.* 2001: 81-82). Archaeological excavations at Shields tavern showed that while Shields was not attempting to capture the colony's most elite he did have a variety of ceramic types in his tavern and he served a variety of beverages. Patrons at his

tavern might eat from vessels made of refined earthenwares, white salt-glazed stone ware, delftware, and Chinese porcelain. The excavators recovered tea cups, tankards for beer and ale, and a variety of stemmed wine glasses (Brown *et al.* 2001: 99-104). While not fashionable enough for the leaders of the colony, Shields's tavern was not a simple and inelegant setting.

There is also a body of scholarship that has studied the consumption and use of alcohol from an anthropological perspective (Smith 2001, Dietler 2006, Holt 2006). Those studies examine issues such as the role of alcohol as a social lubricant, the use of alcohol to increase sociability and how the use of alcohol reinforces social connections, all of which are relevant to taverns of colonial Virginia. The King's Arms event demonstrates that alcohol was used for celebratory public events; it also was used on militia days and to encourage voters. Alcohol was also used by individuals in public settings such as taverns where their behavior was subject to the approval or criticism of the other patrons of the tavern. Alcohol was also used in private domestic settings but even there the host needed to present a properly set stage or be harshly criticized by the guests.

The Archaeological Data

As mentioned earlier the Bunch of Grapes and the King's Arms tavern complexes were discovered as part of large archaeological excavations in Hampton. Given the urban setting of this excavation much of the disturbed overburden was removed using a mechanical excavator. This approach allowed for the excavation of the archaeological features that were visible after the mechanical excavation. Several complexes were delineated based on traditional property lines that could be identified by post hole-post mold complexes that

could only represent fence lines that had been repaired over and over again through time. The Bunch of Grapes and King's Arms taverns archaeological complexes were located across King Street from each other and composed of one-hundred and twelve discrete archaeological contexts all dated to the mid-eighteenth century based on the recovered artifacts. Ninety-three contexts were associated with the Bunch of Grapes and nineteen with the King's Arms (Table 1).

		The Bunch of Grapes (44HT38)	The King's Arms (44HT39)
Post Hole	54	53	1
Wall	3	3	0
Trash Pit	5	5	
Soil Layer	13	5	8
Post Mold	18	16	2
Well	2	1	1
Planting Bed	1	1	
Trench	5	1	4
Slot Fence	2	2	0
Privy or Planting Bed	1		1
Other	8	6	2
Total	112	93	19

Table 1- Contexts Associated with Taverns

The material recovered from the Bunch of Grapes totaled twelve thousand and ninety-nine artifacts (12,099) and the King's Arm's had five thousand one hundred and seventy-four artifacts (5,174) (Figures 9 and 10). In both assemblages the vast majority of the recovered materials were ceramics, glass, faunal material and nails. The metal category contains items made of metal that were not nails. These items were from a variety of

metals, iron, copper, tin and lead and includes items such as straight pins, lock parts, and key parts. In the metal category were several spoons and fork fragments and five knife handles that were bone and iron and could not be placed in the metal category. This led to the creation of a utensil category. The utensil category is knives, forks, and spoons. This made sense since the research topic involved taverns where food was served and consumed. Recovered from the Bunch of Grapes were two handles whose type of utensil could not be determined, three spoon fragments, three fork fragments and one knife handle. Recovered from the King's Arms were one bone knife handle and one bone handle of an indeterminate utensil.

In the Bunch of Grapes assemblage ceramics were 39 percent (n = 4,706), glass was 36 percent (n = 4,336), nails eleven percent (n = 1,295) and faunal material eight percent (n = 1003). While there were other types of artifacts such as buttons, buckles and beads ninety-four percent of the assemblage was ceramics, glass, and nails (Figure 9).

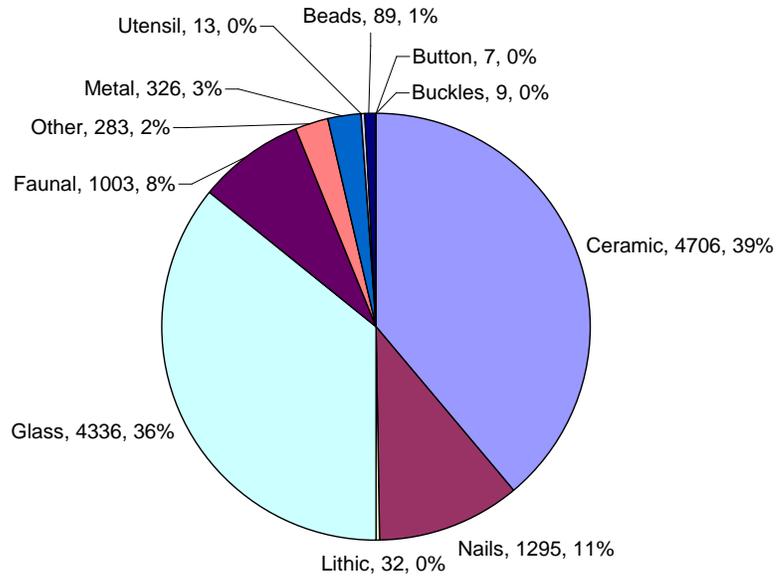


Figure 9 - Material recovered from the Bunch of Grapes by category

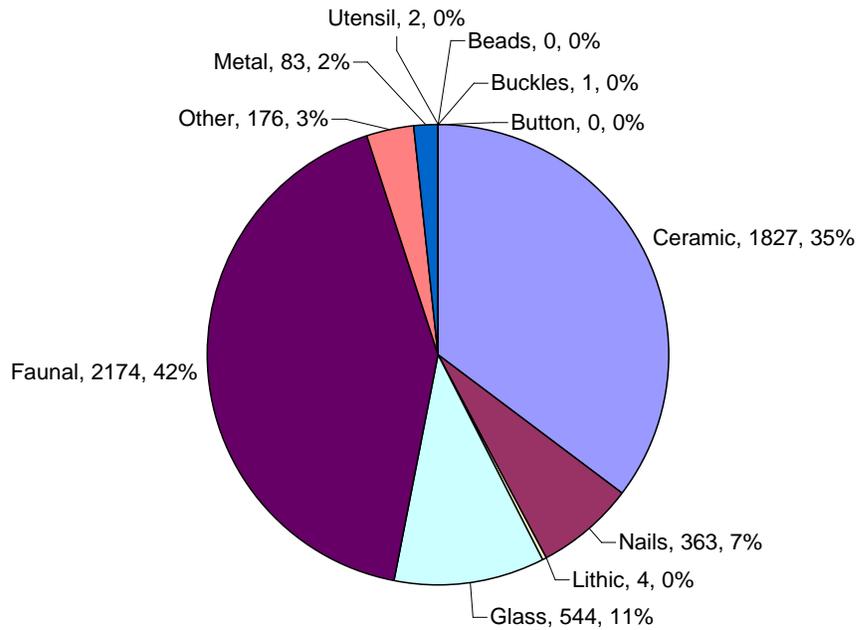


Figure 10 - Material recovered from the King's Arms by category

The assemblage from the King's Arms had 42 percent (n = 2,174) faunal remains, 35 percent ceramic (n = 1,827), eleven percent glass (n = 544) and seven percent nails (n = 363) (Figure 10). Ceramics, glass, faunal materials and nails make up 95 percent of the King's Arms assemblage. Assemblages like those from the King's Arms and Bunch of Grapes with the large percentages of ceramics and glass are perfectly suited to study the manner that foods and drinks, usually served in or on glass and ceramic vessels, were presented and consumed in mid-eighteenth-century Hampton.

The Documentary Data

Several documentary sources were used in this analysis of mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County and Hampton. The most important of these collections were fifty-four probate inventories from 1760 through 1769. Probate inventories, prepared for the county court to help settle a deceased person's estate, listed the items owned by the deceased individual and placed a monetary value on the items. As with any data source there are challenges to using probate inventories, and these will be addressed below. Despite these challenges, inventories have been used successfully in many studies of colonial America (e.g. Carr and Walsh 1994, Horn 1994, Martin, 2008). Other sources used in this study were the account book of Edward Moss, a merchant in Elizabeth City County from 1774 until 1797, and the personal papers of Reverend William Selden covering a period from 1771 to 1773. These documents will be examined to develop an understanding of the availability of goods to the inhabitants of Elizabeth City County and assess the ways material goods were used by different strata in the social hierarchy. The probate inventories will be used to delineate social strata by creating groupings of decedents based on the monetary value of their inventories.

The ways in which the inhabitants of Elizabeth City County acquired material goods are compared with the choices being made by the owners of the taverns about the material goods they selected for their public houses. The goal is to ascertain to what degree the tavern keepers were using material goods to signal the public that visitors to Hampton who viewed themselves as the equal to the county elite would find the taverns acceptable and signal less elite individuals that they should find another tavern.

Virginia in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century

The society in which the inhabitants of Elizabeth City County lived in the mid-eighteenth century was the result of the tumultuous history of the Virginia Colony. Virginia was England's first permanent colony in North America, established in 1607. The colony was managed as a private venture by the Virginia Company of London from the founding until 1624 when the Crown took control. During the "Company Period" the society that developed was radically different from contemporary society in England. The ratio of men to women was drastically skewed with many more men than women with the colonists scattered in dispersed settlements around the lower Chesapeake Bay such as Martin's Hundred, Flowerdew Hundred, and Mulberry Island (Noel Hume 1982, Deetz 1993, Richter 2000).

In these settlements the inhabitants were a combination of the men who had received grants of land and their indentured servants who had traded a set time of servitude for the transportation to Virginia. John Rolfe introduced tobacco in 1616 (Deetz 1996: 39), resulting in a growing demand for land. The taking of land by the colonists put increasing pressure on the Native population of Virginia. They fought back in an attack in April of

1622. The English colony survived and the remaining inhabitants used the attack as a justification to drive the Natives from eastern Virginia (McDaid 1994).

Three years before the native attack a Dutch ship had brought a small number of Africans to the colony. The records indicate that some of these individuals were treated as indentured servants and released at the end of a term of service others were probably enslaved. By the mid-seventeenth century, the Anglo population of Virginia had begun to include more women and children and the population began to increase through births rather than through consistent immigration. The increasing population and the continual release of English indentured servants into the colony began to put stress on the colony as those released from servitude and the established planters struggled to gain control over land and labor to grow tobacco for export (Greene 1988: 82-83, Horn 1994: 150-155, Morgan 1975: 235-249).

The established planters soon realized that a labor system in which the labor remained unfree for life and passed that condition of servitude on to their children would solve the problem of continuing stress and occasional armed conflict with formerly indentured servants. Most of the released indentures were English and therefore were entitled to all the rights of English men and women in the colony (Morgan 1975: 295-315, Deetz 1996: 41).

During this period the social makeup of colonial Virginia was greatly different from that of England. In Virginia several categories of people who were mostly powerless in the home country came to experience a sense of power. Poor white men had a chance to acquire land and servants and move from servant to master. White women had increased opportunities due to the imbalanced sex ratio. Women could often control their own

destiny since many were widows who controlled property and could choose their next husband. There was also more acceptance of women in the public sphere, testifying in court or petitioning the legislature (Sturtz 2002; 1-17, Brown 1996: 1-9).

By the end of the seventeenth century, portions of eastern Virginia had become more settled, and the white male landowners began to claim more of the power and authority that they believed to be their right. By the 1720s the shape of colonial Virginia's society had transformed. Along with the structure of the society the physical and material aspects of colonial Virginia had also changed, at least for the elite, the gentry and those who hoped to be viewed as genteel.

As Carter Hudgins and others have pointed out, 1720 or thereabouts is a watershed in the material life of colonial Virginia. This transformation is very clear in the architecture of the colony. Prior to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, most Virginians, except the most elite, lived in homes of two rooms made from wood. Since these homes had a "hall" the room where most day-to-day activities such as cooking, spinning, washing and eating took place and a "parlor" which served as the master's bed chamber and where he entertained his guests, they have come to be called "hall and parlor" houses. These homes had no intermediate spaces, visitors were either outside of the home or inside the home in the middle of the family's personal life (Lounsbury 2011: 33-74).

These basic homes began to be changed by those other than the most elite (those Virginia families with multiple members of the Virginia council) in Virginia early in the century in two basic ways. First, homes started to have spaces that were intermediary and the homes that had mostly been one-room thick or single-pile started to be built two-rooms deep or double pile. The intermediary space was most often a central passage, a hallway

that ran from the front door to the rear of the building and separated the two rooms on the left and right sides of the home. The increased number of rooms in the houses allowed for increased privacy and increased specialization of the rooms. The multi-use hall and parlor became the specialized dining room and bedrooms. At the same time many of the tasks from the hall were moved out of the main dwelling into recently constructed dependencies like a kitchen or laundry (Wenger 1986, Wenger 1989).

Thus, by the middle of the eighteenth century the colony's elite and the counties' elites were living in homes that tended to be double pile, had specialized rooms, had an intermediate zone and no longer had tasks like cooking, spinning and laundry performed within them. Those tasks along with the enslaved people that performed them had been moved into small outbuildings that were clustered around the home in a manner that was consistent with the architectural ideas of men like Palladio and Inigo Jones.

In those homes the food they ate, the tools they used to eat, and the beverages they drank also became more specialized. The behaviors associated with eating had been changing in the European world since the sixteenth century. The practice of taking tea and coffee was introduced to England in the seventeenth century and was limited to the wealthy.

During the seventeenth century the food eaten by the residents of colonial Virginia was consistent with the style of behavior that went along with the "hall and parlor" house. It was communal and very different from the modern idea of multiple dishes served to individuals on separate plates or bowls. The meals were often made in one pot and served with everybody at the table reaching into the pot. If a diner had a spoon tshe would use it but if not then putting fingers into the pot or bowl was acceptable. This manner of dining

was a continuation of the practices of the medieval period. One aspect of the meals that was different in Virginia was a greater use of game as the protein in the cuisine for all social ranks. In this style of dining the host did not provide the tools to the guests. The principal tools were a knife, fingers, and possibly a spoon which the guests brought. It was common for people to carry a knife for daily use and to eat with and if somebody chose they would acquire a spoon which they also carried with them. This manner of dining was found at all levels of European society through the medieval period. During that period it was the type of food being prepared or the materials used to make the knife, spoon, or fabric used to wipe ones fingers that could be exotic or more expensive but the approach to dining was similar whether wealthy and powerful or not (Harbury 2004: 4-5, Deetz 1996: 57-60 Carson 1990: 25-28) .

That similarity among the social strata started to change in Europe in the sixteenth century and in Virginia in the seventeenth (Carson 1990: 27). It had changed for the elite most of the colony by the early part of the eighteenth century and for the majority of the population by the middle of that century (Harbury 2004: 4). By 1750 or so a meal taken in the home of members of the colony's or in eastern Virginia a county's elite would be multiple dishes of food with the protein being a domesticated animal (Bowen 1996). Dishes would not be shared; diners would have individual plates and bowls appropriate to the dishes being served. Not only would the diners each have their own plates and bowls they would also have been provided a knife, spoon and fork by the host. The fork began to be used and the end of the medieval period in the households of Europe's very wealthy and had through the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries become an expected feature on the tables of fashionable homes (Carson 1990: 64-66). Like the domestic space

dining had become more specialized. By the middle of the eighteenth century each diner would get a plate, utensils, and were expect not to put their hands on food that would be consumed by others at the table.

It was not only the place settings that had become more specialized by the eighteenth century, culinary traditions associated with the consumption of tea and coffee had developed with an exceptionally diverse set of practices and associated material culture. By the middle of the eighteenth century an elaborate suite of behaviors had developed around the taking of tea and coffee (Martin 1996: 78-8, Carson 1990: 28-30, Roth 1961 66-69). Not only was there a correct way to signal that you did not wish more tea, but the time of day influenced your companions. Tea was taken in the morning privately among the member of a particular household, in the afternoon among a small group of friends and neighbors while at night in large social groups at a ball or society event. For individuals who were concerned about the way they were perceived by others the increasingly complex tea practices became a source of stress. The new practice increased the possibility of making a fool of oneself or inadvertently insulting your host or other guest. While the transformation of dining took several centuries the adoption of tea was quicker. Unknown in Europe before the sixteenth century by the middle of the eighteenth century tea was widespread in England and her colonies. In colonial Virginia tea taking had become common in elite homes by the end of the seventeenth century and spread to most of the free population by the mid-eighteenth century. While taking tea spread widely though the colony not everyone who drank tea did so with the complete suite of material goods or all the proper practices (Martin 1996, Roth 1961).

In summary Virginia's culture changed from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. In general it became more focused on specialization and the individual. Homes that had been simple two room layouts with each room housing multiple activities were replaced by houses with multiple rooms having specialized functions. Tasks that were unpleasant or unseemly were moved into purpose built outbuildings. Meals that had been communal sharing of a one pot meal became multiple courses eaten on individual plates with a knife, fork and spoon. Perhaps the ultimate symbol of this increasing specialization was tea. Tea consumption had developed into a specialized social event with its own manners and customs. It also required a specialized set of goods, the tea pot, the tea cup, saucers, sugar tongs and many others. As the eighteenth century progressed these specialized props, plates, bowls, forks, tea cups and the rest became less costly and more accessible to those low on the social hierarchy. This easy of access to goods challenged the elite since ownership of the props was no longer limited to the colony's elite or by the middle of the century not even to the less elite leaders of the counties.

The exceptionally fluid society where an indentured servant could gain ownership of land and labor and die a wealthy planter had become one where almost all of the land was owned by a small elite. That same small elite controlled political offices and access to the tobacco market. By 1720 eastern Virginia was dominated by a planter elite who viewed themselves as patriarchs. They were, to use a phrase from Kathleen Brown, anxious patriarchs. The orderly world they believed they had created, manifested in the bilaterally symmetrical homes, matched dinner services, and tea pots with matching cups and saucers, also hid or tried to hide the challenge of keeping control and order. Their well-maintained Palladian manors housed the planter's wife, perhaps angered by her husband's use of the

property she brought to the marriage. Tea was served to planters by people who were enslaved and always a threat, and the small planter who showed respect at the county court was secretly hoping the large planter faced a bad crop and might be brought down and his land made available.

The colony of Virginia in the middle of the eighteenth century had developed a culture that, “was characterized by a gentry class who lived on large tobacco plantations worked by slaves” (Kern 2010: 16). The male leaders of that gentry envisioned a culture with the head of the household acting as the patriarch to both the free and enslaved members of his household (Isaac 2004, Brown 1996). These gentry had been the winners in the struggles for economic and political power that took place in the tumultuous years of the seventeenth century.

The gentry culture of mid-eighteenth-century Virginia was based on a rigid sense of social hierarchy. The elite and gentry as slave holders and large land owners were at the very top of this hierarchy, while the enslaved were at the bottom. In between those two extremes were the individuals who were not enslaved and whose location in the hierarchy was based on a variety of factors such as land ownership or tenancy and whether they were an artisan or a laborer. An individual needed to know his or her own place in the hierarchy and treated others based on their relative position in the hierarchy. One showed respect and deference to those higher in the hierarchy, one received the same from those lower in the hierarchy (Hall 2000: 41-69, Isaac 2004: 180-184).

The Virginia gentry were adamant that they receive the respect they believed they deserved. Two factors developed in the mid-eighteenth century that caused the gentry increased levels of anxiety: The fact that status in the world was based on control of

economic capital in the form of land and labor and the increased availability of manufactured goods that had previously been used by the gentry to signal their status. Unlike the hereditary system in England, an individual's or a family's inclusion in the colony's or county's highest social strata could be eliminated in the span of one's lifetime through bad management or bad luck. This tension must have been quite severe in a small stagnating county like Elizabeth City. The fact that social status could disappear almost overnight made the Virginia gentry very focused on the trappings of status. Thus, the widespread availability of material goods associated with status created anxiety for the gentry.

This tension was added to by changes in the wider world. The manner in which the elites of the English speaking world used material goods to show status began to change in the early eighteenth century. Prior to the eighteenth century the primary way to demonstrate social status with goods was via "patina." The concept of patina basically gave signaling power to the age of status goods. In sixteenth-and seventeenth-century England, the older a status good, such as silver, furniture or portraits of the ancestors, the more prestige it conveyed to their owner (McCracken 1988: 31-39). These objects showed the owners to have been elite for generations. This changed in the eighteenth century as the key to using goods to convey status became fashion (McCracken 1988: 13-14). In a system where fashion is the hallmark of status, the importance shifts from the age of an item to its newness. In this system status is indicated not by having older well patinated goods but by having goods that demonstrated an understanding of the most current fashions in clothes, furniture, literature and the other aspects of life (McCracken 1988: 31).

The transition to the fashion based system of status signaling coincided in Virginia with a vast increase in the amount and availability of consumer goods. In a society that was driven by competition and the need to be shown respect, the fact that almost anyone could acquire fashionable goods that indicated status in the mid-eighteenth century increased the anxiety felt by the gentry of Virginia. In short, status, or the hallmarks of status, could now be bought rather than inherited.

The vast increase in the production of goods that entered Virginia in the mid-eighteenth century meant that the basic props of the genteel life, plates, tea cups, and wine bottles, could be acquired by anyone with the money to buy them: this challenged the elites' ability to identify their social equals, their social superiors or social inferiors. As historians Carr and Walsh pointed out, "by the 1760s many of these notions of comfort and ways of using objects to advertise status appeared not only in wealthy but in middling households, and even the poor were participating to some degree" (Carr and Walsh 1994: 66). This conclusion is true with ceramics and metal goods; it is also true with fabrics used for clothes which further challenged the ways by which an individual could gauge a stranger's place in the social structure. "After 1740 the market suddenly became alive with possibilities... The fact that men and women of all backgrounds could so easily acquire the latest styles incensed conservative commentators who insisted that other people dress appropriately to their stations in life" (Breen 2004: 158). The inhabitants of colonial Virginia were fixated on competition and the status that success in competition brought (Isaacs 1999: 88, Kulikoff 1986: 228). The constant need to know where one stood, to know where others stood, and to ensure that one received the proper deference created tension and it must have been severe in a small, old, county like Elizabeth City County in

which the families that dominated the “political, religious, social and economic life” farmed only between 250 to 1,000 acres (Hughes 1975: 26). That the county was also the port of entry for many travelers, strangers who needed to be put in the proper place could only have increased the stress on the elite (Harrison 1924: 306, Anonymous 1921: 741). Travelers posed a particular challenge: Where should they fit? Did one need to show them deference or receive deference from them? In a busy port such as Hampton these questions must have arisen on a daily basis.

Theoretical Framework

Having concluded that Hampton warrants more research and that taverns have research potential the issue becomes how to conduct that research. What sort of intellectual or theoretical framework should be used? Because this project focuses on the choices made by individuals in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County, the theoretical approach employed is one that utilizes social agency theory and “praxis.” Social agency is explained by Anthony Giddens as referring “not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place” (Giddens 1984: 9). Praxis is the power that human actors have to create and recreate society through their actions (Cohen 1987: 274). This approach has been used in both prehistoric and historical archaeologies (Dornan 2002, Hodge 2007 and Dixon 2002). Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts, laid out in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, stresses the active role people take in the creation and recreation of their society (2007: 8-11). Unlike some of the older structuralist social theories which viewed culture as a list of rules that could be recorded, this approach views actors as improvising their actions to be consistent with the culture’s *habitus*. “*Habitus*” is how things are done in a given society; it is the reason some actions are seen as correct and

proper, why some actions are viewed as wrong, and why some actions are not even conceivable (Bourdieu 2007: 78-79). One important point about *habitus* is that it is both conscious and unconscious; some aspects of *habitus* can be articulated by social agents but other aspects cannot be explained by a social agent, they just “are”. Bourdieu argued that only by understanding the *habitus* of a society can seemingly contradictory and/or unrelated actions fit into an understandable and consistent relationship. The *habitus* works as an organizing framework that allows individual social agents to determine which of the infinite number of courses of action available is most appropriate (Bourdieu 2007 143-156).

The main benefit of using this concept in historical archaeology is its view of human agents as significant in the creation and the recreation of their society. This approach is predicated on the skill of individual actors to improvise social action rather than living by a rigid set of rules that are unthinkingly followed. Like all theoretical approaches there are some drawbacks to viewing archaeology in this manner. The first problem is complexity. The work of Bourdieu is not constructed in simple and direct language; it would be easy to misunderstand or misapply his work. One of my initial concerns was applicability. Would ideas about social behavior that had been developed by Bourdieu among the Kabylia of Africa and mid-twentieth-century France and the general modern world (Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu 2007, Giddens 1984) be appropriate for mid-eighteenth-century Virginia? The fact that practice theory was able to provide insight into a traditional African society and to modern Europeans speaks to its applicability rather than to a particularistic nature.

The agency approach is best suited to study eighteenth-century Hampton and its taverns because the topic involves understanding the choices made by individuals, and the

approach of Bourdieu and Giddens focuses on how and why individuals make decisions. At its most basic level, the study asks why the inhabitants of mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County select particular types of goods to use in their homes. It also hopes to elicit the ways in which the selections made by the elite members of the community may have influenced the choices of Mrs. Brough and Mr. Riddlehurst, the two tavern keepers, in selecting the material for their businesses. Since the goal is to understand the decisions of human agents, a theoretical approach that focuses upon human agency seems appropriate.

Conclusion

Taverns are particularly fruitful locations to ask questions about the continual production and reproduction of identity. They were places explicitly trying to draw a customer in by presenting an enticing appearance to different people. Only by using an approach that observes many types of information can a robust understanding of the tavern keepers' choices be developed. The key concept is that all of the multiple data sources illuminate the cumulative result of a series of decisions made by people. Mrs. Brough, owner of King's Arms, had to conclude that buying porcelain punch bowls was worth the investment and effort. Mr. Riddlehurst must have believed serving customers on white salt-glazed stoneware in the 1760s would not lose him too much business. Their decisions were based on multiple factors, particularly a consideration of the clientele they hoped to draw to their establishments. They sought the elite of Elizabeth City County and elite visitors as their customers. By reflecting the goods that elites had in their homes the tavern keepers helped their customers create and recreate the society of the gentry.

In focusing on taverns and customers in eighteenth-century Hampton, this thesis explores status, gender and household, food preparation and consumption, and the drinking of beverages with alcohol or caffeine. The chapter on status examines the relationship between material goods and colonial Virginian's ideas of status. It will explain the scale of values that colonial Virginians used to judge their own status and the status of others. The chapter then demonstrates that goods that had previously been rare and used to demonstrate social standing and wealth became more accessible by the middle of the eighteenth century and spread to all levels of the social hierarchy. The next chapter looks at the relationships between gender, households and material goods. It explores what items were tied to gender in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County and how the social role of a woman was directly tied to the types of goods she owned. It turns out that a woman's role as head-of-house had much more of an effect on the goods a women owned. The chapters on serving and preparing of food and the preparing and consuming alcoholic beverages and tea, coffee and chocolate will discuss the foodways of colonial Virginia and how they changed through the colonial period. They will explore the way food and drinks were used to create bonds and boundaries. These chapters build on the chapter on status to examine the different levels or layers of status that food and drink had in colonial Hampton and how tavern keepers and customers chose what to eat and drink and what to be seen eating and drinking. In Elizabeth City County there was a difference between the way the elites and the less elite ate and drank. Based on analysis of the data from probate inventories and the excavations of two taverns the difference was not a simple one. In a period when goods used to serve food and drinks became much more accessible the focus shifted from having rare items to knowing how to properly use the items. These themes,

all linked with the thread of human agency, provide a richly contextualized version of colonial Elizabeth City County and the men and women who ate there, drank there, lived and died there over 200 years ago.

CHAPTER TWO: Status and Material Goods in Colonial Virginia

Introduction

Between 25 November 1768 and 25 January 1770 Francis Riddlehurst owner of the Bunch of Grapes Tavern was appointed one of the appraisers of the estate of Eustace Howard (ECCR Vol. F: 319-320). Among the items recorded were six pewter plates, a walnut table, a silver watch, and two old wigs. Howard's estate was valued at £ 56:06:3 ½ (ECCR Vol. F: 319-320). Earlier in the decade, Francis and his brother John had assessed the goods of Francis Desay. Desay's goods were valued at £ 3:06:03 in 1761 (ECCR Vol. E: 264). Based on the value of their estates neither Howard nor Desay would have been invited to the elegant entertainment for the King's Birthday described in Chapter One, nor would either have stayed at the best appointed house in town. The inventories developed by Riddlehurst for less wealthy individuals leads to questions about the differences between elites and non-elites in Elizabeth City County. When considered in terms of the newspaper accounts of the King's Birthday, what would an "elegant entertainment" be to eighteenth-century Hamptonians? What characteristics would Nicholas Elby and the readers of *The Virginia Gazette* have considered in their assessment that the Bunch of Grapes was the "best accustomed house in town?" How did those concepts mesh with the rigid social hierarchy that dominated eighteenth-century Virginia?

An effective manner to determine what mid-eighteenth-century residents of Elizabeth City County considered "elegant" or "best accustomed" is to examine the issue from a perspective that takes advantage of multiple data sources and leverages the scholarship that has already been executed concerning the eighteenth-century Chesapeake region. This chapter will review previous scholarship regarding concepts about social hierarchy and the relationships between social hierarchy and material goods generally and then focus on

colonial Virginia. The focus will then shift to Elizabeth City County by examining documentary sources to determine what material goods were available in the county during the mid-eighteenth century. After that, the archaeologically recovered material from two mid-eighteenth-century Hampton taverns will be examined for similarities and differences with the documentary data. Both of the taverns catered to the “better sort” in Hampton, the principal town of Elizabeth City County.

Preliminary analysis of the archaeological data excavated from the Bunch of Grapes and the King’s Arms taverns attempted to determine if there was a clear difference between the two tavern assemblages that was related to status (McDaid 2007, McDaid 2009, and McDaid 2010). The result was that no clear differences could be identified. It was not as if one tavern had Chinese export porcelain vessels and wine glasses and the other only coarse earthenware mugs and plates. Table 2 shows that both taverns had plates in a variety of ceramic wares. Each tavern had evidence of crystal wine glasses and punch bowls, items usually thought to be associated with elite individuals and their behaviors. The initial analysis of the archaeological data implied the taverns were similar in terms of material culture and that both seemed to have catered to the elite.

Plates	King's Arms	Bunch of Grapes
Porcelain	35.29%	9.68%
Earthenware	17.65%	33.87%
White Salt-glazed	17.65%	45.16%
Stoneware	0.00%	0.00%
Delftware	29.41%	11.29%

Table 2 - Plates from Taverns.

Social Hierarchy and Material Goods

There is and has been a relationship between material goods and social hierarchy. This relationship is such a fundamental tenet in archaeology that it is described in introductory texts and remains the focus of research (Hole and Heizer 1969: 341-344, Dellino-Musgrave 2005, Smith 2008, Herva and Nurmi 2009). While the relationship between social hierarchy and material goods is well established in the literature, determining the exact relationship and how it manifests itself in a particular place and in a particular time is more complicated.

The relationship between material goods and the place of an individual in a social hierarchy is not so simple as attributing possession of high status items to high status for the possessor. Having the capability to possess a particular material good is only the first, and perhaps simplest, part of using material goods to signal one's place in the social hierarchy. Acquisition might be the simplest part of the process because possessing the item only means having the ability to acquire the material. The manner of acquisition may be legal or extralegal. Legal methods to acquire goods may have long-term drawbacks like building up financial debt or other forms of obligation. Other than legal methods have significant downsides as well. So the simple possession of goods may or may not reflect an individual's place in the established social hierarchy.

In his study of modern France, Pierre Bourdieu discussed the risks and fears associated with "exhibiting the external signs of a wealth associated with a condition higher than their own". Attempting to acquire the material trappings of a higher social tier opens an individual to criticism and scorn from the rest of the community because, "they have a self-image too far out of line with the image others have of them" (Bourdieu 1984: 252).

According to Bourdieu, the concepts of *habitus* and *hexis* are the reasons that a person would be tripped up and show their “true” social station.

Bourdieu’s approach, laid out in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, stressed the active role people take in the creation and recreation of their society (Bourdieu 1977: 8-11).

Bourdieu argued that only by understanding the *habitus* of a culture can seemingly contradictory and/or unrelated actions fit into an understandable and consistent relationship. The *habitus* works as an organizing framework that allows individual social agents to determine which of the infinite number of courses of action available is most appropriate and most advantageous (Bourdieu 1977: 143-156).

In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Bourdieu elaborated on *habitus*, explaining that it is not only cultures that have it but also smaller subdivisions of a culture. Bourdieu refers to those subdivisions as “lifestyles,” and each has its own unique *habitus* and the members of that social subdivision carry with them the conscious and unconscious aspects of the *habitus* in which they were raised (Bourdieu 1984: 170).

While the *habitus* is a mental phenomenon, it manifests itself physically or more precisely bodily in the *hexis*. *Hexis* is the “embodiment of the *habitus*,” the outer manifestation of an individual’s *habitus*. The manner in which an individual sits, walks, talks, and moves his or her body through space is the physical embodiment of their *habitus* and all are directly and heavily influenced by where in a given society’s social hierarchy that individual was raised (Jenkins 2002: 75, Bourdieu 1977: 94-95).

Habitus, which includes *hexis*, is a mix of the conscious and unconscious; therefore, convincing others of one’s place in the social hierarchy is more complicated than simply owning the material trappings attributed to the social station an individual hopes to

possess. In order to convince observers that one belongs in a particular place in the social hierarchy that is higher than the place of one's natal *habitus* requires not only the wealth or other means to acquire the appropriate material goods but also the skill to use the goods in the correct manner.

This desire to be seen by others as having a higher social status is termed "pretension" by Bourdieu. He defines it as, "...the recognition of distinction that is affirmed in the efforts to possess it"; he goes on to point out that "pretension ... inspires the acquisition, ..., of the previously most distinctive properties; it thus helps to maintain constant tension in the symbolic goods market, forcing the possessors of distinctive properties ... to engage in an endless pursuit of new properties through which to assert their rarity" (Bourdieu 1984: 251-252). The term Bourdieu uses for these people "pretentious pretenders" seems overly judgmental and is not used in this study (Bourdieu 1984: 252). "Pretentious pretenders" implies that aspiring to move up the social hierarchy is an inappropriate goal. Thus, the term *actor with pretension* will be used to describe agents who desire to be seen as a member of a social segment with higher social status than the one in which they were raised. This term will be used in this thesis when the information in an individual's probate inventory implies that they are attempting to adopt the behaviors of a high social strata.

Further complicating the matter for the *actor with pretension* is that the use of the item of the higher station activity must be executed effortlessly. The actors must appear as if they have been born to the activity, i.e., to give a flawless performance. This task is made more challenging when the activities may change rapidly in a status system based on fashion. Only when achieving that effortless performance are *actors with pretension*

successful, having convinced other people that they are truly of the higher social station (Bourdieu 1984: 252-253). Those who provide the feedback to the actor fall into the category of “significant other” feedback from significant others whether socially superior or inferior is a key aspect to the continuation of an individual’s identity (Isaacs 1999: 338). But *hexis* is more than activities, it is the totality of bodily movement. So, the *actor with pretension*, in order to accomplish the ruse, must always show the correct bodily forms. Performing a given task, like using the correct fork or behaving properly in a board meeting, is not enough. Sitting correctly, speaking correctly, walking, dancing and the rest must not only be done correctly but in a manner that makes observers believe the *actor with pretension* has known how to be in that social setting since birth. If the *actor with pretension* accomplishes a given task but fails at the rest of the performance then he or she is open to ridicule.

In situations that allow for economic mobility up the social hierarchy, the weight of *habitus* and *hexis* make the move nerve wracking (Jenkins 2002: 139). The tension was not just for the actor trying to be accepted as a member of a different social group but also for the elites. The elites recognized that the individuals lower on the social hierarchy would attempt to gain prestige by learning fashionable elite behaviors and acquiring fashionable elite goods. The elite needed to continually find newer behaviors and more exotic goods to create and maintain the boundary between themselves and the baser sort (Bourdieu 1984: 251-252).

Colonial Virginia

The academic literature shows that colonial Virginians had definite ideas about status, prestige and social context (Isaac 2004: 180-183, Hall 2000: 83-88, Martin 1996: 71-73).

The social context of mid-eighteenth-century Virginia started to form at the end of the seventeenth century and did not fully materialize until the middle of the eighteenth century. In his study of the development of colonial culture in the Chesapeake, Allan Kulikoff explains that the social and political order of the Chesapeake “emerged from the gentry’s victories in the conflicts of the 1720s and 1730s” (Kulikoff 1986: 10). Archaeologist Carter Hudgins sets roughly 1720 as a turning point in the materials used in colonial society, “There is on one side of 1720 or so, a Virginia in which there were wooden houses and greedy men and shared cups at meal times ... on this side of 1720, a very different Virginia in which there were brick houses and greedy men who wore wigs and more elegant clothes and who laid individual table settings...”. He explains that after 1740 Virginians could be divided into patrician and plebian (Hudgins 1996: 52-53). Similarly, in *The Transformation of Virginia*, Rhys Isaac argues that, “only in the last decades of the seventeenth century, with the first emergence of powerful native gentry, was a social authority on traditional English lines becoming effective. From 1700 onward ownership of large numbers of slaves supplied a secure foundation for the wealth and status of the elite. The construction of the great houses was a part of the consolidation of this gentry dominance - a process that by the fourth decade of the eighteenth century in turn inaugurated a stable political authority in Virginia to a degree that was exceptional among the British colonies in America” (Isaac 1999: 39). But even with the gentry there existed social stratification. The colony’s most elite were the twenty-nine families that traditionally provided members to the colonial council. However in each of the counties there were families that dominated the local landscape. These families provided members of the county court, and the officers in the militia.

While the political and social order had been established by mid-century, the ability of an individual to be assured continued membership in the colony's or county's elite had not. Individual members of the elite and their families constantly faced the possibility of financial and social ruin. Isaac described colonial Virginia as, "a success culture sharply dividing the winners from the losers" in which the fear of being perceived by others as "socially immobilized, apparently a humbled slave..." was the driving force for the aggressive and competitive nature of the elite (Isaac 1999: 119-120).

How did the social anxiety that was the hallmark of colonial Virginia manifest itself in behavior? One way to fill out this picture is to examine travel accounts from the period. Some of these are simply itineraries but others provide a great level of detail of the period. One of the best known accounts, from Dr. Alexander Hamilton, is actually from just outside of Virginia but it gives a very good sense of the type of critical atmosphere that existed in mid-eighteenth-century Hampton and Elizabeth City County. Dr. Hamilton was born in Edinburgh in 1712, trained in medicine at the University of Edinburgh and traveled to America in 1738 (Micklus 1995: xi-xii). He has been referred to as a "keen observer of colonial life" and is considered one of the significant authors of the American colonial period (Miklus 1990: 5-8). His travel account the *Itinerarium* has been described as "...more trustworthy [than other accounts and authors]: neither melancholic nor misanthropic, but rather a comic observer of people and manners that irritate him. To a large extent, the *Itinerarium* is a running comic commentary on the major and minor irritants to a colonial gentleman" (Miklus 1990: 96). In 1744 Dr. Hamilton traveled from Annapolis, Maryland to points north of New York City. He produced a record of his journey that scholars have used to describe life in the American colonies of the mid-

eighteenth century (e.g. Yentsch 1994, Bushman 1992). For my purpose Dr. Hamilton's observations provide a vivid example of the scathing criticism that people faced for all aspects of their social performances. In late May, Hamilton was in Joppa, a small town north of Baltimore, Maryland, where he encountered Mr. Dean, a minister in the area. After sharing a bowl of "sangaree" they went to the minister's home where Hamilton shared in some "odd rambling conversation" between the man and his wife, then Hamilton, "heard him read, with great patience, some letters from his correspondents in England, written in gazette stile ..." (Bridenbaugh 1948: 5).

Continuing his travels from Joppa, Hamilton next stopped at Treadway's where he described his fellow lodgers: as "This learned company consisted of the landlord, his overseer and miller, and another greasy thumb'd fellow who as I understood, professed physic and particularly surgery...After having my fill of this elegant company, I went to bed at 10 o'clock" (Bridenbaugh 1948: 7). When it came time to cross the Susquehanna River, Hamilton met the ferry keeper, "whom I found at vittles with his wife and family upon a homely dish of fish without any kind of sauce ... they had no cloth upon the table, and their mess was in a dirty, deep, wooden dish which they evacuated with their hands ...they used neither knife, fork, spoon, plate, or napkin ..." (Bridenbaugh 1948: 8).

Having made it across the river and into Pennsylvania, Dr. Hamilton met William Morrison and a landlady as critical as himself. The Doctor described Morrison as, "a very rough spun, forward, clownish blade, much addicted to swearing, at the same time desirous to pass for a gentleman ... He was much affronted with the landlady at Curtis's who, seeing him in a greasy jacket and breeches and a dirty worsted cap, and withal a heavy, forward, clownish air and behavior, I suppose took him for some ploughman or carman

and so presented him with some scraps of cold veal for breakfast...” Morrison was so outraged at being served a workman’s meal he declared if he wasn’t in the company of gentlemen he would have thrown it out the window and broken the furniture (Bridenbaugh 1948: 13-14).

These episodes illustrate how actors in colonial America made judgments about a person’s place in the social hierarchy. The old minister’s “odd rambling conversation,” and the way the ferry keeper’s family prepared and ate its meal were in Hamilton’s mind appropriate attributes to make a judgment about these individuals. In Morrison’s case it was not just the fact that he wore, “a greasy jacket and breeches and a dirty worsted cap” that led the landlady to view him as a laborer but also his *hexis*. It was Morrison’s “heavy, forward, clownish air and behavior” that convinced the landlady that he should get the meal appropriate to his station.

This anecdote also emphasizes the holistic nature of status in colonial America. The landlady made her determination of Morrison’s place in the social hierarchy and provided him a meal that was appropriate for a person of that status. As Dr. Hamilton points out, Morrison received a meal that both Mr. Morrison and the landlady knew to be appropriate for a ploughman or carman. Morrison’s umbrage grew out of the fact that he believed himself much higher in the social hierarchy than men who performed those menial jobs. Morrison himself knew that clothes signaled status. Upon entering Pennsylvania Dr. Hamilton described fellow ferry passenger Morrison noting, “then taking off his worsted night cap, he pulled a linen one out of his pocket and clapping it upon his head, ‘Now,’ says he, ‘I’m upon the borders of Pennsylvania and must look like a gentleman; ‘t’other was good enough for Maryland...”(Bridenbaugh 1948: 14). The reaction of Dr. Hamilton

and the landlady clearly show that whatever hat Morrison wore his *hexis*, his “heavy, forward, clownish air and behavior” would always undermine his chance to be perceived by others as a gentleman.

Another traveler who recorded his thoughts concerning the people and situations he encountered was Nicholas Cresswell who traveled through Virginia between 1774 and 1777. Cresswell, born in Derbyshire in 1750, left Liverpool for America in 1774 and returned to Derbyshire in 1777. While his reasons for his trip were not clearly articulated in his journal, his travels took him into multiple parts of the American Colonies, New England, the Caribbean and Virginia (Cresswell 1924: v-viii, Gill and Curtis 2009: ix-xxvi). In January of 1775 he attended an annual ball in Alexandria, Virginia. There he saw, “37 ladies dressed and powdered to the life, some of them very handsome and as much vanity as is necessary. All of them fond of dancing, but I do not think they perform it with the greatest elegance. ..This is sociable, but I think it looks more like a Bacchanalian dance than one in a polite assembly.” The reason Cresswell did not think the dances polite was, “Betwixt the Country dances they have what I call everlasting jigs. A couple gets up and begins to dance a jig ...others comes and cuts them out, and these dances always last as long as the Fiddler can play.” He continued, “Old women, Young wives with young children in the lap, widows, maids and girls come promiscuously to these assemblies which generally continue until morning (Cresswell 1924: 53). The ladies of Alexandria would have been quite put out by Cresswell’s description of them. Cresswell’s critique of the ladies was on both the *hexis*, their physical deportment as they danced and also of their choice of dance. Cresswell found the “country dances” fine, but it was the “jigs” that he knew to be unfashionable.

Doctor Hamilton and Cresswell are good examples of the types of criticism that individuals in mid-to-late-eighteenth-century Virginia could expect to experience when they visited a tavern or public event. When describing public events in colonial Virginia Rhys Isaac stated, “...communal assembly was intermittent rather than continuous, and it was oriented more toward a striving for advantage in various forms of contest than towards peaceful exchange and sharing” (Isaac 1999: 88). Thus dressing more fashionably, dancing with more but not too much more vigor, and being more accomplished was important to colonial Virginians. The ability to successfully master the use of material goods would be seen in this competitive light. This competition and the passionate desire to be victorious was a manifestation of the social anxiety that the elite at both the colony and county level of colonial Virginia experienced.

Documentary Sources

When observing the social use of goods in Hampton and Elizabeth City County in the eighteenth century, it is necessary to identify the types of goods which were available to the residents. Were Hampton residents tied into the larger trading network of the British colonial system or were they living in a small isolated backwater that had little access to the goods available in the center of the system? Before examining the material recovered from archaeological excavations in Hampton, it is essential to review some of the available documentary sources that give a broader picture and include materials that do not preserve well in the ground. The majority of the documentary sources for eighteenth-century Hampton are probate inventories, but two sources created by private individuals also provide a window on the material world in Hampton; the account book of Edward Moss,

1774-1780 (hereafter Moss) and the personal papers of the Reverend Mr. William Selden dating 1772-1782 (hereafter Selden).

Edward Moss was an Elizabeth City County merchant, and his account book lists the type, amount, and prices of goods and the date he sold them to his unnamed customers (Moss 1774-1780). The Reverend Mr. Selden was the rector of the Elizabeth City parish which was centered on Saint John's Church in Hampton. Selden's papers record his financial transactions with a variety of people. Besides providing a glimpse at the sorts of goods available in Elizabeth City County and Hampton, these records document the cost of the goods and the date of the transaction. Along with the goods there are also, in Rev. Selden's papers, some transactions for services.

The major source for examining the types of goods available in Elizabeth City County and determining their monetary values are probate inventories. Probate inventories have long been a standard tool for researchers studying the colonial Chesapeake Bay region (Kulikoff 1986: 15, Breen 2004: 51, Horn 1994: 312-313, Martin 2008, and Carr and Walsh 1994). An inventory of household property, livestock, enslaved people and other items (but not the land or structures) was taken after the death of an individual. A small group of respected citizens took an oath, appraised the personal property of the deceased, and returned a report to the clerk of county court; however, not every death resulted in an inventory of the deceased's property. The inventory itemized the decedent's wealth so that heirs and creditors could be paid (Jones 1982: 278, Main 1974: 10). Inventories represent a subset of the total population and usually a small one (Main 1974). This practice started in medieval Europe and was followed in most of England's North American colonies (Bedell 2000: 223). These documentary sources will be used in conjunction with a portion

of the archaeological record of Hampton to examine the manner material goods were used by Hamptonians.

The Account Book of Edward Moss

The account book of Edward Moss documents his transactions in Elizabeth City County from October 1774 until June 1797. During that time he sold a wide variety of goods. Little is known about Moss except that he did business from 1774 through 1781 and he came to stay with John Cary in 1774 in Elizabeth City County (Moss: collection description). Moss's account book contains little information about the social context of late eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County but does offer an example of some of the goods available in the community and the cost of those goods. Some of the goods sold by Moss came from outside Elizabeth City County while others could have been produced in the county or nearby. In October 1774, Moss engaged in several transactions for goods that indicate Elizabeth City County's connection to the wider British economy. He sold two yards of velvet for one pound sterling along with some silk thread. During 1775, he sold a variety of goods including ribbon, stockings, and gloves. Other items sold were brandy, metal buttons, glass buttons and a table valued at three pounds. Moss also sold pot hooks, bacon, needles and vinegar, items that could have been produced locally.

Many of the items noted in Moss's book were small low cost items for personal adornment. For example, in the years 1774 and 1775 he sold hair combs for eight pence each, glass buttons at one shilling per dozen, and velvet cloth at ten shillings per yard. These were the types of items that would be purchased by *actors with pretensions* to improve their appearance. While a small sample, the types of goods sold by Mr. Moss demonstrate that the residents of Elizabeth City County had access to a variety of goods

and that there were quality differences within types of goods, which allowed for his customers to make choices about their purchases, for example, both glass and metal buttons. In October 1774, Mr. Moss sold three dozen glass buttons for £0:3:5 and in January 1775 he sold fifteen metal buttons cost £0:1:12. In October 1774, he sold a pair of shoes costing ten shillings (£0:10:0) and in 1779 two pair that cost an astounding four pounds eleven shillings (£4:11:0). Moss also sold alcoholic beverages including cider, grog and brandy. The alcoholic beverages Moss sold indicate that he was catering to a range of customers of differing social status. Alcoholic beverages have been shown to have been strongly tied to the purchaser's position in the social hierarchy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Smith 2008). Beverages like wine and brandy were associated with more elite status and beers and ciders were viewed as more common place. Along with the type of alcohol sold by Mr. Moss the volumes sold suggest the range of spending by various actors. The volumes varied from the individual bottle to several gallons. For example, many bottles were sold individually while one customer bought five gallons of brandy. In Virginia's backcountry a similar variation has been interpreted as consumers with differing amounts of available spending money (Martin 2008: 76-78). Mr. Moss's book documents that consumers had access to a variety of goods and had some choice regarding material and amounts that they could or would acquire.

The Records of Reverend Mr. William Selden

We know a great deal more about the Rev. Mr. Selden than about Mr. Moss. William Selden attended the College of William and Mary in 1753 and after several years of practicing law he was ordained in 1771. He was the rector of Hampton's church from 1771 until 1783; he died around 1799 when his will was proved (Bullifant 1937: 2). While

Mr. Moss's accounts record what consumers bought from him, Rev. Mr. Selden's records show the goods and services he purchased to meet his own needs and desires. The Seldens were one of the wealthier and more politically connected families in eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County. The fact that he was a Selden, a lawyer, and a minister in the established church strongly suggests that the Reverend was part of Elizabeth City County's elite. While elite in Elizabeth City County, he was not one of the truly elite families that had ties to the colonial council (Evans 2009: 1-4, Isaac 1999: 61, Kennedy 1911).

Selden's records provide an important window into the types of goods and services that a member of the elite chose to acquire in eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County. Unlike some other religions, the Church of England did not impose poverty on its ministers so his office most likely did not negatively influence his level of consumption. The first aspect of Rev. Selden's acquisitions examined will be one of the most publicly visible types of goods, clothes. What types of apparel did the Reverend buy and what did it cost? Given the degree to which mid-eighteenth-century Virginians saw all aspects of life including appearance as a competition, the choices Rev. Selden made were most likely not trivial for him. In November of 1773, he paid the firm of Begg and Allason twenty shillings for making his cloak, in February of 1774 he purchased three printed handkerchiefs for nine shillings, in July of 1775 he paid William Hodges fifteen shillings for a coat and waistcoat, in September of 1776 he had a suit of clothes and one extra pair of britches made. The suit was one pound, one shilling, and six pence (£1:1:6) and the britches five shillings (Selden Papers: Box One).

While the items detailed above are entire pieces of clothing, Selden also purchased cloth and other materials used to make clothes. In November of 1773 he purchased seven

yards of a green cloth. Earlier in the year he had purchased one yard of blue and white freisen for nine shillings and six pence; in February of 1774 from Hodgeland and Allason he purchased three pounds eight shillings worth of Irish linen which was priced at 2 shillings and 4 pence per yard. The fabrics and clothes would be used in the church or around town to continually demonstrate Selden's understanding of fashion. Whether in church or about town the Reverend would be viewed and judged by the other members of the community (Selden Papers: Box One).

Besides making himself presentable, Selden made purchases that helped make his home fashionable. In March of 1771, he purchased three pairs of brass push-up candlesticks for one pound one shilling, two sets of fire place shovels and tongs with brass knobs for eighteen shillings, two pairs of neat polished brass headed fire dogges for two pounds eight shillings and a case for the dogges for two shillings and six pence. In 1775 he purchased an unspecified amount of window glass; in 1777 he purchased a dressing table. Whether for decoration or for reading he bought sundry books for 18 pounds in May of 1778. These were the type of small items that completed the setting of the home of a member of one of the county's leading families, similar to sugar tongs completing a tea setting.

Like Moss's customers, Reverend Selden also bought a variety of alcoholic beverages. In January 1774, Selden purchased a barrel of rum from Corelius Calvet, in November of 1773 he purchased 30 gallons of "Vidomia wine," a golden Madeira wine from the Canary Islands (<http://food.oregonstate.edu/glossary/vidonia.html>), he also purchased a wine decanter. He purchased 60 gallons of rum for ten pounds ten shillings.

In February of 1773, he purchased twenty five pounds of coffee, then in July a coffee mill. Later that July he purchased one-half a pound of green tea for six shillings. In July

of 1771 he bought sugar, which may have been a more refined type than the “common brown sugar” noted in April of 1772. While not food one culinary related item in the records is the bill for “building an oven” for twelve shilling and six pence charged by William Dunn Jr. in July of 1775 (Selden Papers: Box One).

The Reverend Mr. Selden’s acquisitions in the 1770s clearly demonstrate that a person living in Hampton with the economic means could purchase a wide variety of goods. He appears to have done business with a trading firm having purchased cloth from Hogeland and Allason. Other British merchants are known to have traded in Hampton, the best known were Jonas, Capel and Hanbury also known as Osgood, Capel and Hanbury, a smaller independent merchant, Alexander McKenzie, also traded goods in Hampton (Hughes 1975: 28-30). But the list of materials purchased by the Reverend allows one to develop an idea of what types of things a man with status in the community wanted or needed, or believed he needed. Most of the goods he acquired were to set the stage for his social performances, the clothes, the alcoholic drinks, the items for the table. These acquisitions demonstrate his concern for his appearance and how others would perceive him.

Inventories of Estates

While inventories, like any data source, have their limitations, they are a great source for addressing the kinds of material goods being used at specific times. It is important to note that inventories do not include real property, lands and improvements (buildings and structures) but do include enslaved people. The goal of using probate inventories is to provide an impression of the goods in the homes of Elizabeth City County residents and

then highlight the choices made by the elite that may differentiate them from the majority of the population.

Scholars using probate inventories have identified several issues related to using these documents. Probate inventories tend to over represent wealthy Anglo males, and often do not include clothing or foodstuffs (Bell 2002: 277). Probate inventories also tend to show the goods of an older segment of the population since they were taken at death and, “reflect the consumption habits of people a decade or so earlier than the dates listed” (Shammas 1980: 5). Despite these issues the probate inventories for Elizabeth City County can provide information that no other sources can provide.

Of the 54 inventories dating between 1760 and 1770, 53 have been transcribed. One was too damaged to read. They were used to determine the types of material goods in the homes of Elizabeth City County residents and to examine differences between the county’s elites and others. The first step was to decide what type of items might be worth examining. Several authors have examined similar questions, looking at furniture, fabrics, books, livestock, and material associated with dining and tea drinking (Horn 1994: 312-313, Martin 2008 and Carr and Walsh 1994). These items were used as a baseline to begin the analysis of the Elizabeth City County records. The next task was to determine if different groups or social strata could be determined from the inventories. Upon examination, four groupings could be extracted from the inventories: inventories with a value less than 133 pounds, those between 203 and 282 pounds, those between 345 to 422, and those over 507 pounds (Figure 11 and Table 3). This approach differs from the one used by other scholars, who have consistently used groups from 0-49 pounds, 50-94 pounds, 95-224 pounds, 225-490 pounds, and over 491 pounds (Horn 1994, Martin 2008

and Carr and Walsh 1994). Those scholars were examining longer time spans and were attempting to illuminate long-term changes in the standard of living for residents of the Chesapeake region. This project, however, is looking only at Elizabeth City County and at a fairly short period as the probate inventories range from 1760 to 1770. After the probate data is analyzed, it will be compared with the data from the two elite taverns. These wealth groups will show that generally the behaviors of individuals within a wealth group will have similarity; however based on the earlier discussion of actors with pretensions there should be individuals who have gathered the material culture associated with behaviors practiced by individuals in wealthier groups.

Rather than impose a framework developed to look at specific issues over long periods of time, the Elizabeth City County data was analyzed to see if there were any obvious divisions that could be made. Figure 11 shows the distribution of the inventory values for Elizabeth City County; the average inventory value was approximately 237 pounds.

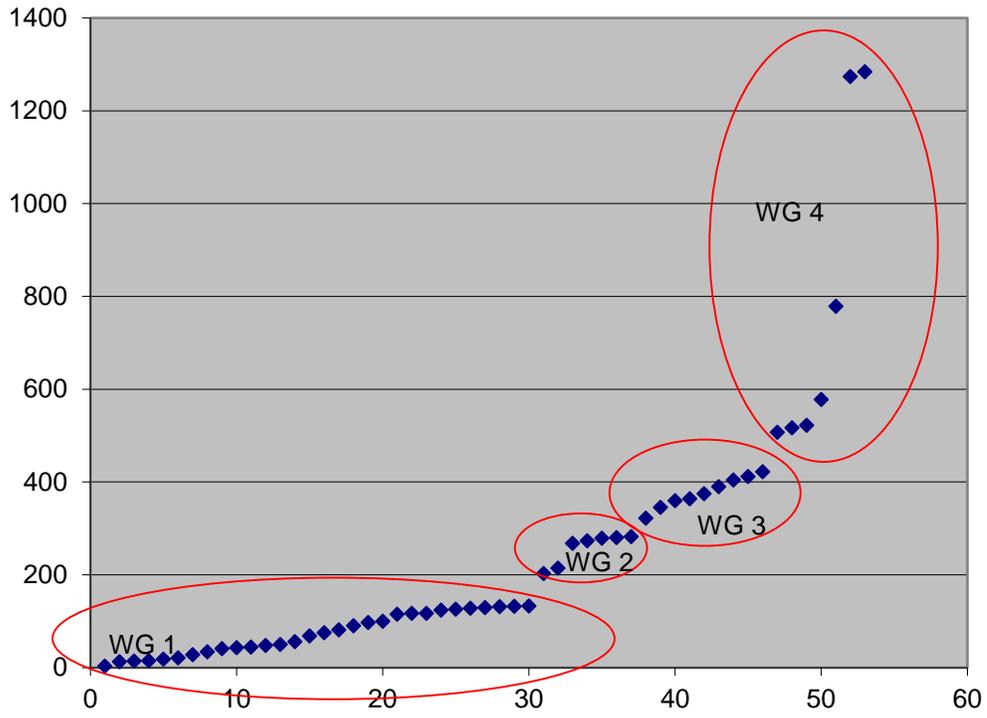


Figure 11 - Value of Inventories (nearest pound)

Name	Wealth Group	Value (nearest Pound)
Francis Desay	1	3
Minson Turner Proby	1	13
William Evans	1	14
Henry Baines	1	15
Thomasina Rogers	1	18
Christopher Pierce	1	21
John McHolland	1	28
William Mitchell	1	34
Sarah Baker	1	41
William Tomkins	1	43
John George	1	44
Bertrand Servant	1	48
Mary Tomkins	1	50
Eustace Howard	1	56
William Sanders	1	68
Gerrard Young	1	75
James Allen	1	81
Francis Minson	1	90
William Morris	1	97
Katherine Van Burkilow	1	100
Mark Pursel	1	115
Nathaniel Cunningham	1	117
Thomas Watts	1	117
Isaac Todd	1	124
Sarah Needham	1	126

Name	Wealth Group	Value (nearest Pound)
John Stores Sr.	1	128
Joseph Jegits	1	129
James Brodie	1	131
Martha Sweeny	1	132
Robert Hundley	1	133
William Waymouth	2	203
Alexander Kennedy	2	214
Eleanor Selden	2	268
John Meredith	2	273
James Manson	2	279
William Carter	2	280
Robert Wallace	2	282
Hurlsey Carter	3	322
Sarah Curle	3	345
John Lowry	3	360
John Bright	3	364
James Lattimer	3	375
Nicholas Bailey	3	390
Johnson Mallory	3	404
David Wilson Curle	3	412
Joseph Bannister	4	422
Edward Armistead	4	507
Mary Armistead	4	517
Samuel Curle	4	522
Starkey Robinson	4	578
William Parsone	4	779

Name	Wealth Group	Value (nearest Pound)
Westwood Armistead	4	1274
John Tabb	4	1284

Table 3 - List of Probate Inventories

The gaps that appear in the distribution of total estate value were used as the basis for the creation of the four wealth groups (Table 4).

Group 1	0 - 133	N=30
Group 2	203- 282	N=7
Group 3	322-422	N= 9
Group 4	507- 1,284	N= 7

Table 4- Wealth Groups

Wealth Group 1 (WG 1) includes thirty inventories with a value of less than 133 pounds; Wealth Group 2 (WG 2) includes seven inventories with a value between 202 and 282 pounds; Wealth Group 3 (WG 3) includes nine inventories valued between 322 and 422 pounds, and Wealth Group 4 (WG 4) includes seven inventories valued between 507 and 1,284 pounds.

Wealth Group 1 represents fifty-seven percent of the population being studied and controlled seventeen percent of the wealth identified in the inventories. Wealth Group 2 contains thirteen percent of the population and controlled fourteen percent of the wealth. Wealth Group 3 includes seventeen percent of the population and controlled twenty-seven percent of the wealth, and Wealth Group 4 includes thirteen percent of the population and owned forty-two percent of the wealth represented in the inventories (Figure 12).

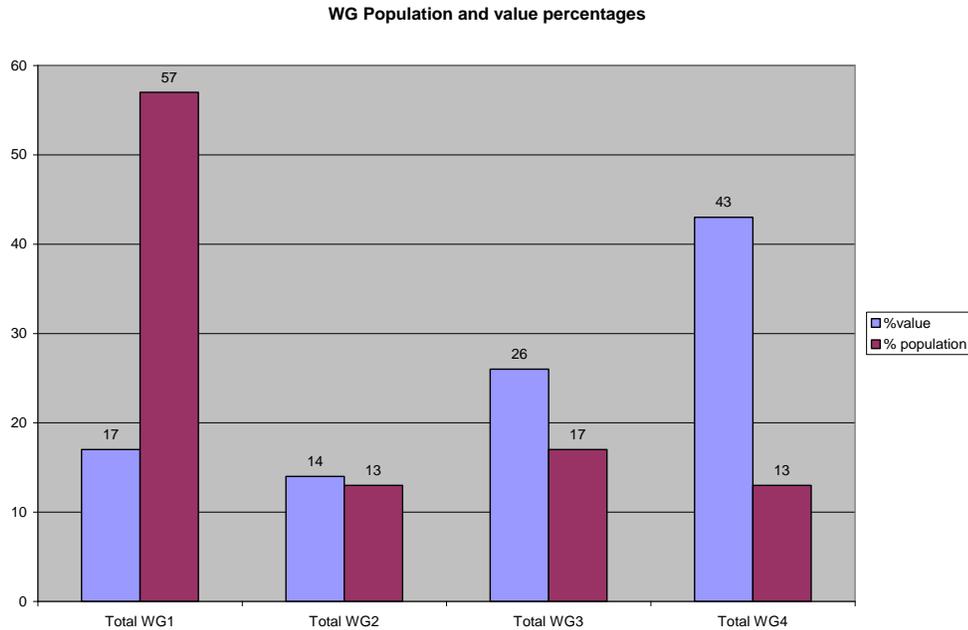


Figure 12 - Wealth Group's percent of value and population

Five inventories recorded only enslaved people, Mary Tomkins (WG 1), Martha Sweeny (WG 1), John Meredith (WG 2), Robert Wallace (WG 2), and Sarah Curle (WG 3) (ECCR Vol. E: 162-163, ECCR Vol. E: 381, ECCR Vol. F: 106, ECCR Vol. F: 142, ECCR Vol. F: 116), and would not assist in discussing the material goods associated with various wealth groups; these inventories were excluded from consideration. It is important to note that the value of enslaved individuals was on average sixty-five percent of the value of inventories that listed enslaved people along with material goods. Enslaved individuals were thirty-three percent of all the value identified in the inventories. When those individual inventories are removed, the revised group totals are in Table 5.

Group 1	£0 - 133	N=28
Group 2	£203- 282	N=5
Group 3	£322-422	N= 8
Group 4	£507- 1,2845	N= 7

Table 5 - Revised Wealth Groups

After the inventories with only enslaved people were removed, the number of inventories reporting items associated with standard of living by other authors (e.g. Walsh and Carr 1994, Horn 1994, Martin 2008) were tallied. The percentage of each group that reported furniture, decorative fabrics, books, clothes, livestock, enslaved individuals and items associated with dining and tea consumption can be seen in Table 6. This was a simple presence or absence test. If an individual had one item associated with a category, that category was considered present.

Item	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Totals
Furniture	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Decorative fabrics	36%	100%	75%	100%	58%
Books	21%	60%	38%	57%	33%
Dining	79%	80%	88%	100%	83%
Tea drinking	54%	100%	63%	86%	65%
Slaves	46%	100%	75%	100%	60%
Livestock	75%	80%	88%	100%	83%
Clothes	25%	0%	0%	14%	17%

Table 6- Percentage of Group Reporting Selected Items

At first glance, several things stand out: Every individual had some type of furniture, eighty-three percent of the decedents had material for dining, and lastly only seventeen percent of the inventories included clothing. This final observation highlights the

difficulty with using the inventories. Clearly the decedents owned clothes, so either their value was beneath the assessors' notice or they had been given away soon after the death. In this way inventories prove less useful in terms of clothing than the records such as Reverend Mr. Selden's which mention specific items including a waistcoat, a cloak, and some britches. An exception to this are the inventories of people who seem to be in the clothing trade: Isaac Todd (WG 1), and Karen Van Burkilow (WG 1) (ECCR Vol. F: 120-122, ECCR Vol. E: 438-439).

Based on his inventory Isaac Todd appears to have been a tailor or clothes merchant. Todd's inventory, reported to the Elizabeth City County Court on 4 March 1764, contains 127 yards of new white linen and more than thirty individually listed clothing items. The total value of his inventory was one hundred and twenty-three pounds, fourteen shillings and six and one-half pence (ECCR Vol. F: 120-122). Mrs. Karen Van Burkilow's inventory from May 1763, suggests that she might have been a dress maker, recording "2 pieces of silk and a pattern for a new gown" valued at eight pounds and a "pattern for an apron" valued at one pound (ECCR Vol. E: 438-439). For both Isaac Todd and Karen Van Burkilow the clothing listed in their inventories seems to have been part of their trade rather than items they wore.

Only four other people had their clothing identified by the assessors: Francis Desay, Eustace Howard, James Allen, and Thomas Watts all in WG 1 and John Tabb, WG 4, the individual with the highest value inventory at 1,284 pounds (ECCR Vol. E: 440-450). Mr. Desay's inventory (3 February 1761), totaled three pounds, six shillings and three pence and he had an old coat and two pairs of old britches valued at fifteen shillings (ECCR Vol. E: 264). Eustace Howard's inventory (23 January 1770) totaled fifty-six pounds, six

shillings and three and one-half pence. He owned two coats, one waistcoat and one pair of britches (ECCR Vol. F: 319-320). James Allen had “a parcel of wearing apparel” valued at 20 shillings, part of an inventory totaling just less than 81 pounds (ECCR Vol. E: 76-77). Thomas Watts had three pounds worth of “wearing appeal” in his inventory that totaled just over one hundred-seventeen pounds (ECCR Vol. E: 388-391). Tabb’s inventory lists clothing items that cost more than one pound per item but not types that he personally was likely to have used. His inventory of April 1763 reported six pairs of women’s shoes valued at six pounds, six shillings and “one large boy’s hat laced with silver” valued at one pound, ten shillings and nine pence (ECCR Vol. E: 440-450).

While Elizabeth City County inventories will not allow the issue of personal dress to be examined for the majority of decedents, they do provide rich data on furnishings. Not only were the items clearly identified in the many references to furniture in the inventories but often the style and material used is noted. In almost all of the cases a monetary value was placed on the piece and every inventory, mentioned furniture. In order to better understand the furniture owned by inhabitants of Elizabeth City County, particular types of furniture tables, chairs, chests, beds, beds with furniture, desks, chests of drawers and corner cupboards were examined (Figure 13).

In order to better understand the variation between Wealth Groups, an average number of furniture items was developed for each type of furniture (Table 7). While the items with the highest per person basis are tables and chairs, it is clear that a mix of furniture was found in the homes of Elizabeth City County.

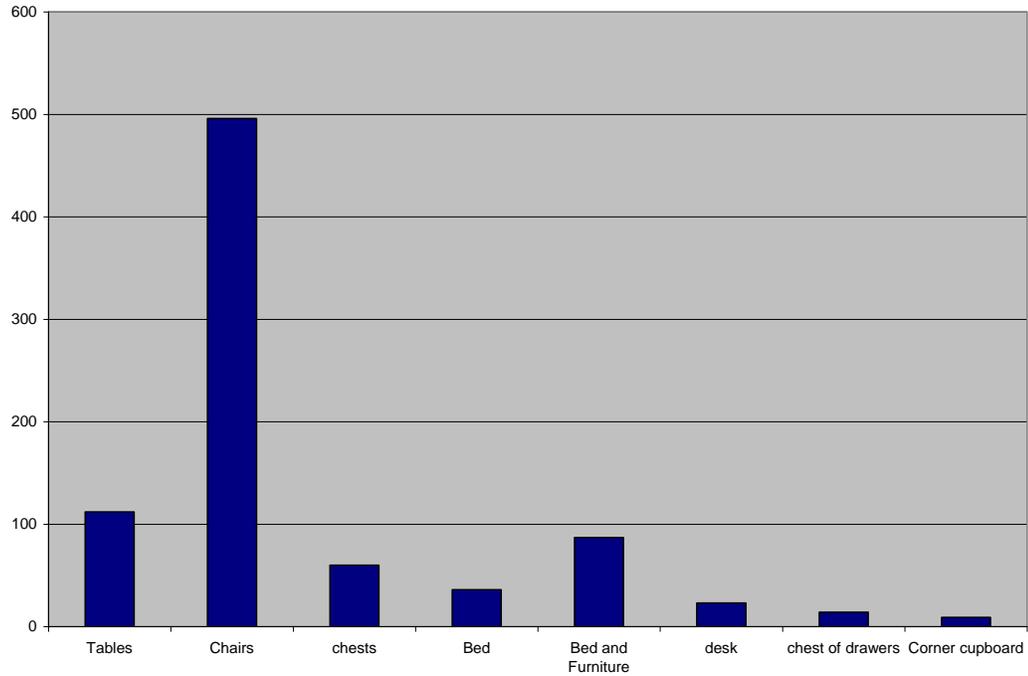


Figure 13 - Furniture in Inventories

Name	Tables	Chairs	chests	Bed	Bed and Furniture	desk	chest of drawers	Corner cupboard
Totals Group 1	1.46	6.75	1.00	0.68	0.96	0.21	0.11	0.11
Totals Group 2	2.00	5.60	1.00	1.80	1.60	0.40	0.00	0.20
Totals Group 3	3.25	13.88	2.13	0.75	3.38	1.13	0.38	0.25
Totals Group 4	3.86	17.00	1.00	0.43	2.43	0.57	1.00	0.43

Table 7 - Furniture Item per Person

Joseph Bannister (WG 4), had one corner cupboard valued at one pound, two large oval tables appraised at two pounds and ten shillings, a small square table at ten shillings, one tea table at five shillings, two large looking glasses for three pounds ten shillings, one dozen leather chairs for one pound ten shillings, one dozen leather (high) chairs, valued at

three pounds, nine old chairs for five shillings (ECCR Vol. E: 200). With this furniture he could create the proper setting for his social interactions; the tea table used to serve tea, the chairs and large oval tables for more formal dinners, the old chairs used for lesser guests and the looking glass used to check appearances and perhaps to improve the lighting.

More descriptive is the inventory of Mary Armistead (WG 4), from 1760. She had one old walnut oval table at ten shillings, a large oval walnut table for one pound ten shillings, a small oval walnut table for one pound two shillings, a tea table for one pound, one dozen walnut flagg chairs for one pound ten shillings, one half dozen plain flagg chairs for eighteen shillings and one pound five shillings worth of leather chairs valued at five shillings each (ECCR Vol. E: 163-167). Similar to Bannister's, Mary Armistead's furniture would help her provide a proper setting for different social situations.

While the previous decedents were all in WG 4, members of the other wealth groups also had furniture. William Mitchell's (WG 1), inventory valued at £ 33:18:06, owned an impressive 32 pieces of furniture including, 24 chairs, four tables, a chest, two bedsteads and a desk (ECCR Vol. F: 317-318). The desk, made from walnut, was valued at two pounds, ten shillings; he also had two walnut tables, one round the other square, one round maple table, and one pine table. The chairs consisted of six walnut with blue damask bottoms, six walnut with leather bottoms, and a dozen flagg bottom chairs. The beds are not described in detail. The distribution of furniture types among WG 1 can be seen in Figure 14. Even when the more limited 0-49 pound grouping, employed by other scholars, is used, there is still a notable amount of furniture in the least wealthy group of Elizabeth City County residents when compared to other locales studied (Figure 15).

In Martin's study of Bedford County from 1768 to 1777 only 31.9 percent of the 0-49 pound wealth group had furniture, while in Elizabeth City County 100 percent of that wealth group had furniture (Martin 2008: 124). A study of inventories in York County, located much closer to Elizabeth City County, determined the average number of chairs for the 0-49 pound wealth group from 1768-1777 was 5.0, in Elizabeth City County that average was 6.5. The average number of tables in York County was 1.6 versus 1.25 in Elizabeth City County (Carr and Walsh 1994: 140-141). These data indicate that the less elite in eastern Virginia had the ability to acquire goods at a greater level than the less elite in other parts of Virginia.

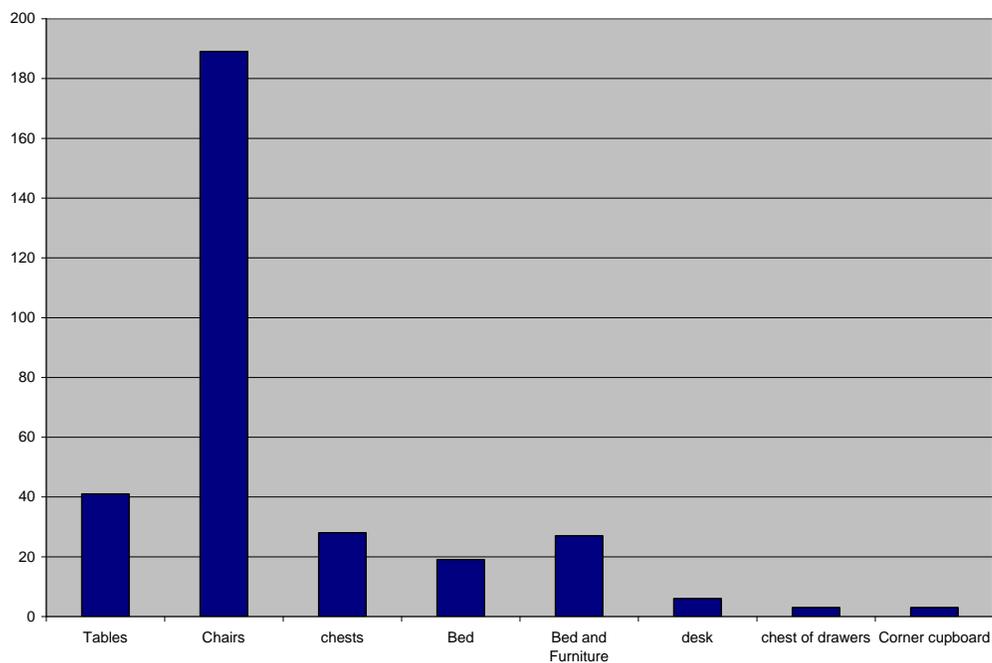


Figure 14 - Furniture among Wealth Group 1

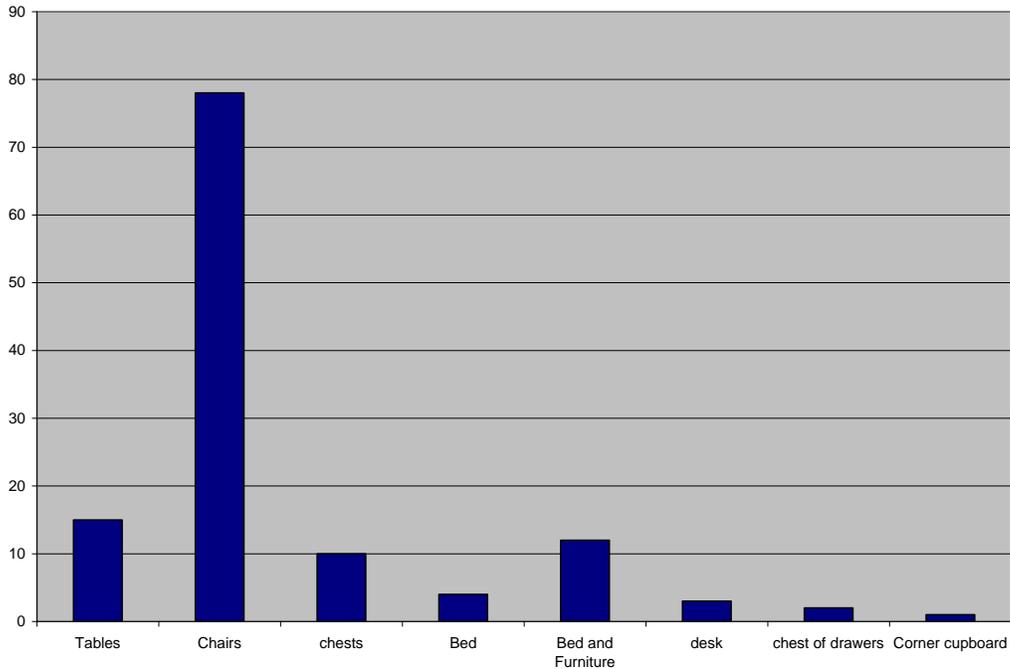


Figure 15 - Furniture among 0-49 Pound Wealth Group

Either way it is examined, the least wealthy of Elizabeth City County had furniture such as tables and chairs and desks and not just a chest and a mattress (Figures 14 and 15). These data indicate that furniture, particularly chairs and tables, were common items in Elizabeth City County. People with little wealth had multiple examples of tables and chairs and the wealthy had large numbers in a variety of shapes and woods. Only members of Wealth Group 4 had a large oval table or tables made of mahogany. In WG 1 only Nathaniel Cunningham had a tea table but in WG 4 six out of eight individuals had tea tables (ECCR Vol. E: 532-533). This distinction demonstrates that the wealthy in Elizabeth City County were choosing to acquire specialized material culture that was associated with the quotidian rituals of dining and taking tea (Roth 1961, Carson 1990). While many of the less elite individuals in the county had evidence of taking tea, it was the elite of WG 4 had the ability to serve the tea at a specialized tea table.

The above discussion gives a partial sense of the range of furniture and furnishing that could be found in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County. A related decorative item that also appears in the inventories is fabric (Figure 16). Joseph Bannister (WG 4) had a diaper table cloth worth ten shillings and eight napkins each worth a shilling (ECCR Vol. E: 200). Diaper was “a fine linen or linen-cotton material” (Baumgarten 2002: 118). Mary Armistead (WG 4) had three table cloths, “verg made” at eight shillings each, one damask table cloth worth one pound eight shillings, two towels and four napkins totaling ten shillings, and two table cloths worth six shillings. William Parson (WG 4) had six napkins worth fifteen shillings, four towels at ten shillings and two pence, and a diaper table cloth for twenty shillings (ECCR Vol. E: 200-203, ECCR Vol. E; 163-167, ECCR Vol. E: 230-234). The Elizabeth City County inventories show that fifty-eight (n= 28) percent of decedents had some type of decorative fabric in their home; all the descendants in WG 2 and WG 4 had decorative fabrics, while seventy-five percent (n=5) of WG 3 and thirty-six percent (n=10) of WG 1 had decorative fabrics. The majority of decorative fabrics were bedding in all of the groups (Figure 16).

Decorative fabrics associated with dining, table cloths and napkins, were much more common in WGs 3 and 4, thus table cloths and napkins appear to be related to wealth. In WG 3 the average number of tablecloths was 2.8, while the average number of napkins 2.2; in WG 4 the average numbers were table cloths at 3.6, and napkins at 3.1. It appears from this data that the owning and use of table decorative fabrics were associated with the “better sort” in Elizabeth City County.

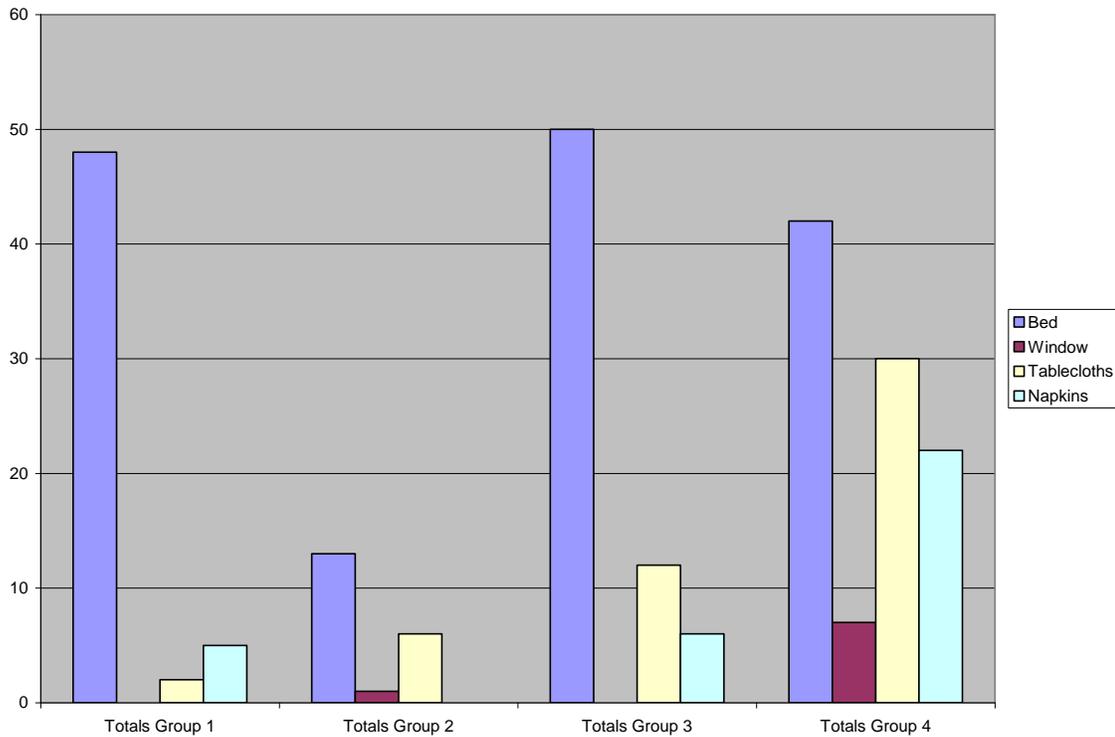


Figure 16 - Decorative fabrics Totals all groups

Figure 17 indicates the individuals who had decorative fabrics associated with dining. Katherine Van Burkilow and Joseph Jegits are the only two of twenty-eight in Wealth Group 1 with decorative fabrics associated with dining (ECCR Vol. E: 438-439, ECCR Vol. F: 161-164). John Lowry and Johnson Mallory are in Wealth Group 3 and the others are in Wealth Group 4. If Mrs. Van Burkilow was involved in dress making as her inventory suggests, she may have had those items to sell or perhaps to demonstrate her skill. Joseph Jegits had tablecloths and napkins because he was an *actor with pretensions*. The possession of goods that were primarily found in high wealth groups is an indicator of pretensions this can be seen in several inventories. Additional evidence for Jegit's pretension is found below when his dining items are discussed in Chapter Four.

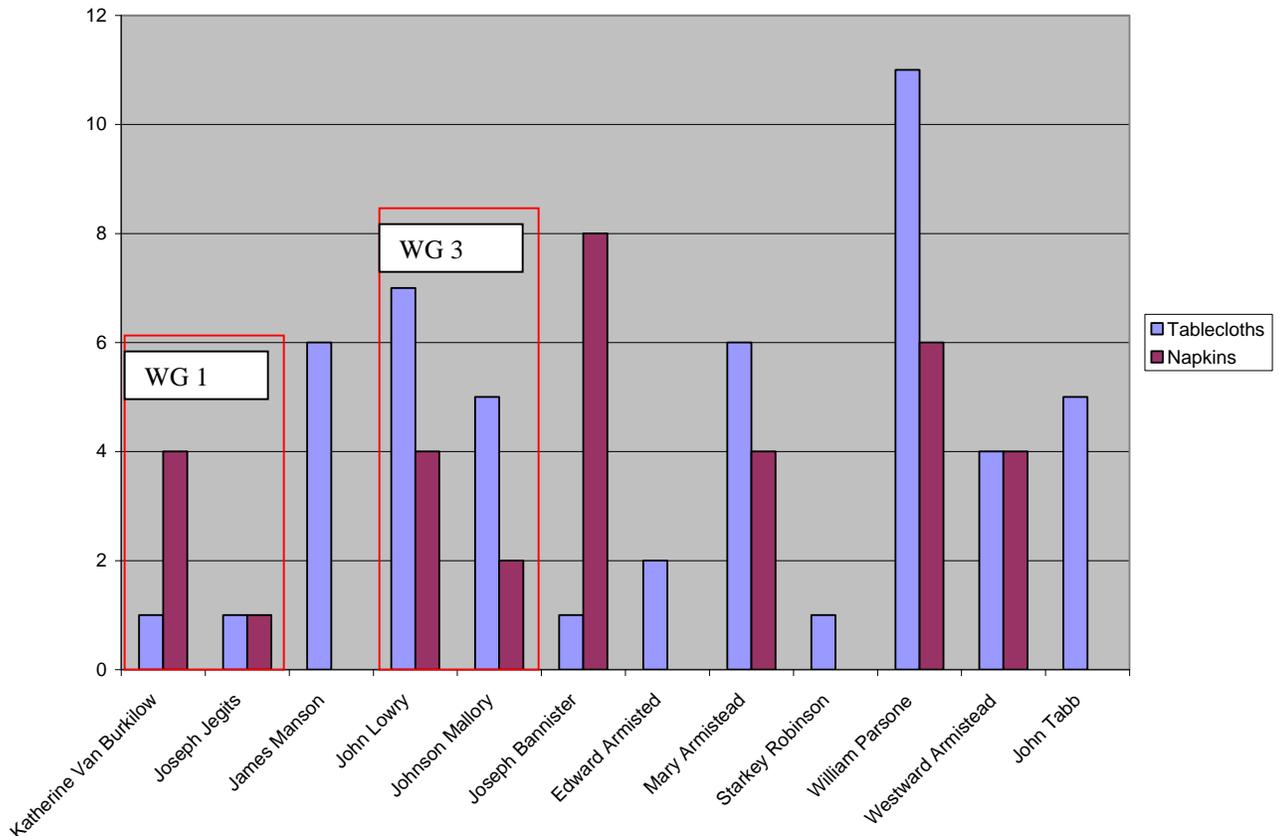


Figure 17 - Table Cloths and Napkins

The next category to be examined was dining. This category included items such as plates, platters, and knives and forks. Figure 18 shows the number of dining items by wealth group. The items that appear most frequently in the inventories are plates and serving vessels. When these items are examined on a per person basis, it is clear that plates and serving dishes were available and acquired by all economic ranks in the data set (Table 8). Gerrard Young (WG 1), had an impressive twenty-five dining items: Ten plates, nine serving dishes and three knives and three forks that totaled 38 shillings out of his 75 pound inventory (ECCR Vol. F: 65).

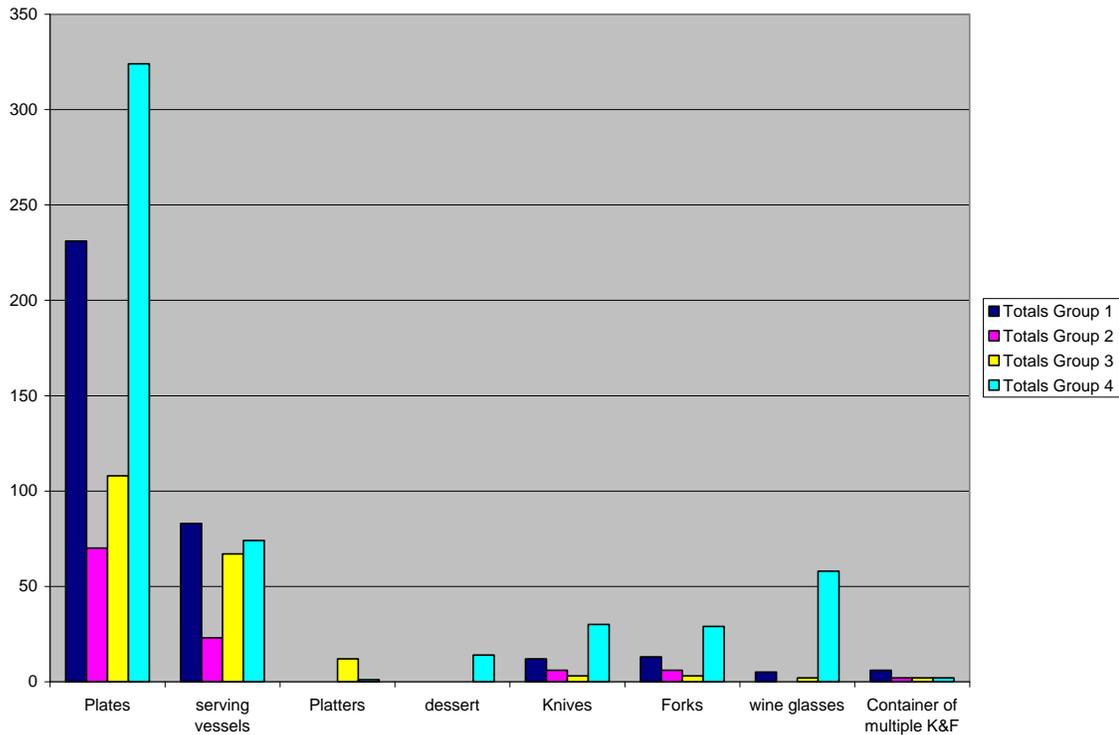


Figure 18 - Dining items per group

Name	Plates	Serving Vessels	Platters	Dessert	Knives	Forks	Wine Glasses
WG 1 Per Person	8.25	2.96	0.00	0.00	0.43	0.46	0.18
WG 2 per Person	14.00	4.60	0.00	0.00	1.20	1.20	0.00
WG 3 per Person	13.50	8.38	1.50	0.00	0.38	0.38	0.25
WG 4 per Person	46.29	10.57	0.14	2.00	4.29	4.14	8.29

Table 8 - Dining Items per person

Samuel Curle (WG 4), whose inventory totaled £ 521: 16: 9 in November of 1767, had one old china bowl, one dish and plate, twenty eight “stone [ware] plates”, one cruet stand, three salt cellars, and one wine glass. He also had six pewter plates, six old pewter plates, and six pewter dishes (ECCR Vol. F: 176-178). William Parsone (WG 4), owned three

stone [ware] mugs, two china dishes, a butter boat, twelve china plates, two china bowls one eight and one three shillings, a half dozen custard cups, two sweet meat glasses, a parcel of earthenware, two tumblers and four wine glasses (ECCR Vol. E: 230-234). Both of these men could serve multiple guests multiple dishes of food using specialized pieces. Contrast Widow Thomasina Rogers's (WG 1) dining items of three plates, three serving vessels, two knives and two forks to the two WG 4 individuals discussed above (ECCR Vol. E: 316-317).

The taking of tea was an activity in the English speaking world that was tied very closely to status. Prior to 1740 evidence indicates that tea drinking was limited to the wealthy (Roth 1961, Carson 1990, Isaac 1999: 46). As the century progressed, access to the specialized ceramics needed to drink tea in the proper manner became more widely available (Dellino-Musgrave 2006: 122, Bushman 1992: 184, Breen 1994: 456 Carson 1990, Roth 1961). The inventory data from Elizabeth City County are consistent with the conclusion that by the mid-eighteenth century the material needed to partake in proper tea drinking was available and purchased by the full range of social actors. The inventories also remind archaeologists that materials other than ceramics were associated with the taking of tea, the tea tables, the wooden tea chests, and silver tea spoons. In elite circles, serving tea was more than simply brewing it up and pouring it into a container. The tea chests, the silver spoons, the porcelain cup, and pot all were important props for the drinking of this beverage.

Minson Turner Proby (WG 1) had an inventory valued at just under thirteen pounds in January of 1762 and he owned one tea kettle and "an old tea chest" (ECCR Vol. E: 287). The tea kettle is listed with other items, so it is not possible to determine its value but the

tea chest was valued at two shillings and six pence. Proby's inventory represents just 0.1 percent of the total value of all the inventories and even this man with the second lowest value of goods had chosen to devote some of his limited resources to acquire goods associated with the taking of tea. Why Proby invested in tea consumption is unclear and further examination of his inventory reinforces the challenge of using such documents. Proby had in his twelve pound inventory items that would tend to be associated with a wealthier person, a sword, two spyglasses, a looking glass, and an oval table. Perhaps Proby was older and had already given many of his goods away keeping only the personal items used earlier in his life. He also possessed no clear way to make a living i.e., no farm implements, no livestock, and no set of artisan's tools. These facts along with his black walnut chairs, maple chairs and walnut table imply he at one time had wealth or was an *actor with pretensions*.

As is to be expected, wealthier Elizabeth City County residents acquired more evidence of their involvement with taking tea and also with taking coffee. Mary Armistead (WG 4), owned one coffee pot, a tea pot, five china cups and saucers, five silver teaspoons, a pair of silver sugar tongs and a tea table (ECCR Vol. E: 163-167). Col. John Tabb (WG 4) had an old pewter tea pot, a large coffee pot, eleven silver teaspoons, two Chinese [porcelain] coffee cups, and other tea equipment that added up to forty-four individual items associated with tea consumption (ECCR Vol. E: 440-450). When examined on a per person basis (Table 9) it appears that tea cups, saucers and teaspoons are the most common items used by the residents of Elizabeth City County.

	Tea cups	Coffee cups	Saucers	Tea pot	Coffee Pot	Tea Spoons	Tongs	Other	Tea kettle
Ave WG1	0.37	0.00	0.41	0.11	0.19	0.48	0.07	0.26	0.52
Ave WG2	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.60	0.00	1.40	0.40	0.00	0.40
Ave WG3	1.14	0.71	1.29	0.00	0.29	1.14	0.00	0.43	0.86
Ave WG4	5.38	0.25	6.25	0.63	0.75	4.88	0.63	1.00	0.50
Ave All	1.27	0.15	1.46	0.23	0.27	1.40	0.19	0.38	0.52

Table 9 - Tea items per person

Documentary Sources – Conclusions

The above review of documents associated with Elizabeth City County in the mid-eighteenth century reveals several things. The first is that the people of Elizabeth City County and Hampton had access to a wide variety of goods and were not in any way cut off from international commerce. Second and not surprisingly, these individuals had material goods that would not enter or be preserved in the archaeological record. Materials such as furniture and fabrics demonstrated status and wealth but usually cannot be recovered archaeologically.

The third insight is the manner in which the citizens of Elizabeth City County and Hampton viewed ceramics, a staple of archaeological excavation. On some occasions the estate appraisers described a ceramic vessel in detail, what it was, what it was made of, and how much it cost; on other occasions there was little detail just the notation that there is a vessel or group of similar vessels and the value for the group. It seems clear from the inventories that combinations of ceramic types and functions made vessels worth noting individually while others were lumped under the term “a parcel of”.

Items associated with tea and coffee drinking were often worth noting individually. There are numerous examples of tea pots, tea cups and saucers being counted and the value for each being listed. There were also references to “a parcel of earthenware” with no reference to whether it contained mugs or plates or bowls, just a value for the whole

“parcel.” Some of the ceramic forms associated with foods that were more expensive to prepare warranted notice. For example, Chinese porcelain custard cups and a sweet meat glass were mentioned specifically in two inventories, John Bannister (WG 4) and William Parson (WG4) (ECCR Vol. E: 200, ECCR Vol. E 230-234).

That material goods had different economic values in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County and Hampton is evident from the range of prices listed in the records of Mr. Moss, the Reverend Mr. Selden, and the various estate inventories. What also is clear is that some items warranted attention and enumeration, even though they were small and not particularly expensive. An example of this comes from the inventory of Joseph Bannister. In his 1761 inventory, appraisers John Selden, James Naylor, and Hursley Carter, noted eleven Chinese porcelain plates at two shillings a piece for a total of one pound two shillings. They also noted a “parcel of stoneware” valued at one pound (ECCR Vol. E: 200). While only two shillings different in value the Chinese porcelain plates received greater attention from the appraisers than the stoneware. Those same appraisers listed six “Chinese custard cups” valued at seven shillings six pence for the group and a parcel of earthenware for two shillings and six pence (Figure 19). It would have been just as simple for the appraisers to have noted “a parcel of cups” or “some plates” but they believed putting the value of each “china plate” and using the descriptions “Chinese custard cups” were important.

To 12 Green Bottles 2 2/6	1. 10.
To 3 White 2 6	12. 6
To 1 Spoon Griddle	1.
To a Parcel of Glass Ware	10.
To 1 China Bowl	7. 6
To 6 China Butter Plates	2.
To 2 Salt Cellars	5.
To 1 China Tea Cup and Saucer	4. 6
To 6 Old Iron 2 P	1.
To a Parcel of Pictures	7. 6
To 2 White Plates of Salt 2 2/6	2. 6
To a Parcel of China Ware	1. 5.
To 1 Parcel of Powder Flask 1 White Bowl	19.
To 1 Paper Table Cloth	5.

Figure 19 - John Bannister's Inventory (ECCR Vol. E: 200)

Bannister's inventory provides a glimpse into the aspects of ceramic goods that gave them special importance to the mid-eighteenth-century inhabitants of Elizabeth City County and Hampton. Importance was given to ceramic vessels that were classified as "China" or "Chinese" but also that were used for particular functions such as tea drinking. Likewise, the assessors of William Parson's 1760 inventory chose to list "2 butter plates" with no information about the material valued at four shillings, but decided to provide more detail on "china tea cups and saucers" even though they were valued two shillings less than the butter plates. Eating elaborately prepared foods was another area that received attention from assessors. The custard cups and sweet meat glasses itemized in Parson's inventory are an example of that phenomenon. The data from the inventories clearly demonstrate that the material goods associated with certain behaviors warranted

more attention than others. This notion will inform the examination of the material remains of the Bunch of Grapes and King's Arms taverns.

Archaeological Sources.

Having examined the goods owned by the citizens of Elizabeth City County, this section examines the sorts of goods used in places outside the home places such as taverns. Taverns were a significant place for a resident of Virginia in the mid-eighteenth century. In his study of Chesapeake culture, Allen Kulikoff identified the tavern as one of "four fields of honor" that were key to the gentry way of life in the Chesapeake Region. The other three were the woods, the racetrack and the general store (Kulikoff 1986: 218). Based on his analysis, Kulikoff contends that over the course of the eighteenth century, the tavern became a place where men went to show their 'worthiness as men in fisticuffs and games' (Kulikoff 1986: 221). The tavern was important because it was a public venue and in the minds of the Virginia elite a public arena in which to compete (which they did in every activity in which they engaged) (Breen 1977, Isaac 1999: 118-119). The competition involved how they acted, how they manipulated material goods, and what types of fashionable material goods they could acquire.

The basic information about the archaeological deposits associated with the taverns was presented above (see Table 1). Figures 20 and 21 show the layout of the tavern complexes. The complexes were made up of archaeological features and deposits that were temporally and spatially associated with the tavern buildings. The excavations showed evidence of long used property lines that were indicated by many post holes. This is similar to the excavations in Williamsburg where the traditional town lots could be determined through fence lines (Brown *et al.* 2001: 55). The architectural evidence is consistent with a tavern

both buildings have the triangular hearth that indicates multiple rooms heated with the same chimney and the King's Arms building had evidence of a porch something common in tidewater taverns (Gibbs 1968).

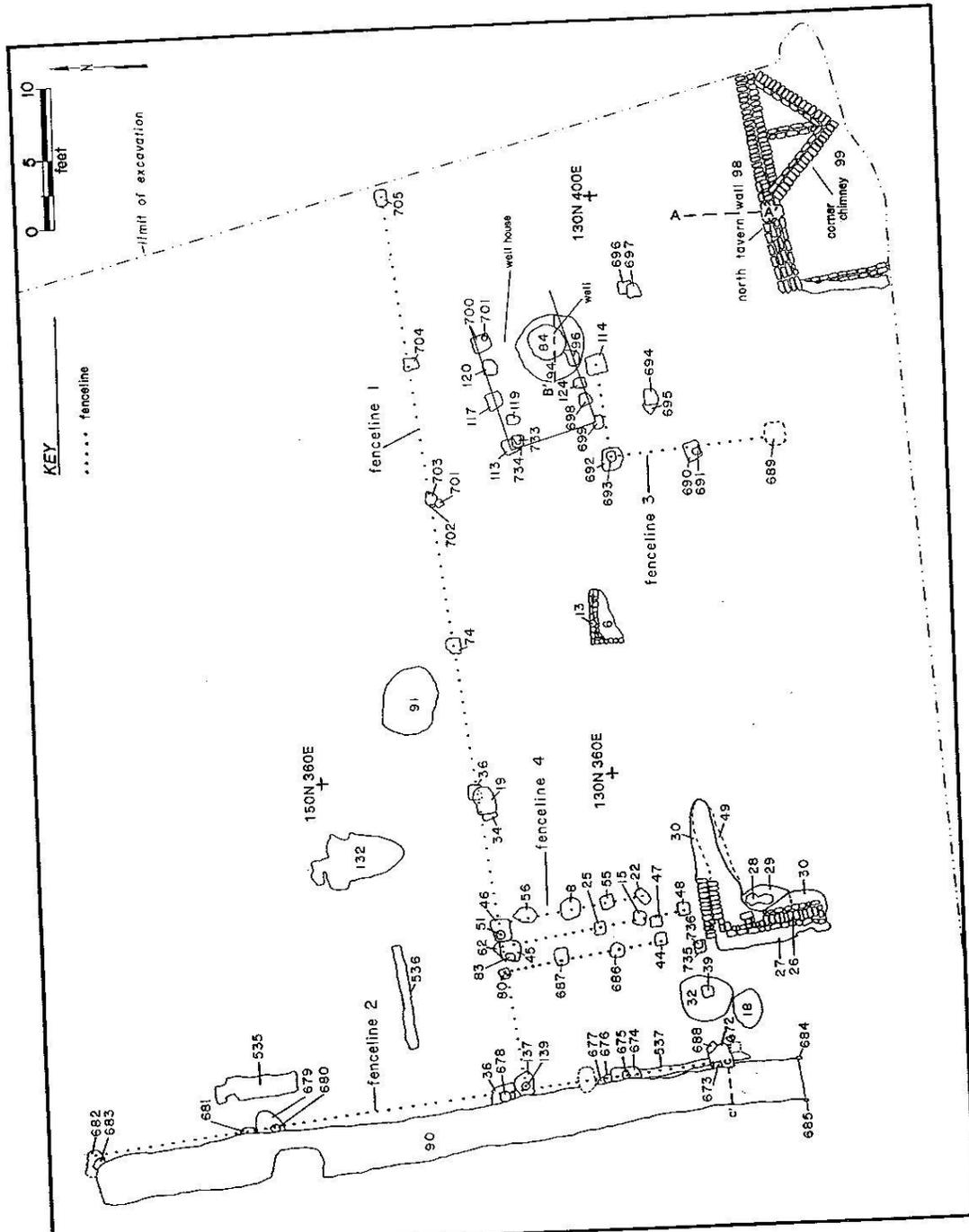


Figure 20 - Excavation drawing of the Bunch of Grapes Tavern Complex (Courtesy WMCAR)

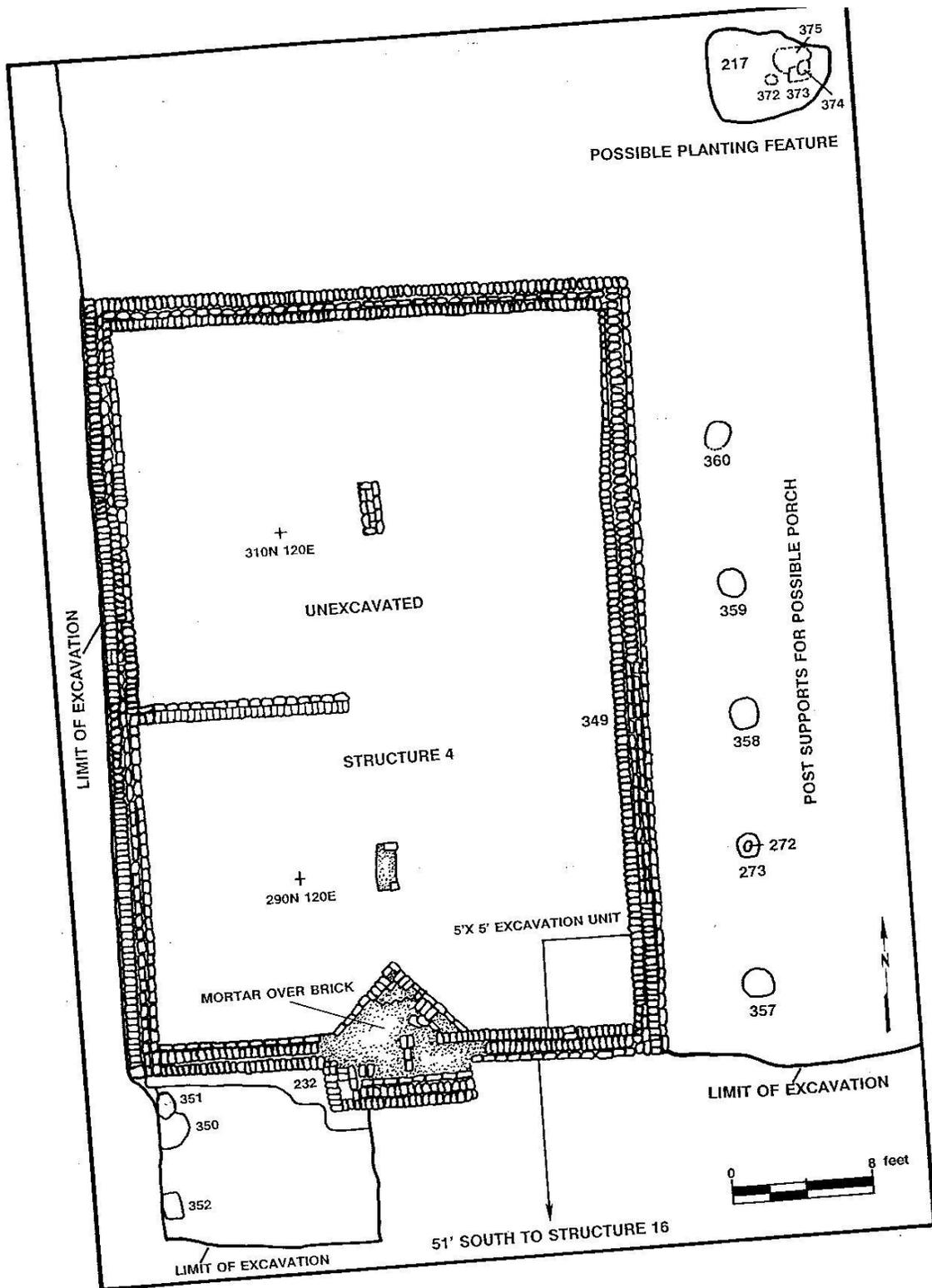


Figure 21 - Excavation drawing of the King's Arms tavern complex (Courtesy WMCAR)

The material recovered from the tavern was itemized in Chapter One. Table 10 summarizes the data.

Artifact Type	Bunch of Grapes	King's Arms
Ceramic	4706	1827
Nails	1295	363
Lithic	32	4
Glass	4336	544
Faunal	1003	2174
Other	283	176
Metal	326	83
Utensil	13	2
Beads	89	0
Button	7	0
Buckles	9	1

Table 10 - Artifacts recovered from taverns

A key distinction to make in analyzing the material culture assemblages is the public or semi-public display of goods. Thus, goods that would not be seen by others need to be differentiated from the goods on display. This concept became more relevant to understanding colonial Virginia as domestic spaces became more specialized and less pleasant household tasks, like cooking or laundry were placed in separate outbuildings. As an organizing principle this study utilized a concept from the modern restaurant industry and categorized the material goods in terms of the “front of the house” and the “back of the house.” These concepts are common in the restaurant business and relate to the functions in the restaurant and sometimes but not always the physical layout of the restaurant. A contrasting approach in the analysis of colonial American sites is the classification system

develop by South. His system divides artifacts into a kitchen group, a bone group, an architectural group, a furniture group, an arms group, a clothing group, a personal group a tobacco group and an activities group (South 1977: 95-96). South's kitchen group, including most ceramics, wine bottles, case bottles, tumblers, most glassware, and most cutlery items, however, is too general to be useful for the current project. When the artifacts from the taverns were divided into activities, architectural, arms, clothing, furniture, kitchen, personal and tobacco smoking categories, over seventy percent of all artifacts fell into the kitchen category. The Bunch of Grapes tavern collection had sixty-two percent (n=7,512) of the artifacts classified in the kitchen group; consequently, an approach that allowed for more detailed analysis of the artifacts associated with the preparation, serving and consumption of food and drink was required.

The "front of the house" is the portion of the restaurant that the customers experience, the lobby, the dining room, and the wait staff. The "back of the house" is the part that customers do not see; the kitchen, the storage areas, the loading dock, all the behind the scenes areas (Garvey *et al.* 2004: 141, Pepin 2003: 57, 280). Using that division, functions were classified as being associated with the "front of the house" or the "back of the house." Again, it is important to note that this division is about a functional, not a spatial relationship. Food preparation and food storage tasks were classified as "back of the house" while the tasks of serving and consuming food and drink, performed by the customers or in sight of the customers, were considered "front of the house." This idea is appropriate when considering mid-eighteenth-century Virginia. The architectural data indicates that many of the "back of the house" functions, the messy tasks that aren't shared with guests were being moved out of the genteel homes in Virginia and moved into out-

buildings (Lounsbury 2011: 59-64, Linebaugh 1994). There was also an increasing specialization of space. Homes in Virginia were transformed from the traditional two room hall-and-parlor house into a home with a central passage and rooms with very specific functions such as the dining room and bed chamber (Wenner 1989, Wenger 1986).

The goal of this strategy is to better understand the setting experienced by a patron of the establishments. Most of the traditional categories mixed or blended materials that could influence the customer experience and some that would have been behind the scenes. The assemblage was divided into items the customers experienced, like the plate food was served upon, and those things that they did not directly experience, like the coarse earthenware milk pan that was used to prepare a dish.

Among the ceramics there were 297 unique vessels associated with the Bunch of Grapes assemblage and 219 of those were associated with the front of the house. The excavations of the King's Arms complex yielded 103 unique vessels, eighty that were classified as the front of the house and the remaining twenty-three associated with the back of the house functions (See Appendix F and Appendix G).

	Architectural	Décor	Drinking	Food Prep.	Serving	Storage	Tea	Personal
Bunch of Grapes	4	1	58	61	114	9	37	11
Bunch of Grapes	1.36%	0.34%	19.66%	20.68%	38.64%	3.05%	12.54%	3.73%
King's Arms	1	0	31	18	30	3	13	7
King's Arms	0.97%	0.00%	30.10%	17.48%	29.13%	2.91%	12.62%	6.80%

Table 11 - Function of Tavern Vessels

Within the front of house category are the serving vessels, drinking vessels, tea ware, and the one item classified as Décor, a delftware vase from the Bunch of Grapes. The serving

vessels included plates, platters and other vessels on which food was presented. The drinking category consisted of the vessels associated with the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and tea wares were those vessels associated with preparing and consuming warm caffeinated beverages including, tea, coffee and chocolate (Table 11).

The Bunch of Grapes and the King's Arms assemblages had materials that would have been similar to those found in the residences of the wealthier inhabitants of Elizabeth City County. For example, the Bunch of Grapes assemblage contained two brass furniture tacks and one bone die. The brass tacks are the representatives of some form of upholstered furniture, not a simple wood piece, and the die was associated with the gambling that was a key part of tavern and social life for the Virginia gentry. Likewise, the King's Arms had a curtain ring, and the probate inventories demonstrated that curtains, like table clothes, were an expensive item often used with elaborate beds, or more rarely windows (see figure 16).

Combined the two taverns had 367 fragments of table glass, 295 at the Bunch of Grapes and seventy-two at the King's Arms. Fragments of stemware, tumblers and decanters were recovered from each tavern. It is clear from the materials recovered from the taverns that the material culture within the taverns had similarities to the homes of the wealthy inhabitants of Elizabeth City County, because the tavern keepers were attempting to make a setting in which the local elite would be comfortable. The taverns needed to mirror current fashions in order to signal to visiting strangers and the anxious local elites that Hampton and Elizabeth City's elite taverns and the taverns' patrons were able to keep up with the rapidly changing fashions regarding dining and the consumption of alcohol.

Conclusions

When examining the information provided by the documentary and archaeological records for Elizabeth City County and Hampton in the mid-eighteenth century, it is clear, and not unexpected, that high status items and lower status items were found together in houses and taverns. Another point that is clear is that although the archaeological record of Hampton lacks items like fabric, furniture and paper it does contain diverse materials which allow a meaningful and insightful look at life in mid-eighteenth-century in the town. Comparison of the two data sets indicates that goods that had been restricted to the elite a few decades earlier were very common in all of the social strata examined. Unlike the rough and tumble years of the seventeenth century, all of the decedents in Elizabeth City County had furniture and many had some of the tools needed to take tea. The ability of less elite individuals, those in WG 1 and WG 2, to acquire a variety of goods was demonstrated in the inventories.

Another key point is that the appraisers paid special attention to the material goods associated with particular types of eating and drinking, meaning that an analysis of sites that focused on the preparation and serving of food and drink should result in an understanding of the pretensions of the tavern keeper and that of the taverns' patrons. The archaeological materials recovered from the Hampton taverns show that they contained items that were quite similar to what the wealthy of Hampton and Elizabeth City County had in their homes. The variety of inventories allows us to look at the archaeological material recovered from the taverns and to understand what kinds of goods have not lasted in the ground but were most likely in the taverns when they were operating. There would have been fabrics both in the food service rooms and the rooms where guests would have spent the night. In the dining areas there most likely would have been table cloths and

napkins. In the chambers there would have been some of the types of curtains and quilts and counterpanes that were mentioned so often in the inventories. Some furniture, and not just the simple pine tables and chairs but perhaps furniture made of walnut or maple and upholstered in fabric, possibly in leather, would also have been present. The upholstered furniture is suggested by the upholstery tacks recovered archaeologically. By combining the data sources a fuller picture of the material world of eighteenth-century Hampton is revealed.

The information from the probate data indicates that all of the wealth groups in Elizabeth City County could provide themselves or their guests with individual seats, serve meals on plates, and use knives and forks. This indicates that these individuals could select to be fully engaged in the more individualized approach to dining and behavior that has been seen as one of the hallmarks of the modern world (Deetz 1977, Leone 1999b). Whether the individual seats and plates are evidence of Deetz's "Georgian Mindset" or evidence of the imposition of the "ideology of the individual" seen by Leone it appears as if the people of Elizabeth City County had completed that transformation and accepted the benefits and drawbacks of the transformation.

One of the key drawbacks of the transformation was anxiety; several scholars have discussed the anxiety exhibited by the Chesapeake gentry (Hall 2000: 45, Leone 1999: 200-205, Shackel 1998: 112-115), concluding that the underlying basis for this tension was the inherent conflict in the emerging capitalist system. Those conflicts required the elite to manipulate material culture in a way that naturalized the unequal access to wealth and power that is inherent in the system. This explanation of the anxiety fails to give the ideas of the *actor with pretensions* that Bourdieu discusses enough attention.

For the county elite in the small and old county of Elizabeth City the challenge to stay fashionable in the eyes of their peers the elite of the newer, larger and wealthier western counties and maintaining a clear separation from the other inhabitants of Elizabeth City County must have been stressful. The anxiousness they felt when in public related as much to their fear of being seen by their fellows as “hav[ing] a self-image too far out of line with the image others have of them ...” as to the “constant struggle between the dominant and the subservient”(Bourdieu 1984: 252, Hall 2000: 45). The stress would not have only been experienced by the elite men but also by some women. When a women took over the role of head-of-house she also took over the task of maintaining the social standing of the family.

CHAPTER THREE: Gender and Households

In the previous chapter, the relationship between material and an individual's goods and his/her social position was examined through an analysis of the mid-eighteenth-century probate inventories for Elizabeth City County and Hampton. The manner in which this relationship was manifested in two elite taverns was also examined. Chapter Three will explore the manner in which material goods and their uses were related to colonial Virginians' concepts of gender and household. This chapter will show that being the head-of-house had much more influence on an individual's possessions than did gender. This topic needs to be addressed because attempting to study a community and ignoring a fundamental component such as gender is inappropriate. The documentary data for Hampton indicate that women owned taverns and on occasions frequented taverns.

Gender is not equivalent to biological sex (Spencer-Wood 2006: 60). Ethnographic research has documented social systems in which there are more than two genders in the society being studied. Gender is a culturally determined concept and is manifested differently across time and space (Mrozowski, Delle and Paynter 2000: xix, Holliman 2006: 435). This chapter will examine the socially constructed ideas related to the appropriate behavior of actors of both sexes in eighteenth-century Hampton and Elizabeth City County.

Since gender is a fluid concept, assigning gender to specific tasks or even specific material items is a complicated proposition. Rather than immediately impose a preconceived concept of gender on the data from Elizabeth City County and Hampton, the analysis will start with the biological sexual binary, male and female. Then the relationship between material culture and gender will be examined in a multi-step process.

The first step will be to review the scholarly literature to create a context for gender and what it meant in colonial Virginia. Next, the probate inventory data will be examined to identify differences between male and the female inventories from Elizabeth City County. That analysis will explore the extent to which behavior in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County aligns with the idea of male and female behavior articulated in the academic literature. The male to female comparison will identify how the sex of decedents was related to the material culture they owned at the time of death.

The probate data will then be examined for evidence of gender specific tasks in colonial Virginia. This analysis will illuminate the ways that other members of the decedent's household influenced the goods identified in the inventory. This examination of the data will allow for a better and more nuanced discussion of the materials recovered from the taverns. Because so few female probate inventories survive, the results of the analysis likely lack broad statistical significance. However, while small this data is all that exists for this place and time and a valid impression of gender roles in the study area.

As discussed in Chapter Two, individuals, social actors or agents, carry with them a construct of what appropriate behavior is for someone born and raised in their place in a given society and that concept is called, *habitus*. While each different social status has a different habitus, there is also variation within social status categories based upon the sex of an agent. Thus, socially-elite males and socially-elite females will exhibit different behaviors; the same is true of the lower tiers of the social hierarchy (Bourdieu 1984: 107-108).

In colonial Virginia a significant aspect of the elite's *habitus* was the need to be perceived by others as elite. The possibility of being perceived as less than genteel was a

deeply seated fear of the gentry. In the eighteenth century, the methods of displaying status had come to be based on fashion which required constant vigilance to ensure one owned the latest fashions. For the Virginia elite, the new focus on fashion meant that maintaining gentility could be accomplished only by rapidly adopting the latest in dress, behaviors and material goods. The increased accessibility of consumer goods in the mid-eighteenth century added to the challenge by allowing less elite *actors with pretensions* to possess new, fashionable, massed produced goods.

Concepts of gender in mid-eighteenth-century Virginia had evolved from those in mid-seventeenth-century Virginia. The “rough and tumble” existence that was the hallmark of seventeenth-century Virginia forced Anglo inhabitants to diverge from traditional English gender roles. The most noticeable variation was that seventeenth-century Virginia women were more accepted in the public arenas of life. Traditionally, the women’s sphere was associated with home and was mainly a private one, while men’s roles were to enter public spaces and interact with the world (Brown 1996: 281-282). Tasks associated with public hospitality, large animal husbandry, the use of arms, and the legal system have principally been associated with men. Private hospitality, food preparation, the production of dairy products, and the production of textiles have been associated with women (Gibb and King 1999: 113, Meacham 2009, Sturtz 2002: 134-135, Kierner 1996).

Male inventories listed the material goods used by the women in the house as the man’s. What about those of a woman decedent? Were these women wives at the time of their death, with the appraisers only listing “womanly” goods or were all the women with inventories *femme soles*, single women who did not have a man acting for her in legal matters? The opposite would be the *femme covert* or covered woman with a father,

brother, husband or son who acted for her on the public stage (Sturtz 2002: 20, Brown 1996: 287-291).

In terms of social relations in colonial Virginia during the eighteenth century, most individuals were tied to larger social units, families and households. One was either the head of the house, a patriarch, or one was a subservient member of a patriarch's household. Wives were viewed as junior partners in the household who could only achieve true autonomy when their husbands died and they became widows (Isaac 2004: 181). While both males and females lived within patriarchal households, the lives they experienced were quite different.

The arrangement of society and the ideas of what constituted appropriate male and female behavior in Virginia changed from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. The gender roles in place in mid-eighteenth-century Virginia had emerged from a political and social conflict that raged in the late seventeenth century. Elite white planters gradually forced the poorer white males, white women and all people of color into the powerless periphery of colonial Virginia. This rise of the patriarchs was not a quick and immediate event, but by 1700 the trend was clearly towards reducing the acceptable public activities in which women could participate and limiting women's labor to the domestic setting (Kierner 1998: 10). The stabilization of the mortality rate in the Chesapeake region combined with equalizing sex ratios and more stable family structures allowed Anglo-Virginians to establish gender relations based on a public role for the male head of the house and a private domestic role for the wife (Kierner 1998: 12).

Since the gentry were victorious in the social struggle of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, they were able to promote gender roles and ideals that reinforced their

needs and were consistent with their world view. The genteel patriarch and his gracious wife leading a loyal household were the ideals the victorious elite stressed and desperately hoped that everyone else in the colony accepted (Kierner 1998: 27). The social and gender roles that had come to exist in mid-eighteenth-century Virginia were the result of the white male elites being able to impose their will on other members of the society. Thus there was always tension in the social world as elite males strove to retain the place they had seized while others attempted to improve their places in the system (Brown 1996: 5).

The “appropriate” place for women in this patriarchal world was as a subordinate member of a male led household although women could act for husbands or sons who were away on business or otherwise temporarily indisposed (Kierner 1998: 13). The primary point at which women were able to legitimately enter the public sphere for business was when they became widows (Brown 1996: 285). The realm of public behavior was a key difference between the experiences of men and women in colonial Virginia (Brown 1996: 249). Only women who were widows or whose husband, father, or brother was absent, could engage in public activities in a socially acceptable way.

As the eighteenth century progressed, avenues for public behavior for elite women developed (Kierner 1998: 4). But unlike the situations for widows or women with absent male relatives, these new opportunities required most women to engage the public with a male “protector” (Brown 1996: 284). Due to the perceived need for male protectors, the public activities of women took place at mixed male and female events such as balls and church functions. One example of such a mixed event was the King’s Birthday celebration at the King’s Arms, when the ladies of Elizabeth City County could join their husbands for a fine dinner and ball. However, male only events, such as militia day, elections, or the

gathering at the Bunch of Grapes that proceeded the dinner at the King's Arms, were the norm in colonial Virginia (Brown 1996: 285).

In summary, gender roles in colonial Virginia had gone through a period in the seventeenth century when they were more fluid than they had been in England. The often chaotic demographics of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake region caused people to be more accepting of women behaving in ways that would not have been acceptable "normally." As gender ratios stabilized and the gentry elite effectively claimed social and political power, they imposed traditional social and behavioral limitations on women that reinforced their patriarchal world view.

The ideas of gender roles in the mid-eighteenth-century Hampton and Elizabeth City County were in line with the generalized view discussed above. There were household tasks that were traditionally performed by women in colonial Virginia; some trades were also viewed as acceptable for women to pursue. Tavern keeping was one of the few trades that women commonly and successfully performed throughout the colonial period. One reason for this distinction was that keeping taverns was a trade for which women had been trained. Young girls received training in running a household, and running a tavern was an extension of that skill set (Sturtz 2002: 93-94)

The tavern in eighteenth-century Virginia was a public place and that meant it was primarily a male place. Rhys Isaacs notes that taverns "were places where men gathered, drank, swore, and even boxed or wrestled among themselves" (Isaac 1999: 57). Taverns that catered to the lower sort might have women who had come as part of a group of young people to dance and socialize (Kross 1999: 386). A study of a North Carolina tavern

shows that women customers, of which there were few, purchased alcohol only to take away with them (Salinger 2002: 222-223).

One situation that forced women to enter taverns was when they traveled (Imbarrato 1998: 30). Charlotte Browne was traveling through colonial America with Braddock's Army and encountered and recorded the unwelcome suspicion to which she was subjected. On one occasion it was assumed one of her traveling companions was her husband and on other occasions it was assumed she was a "kept woman" (Thompson 1999: 30). When Browne was in Hampton she made no mention of being uncomfortable in the tavern she visited. One possible reason for this is that the tavern she visited was Mary Brough's King's Arms Tavern. Mary Brough had been making her own way in the world since at least 1751, when she advertised that her tavern was open (Hunter 30 May 175: P 3 C 2). That may have made her more hospitable to a female traveler.

It was more acceptable for the elite women of colonial Virginia to be out in public when accompanied to events by their husbands or other male relatives. In that way, the men protected women's respectability and reputations (Brown 1996: 284). The description of the 1766 King's Birthday event supports the inference that women viewed Mary Brough's King's Arms an acceptable place to attend an event. In *The Virginia Gazette's* account of that celebration, the gentlemen of Elizabeth City County started the celebration at Francis Riddlehurst's Bunch of Grapes. Later in day the men were joined by the women after the event moved to Mary Brough's tavern. "In the evening there was a ball and supper at the King's Arms tavern where the ladies graced the company" (Purdie and Dixon, 13 May 1776: P 2 C 1).

Is it possible that Mary Brough’s tavern was perceived as more acceptable to both the elite women of Elizabeth City County and to a visitor like Charlotte Browne? If so what could make a tavern more acceptable to the women and would making a tavern acceptable to women be a good business decision? Given that taverns as public places were primarily male and only on occasion the location of male-female activity, it is expected that Mrs. Brough would create a location that was similar to other male owned taverns. This is in keeping with the idea Mrs. Brough’s status as head-of-house and tavern keeper would have more influence on the material in she used in her daily life than her gender.

Male - Female Comparison

The data provided by the Elizabeth City County probate inventories offers a mechanism to start examining the differences between the material culture associated with females and that associated with males. There are 53 transcribed probate inventories for Elizabeth City County from the period 1760 to 1769, of those eight are females and forty-five are from males (ECCR, McDaid 2010). The wealth groups from Chapter Two, reveal five women in WG 1, and one in each of the other wealth groups. There were twenty-four males in WG 1, six in WG 2, eight in WG 3 and six in WG 4 (see Table 12).

Group 1	£0 – 133	Female = 6 Male = 24
Group 2	£203- 282	Female = 1 Male = 6
Group 3	£322- 422	Female = 1 Male = 8
Group 4	£507- 1,284	Female = 1 Male = 6

Table 12 - Females and Males by Wealth Group

The females are 16.9 percent of the transcribed inventories and represent 12.4 percent of the wealth from all of the transcribed inventories (Table 13).

	Population	Wealth
Female Total	16.9%	12.4%
Male Total	83.1%	87.6%

Table 13 - Percentage of Wealth and Population by Sex

The female inventory with the least monetary value was Thomasina Rogers (WG 1), whose inventory totaled £18 (ECCR Vol. E: 316-317). Four men had inventories valued at less than hers, including Francis Desay's which was appraised at only £3:6:3 (ECCR Vol. E: 200). The female with the highest value inventory was Mary Armistead (WG 4), whose inventory was valued to at £517 (ECCR Vol. E: 163-167). There are only five males whose inventories were appraised with a value higher than £517.

There was more concentration of wealth in the females' inventories than in the males' inventories. Mary Armistead (WG 4), and Sarah Curle (WG 3), representing thirty-three percent of female decedents and controlled fifty-four percent of the wealth reported in female inventories. In the male inventories eight males, 17.8 percent, controlled 50 percent of the wealth reported in the inventories.

In the previous chapter, categories of goods that other authors have connected to standard of living were examined to illuminate differences in various social strata. In this chapter the same categories are examined to see what, if any, differences can be seen between the sexes. As before, the five inventories that list only enslaved people will be omitted since they can shed no light on material goods. The categories of goods examined are furniture, fabrics, books, tools for cloth production, cooking, dining, tea drinking, livestock and clothes (Table 14).

	Furniture	Fabrics	Books	Cloth Production	Cooking	Dining	Tea drinking	livestock	Clothes
Female	100.00%	83.33%	50.00%	66.67%	83.33%	83.33%	83.33%	66.67%	16.67%
Male	100.00%	54.76%	30.95%	66.67%	90.48%	83.33%	61.90%	85.71%	16.67%

Table 14- Categories by Sex

The results of the comparison between male and female decedents indicate that there was not a clear dichotomy between male material and female material. Seven of nine categories were owned by more than fifty percent of all decedents.

Given the size of this data set the variation between the male and female inventories does not provide much insight into the relationship between the decedent's sex and the ownership of particular classes of material. However that does not mean the data is useless. The male-female analysis did reveal some items of note. It is likely that Van Burkilow (WG1) was working in the garment trade. If that was the case it would explain the number of fabric items she possessed and why a probate inventory was created for her. She owned clothing patterns and seven and one half yards of fabric valued at 2:05:00, and two pieces of silk valued at eight pounds (ECCR Vol. E: 438-439). It is possible that the decorative fabrics in her inventory were related to her trade rather than for her personal use. If she were a woman alone, a *femme sole*, practicing a trade she would have accounts to settle, if she were married she would not have goods of her own.

Three women had books in their inventories. Sarah Needham had "a parcel of Old Books" valued at five shillings; Mary Armistead had a dictionary worth seven shillings and Eleanor Selden had both a Bible and a Prayer Book with no recorded value (ECCR Vol. E: 163-167, ECCR Vol. F: 300-303, ECCR Vol. E: 206). Thirteen males owned books at the time of their deaths. Mark Pursel, (WG 1) owned "2 Old Books" valued at two shillings

(ECCR Vol. E: 355). Joseph Bannister (WG 4) owned “a parcel of Old Books” worth £ 2:10:0 (ECCR Vol. E: 200). William Parson, (WG 4), owned a two volume “history of Malboro” presumably the First Duke of Marlborough, worth twelve shillings, six volumes of *The Spectator*, worth ten shillings, a large prayer book, ten shillings, a book of Virginia law, one pound, a parcel of “old law books,” ten shillings, a “parcel of old books” eight shillings (ECCR Vol. E: 230-234). While both males and females owned secular and religious books, only males owned any books associated with the law. Unlike fabrics it does not appear that books owned by women were used by them to earn a living.

Five of the six females (83.3 percent) had some tea drinking equipment compared to 61.9 (n=26) percent of the males (Figure 22). The individual tea consumption items per female averaged eight while the male average was 5.2. In this case a distinction must be drawn between tea and coffee. No females owned coffee cups and “coffee pot” is one category item in which females own less than the per person average. This implies that coffee was seen as a drink associated with men and the public world of business. Coffee consumption has traditionally been associated with male dominated public spaces, coffee house and cafes (Cowan 2001, Harvey 2008: 205).

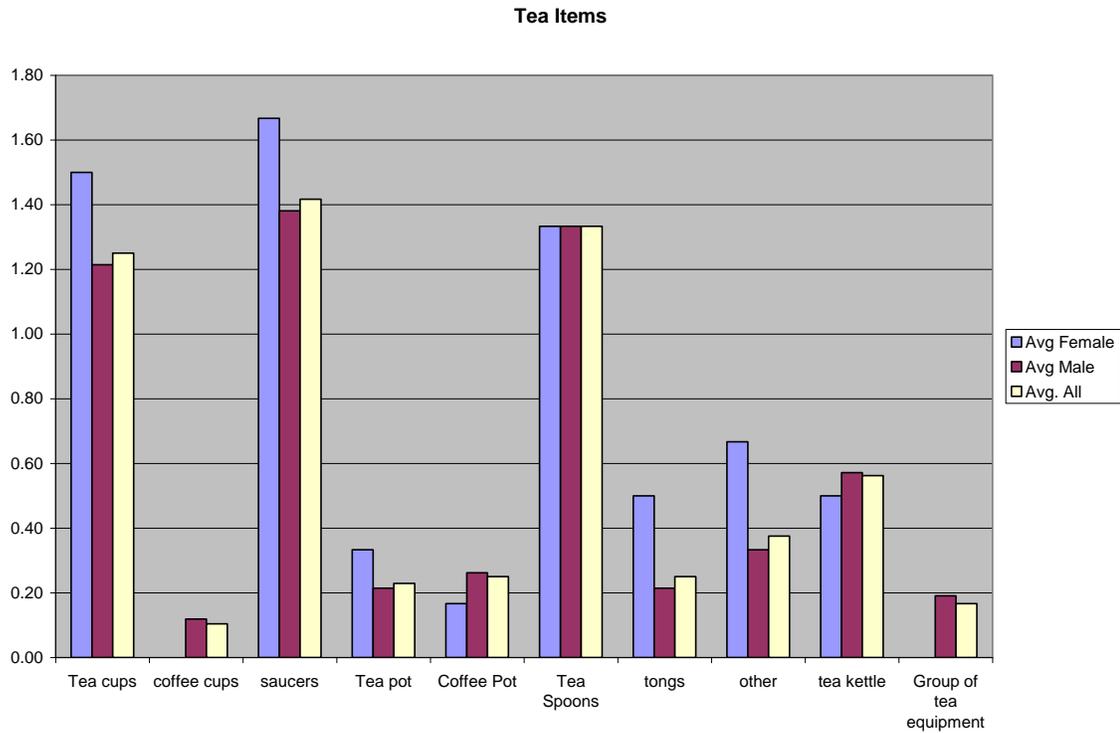


Figure 22- Average Tea Items Male vs. Female

This review of the probate data based on the sex of the descendent shows very little difference, i.e., that there was not a female set of goods and a different male set of goods. While the data set of women is quite small, it is all the data for the study area, so it should not be dismissed. A probable explanation for the lack of differences between the females and the males is the role most of the females had as heads of households. In the role as head-of-house these women would have inherited many of the goods from their husbands. They also needed to keep the household running in a manner similar to before the husband's death.

The next analysis of the probate data looks at three tasks that were associated with gender in colonial Virginia. This analysis was undertaken to illustrate the degree to which the inventories of men showed the tasks of the other members of the household and if the

inventories can be used to identify decedents who were not heads-of-house. A man whose inventory showed clear evidence of tasks associated with women or women's goods, like a side saddle or dress, was most likely the head-of-house containing multiple individuals. The opposite should then be true if a woman had men's goods, which is evidence that she had assumed the role as the head-of house.

The most common reference in the inventories to a definitely female item was to women's saddles. The riding of horses was a matter of significant social status for colonial Virginians (Isaac 1982: 99). Four inventories list a woman's saddle, William Sanders (WG 1), James Allen (WG 1), John Stores Sr. (WG 1) and Edward Armistead (WG 4) while Eustace Howard's (WG 1) inventory specifies a "side saddle" (ECCR Vol. E: 466-467, ECCR Vol. E: 76-77, ECCR Vol., F: 299-300, ECCR Vol. F: 431-432, ECCR Vol. F: 319-320). Christopher Pierce's (WG 1) inventory had a notation that "the Widow" had control of a bull before the estate's administrators sold it; and Col. Tabb's (WG 4) inventory lists a pair of worsted women's hose, six pair of women's shoes, earrings and a necklace (ECCR Vol. E: 431-432, ECCR Vol. E: 440-450).

The fact that few items mentioned in the inventories are labeled as used by women does not mean there were few women in Elizabeth City County and Hampton. Several activities tied to women by scholars, cidering, dairying, and cloth production, all have strong female associations (for cidering see Meacham 2009: 33-59 for dairying see Yentsch 1991 and for cloth production Carr and Walsh 1994: 122-124). These activities will be good indicators of the presence of women in a household since these tasks, unlike eating or sleeping, were not absolute requirements as a household could run without these tasks. The inventory data

were examined for evidence of these work activities and to identify those decedents that owned the items needed to perform these tasks.

Cidering/ Small Beer Making

The domestic production of fermented alcoholic beverages, ciders and small beers, was traditionally a female role in the colonial Chesapeake region as it had been earlier in England (Meacham 2009: 35). This task fell to women because it was seen as one part of “cookery,” a traditionally female pursuit (Meacham 2009: 36). The domestic production of alcohol by women had been the traditional view in England until the seventeenth century. The increasing popularity of distilled gin and beer made with expensive hops led to a more commercial approach to the manufacturing of alcoholic beverages in seventeenth-century England. That commercialization seems to have lessened the role that women were allowed or were financially able to play (Meacham 2009: 41).

The probate inventories for colonial Virginia do indicate that cider was made in homes and that it was made by women in households with a “wide variety of economic standings” (Meacham 2009: 42). In the Elizabeth City County inventories cidering is mentioned clearly in fifteen of the forty-eight inventories or 31.25 percent. Out of the five women with inventories, only Mary Armistead, Wealth Group 4, had cidering materials mentioned in her inventory. Mary Armistead’s inventory lists seventeen cider casks valued at four shillings each. On the next line there are eight old cider casks worth two shillings and six pence each and two tubs worth two shillings each (ECCR Vol. E: 163-167). While the tubs are not clearly labeled as cidering tubs, tubs were used in the cidering process and the fact that they were recorded on the same line as the cider casks implies they could have been used for cidering. The items associated with cidering that were listed in the

inventories are: Hogsheads, tubs, casks, barrels, bottles and William Waymouth's (WG 2) cider press (ECCR Vol. F: 285-287). In Isaac Todd's (WG1) and William Parsone's (WG 4) inventories the word "cider" is legible but the type of object is not. Most entries enumerate the items but Mark Pursel (WG 1) had "1 tun of cider casks" valued at 1:1:6 and Hurlsey Carter (WG 3) had a "parcel" of tubs (ECCR Vol. E: 355, ECCR Vol. E: 416-418). The cider related items most often mentioned are large volume containers, hogshead, barrels, and casks. There are fewer items from the act of making the cider, the one press and five tubs. An additional unknown number of tubs were represented in Carter's "parcel."

Dairying

Dairying has been a task associated with women at least since the medieval period (Yentsch 1991: 134). In this study the tasks associated with dairy products under consideration are making butter and cheese. Both of these tasks are seen by archaeologists James Gibb and Julia A. King as tasks associated with food processing and usually performed by women (Gibb and King 1991: 113). There appear to be fewer indicators of dairying practices in the Chesapeake region when compared to New England and the Middle colonies; whether this was the case and is the result of the Chesapeake climate being a hindrance to dairying or a function of scholars not having researched in the correct places still needs to be determined (Yentsch 1991: 139).

Twenty-nine percent (n = 14) of the probate inventories for Elizabeth City County have indications of dairying activities consisting of seven types of items that were associated with dairying. The most common dairy related items were the thirty-six butter pots mentioned in eleven inventories. The number of butter pots owned ranged from one to

eight. The next most common items were milk pans with twenty-nine mentioned in four inventories. John Tabb (WG 4), owned 16; John Lowry (WG 3), owned ten; Isaac Todd (WG 1), owned two and William Tomkins (WG 1), owned one (ECCR Vol. F: 152-153, ECCR Vol. F: 120-122, ECCR Vol. E: 224-225). The only clear indication of cheese production was three cheese hoops, all owned by William Parsone (WG 4) (ECCR Vol. E: 230-234).

Cloth Production

The production and maintenance of clothing were tasks traditionally associated with women in the colonial Chesapeake (Carr and Walsh 1994: 122-123, Gibb and King 1991: 113). Sixty-seven percent (n=32) of the inventories indicated evidence of cloth production including spinning wheels, linen spinning wheels, pairs of cards, looms, “weaving gear,” and raw materials for cloth, like cotton or wool in bulk. The most commonly reported items were spinning wheels found in twenty-nine inventories. Mary Armistead, (WG 4), and Westwood Armistead, (WG 4), both had four spinning wheels (ECCR Vol. E: 163-167, ECCR Vol. E: 145-150). Six individuals had two spinning wheels and twenty-one individuals had one. Seven linen spinning wheels were identified in the inventories and each of those individuals owned only one. All the other spinning wheels could have been used for cotton or wool. Every individual who owned a linen wheel also owned at least one of the cotton and/or wool wheels. Three individuals owned looms; for weaving William Carter, (WG 2), owned three looms and Joseph Jegits, (WG 1), and John McHolland, (WG 1), both owned one (ECCR Vol. F: 400, ECCR Vol. F: 84-85). Three individuals owned “weaving gear”: William Carter, John McHolland, and Nicholas Bailey (ECCR Vol. F: 400, ECCR Vol. F: 84-85, ECCR Vol. F: 71).

Household or Individual?

As the previous section illustrated, inventories of men clearly have many references to goods that were associated with traditionally female tasks. It is also true that women's inventories often include some items associated with one of the traditionally male tasks. For instance, Mary Armistead owned a set of cooper's tools and some shoemaker's tools (ECCR Vol. E: 163-167). Another example is Sarah Baker who owned an old harrow and some hoes (ECCR Vol. F: 2). This means that in some cases a probate inventory represents the goods in use by an entire household while other inventories are the goods of an individual who lived alone. In order to better understand which of the Elizabeth City inventories represent households as opposed to individuals, a list of household tasks developed by James G. Gibb and Julia A. King was used. Gibb and King identify six categories of tasks that were common in a colonial Chesapeake home. The probate inventories were examined to see how many of those categories were represented in an inventory, the more tasks the more likely the inventory represented a household. The task categories identified were reproduction and consumption, food production, food processing, food preparation, maintenance and commodity-production and retailing (Gibb and King 1991: 113). Sixteen inventories (33%) have evidence of all six task categories. Ten of the inventories (20.83%) have evidence of less than half the task categories. For example, Mary Armistead (WG4) had evidence of all six task categories in her inventory while Sarah Needham (WG 1) and Sarah Baker (WG1) both had evidence for five of the six task categories (ECCR Vol. F: 300-303, ECCR Vol. E: 163-167) (Table 15).

The differences in number of task categories in an inventory can be the result of several factors. One is that the decedent was the head of a household but engaged as a tradesman rather than a planter, so tasks associated with food production would be fewer or entirely

absent. Minson Turner Proby (WG 1), Katherine Van Burkilow (WG1), James Brodie (WG 1), and Robert Hundley (WG 1) had no agriculture items but had tools for a trade. Proby had woodworking tools and Van Burkilow seamstress tools (ECCR Vol. E: 287, ECCR Vol. E: 438-439). Brodie and Hundley made their living on the water. Brodie had little beside his sea chest, and the only indication of economic activity in Robert Hundley's inventory was his £35:0:0 boat (ECCR Vol. E: 368, ECCR Vol. F: 26-27). Another explanation for evidence of fewer tasks is that the decedent was single. The will of Henry Baines mentions only his brother Samuel, not wife or children. His inventory which lists his furnishings as six plates, two chests, one bed, two tables and a bowl indicates a sparse existence (ECCR Vol. F: 84 and 99-100).

Number of Task Categories	Number of Inventories	Percent
1	1	2.08%
2	3	6.25%
3	6	12.50%
4	10	20.83%
5	12	25.00%
6	16	33.33%
Totals	48	100.00%

Table 15 - Household Tasks based on Gibbs and King

This discussion demonstrates that it is not the gender of the decedent that is the strongest indicator of the variety of material goods that can be found in an inventory. What matters more is the status of the decedents as the head of a household, a role that some women held in colonial Virginia. But even among the heads of households, there is variation in the inventories that is not related to the gender of the decedent but related to their place in the life cycle.

Place in Life

Analyzing evidence of tasks leads to the realization that inventories report on households and individuals at different points in their life. Generally the decedents were older but this is not always the case (Shammas 1980). One way to examine a decedent's point in life is to look at the wills left by individuals whose inventories have been transcribed to determine at what stage in life they died. Twenty-five individuals who had their inventories transcribed also had wills recorded in the records of Elizabeth City County. An examination of the wills indicates that individuals were at different places in their lives when they died.

In his 1763 will, John Lowry (WG 3) mentioned his sons John, Thomas, and William Lowry, his daughter Frances Stevenson, his grandchildren William, Ann, and Frances Stevenson. He also mentions his grandchildren Mary and John Tabb (ECCR Vol. F 97-99). Thus, Lowry's family included adult offspring and grandchildren, placing him later in the life cycle. William Mitchell's (WG 1) will mentioned three children, Nazareth, Nazareth's unnamed brother and sister and "the child my wife now goes with" (ECCR Vol. F: 270-1). Likely even younger was the family of Nathaniel Cunningham who mentions that Ann, his wife, will care for his children "until they shall be fit to be bound out" (ECCR Vol. E: 342). Starkey Robinson (WG 4), had a substantial estate but the only family mentioned in his will was his mother Judith, indicating that he had no spouse or children. The fact that his mother was still alive at his death suggested that he was young and the lack of other family indicates he had not established a separate household from the one in which he was raised. Genealogical evidence indicates Robinson was twenty-five at the time of his death (ECCR Vol. E: 322-3, du Bellet 1907: 675).

For women, the wills show the range of places that they could occupy in Colonial Virginia. Sarah Needham (WG 1), whose will was probated in 1769, became the head of her house with minor children after she had been widowed or abandoned. Her will did not state she was a widow the way several of the others did. She mentions in her will that her son Joseph was “relinquishing his right to a Negro named Bess which was his father’s...” Needham had one daughter, Susanna Leonard, who was already married, and two daughters who had not married, Ann and Sarah and one son, John, who was not of age (ECCR Vol. F: 294). Her inventory showed a full range of household activities, livestock, agricultural implements, food preparation devices, and the goods needed to entertain properly. She had a walnut table, one dozen chairs, wine glasses, and fine dining ceramics (ECCR Vol. F: 300-303). The evidence indicates that at the time of her death Sarah Needham was the head of her household.

Another role women could occupy was that of spinster, a woman who never married but stayed part of a male relative’s household. Sarah Curle’s (WG 3) will from August of 1766, mentioned eight nieces, two nephews, two sisters and one brother-in-law. The names of the relatives lead to the conclusion that Sarah Curle never married. Her sister Catherine Barraud was married to Daniel Barraud. Sarah’s sister Judith was referred to as Judith Purce in the will, while her niece Sarah Curle is the daughter of Samuel Curle. No husband or children are mentioned in her will. Her inventory listed only enslaved people implying that she, unlike Sarah Needham, had not become the head of a household (ECCR Vol. F: 80-81).

Unlike Sarah Needham who died while her children were still young, Mary Brough, proprietor of Hampton’s King’s Arms Tavern, lived long enough to retire from the tavern

business and see her three daughters married before her death in 1778. Mary Brough's 1778 will left her three unnamed enslaved boys and the house furniture to her daughter Sarah Brough M'Caa and some furniture and her enslaved woman whose name is not mentioned to her daughter Mary Brough Harris (ECCR: Reel 16: 300). Mrs. Brough's third daughter, Elizabeth, was living in England in 1778 and was not mentioned in the will (McCaw 1914). Evidence indicates that when Mary retired from the tavern, she passed the ownership of the land, the tavern and the material needed to run it to her daughter Sarah M'Caa. Sarah's husband William originally hoped to rent the tavern to someone else to operate but finally decided to run it himself. After his death, Sarah advertised that she would continue to operate the tavern (30 May 1751: P 3 C 2; Purdie and Dixon 1 June 1769: P 3 C 1; Purdie and Dixon 22 November 1770: P 3 C 2; Purdie, 30 June 1775: P 3 C 1).

The inventories and the available wills provide information that demonstrates that women held several roles in colonial Elizabeth City County. Some women like Eleanor Selden (WG 2) and Sarah Curle (WG 3) spent their lives in the households of others, as their inventories and wills did not contain the material goods needed to run a household. Eleanor Selden did not leave a will but her inventory implies that she was living in a relative's home. She could spin thread, drink tea and read the bible (ECCR Vol. E: 206) Women like Mary Armistead and Sarah Needham found themselves *femmes sole* and so had in their inventories the material culture to run a household and the authority to leave the property they controlled to their heirs.

The Tavern Keepers and Their Households

The documentary evidence available regarding the individuals that ran the Bunch of Grapes and the King's Arms tavern indicate they were heads of households. Francis Riddlehurst ran the Bunch of Grapes tavern and Mrs. Mary Brough followed by her son-in-law then her widowed daughter operated the King's Arms tavern. Although they both ran taverns for several decades, the information available on Francis Riddlehurst and his family and the Brough/M'Caa families indicates that the Riddlehursts were of higher social standing. There are multiple sources of information on the families: The wills of Mary Brough and Francis Riddlehurst, advertisements in *The Virginia Gazette*, reference to the Riddlehursts in various Elizabeth City County court records, and secondary works on the genealogy of Hampton's families.

In his will of 1796 Francis Riddlehurst left a wide variety of goods. He left his house and town lot to his nephew, Francis Riddlehurst Bright, with a requirement that one-quarter of the collected house rent be given to Ann Toomer. He left to Susannah Selden, a member of one of Hampton's leading families, his riding chair with harness and his enslaved man Billy; he gave his enslaved man Hampton to his son-in-law John Bright, and he gave Hannah Drew his silver sugar dish and milk pot. He desired that his household furniture, his stock of all kinds and crops be sold to pay his debt and if that was not enough to cover the debt the enslaved girl, Hannah, could be sold (ECCR reel 7: 311-312).

In her will of 1778 Mary Brough left her three unnamed enslaved boys and the house furniture to her daughter, Sarah Brough M'Caa, and some furniture and her enslaved woman whose name is not mentioned to her daughter Mary Brough Harris (ECCR: Reel 16: 300). Mrs. Brough's third daughter, Elizabeth, was living in England in 1778 with her loyalist husband and was not mentioned in the will (McCaw 1914). When Riddlehurst's

will is compared to Brough's it is clear that he had more material to give away and that he had some connections with at least one of the leading families in the county.

In *The Virginia Gazette*, Mary Brough was mentioned three times, once in May 1751 when she opened the King's Arms, again in the advertisement for someone to run her tavern after her retirement in June 1769, and in November of 1770 when her son-in-law William M'Caa announced he would continue to run the tavern (30 May 1751: P 3 C 2; Purdie and Dixon 01 June 1769: P 3 C 1; Purdie and Dixon June 1770: P 3 C 2). Sarah Brough-M'Caa is mentioned in one advertisement that stated she would continue to run the tavern after her husband William's death (Purdie, 30 June 1775: P 3 C 1).

William M'Caa is mentioned over twenty times in *The Virginia Gazette* and all in advertisements. The impression from those ads is of a man with entrepreneurial tendencies. It is clear from these advertisements that Mr. M'Caa is not a gentleman planter but needs to work for a living, but not as a laborer or craftsman. He sold tickets for a land lottery in 1767 (Purdie and Dixon 29 October 1767: P 2 C 2), he acted as a merchant selling ships and/or the cargo they carried in 1768 and 1769, (Purdie and Dixon 4 Aug, 1768: P 3 C 3 and 7 September 1769: P 3 C 3), he collected payments for *The Virginia Gazette* in 1768 (Purdie and Dixon 11 August 1768: P 2 C 3), and in 1770 he took orders for a book publisher (Purdie and Dixon 21 December 1769: P 2 C 3). He called in all his debts twice, the first time in August 1766 because he was traveling to Britain and again in 1770 (Purdie and Dixon, 5 September 1766: P 3 C 2; Purdie and Dixon 18 January 1770: P 4 C 1). In the 1770 ad asking for payments, he stated he must do this or "suffer irretrievable harm to himself." This series of advertisements leads me to believe that M'Caa was trying to gain social and economic status, he was an *actor with pretensions*

because his activities were not focused on a single enterprise but rather appear to be unrelated opportunities that M'Caa pounced on in an attempt to turn a profit

Francis Riddlehurst was a different story. He seems to me to have been such a pillar of the community that he was a reference point in advertisements. His tavern was used for public auctions in 1770 of a ship and her cargo, in 1772 of a house and the lot it sat on, and in 1775 of various goods to pay off a court case Mr. Riddlehurst won (Purdie and Dixon, 13 September 1770: P 2 C 3; Purdie and Dixon, 9 April 1772: P 3 C 2). Other examples of Mr. Riddlehurst being mentioned in *The Virginia Gazette* were when he lost his horse in Williamsburg in March of 1775, when Nathaniel Elby called in his debts and let it be known that he could be paid at Mr. Riddlehurst's, the "best accustomed house in town" and when a guest of the Bunch of Grapes lost a saddle in 1775 (Purdie and Dixon 16 April 1767: P 3 C 1, 16; Dixon 25 March 1775: P 3 C 2). From the advertisements mentioning Mr. Riddlehurst, he appears a substantial member of the community who was widely known and respected in the community. On several occasions both Francis Riddlehurst and his brother John were appointed by the clerk of the county court to be appraisers charged with developing probate inventories.

Additional information about the families has been located in some secondary sources. Mr. Riddlehurst's father was also Francis Riddlehurst (d. 1756), he had a brother John, a brother Richard and a wife named Elizabeth. His nephew was Francis Riddlehurst Bright (Lucas 1969: 61-62). Mary Brough, whose family name was Smelt, was the widow of William Brough, the grandson of Coleman Brough one of the first men to receive a tavern license in Hampton (Kennedy 1911: 34, Tyler 1922: 29). Mary and William had three daughters, Sarah (called Sally), Mary (called Molly) and Elizabeth (called Betsy). Mary

Brough died in 1778 during a smallpox outbreak that also claimed Sarah. Sarah married Captain John Harris, who joined the Virginia Navy during the War for American Independence. The Captain and his ship, the *Mosquito*, were captured by the British and held in England until the war was over. Mary married William M'Caa, whose view of American Independence is unknown. Elizabeth married Dr. James McClurg, a physician from Scotland. Both Dr. McClurg and Elizabeth left Hampton for England during the war where McClurg visited the imprisoned Capt. Harris (McCaw 1914, Kennedy 1911: 34).

Effect of Gender on the Taverns in Hampton

Based on the above discussion of gender in colonial Virginia it seems unlikely that there would be a large difference between the material culture of the male operated Bunch of Grapes tavern and the female operated King's Arms tavern. Little difference is expected for three reasons. The first reason is that the activities that took place in the taverns were associated with hospitality, an activity in which both men and women participated in domestic settings. The second reason is that taverns in colonial Virginia were public places and public spaces were dominated by men, so the customers in both taverns would have been predominately male. The third reason is that both Mr. Riddlehurst and Mrs. Brough were heads of households. The analysis of the probate inventories indicated that a decedent's status as head of a household was a much stronger influence on the range of material goods which the person possessed.

When the ceramic vessels from the taverns are compared by function, they are very similar (see Table 16). Amongst the drinking category the female owned King's Arms had thirteen punch bowls, nine mugs and nine cups while the male operated Bunch of Grapes had eighteen punch bowls, eighteen mugs and sixteen cups. The punch bowls were

associated with the often rowdy public hospitality tradition of colonial Virginia. Their presence shows Mrs. Brough did not limit her customers to the more genteel private hospitality found in the homes of Elizabeth City County.

	Architectural	Décor	Drinking	Food Prep	Serving	Storage	Tea	Personal	Total
King's Arms	1%	0%	30%	17%	29%	3%	13%	7%	100%
Bunch of Grapes	1%	0%	20%	21%	39%	3%	13%	4%	100%

Table 16 - Vessels by function

Conclusion:

The conclusion of this analysis is that gender was not the major factor that influenced the types of items that were recorded in an individual's inventory. The more important factor was status of the individual as the head of a household or as a dependent in some other person's household. The next chapter will examine the methods that the gentry of mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County used in everyday activity, the preparing and consuming of food, to identify themselves and their households as elite. The chapter will then explore the choices made by the tavern keepers who catered to the Elizabeth City County gentry in regards to the foods that were prepared and the manner in which the food was served.

CHAPTER FOUR: Dining and Food

Food and the tools used to prepare and present it have been used by humans to illuminate and maintain social boundaries for millennia (Schiefenhövel 1996: vii-viii). Dining practices are an exceptionally useful aspect of human behavior to study because once nutritional requirements have been met all the other aspects of dining are culturally determined (Schiefenhövel 1996: vii-viii). In addition to keeping people alive, food has been used for a number of cultural reasons. A classic example is the redistribution of food resources that has been seen as a key aspect to the rise of “Big Men” in societies in Polynesia and other places (Kirch 1991: 131-132). Many groups maintain their identity by establishing dietary practices that are specific and tied to that social group, keeping kosher is an obvious example. One other function that food has been used for is to clearly mark the status boundaries between groups within a particular society. It is this last use of food and its accoutrements that shall be examined in this chapter. The elite of colonial Virginia, in general, and of mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County in particular, used the material culture associated with the preparation and consumption of food as social boundary markers in both public and private settings.

The Changing Cuisine of the Eighteenth Century

The eighteenth century was a period of change in the culinary traditions of colonial America and the larger European world (McWilliams 2005: 205; Morrineau 2000: 378, Yentsch 1991). In colonial America the trend was moving from a locally-developed regional cuisine that had arisen during the seventeenth century to one that was inspired by the cuisine of metropolitan London. That trend was made possible by the introduction of widely published cookbooks and the increased ability of individuals in colonial America to

acquire the manufactured tools needed to cook the metropolitan cuisine (McWilliams 2005: 238).

The most elaborate metropolitan cuisine required specialized equipment and the presentation of food into multiple dishes served at the same time. This was quite different from the cuisine that had developed in the Chesapeake region in the seventeenth century (McWilliams 2005: 205). The traditional Chesapeake cuisine utilized maize, pork, and simple cooking techniques like boiling and stewing. This approach to food seems to have mixed the culinary traditions of the English, Africans and Native Americans; all had cuisines that used boiling and stewing. The English had introduced hogs and pork to Virginia; the Native Americans were growing maize at the time of contact. The influx of Africans during the seventeenth century introduced ingredients such as okra. The early Chesapeake cuisine is contrasted with metropolitan cuisine involving more frying, braising, baking and complicated sauces, and required specialized devices like colanders, fish pans, sauce pans and brick ovens.

An examination of the probate inventories of Elizabeth City County and the material excavated from two taverns, in Hampton Elizabeth City County's only town, that catered to the elite will demonstrate a marked difference from the material in the homes of the less elite in the county. The difference will not be a simple presence or absence of particular goods, but rather relates to complexity. In the homes of wealthier individuals there was a complexity, a diversity, of goods that indicated a mastery of complex and fashionable behaviors regarding food consumption that privileged knowledge of dining behaviors over simple possession of goods.

The need to maintain clear boundaries between the elite and the “baser sort” was strong in all of colonial Virginia and even more pressing for the elite of a small eastern county that had little productive land left. The world view of the gentry in colonial Virginia was one of intense competition. Every aspect of the gentry’s world was filtered through a competitive lens (Isaac 1999: 88, Kulikoff 1986: 218). Whether they were dancing, conducting business, or socializing, they were constantly comparing themselves against others and to an idealized standard of genteel behavior (Bushman 1993: 30-60). One of the basic aspects of colonial Virginia’s gentry culture was competition; it was their *habitus* (Breen 1977, Isaac 1999: 119).

One way to demonstrate membership in the elite was to acquire and demonstrate the material goods and behaviors associated with the elite; however, this became more problematic as the eighteenth century passed. Earlier in Virginia’s history the difference between elite and less elite was quite stark, but this difference lessened by the 1760s. “The number of persons with estates valued at £100 or less constituted 70 percent of those found around 1720. In the 1760s such persons accounted for only 41.4 percent, with a corresponding increase in those valued over £100” (Morgan 1975: 343). In the Elizabeth City data 37.7 percent of the decedents had an estate valued at less than 100 pounds. Throughout the Chesapeake region in the 1750s and 1760s, planters received more money for their tobacco, allowing them to purchase goods from England. There was a great increase in the importation of goods; Kulikoff notes that “after 1750 imports rose a third faster than the region’s population” (Kulikoff 1986: 118-122). So, for the elite in the Chesapeake region the issue was not merely having material goods but rather having fashionable types of material goods and knowing how to use those goods properly. It was

not the simple possession of these items or this skill set that gave an individual status.

Rather the items and the skills were part of a system used by individuals to demonstrate that they were elite.

Inventories

The Elizabeth City County inventories were examined for items related to dining and cooking. Cooking is the preparation of food for consumption, dining is the eating of food in a manner that stresses individual behavior and specialized food and dishes. The items included in the dining category were plates, serving vessels, platters, dessert dishes, knives, forks, and containers of knives and forks. The items associated with cooking were frying pans/skillets, pots, pot racks, trivets, bell metal cooking vessels, pans, griddles, grill plates, spices, spice tools, spits, and pipkins. After identification these items were examined to see which categories would be most useful to determine the differences between the wealth groups.

The dining items that appear the most in the inventories are plates and serving vessels (Table 17 and Figure 23). When plates and serving dishes are examined on a per person basis, it is clear that they were available to and acquired by all economic ranks represented in the Elizabeth City County data set (Figure 24). As noted above, the wealth groups were derived by separating the 53 inventories for Elizabeth City County into four groups based on gaps in the values of the inventories.

Plates	Serving Vessels	Platters	Dessert	Knives	Forks	Container of multiple K&F
658	215	2	14	55	53	12

Table 17 - Dining Items from Inventories All WGs.

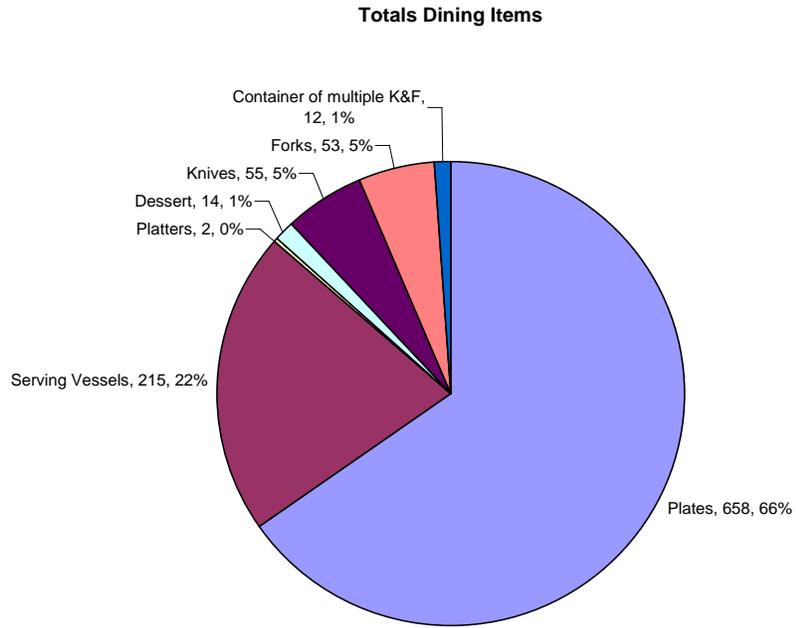


Figure 23 - Dining Items from Inventory Data.

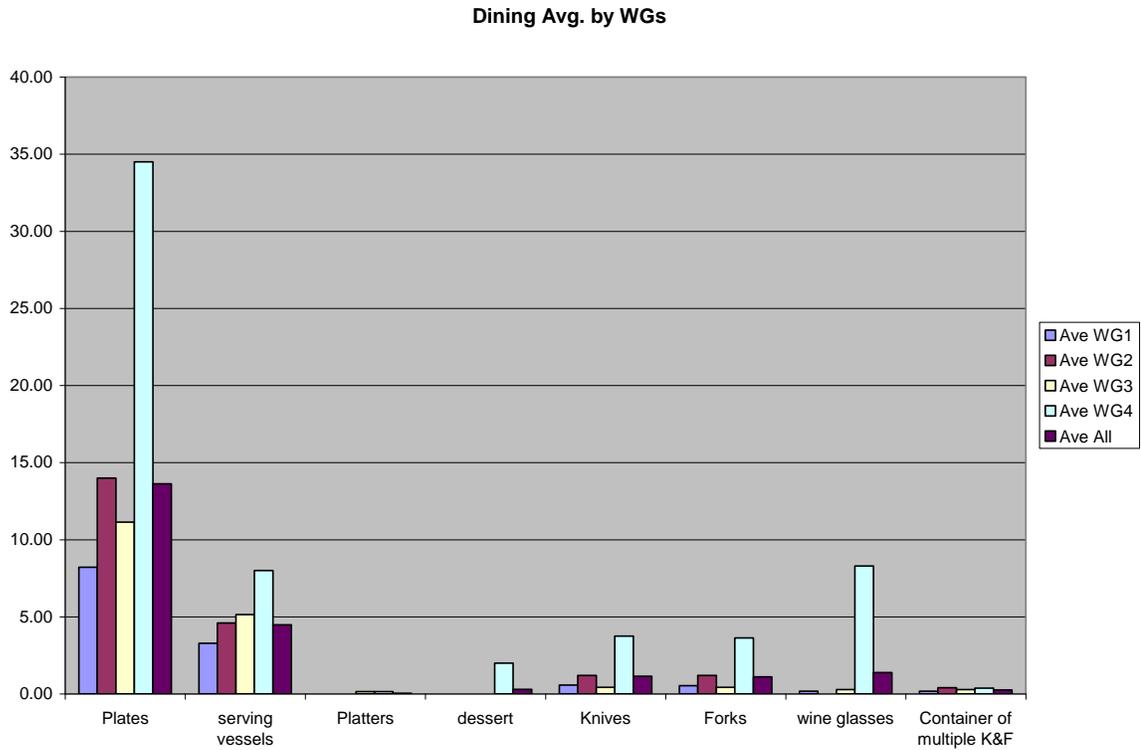


Figure 24 - Average Dining Item per person by WG.

Gerrard Young (WG 1), had twenty-five dining items, including ten plates, nine serving dishes and three knives and three forks that totaled 38 shillings out of his £75 inventory (ECCR Vol. F: 65). Samuel Curle, (WG 4), whose 1767 inventory totaled £ 521: 16: 9 had one old china bowl, one dish and plate, twenty eight “stone [ware] plates”, one cruet stand, and three salt cellars. He also had six pewter plates, six old pewter plates, six pewter dishes, and two pewter basins (ECCR Vol. F: 176-178). Pewter is a common item in the inventories but one that rarely is recovered from archaeological contexts (Martin 1989).

Out of the 48 inventories that listed goods, forty contain objects that are clearly associated with dining. Eight had no obvious evidence of dining; six of those are from WG1; one was from WG 2 and one from WG 3. Among the eight inventories that had no evidence of dining items five, Minson Turner Proby (WG1) , William Tomkins (WG 1), Francis Minson (WG 1), William Morris (WG 1) and James Lattimer (WG 3) all had inventory entries that might be related to dining items (ECCR Vol. E: 248-249, ECCR Vol. E: 224-225, ECCR Vol. F298-299, ECCR Vol. E 207-208). Minson Turner Proby, William Tomkins, Francis Minson, and William Morris all had a “parcel of old pewter” listed in their inventories (ECCR Vol. E: 287, ECCR Vol. E: 224-225, ECCR Vol. E: 248-249). The WG 3 inventory belonging to James Lattimer’s estate listed “a parcel of earthenware” valued at 0:1:3, a “parcel of pewter” valued at 1:3:0 and a “parcel of woodware” valued at 0:8:0. He also owned one dozen large chairs and two tables. The parcels of earthenware and pewter most likely contained his dining equipment and for some reason, perhaps age or condition, the assessors felt no need to clearly identify them. It is likely that Lattimer was older when he died and perhaps not interested in following the current fashion. The assessors of his estate Banister Minson, John Sheppard and William

Dunn noted that Lattimer owned among other items a “parcel of old chairs,” “a pair of old pistols,” and “two old tables” (ECCR Vol. E: 207-208). Perhaps his dining equipment was also old and therefore not worth noting individually.

The listed woodware was most likely used by the eight enslaved people in the Lattimer household, as woodware most often occurs in inventories that also list enslaved individuals. Woodware was mentioned in seven inventories, six of those also listed enslaved people.

Three decedents had both no dining items and no inventory entry that could have contained dining items. Francis Desay (WG 1) owned in total nine swine, a bed bolster, rug and blanket, a coat and two pairs of britches (ECCR Vol. E: 200). John George (WG 1) had one horse, twelve head of cattle, eighteen pigs, nineteen poultry, three barrels of corn, one piece of leather and “tops and blades.” He had a “pot and furniture” listed in his inventory, this entry is the only one that may contain the material culture associated with foodways but seems focused on cooking (ECCR Vol. E: 453). The final inventory with no evidence of dining belonged to Eleanor Selden (WG 2). It seems clear from Selden’s inventory that she was not maintaining a household; rather she seems to have resided in someone else’s home. Genealogical research indicates that Eleanor died unmarried (Kennedy 1911: 37). Her inventory shows no evidence of cooking, no livestock, and no objects with which to prepare or consume meals. Her inventory enumerated eight enslaved people, Tom (a man), Phillis (a woman), Rachell (a girl), Tom (a boy), Cartite (a boy), Lucy (a girl), Betty Deborah (a girl) and Will (a man) as well as a silver thimble, six silver teaspoons, a pair of tea tongs, a dressing glass, a spinning wheel, a bible, a prayer book,

and some bedroom furniture (ECCR Vol. E: 206). Her teaspoons and tea tongs would have needed to be paired with cups and saucers which were not in her inventory.

When all of the inventories are examined the dining category included sixty-six percent (n=654) plates, twenty-two percent (n=215) serving vessels, five percent (n=55) knives, five percent (n=53) forks, one percent (n=14) dessert dishes, one percent (n=12) containers of knives and forks and less than one percent (n=2) platters. These results indicate that plates and serving vessels warranted more detailed examination to ascertain differences between the wealth groups. More detailed examination was conducted of plates, serving vessels, and dessert vessels. The plates and serving vessels were selected because they make up the vast majority (88%) of the dining-related material. The dessert dishes were selected because they are more likely to be associated with the more affluent people since desserts required specialized dishes and incorporated expensive or exotic ingredients (Harbury 2004: 117-119, A.F. Smith 2007: 188).

The next step in the analysis was to look at these items on a per person basis to determine the average number of these items in an Elizabeth City County home. The average number of plates per inventory was 16.63; the average number of serving vessels was 5.38, and the average number of dessert dishes was 0.35. Those percentages include all of the inventories with goods. When the data is examined after sorting the inventories into the Wealth Groups, differences between the wealth groups can be identified (Table 18).

Looking at the average for plates one sees that WG 1 averages 8.21, WG 2 averages 14, WG 3 11.14 and WG 4 averages 35.88 per person. The WG 4 average is more than twice the overall average of 13.85. The average for serving vessels for all of the inventories is

4.48. Plates and serving vessels were owned by all wealth groups, but this is not true of dessert dishes. Only two people owned dessert dishes and both of them were in WG 4. The average in the wealth group was 1.75 dessert dishes per person and none per person for all other wealth groups.

	Plates	Serving Vessels	Platters	Dessert	Knives	Forks	Container of multiple K&F
Avg. WG1	8.21	3.29	0.00	0.00	0.57	0.54	0.18
Avg. WG 2	14.00	4.60	0.00	0.00	1.20	1.20	0.40
Avg. WG3	11.14	5.14	0.14	0.00	0.43	0.43	0.43
Avg. WG4	35.88	8.00	0.13	1.75	3.75	3.63	0.38
Avg. All	13.85	4.48	0.04	0.29	1.15	1.10	0.27

Table 18 - Dining Items average per person.

Plates

The members of WG4 averaged 35.88 plates per person. One wonders whether all of the plates were similar or was there variation in the plates within a household? Joseph Bannister whose inventory was valued at £421:18:02, had forty-seven plates; fifteen plates were pewter, eleven were porcelain, and twenty-four had no material listed. There may have been other plates in the “parcel of earthenwares” valued at £0:2:6 or the “parcel of stoneware” valued at £1:0:0 but that is unclear (ECCR Vol. E: 200). Likewise, Mary Armistead, whose inventory was valued at £ 516:18:07 had thirty-four plates; ten plates were delftware or tin enameled ware valued at 0:6:0 and two dozen were pewter valued at £0:35:0 (ECCR Vol. E: 163-167). The wealthiest person in the inventory database is Col. John Tabb. Col. Tabb’s inventory was valued at £1,283:15:05 ½ and he had fifty-three plates; 12 deep china plates, 12 shallow china plates, 12 “white stone and shallow” plates,

12 “ditto deep” and five earthen plates. The Colonel also had two salad plates and a plate warmer (ECCR Vol. E: 440-450).

Thirty-six percent (n=101) of Col. Tabb’s plates were pewter, twenty-two percent (n=64) were stoneware, and seventeen percent (n=48) were China meaning porcelain. Eight percent (n=24) were “white stone,” most likely white salt-glazed stoneware; seven percent (n=21) were delftware; eight percent (n=24) are unidentified as to material; and two percent (n=5) are identified only as earthenware. These earthenware plates were most likely refined earthenwares judging from the material recovered from archaeological excavations in Hampton. Those excavations recovered four hundred vessels made of coarse earthenware but no plates were identified from this assemblage. This suggests that the earthenware plates mentioned in the inventories are refined earthenwares.

The wealthiest residents of Elizabeth City County had plates of pewter, porcelain, stoneware, and earthenware (Figure 25). How does this compare with the least wealthy group? The nineteen people from WG1 that had plates in their inventory had a total of 234 plates (Figure 26). Forty-nine percent (n=115) of the plates were pewter, twenty-eight percent (n=65) had no material identified, ten percent (n=24) were stoneware, six percent (n=15) were delftware, three percent (n=6) were white salt-glazed stoneware, three percent (n=6) were earthenware and one percent (n=3) were porcelain (Figure 26). Although woodware was mentioned in eight inventories, it was only as a parcel; thus no vessel forms like plates or bowls were identified.

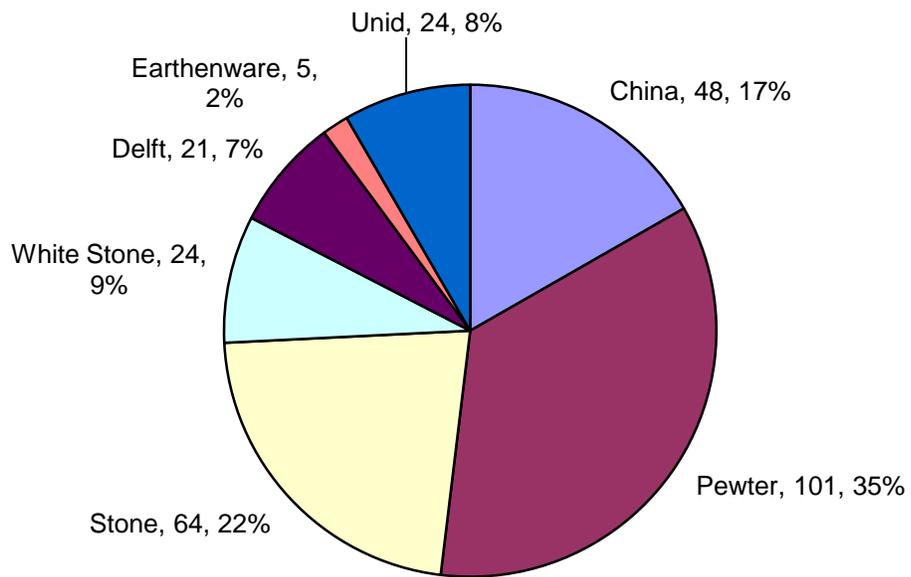


Figure 25 - Plates WG 4

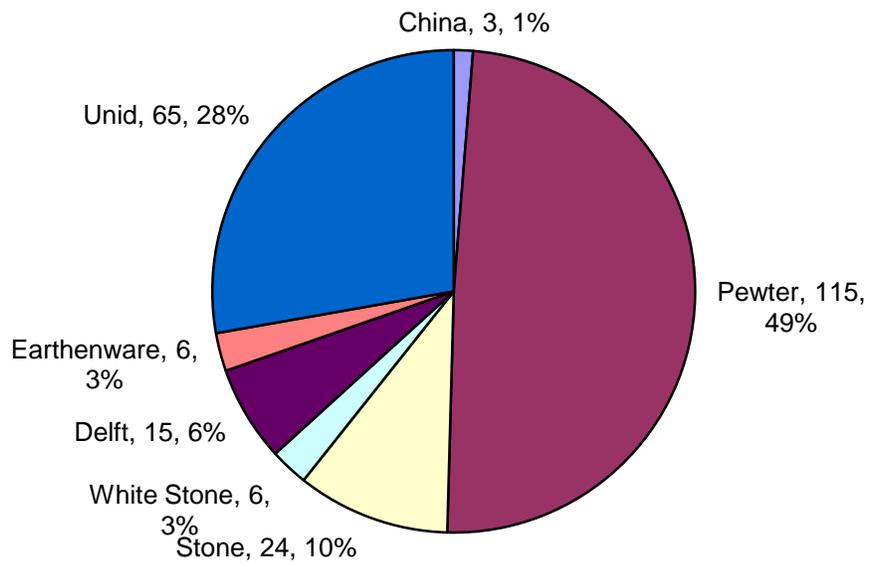


Figure 26 - Plates WG 1

The key point of this comparison is that eight percent of plates had no material mentioned in the WG 4 while twenty-eight percent of the WG 1 plates had no material mentioned. This reinforces the hypothesis that for the elites of Elizabeth City County variety in the small details of daily life was what separated them from the less elite. With the inventories of the less elite, assessors recorded only the presence of plates, perhaps because they were all so similar; while for the elite in WG 4 it was important to note the variety of materials from which the plates were made.

Serving Vessels

There were 227 serving vessels identified in thirty-four of the probate inventories.

Members of every wealth group owned serving vessels (Table 19).

	China	Pewter	Stone	White Stone	Delft	Earthenware	Unid
Total all	23	112	5	8	12	4	63
Total WG1	1	52	5	0	3	1	34
Total WG2	1	4	0	0	0	1	14
Total WG3	3	30	0	3	0	0	0
Total WG4	18	26	0	5	9	2	15

Table 19 - Serving Vessels Totals

Sixty-one percent (n=17) of WG1 owned serving vessels, as did 80 percent (n=4) of WG 2, and 71 percent (n=5) of WG 3. One hundred percent of WG 4 had serving vessels. For this project the term “serving vessel” means vessels that were used in conjunction with plates to serve meals. Terms used to describe this type of vessel include dish, bowl, and dish and lid (Beaudry *et al.* 1993). An approach was developed that required some assumptions based on the process of creating the original inventories. If a bowl was listed

in a larger group of tea wares it was assumed to be a tea ware not a serving vessel. If a bowl was listed among food preparation items such as skillets and oil jugs, it was assumed to be a bowl used in food preparation or storage rather than a serving vessel. Another consideration was items with more than one part. If an item had two pieces such as a lid or a plate then that item was counted as one vessel. So a “bowl with lid” or “dish with plate” was counted as one vessel. The most problematic decision concerned basins. In the inventories basins were often listed among serving vessels. For example, Edward Armistead’s inventory from May of 1771 lists “Old pewter £0:7:6, 3 pewter Basones £ 0:6:0, large dish £0:2:0” above knives and forks £0:1:3, earthenware £ 0:7:6 [illeg] iron £0:3:6” (ECCR Vol. F: 431-432). Similarly, Sarah Needham’s inventory of 1769 listed four pewter basins between seven plates and a small dish and a dish cover (ECCR Vol. F: 300-303). From these and other examples observed in the data, basins were included with the serving vessels. However the context of the item within the inventory was always taken into account, if a basin was listed with or immediately adjacent to a chamber pot it was not included in the serving vessel count.

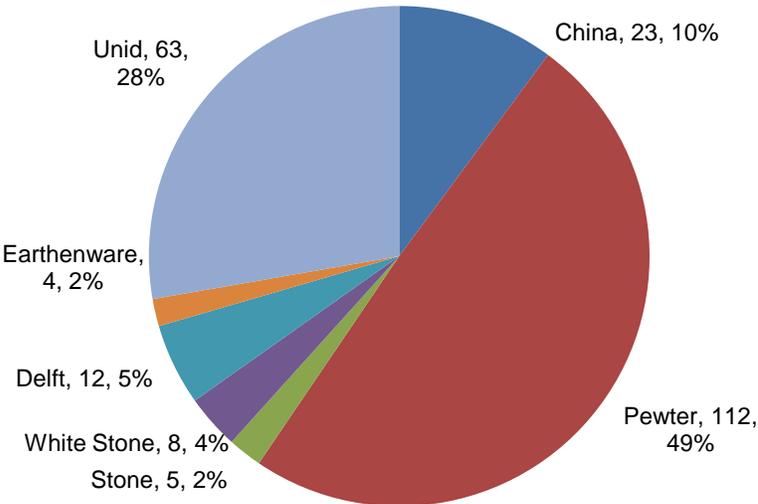


Figure 27 - Serving Vessels All WGs

When all 227 serving vessels were broken down by material, 49% (n=112) were pewter, 28% (n=63) were unidentified, 10% (n=23) were China, 5 % (n=12) were delft, 4% (n=8) were white salt-glazed stoneware, 2% (n=5) were stoneware, and 2% (n=4) were earthenware (Figure 27). There are some similarities between plates and serving vessels and some differences. The most striking similarity is the high percentage of pewter serving vessels. The most notable differences between plates and serving vessels are that serving vessels had a higher percentage of Chinese porcelain as well as lower percentage of stoneware serving vessels.

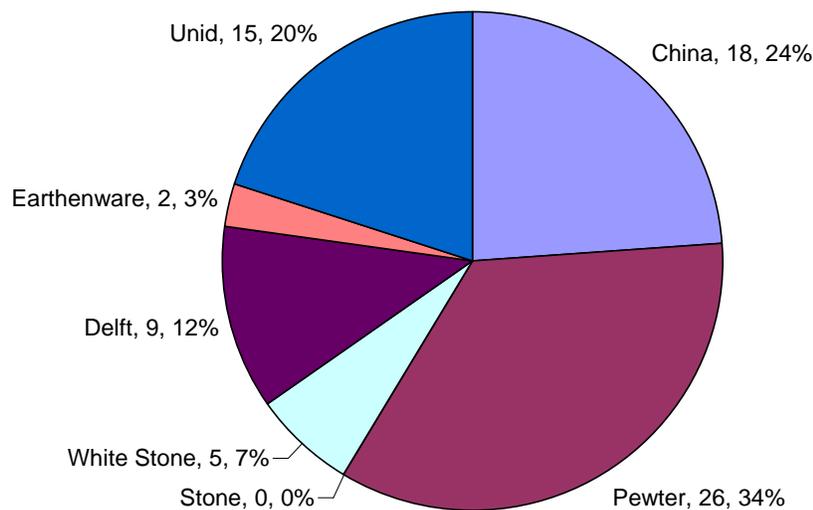


Figure 28 - Serving Vessels WG4

The wealthiest individuals (WG4) had twenty-four percent (n=18) Chinese porcelain vessels, thirty-four percent (n=26) pewter vessels, twenty percent (n=15) vessels of an unidentified material, twelve percent (n=9) delftware vessels, seven percent (n=5) white

salt-glazed stoneware vessels, three percent (n=2) earthenware vessels, and no stoneware serving vessels (Figure 28).

Serving Vessels	China	Pewter	Stone	White Stone	Delftware	Earthenware	Unid
WG1	4.35%	46.43%	100.00%	0.00%	25.00%	25.00%	53.97%
WG2	4.35%	3.57%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	22.22%
WG3	13.04%	26.79%	0.00%	37.50%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
WG4	78.26%	23.21%	0.00%	62.50%	75.00%	50.00%	23.81%

Table 20 - Serving Vessels

When examined by wealth group it becomes clear that while all wealth groups had access to serving vessels in all of the materials, elites chose to acquire the China, White salt-glazed stoneware, and delftware more than other types. Those in WG1 and WG2 chose to acquire mainly pewter and non-white stoneware (Table 20).

Dessert Vessels

There were fourteen vessels that were identified as being associated with dessert. Six custard cups and two sweet meat glasses were owned by William Pasone, while six custard cups were owned by Joseph Bannister. Bannister and Pasone were intent on showing their dining sophistication. The wealthiest decedents in the data set, John Tabb and Westwood Armistead did not have any dessert items listed. Bannister clearly was concerned with appearance as he had a gold ring, two gold studs, and a silver stock buckle listed in his inventory (ECCR Vol. E: 200). Pasone had six volumes of *The Spectator*, a history of Malboro and a large picture, all items that spoke to his sophistication (ECCR Vol. E 230-234).

The custard cups were all made of Chinese porcelain and the sweet meat glasses were glass. From the presence of these dessert vessels one can infer that someone in the Pasone and Bannister households was capable of preparing elaborate desserts. We can also infer that someone in the household thought that the expenses associated with making the desserts — the sugar, the exotic spices, and the fruits — was worthwhile.

The practice of preparing foods sweetened with honey or sugar is ancient. The Romans, the Chinese, and many others practiced the technique (Toussaint-Samat 1994: 565). In the sixteenth century, dishes sweetened with sugar became popular with the elite in Europe and in England (Huetz de Lempis 2000: 385, Mintz 1985: 131-133). In eighteenth-century Virginia desserts sweetened with sugar provided another opportunity to demonstrate a household's sophistication and mastery of a difficult task. According to food historian Katharine Harbury, "Desserts were almost as important as meat dishes because they served as a grand finale. Sugar-glazed cakes should never crumble under a knife, nor should caraway comfits fall off its sides. Characteristics such as color, shape, texture, and transparency were taken seriously" (Harbury 2004: 69). The dessert course was controlled by the mistress of the household. "Virginia hostesses did not share these secrets with their free or enslaved cooks on their plantations, since desserts were true forms of art that presented hostesses with opportunities to show off their skills" (Harbury 2004: 117). These dessert vessels would have been used when a household was entertaining actors at the same social standing or those higher up on the social hierarchy. In colonial Virginia with its well-developed traditions of hospitality, that may have been quite often for elite households (Kierner 1996, Isaac 1999: 76-79).

Dining Assemblages

Examining plates and serving vessels gives a sense of how the material possessions of the elite and the less well-off differed in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County. Plates and serving vessels were not used separately but rather in a larger dining assemblage. The average number of dining related items per inventory that had dining related items was 25.5; an important aspect of this category is the diversity of the types of items. There were six basic item types, for this discussion “knives,” “forks” and “containers of knives and forks” are being combined. The number of types of items is an indicator of the diversity of the dining equipment and indicates whether or not an individual’s household was striving to serve a variety of dishes at one time. The average number of categories was 2.6. Given the small size of the inventory data set, sophisticated statistical analysis is not appropriate, but some basic analysis provides a way to organize the data and provides a starting place.

Twenty-three individuals had less than the average number of categories. As might be expected the majority of those, seventeen, were from WG 1 and WG 2. More surprising were the three individuals were from WG 3 and three from WG 4. What would the dining experience have been like in one of those homes with fewer types of dining items? A more detailed examination of two of these individuals’ inventories will create an image of what a meal might be like.

Henry Baines’s (WG 1) inventory was valued at £15:03:00 in September 1766. His will from August 1766 provides little information about him. The only beneficiary was his brother Samuel. Baine’s inventory had sixteen entries and listed among other items a canoe, a gun, a piggen, “a half dozen plates,” two chests, two bowls and two tables. How Baines prepared food for the plates is a mystery since no cooking gear was described.

When Baines and others used his plates, they must have sat on one of the chests. It is possible that Baines' plates were used for display not for eating. However, Baines did not own a piece of furniture such as a corner cupboard that would have been a good place to display items like plates. Dining with Baines would have been a simple and basic experience, sit on a chest and eat from a plate (ECCR Vol. F: 99-100).

In contrast to Baines, James Brodie's (WG 1) inventory of November 1762 was valued at £131:08:00. There were eleven entries that listed two beds, twelve leather chairs, a looking glass, five old books, two knives, a sea chest, a tea kettle, a candlestick, five pewter plates, one piece of pewter, a table, three teaspoons and a pine table. The inventory also listed Jenny and Diana, enslaved Virginians valued at £65:00:00 and £50:00:00 respectively. Thus, Brodie's material goods totaled just £15:08:00 (ECCR Vol. E: 368). Unlike Baines it appears that Brodie could invite his guests to sit down to eat at one of his tables in one of his twelve leather chairs. However, he could not have more than four guests for a meal since he possessed only five plates.

Was the difference between being elite and poor in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County simply one of quantity? Did the wealthy just have more of the same types of things than the less elite or were there different aspects of dining that marked elites from those further down the social hierarchy? In order to answer those questions dining assemblages with a higher than average number of items and a higher than average count of item types will be analyzed. There are thirteen individuals with more than the average number of items and seventeen inventories with more than the average number of categories. There are six individuals, James Manson (WG 2), John Lowry (WG 3), Joseph Bannister (WG 4), William Parson (WG 4), Westwood Armistead (WG 4), and John

Tabb (WG 4) who had both an above average number of items and an above average number of categories.

James Manson, the least wealthy member of this group, had thirty-two plates, four serving vessels, six knives and six forks listed on his inventory of July 1762 which was valued at £279:06:03 (ECCR Vol. E 343-345). James Manson's will from December 1761 identified his wife Sarah and his children Chapman, Sarah, Peter and James. Sarah, Peter and James were living at home with Sarah. Chapman was old enough to have left home. The executors were Sarah, his wife, and William Armistead. The inventory of Manson's estate listed four enslaved workers: Abraham, Ceasar, Lucy and Joan. The appraisers then went on to list his livestock, his bed furniture, six high and six low black walnut chairs, seven maple chairs, one pine table, and one old black walnut table. Dining items are listed next, then the goods in the kitchen and finally tools. Manson had six tablecloths. He and Sarah could place one of the six tablecloths on the black walnut table with half-a-dozen high or half-a-dozen low backed chairs around it. He could have placed his earthen dish with his three pewter dishes on the table. Each diner's place could be set with a knife, a fork, a spoon and a stoneware plate. Their guests could also have at their place setting some of the material from the parcel of earthenware and stoneware, bowls and mugs or one of the uncounted glasses (ECCR Vol. E 343-345). So, Manson not only had multiple plates and serving vessels he had different kinds of plates and serving vessels. He also had an ability to improve the dining area when he and Sarah believed it to be appropriate. Manson must have believed that it had been a good investment to acquire this variety of dining material. He was an *actor with pretension* who hoped to show his mastery over the

complex dining behaviors and ensure that his children were familiar with those behaviors and could successfully move up the social hierarchy.

The inventory of Joseph Bannister's estate clearly shows that diversity of vessel forms and material was an important aspect of elite dining in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County. Bannister's £421:18:02 inventory, dated 3 February 1761, placed him as the least wealthy member of WG 4 (ECCR Vol. E: 200). His will identified two married daughters Sarah Needham and another daughter whose given name is unknown but whose married name was Shepard. He also had a granddaughter named Mary Cooper. Bannister had forty-seven plates, nine serving vessels, six dessert vessels, eighteen knives, and seventeen forks. The appraisers first listed Bannister's seven enslaved workers, Southland, Moll, Jenny, Hercules, Jemme, Grace, and Bob. They were valued at £235:00:00 or fifty-five percent of the total inventory. The appraisers next listed furniture including a chest of drawers, a corner cupboard, a tea table, two large looking glasses, two dozen leather chairs, several beds and bedding. Along with the dining items already mentioned Bannister's inventory listed other dining related items including chafing dishes, two salt cellars, a table cloth, eight napkins, and eleven large silver spoons. Some of the knives and forks had ivory handles.

Bannister's guests would have had an experience that highlighted diversity. There was porcelain, Bannister's custard cups and eleven of his plates, pewter, and earthenware. There was ivory on the handles of the knives and forks. The food Bannister served also provided a diversity of experiences. The taste, textures and temperatures of the dishes would be varied as would the shapes and colors of the dishes and utensils (ECCR Vol. E: 200).

County level elites such as John Lowry (WG 3), Joseph Bannister (WG 4), William Parsone (WG 4), Westwood Armistead (WG 4), and John Tabb (WG 4) or those who aspired to be viewed as elite like James Manson strove to provide variation in the dining experience. But what about the elites in WGs 3 and 4 who chose not to invest in the items needed to present the new fashionable cuisine? For example, James Latimer's (WG3) inventory listed items that would be used for dining only in "parcels," including a parcel of pewter and a parcel of earthenware. As shown earlier, the trend among the assessors was to lump items they believed to be less important together as parcels; thus the dining equipment of Lattimer was not noteworthy. The assessors also used the term "old" when describing Lattimer's "parcel of old chairs," "pair of old pistols" and "two old tables" (ECCR Vol. E: 207-208). It appears that Lattimer had chosen not adopt the new fashions for his furnishings.

Generally, those individuals lower on the social hierarchy provided their guests a less diverse dining experience. This section has addressed the material goods used to present the prepared foods. An analysis of the items used to cook the foods will show a similar pattern: That the elite and those who hoped to be perceived as elite had the ability to prepare multiple food items in different ways that highlight differences in taste, texture and temperature.

Cooking

Forty-four of the forty-eight inventories identified cooking items including frying pans, skillets, pots, pot racks, trivets, bell metal cooking vessels, pans, griddles, grill plates, spices, spice tools, spits, and pipkins. Two hundred and sixty-eight cooking items were identified. Four individuals Francis Desay (WG 1), Henry Baines (WG 1), James Brodie

(WG1), and Eleanor Selden (WG 2) did not have evidence of cooking. Francis Desay and Eleanor Selden were discussed earlier since they also had no evidence of dining material. Eleanor Selden had no need of cooking since she was residing in another's home. How Desay prepared food and ate it cannot be addressed on the information in the documentary record. Brodie and Baines did have evidence of dining but no obvious evidence of cooking. James Brodie had five pewter plates, one other pewter piece and a tea kettle but no cooking related item (ECCR Vol. E: 368). Henry Baines's 1766 inventory had some carpenter's tools, a bed, a table, a canoe, and some livestock but no cooking implements (ECCR Vol. F: 99-100).

The data from the inventories presents some difficulties. One difficulty is consistency as the inventories were not recorded by the same individuals. Different interests or ideas of what was worth inventorying need to be considered. Since none of the inventories were detailed by room name, inferences must be made as to the location of various goods.

The most common cooking items were pots, representing thirty-two percent (n=84) of all cooking items; pot racks were next common at eighteen percent (n=47), then frying pans/skillets at sixteen percent (n=42). In a manner similar to that used for the dining items, the most common items will be examined in greater detail to assess the differences between the wealth groups. There were two items, "bell metal" pots and pans and spice tools that were uncommon in the inventories but have a likelihood of being tied to social status.

The term "bell metal" refers to pots and pans that contained some copper and probably meant brass. Copper is an excellent conductor of heat and was the material of choice in "more prosperous kitchens" (A.F. Smith 2007: 157). Since copper oxide is toxic, copper

vessels were usually coated with tin on the interior. The spice tools listed in the inventories are items such as a nutmeg grater, pepper mill, or pepper box. These items were used more commonly in the Chesapeake than in other sections of Colonial North America and were part of the Chesapeake's distinctive culinary style (McWilliams 2005:125-126).

The cuisine that had developed in the Chesapeake region had more reliance on pork and wild animals than other North American regions and used more spices than New England or the middle colonies. Spices such as clove, nutmeg and mace were regularly combined with traditional English foods (McWilliams 2005 -125-126). As the seventeenth century closed, fewer wild animals were consumed and more complex dishes were made from domesticated animals (Bowen 1996: 103).

The material of the cooking items was generally less important than the type of cooking for which an item was used. "Bell metal" items were an exception to this rule. The goal of this section is to determine whether an individual's kitchen was following the traditional foodways that developed in the Chesapeake during the seventeenth century or if the household was attempting to produce the more metropolitan cuisine that was fashionable in mid-eighteenth-century London.

The diversity of cooking items will be the indicator of the type of cuisine being prepared in a decedent's kitchen. Multiple pots and pans indicate that several dishes could be prepared at the same time. One of the hallmarks of metropolitan cuisine was having multiple dishes on the table at the same time (Harbury 2004: 65-69). Different tools were used for different cooking techniques. Cooking techniques are divided into wet techniques

and dry techniques. The basic wet methods are boiling and steaming while dry methods include roasting, baking, grilling, broiling, and pan-frying (A.F. Smith 2007: 164-165).

The wet cooking methods of boiling and steaming are associated with the one pot meals eaten by the less wealthy in colonial Virginia. “In boiling, and its lower-temperature versions, simmering and poaching, food is heated by the convection currents in hot water” (McGee 2004: 784). These meals, called pottages by the Europeans, (Oliver 2005: 10) needed little equipment other than a pot, and required little attention from the cook. This allowed the person preparing the food to attend to other tasks. Pottages were consistent with the more communal style of eating that was common in early in the colonial period (Deetz 1977: 123-124).

The foods produced through the dry methods of cooking needed almost constant attention or an investment in equipment to replace the attention of the cook. One of the common dry methods in use in colonial Virginia was the roasting of meat (Walsh *et al.* 1997: 177). Prior to the nineteenth century, roasting was done before the fire with a large cut of meat turned on a spit. The meat needed to turn constantly, a task that was performed by either someone assisting the cook or by a device called a spitjack a clocklike mechanism to turn the meat for a set period. Broiling and pan frying also required considerable attention from the cook. In addition to needing a cook who is focused on the preparation of the meal, these cooking techniques require the use small portions of food that require the constant attention of the cook. If not monitored by the cook, the dry heat of these methods can overcook the exterior of the food but leave the interior undercooked or raw.

In broiling, a grill plate was rubbed with a fat, placed near the fire and small portions of meat cooked on it (A.F. Smith 2007: 164-165). Pan frying is a method that heats food “through conduction from a hot oiled pan with temperatures between 350 and 450° F/175-225 ° C that encourages Maillard browning and flavor development” (McGee 2004: 786). “Maillard browning” is the reaction of the carbohydrates and amino acids on the surface of foods when they come into contact with heat, it is why seared meat turns brown and flavorful (McGee 2004: 778). Since frying needs a pan or griddle, the size of the portions is limited by the size of the pan or griddle.

A household that was attempting to create the more sophisticated cuisine of the mid-eighteenth century is expected to have invested in items that allowed for the creation of several dishes utilizing different cooking techniques at the same time so they could be properly presented on the table (Harbury 2004: 65-69). In addition, someone was needed to attend to the dry cooking methods of grilling and frying.

There are three inventories that have evidence of cooking and had only one cooking related item. All of these men, Minson Turner Proby, John George, and William Morris, were in WG 1 and they each had one pot. Three individuals had two cooking items. Katherine Van Burkilow and John McHolland, were in WG 1 and, Starkey Robinson was in WG 4. Mrs. Van Burkilow’s had a sauce pan, frying pan, a ladle, and a skimmer (ECCR Vol. E: 438-439). The ladle and skimmer would be used in wet cooking methods. John McHolland had a frying pan valued at four shillings and an iron pot valued at ten shillings (ECCR Vol. F: 84-85). Given the value of the pot and that it was listed between “shoe maker’s tools” and a lye tub it is probable that this pot was not used in the kitchen

but in some other manner. Listed in the inventory between the pot and the frying pan were the lye tub, a cart and wheels, a horse and a mare.

Starkey Robinson, (WG 4), had a brass spice mortar and a frying pan listed on his inventory. The location of the frying pan on the inventory implies that it was used by the enslaved people owned by Robinson rather than to prepare the meals for Robinson. The frying pan was listed with an old plow, two fluke hoes, four old broad hoes, a grubbing hoe, and one froe. That entire entry was valued at £ 1:17:06 (ECCR Vol. E: 425-427). Robinson's will indicated that he was a young man at the time of his death and genealogical sources state he was born in 1736 (du Bellet 1907: 675). In his will of 1761 the only kin he mentioned was his mother Judith. Judith received all his goods and was named executrix of his estate. It is probable that Robinson was in the process of gathering the goods he would need to establish his household but had not yet acquired the cooking gear. While he had no cooking equipment, Robinson possessed stoneware dishes, stoneware plates, tea equipment and furniture.

The discussion now turns to those inventories with an average number of cooking items. The mean number of cooking items was 5.88. The mean number of categories was 3.27. There were eleven categories. In this analysis the numbers were used simply as a guide to identify the inventories that warranted closer examination and no claim for statistical significance is being made. Those numbers focus the examination on the inventories with either five or six items to determine what types of items were in an "average" kitchen. There are ten inventories representing all four of the wealth groups that fall into this "average" category.

Among the ten “average” inventories; one inventory had five categories of cooking items, seven had four categories, and two had three of the categories. In a finding that challenges the notion that a more diverse kitchen assemblage is correlated solely with wealth and elite status, the individual with the five categories was Joseph Jegits (WG 1) who had six items spread across five categories. The other items in Jegits’s inventory indicate that he was an *actor with pretensions*, who was concerned with how others perceived him. He owned a set of silver shoe buckles and a silver buckle for his neckwear, a looking glass, and a strop and hone for a razor. He also had a parcel of old books and a book of Virginia law (ECCR Vol. F: 161-164). Jegits was the only member of WG 1 that had napkins and table cloths for personal use. These items suggest that he wanted to be perceived as one of the Virginia gentry.

The two people with three categories of cooking items were James Manson (WG 2) and William Parson (WG 4); Manson had six items in three categories and Parson had five items in three categories. Based on the data from the “average” kitchen in Elizabeth City County, it appears that people were frying foods in frying pan/skillets, preparing food using a wet method of cooking in pans, and roasting meats on spit. Trivets and pot hooks were used to hold the cooking pot or pan in the desired location relative to the heat source. The “average” kitchen was unlikely to have a “bell-metal” cooking vessel; only Mary Armistead, (WG 4), had one “bell metal” vessel in this group. Every kitchen represented in this group had the ability to produce more than one dish at a time. Most of them had multiple pots or pans, which could be used simultaneously to prepare a meal more complicated than a one pot stew. The other two could prepare multiple dishes at the same time, but needed to mix wet and dry cooking techniques. Mary Armistead had her bell

metal skillet to fry and two spits to roast and Francis Minson had a pot to boil or simmer, a dish and a spit to roast meats (ECCR Vol. E: 163-167, ECCR Vol. F: 298-299).

Having presented an idea of the types of items in an “average” kitchen and explained the types of cooking that could have been done in them, it is now time to turn to the seventeen inventories in which there were more than the average six items. These inventories range from seven to seventeen items and like the earlier “average” kitchens there are individuals from each wealth group in this category. Samuel Curle (WG 4) had a more diverse assemblage (n=17) than anyone else. His goods fell into nine of the cooking item categories (ECCR Vol. F: 176-178).

The diverse inventory of Samuel Curle (WG 4) had nine of eleven types of items including two brass (bell metal) skillets, a spice mortar, four iron pots, two pans, three pot racks, another frying pan/skillet, a trivet, a grill plate and two spits (ECCR Vol. F: 176-178). Eight bell metal vessels were identified in six of the inventories: Samuel Curle’s, Col. Tabb’s, William Carter’s, Westwood Armistead’s, Davis Wilson Curle’s, Gerrard Young’s, and Edward Armistead’s (ECCR Vol. F: 400, ECCR Vol. F: 324-332, ECCR Vol. F: 65, ECCR Vol. F: 431-432). Four of those were in WG 4, David Wilson Curle was in WG3, and Gerrard Young was in WG 1. Young seems anomalous in this group but his will mentions a daughter married to a man named Jegits. Perhaps Young was part of an ambitious social network whose individuals were *actors with pretensions* and paid close attention to appearances. Young owned a bell metal skillet valued at 0:12:06 as did David Wilson Curle. Col. John Tabb had a large bell metal skillet valued at 0:15:0 and one small bell metal skillet valued at 0:02:06 (ECCR Vol. E: 440-450). Westwood Armistead had a bell metal skillet valued at ten shillings while Edward Armistead had one valued at 20

shillings (ECCR Vol. E: 145-150, ECCR Vol. F: 431-432). In comparison Tabb had an iron frying pan valued at 5 shillings and David Wilson Curle had two “old” frying pans that were combined in his inventory with a spit and collectively valued at six shilling.

Every one of the kitchens in this group had the ability to produce several dishes at one time and to produce goods using both dry and wet methods of cooking. By examining the inventories it was possible to identify the items that appeared often enough that they were considered common, such as skillet, pot or pot rack. There were also items related to cooking that were listed rarely and not identified in the above analysis. In order to better understand the material goods in the kitchens of Elizabeth City County some of the more diverse inventories will be examined to see what these rare or unusual items can tell us.

Samuel Curle, (WG 4), had the most diverse list of cooking related goods among the inventories. Curle’s will dated 3 October 1766 provides some information on Curle and his household. He was married to Mary, the co-executor of the will with Daniel Barrard, and had three younger children, Sarah, John, and Mary Baker, and two elder sons, Darby Tools Curle and Samuel. Curle’s inventory lists thirteen enslaved individuals, Old Nan, Lucy, Guy, Sampson, Peter, Janey, Phillis, Betty, Jemmy, Fortin, Cesar, Phidelia, and Vinies. Some of the items listed on Curle’s inventory suggest that his household was concerned with preparing and presenting food in a particular manner. He had a plate warmer, valued at two shillings, clearly indicating a concern with presenting dishes at different temperatures, some served at room temperature and other dishes kept warm in the chafing vessels. The taste of the food was also addressed by the five salt cellars listed. Two of these were silver salts valued at £ 1:10:00. The other three were not identified as silver and were listed with other items. One of the other items listed with the three salt

cellars was a cruet stand. Cruets held condiments that would be added to the food by the diner (Borchardt *et al.* 2002: s.v. Food Service). Two other items of interest, a flesh fork to handle meat prior to its being served and a colander, were used to prepare the food (ECCR Vol. F: 176-178). A colander gave the person preparing a meal the ability to drain water from the cooked food completely. McWilliams notes that “It’s hard to imagine a simpler device, but the colander enhanced kitchen activities to the point it found a place in Denis Diderot’s *Encyclopedie*. An English writer allowed how the colander left food ‘pure and clean’ after ‘dirt runs through the holes.’ ... A cook with a colander could properly adhere to the cookbook instruction to ‘drain’” (McWilliams 2005: 218).

Another inventory examined for these rare or unusual items was that of Col. John Tabb. Tabb’s will dated March of 1762 also contained information about his household. The first thing to note from the will is that Tabb was most likely older than Curle at the time of his death. Col. Tabb listed grandchildren in his will and his daughter-in-law Mary Tabb was his son’s widow. There is also a reference to his first wife, who like his wife at his death, was unnamed in the will and at least one son, John, who was still a minor in 1762. Tabb’s inventory listed eleven enslaved people in the household including Danie, Jack, Jenny, Patcher, Rachel, Hepony, Sam, Daryl, London, Phoeby, and Chloe, Phoby’s child.

People eating at Col. Tabb’s table would have received their plates warm, since he had a plate warmer; they could also modify the taste of their food by adding mustard from the mustard pot, butter from the butter boat or sugar from the sugar dish. The dish would be replenished from his sugar canister. Those cooking for Col. Tabb must have made salads to go on his large glass salad stand and soup to go in the dozen or so soup plates he owned.

Besides keeping the plates warm, Tabb had a chafing dish, used to keep the food warm (ECCR Vol. E: 440-450).

Having examined two of the wealthier individuals whose inventories recorded diverse cooking equipment, it seems useful to examine some of the individuals who were less well-off but had an above average diversity of objects in their kitchen. For example Thomas Watts (WG 1) had an inventory valued at 117 pounds including fourteen cooking related items in seven categories. Watts did not leave a will so the information about him is limited to his inventory. Watts's inventory had none of the niceties of the wealthier decedents; his kitchen items were very straightforward and utilitarian. His kitchen could produce roasted meats, grilled and fried items as well as dishes prepared in his six pots. He did not have any evidence of condiments or seasonings (ECCR Vol. E: 388-391). Watts's had numerous cooking items but none that indicate his kitchen was preparing the metropolitan cuisine.

Another member of WG 1 that had an above average kitchen assemblage was Gerrard Young. Young's will from July 1765 allows some insight into his household. He was old enough that his daughters Mary, Martha and Ann were married as indicated by their different surnames. His daughter Margaret had not married but was old enough that she could inherit without a trustee. His son, William was named one of the executors. Young's inventory includes a pepper box, a bell metal skillet, two spits, a frying pan and two pots. To improve on the taste of the food, he had pepper (the pepper box), seven pecks of salt, much of which may have been for preserving food and butter (three butter pots). From Young's inventory it looks as if his household could prepare a multi-dish meal

cooked with both wet and dry methods, but the only additions that might be on the table would be salt, pepper, and butter (ECCR Vol. F: 65).

Inventory Data Conclusions

The examination of the probate inventories allowed for some conclusions to be reached. Diversity was the hallmark of the elite in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County when it comes to the creation of and the presentation of food. Acquiring a diverse collection of food related items was easier by the mid-eighteenth-century as manufacturing capabilities in England had increased to the point that items like pewter plates or earthenware serving vessels were more easily and cheaply obtained. No longer was the issue one of owning just a dozen plates but rather choosing from a range of plates and serving dishes in pewter and earthenware or even Chinese porcelain. In addition to diversity in the serving vessels, the food itself was more diverse. The elite homes in Elizabeth City County had the ability to create several dishes prepared using different cooking methods and the most elite in the county could ensure that individuals at their tables partook in a range of food in a variety of temperatures, tastes and textures. The diversity of temperatures was achieved by the use of plate warmers and chafing dishes to keep some of the food warm; the diversity of taste was achieved not by just the use of salt and pepper but in the most elite homes with the use of condiments like vinegar and mustard. The diversity of textures came from the additional courses of food served by the elite: for example, smooth creamy dishes served in custard cups, the small very sweet dainties that were served on sweetmeat glasses and the crisp texture of a salad that was served on the few salad related material identified in the inventories.

To be seen as an elite household in Elizabeth City County in the mid-eighteenth century one needed to perfect the preparation and presentation of food, providing guests with a diverse experience that contrasted with the one pot meal that many Virginians were still eating. As noted above, several of the WG1 individuals were eating simple one pot meals. Minson Turner Proby, John George, and William Morris all had inventories that listed only one pot and no dining equipment. The tables of the elite was also different from that of the homes of those individuals in WG 1 who had pretensions to higher status such as Joseph Jegits. Those individuals could prepare several food items at one time but could offer only a limited menu without the benefit of exotic condiments and fancy desserts.

Taverns

While individuals controlled who would have access to their table and ensured their guests were of the appropriate social standing, they could not do so when visiting a public tavern. That said, in Virginia, when multiple taverns were operating in a community they tended to specialize or at least attract different types of customers. One of the ways that a tavern keeper communicated to potential customers that they were of an appropriate social group to enter and be served would be with the material goods on display and in use by the tavern's current customers. In the case of customers who lived near a tavern this was probably not an issue as they would know which tavern they were expected to frequent, but for a traveler identifying an appropriate tavern must have been a significant issue. For example, on 11 March 1755, Englishwoman Charlotte Browne was traveling with her brother, an officer in the British Army under General Braddock. She noted in her diary that while in Hampton, she stopped at the King's Arms and "had for dinner a ham & turkey, a breast of veal & oysters..." and she drank Madeira wine, punch, and cider

(Harrison 1924: 306). Something made Browne visit Mary Brough's King's Arms and not one of Hampton's other taverns that were known cater to a less genteel clientele. One historian has claimed that it was "the vast number of seadogs" that led to Hampton having an "excessive number of ordinaries" (Starkey 1936: 16). What told Browne that the King's Arms was a tavern she would be comfortable in and what told the "seadogs" that they would not enjoy the place? At least part of the answers was a diverse material culture, it helped define and mark status in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County and was likely chosen by Mrs. Brough for that purpose. The diversity of material goods would also have been recognizable to Browne since the residents of Elizabeth City were attempting to follow the trends of Browne's homeland.

Indicators of Diversity

The materials recovered through archaeological excavation from the King's Arms and the Bunch of Grapes taverns were examined for expressions of diversity to see if they were as diverse as local elite households. Taverns are valuable for study because they were technically public places but through social processes often limited customers to particular groups of individuals. This was only true in locations where there was more than one tavern. Travelers, like Dr. Hamilton, whose travels were discussed in Chapter Two often were forced to stay where they could and in the company of individuals with whom they would not normally associate (Bridenbaugh 1948: xx; Imbarratto 1998).

The archaeological materials from the Hampton taverns were analyzed to determine the number of ceramic wares, the number of vessel forms, and for items that relate to how the consumer could modify the taste and texture of food.

Ceramic Vessels

One hundred and five unique ceramic vessels were recovered from the archaeological complex of the King's Arms (Appendix G); the Bunch of Grapes complex yielded 295 (Appendix F). This section examines the vessels in the serving and food preparation categories. Ware types included Chinese porcelain, English porcelain, white salt-glazed stoneware, delft, Stafford slipware, creamware and pearlware. The term "delftware" or "delft" will be used to describe tin glazed enamel ceramics because that was the term used exclusively in the probate inventories. Vessels forms included bowls, plates, basins, platters and hollowwares. The term hollowware is used when a determination of a more specific container form could not be made.

Plates

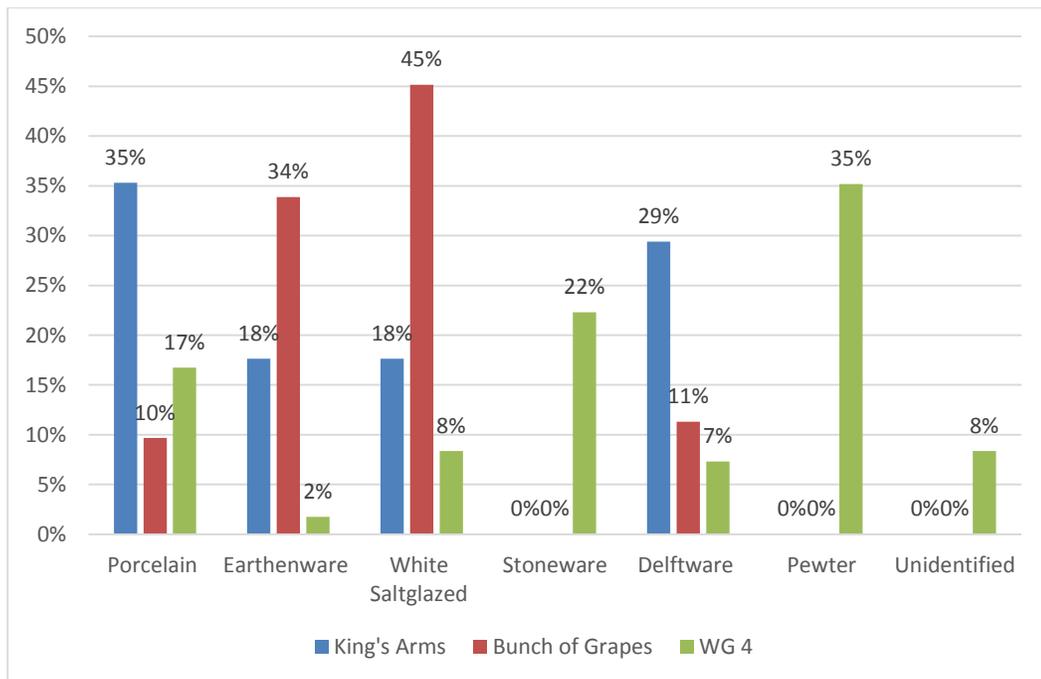


Figure 29 - Plates Excavated from the taverns and WG4 by Material

Examining the archaeological remains from the King's arms by material type (Figure 29) one sees that thirty-five percent (n=6) of the plates were porcelain, twenty-nine percent (n=5) delft, eighteen percent (n=3) earthenware, and eighteen percent (n=3) were white salt-glazed stoneware. Forty-five percent (n=28) of the Bunch of Grapes sixty-two plates were white salt-glazed stoneware, thirty-four percent (n=21) were earthenware, eleven percent (n=seven) were delftware and ten percent (n=6) were porcelain (Figure 29).

Among the members of WG 4 the distribution of ware types in probate inventories (Figure 29) was 35 percent (n=101) pewter, twenty-two percent (n=64) stoneware, seventeen percent (n=48) porcelain, eight percent (n=24) unidentified in the text, eight percent (n=24) white salt-glazed stoneware, seven percent (n=21) delftware and two percent (n=five) earthenware.

The biggest difference between the archaeological assemblage and the information from the inventories is the presence of pewter in the inventories and its absence in the archaeological record. This variation was addressed by Ann Smart Martin who concluded that colonial Virginia's elite were transitioning from pewter to ceramic at this time. Clearly that process was ongoing in Elizabeth City County (Martin 1989: 248-274). If the pewter is removed from the inventory data (Figure 30) the results are stonewares at thirty-four percent (n=64), porcelain at twenty-six percent (n=48), white salt-glazed stoneware at thirteen percent (n=24), unidentified ware types at thirteen percent (n=24), delftware at eleven percent (n=21) and earthenwares at three percent (n=5).

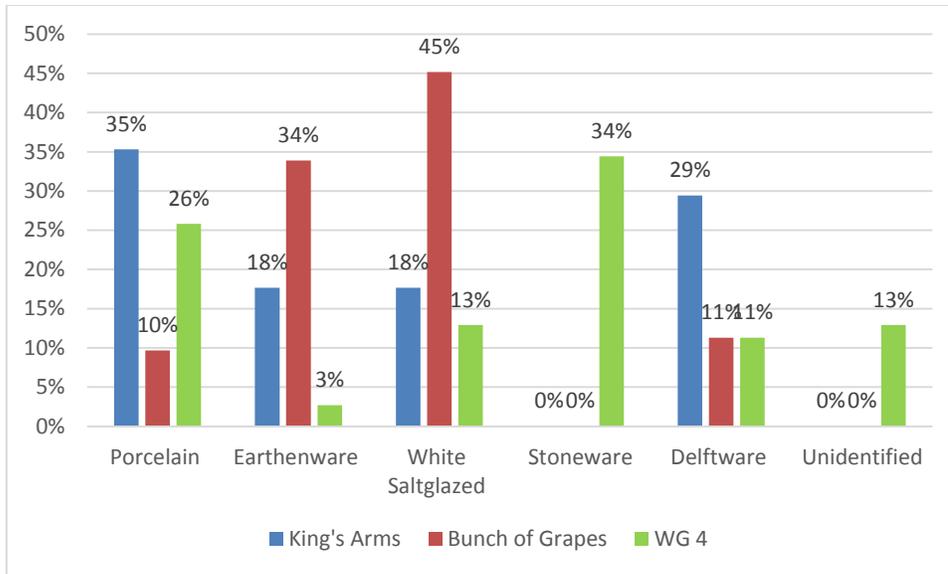


Figure 30 - Plates from Taverns and WG 4 pewter removed

When the archaeological data and the inventory data (pewter removed) are compared (Figure 30) there are differences. The Bunch of Grapes had many more white salt-glazed and refined earthenware plates than either the King's Arms or the inventories. The King's Arms had more porcelain plates than either as well as more delftware. The significant conclusion of the examination of plate data is that both taverns and the county's most elite homes had plates from a variety of materials.

Serving Vessels

There were fourteen vessels categorized as serving vessels (not plates) in the King's Arms assemblage and they consisted of twelve earthenware, vessels, one porcelain, and one white salt-glazed stoneware vessel (Figure 31). The Bunch of Grapes assemblage had thirty-nine percent (n= 114) of its unique vessels identified as serving vessels. Serving vessels will be examined in more detail before moving on to cooking equipment from both taverns.

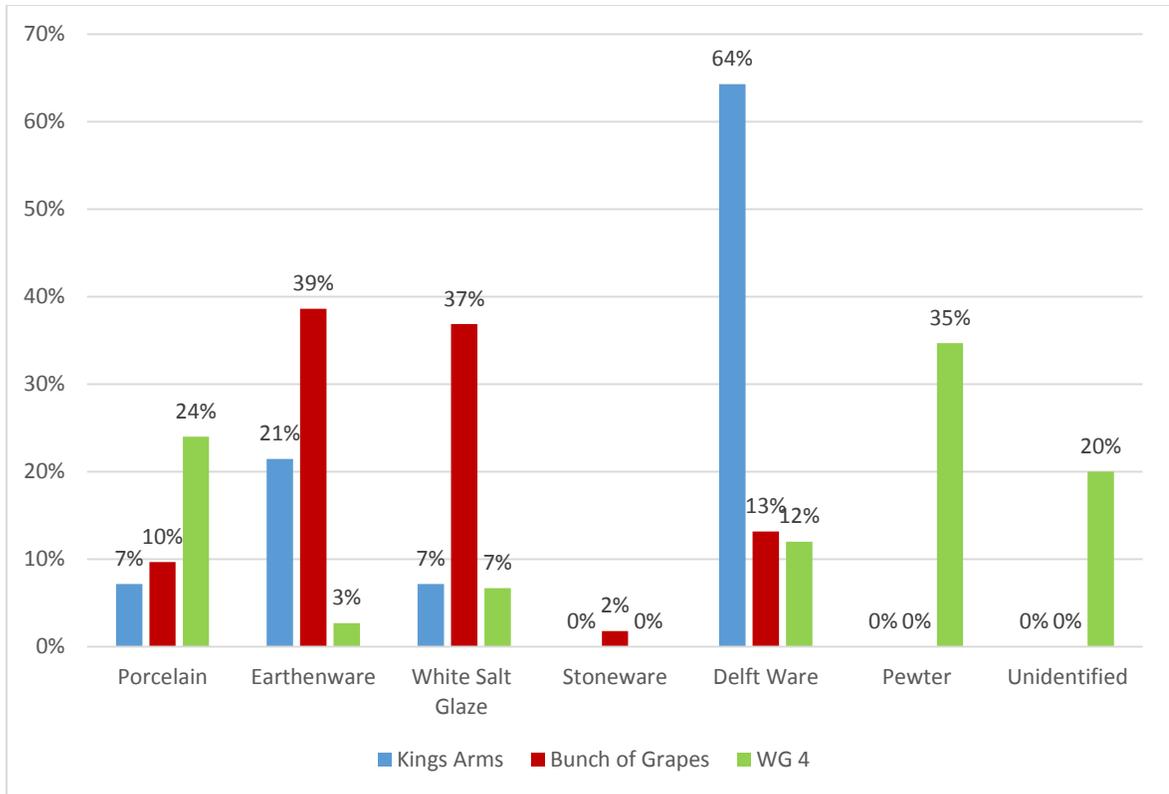


Figure 31 - Serving Vessels from both Taverns and WG 4

The earthenware vessels consisted of nine delftware, two Staffordshire slipware, and one creamware. The vessel forms included six bowls, five indeterminate hollowware forms, a dish, a basin and one platter. Only one platter was recovered from the King’s Arms; platters were rare in the inventory data with only two identified. Diversity was manifested in the vessel forms and the ware types. The taverns had several different types of serving vessels and they were of a variety of ceramic types.

The King’s Arms had seven percent (n=1) porcelain, twenty-one percent (n=2) earthenware, seven percent (n=1) white salt-glazed stoneware, and sixty-four percent (n=9) delft. The Bunch of Grapes had ten percent (n=11) porcelain, thirty-nine percent (n=44) earthenware, thirty seven percent (n=42) white salt-glazed stoneware, two percent (n=2) other stoneware, and thirteen percent (n=15) delft. The WG 4 inventories had twenty-four

percent (n=18) porcelain, three percent (n=2) earthenware, seven percent (n=5) white salt-glazed stoneware, twelve percent (n=9) delft, thirty five percent (n=26) pewter and twenty percent (n=15) with no material identified by the assessors. When the pewter is removed from the WG 4 data that becomes thirty-seven percent porcelain, four percent earthenware, ten percent white salt-glazed stoneware, eighteen percent delft, and thirty-one percent with no material identified by the assessors.

The forms of the serving vessels at the Bunch of Grapes were varied but two forms warrant a mention because they were unusual. Eight percent (n=4) were platters, only two platters were identified in the inventories, and six percent of the serving vessels (n=3) were sauce boats. As is the case with the plates, the most significant difference between the data from the archaeological record and the documentary record is pewter. Thirty-five percent of the serving vessels identified in the inventories were pewter but no pewter vessels were recovered archaeologically. The other significant differences are the preponderance of delftware in the King's Arms assemblage, the relatively large amount of white salt-glazed stoneware vessels in the Bunch of Grapes assemblage and the comparatively high percent of porcelain in the WG 4 data particularly when compared to the one porcelain vessel recovered from the King's Arms.

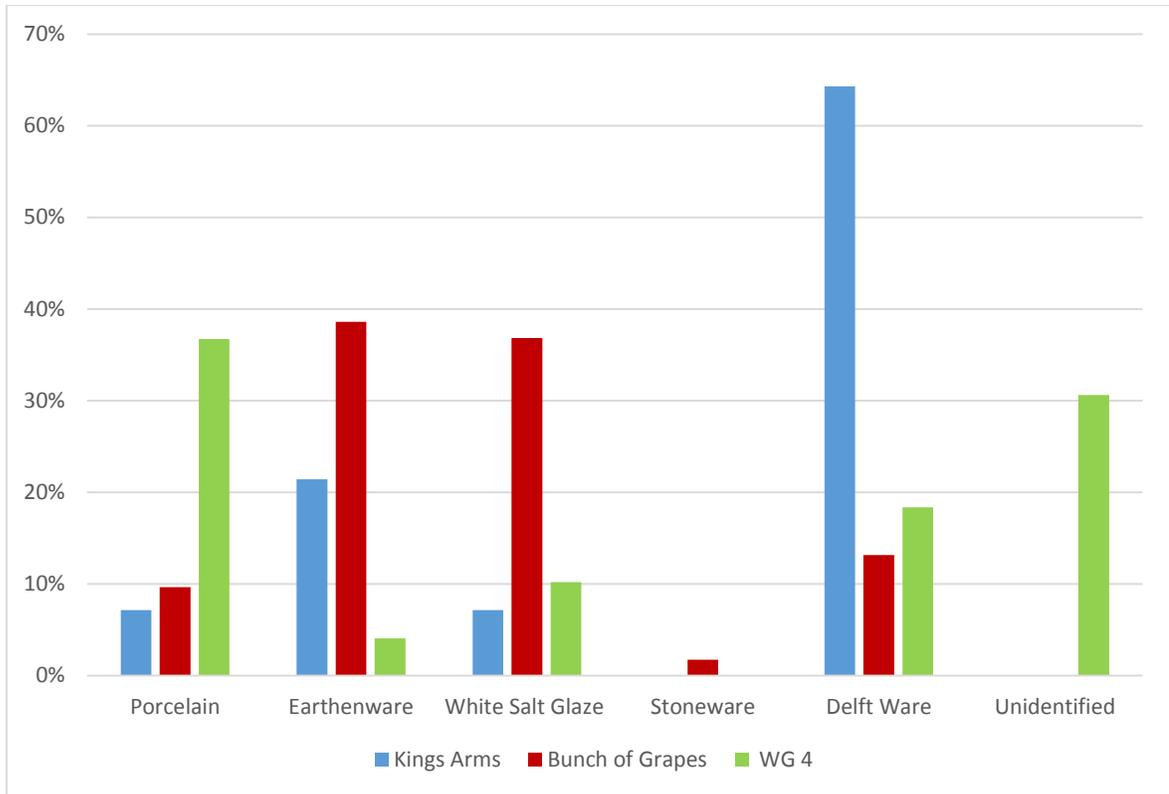


Figure 32 - Serving Vessels from both Taverns and WG 4 pewter removed

One explanation for one of these differences lies in the nature of the archaeological data. The King’s Arms assemblage is reported at the vessel level, thus body sherds of Chinese porcelain from which no vessels could be identified would result in an underrepresentation and may explain this lack of porcelain vessels. In the King’s Arms assemblage forty-six sherds of porcelain were recovered; forty-four were Chinese, one was English, and one indeterminate. For example these sherds were mended to identify eleven unique vessels: ten of Chinese porcelain and one of English porcelain. Those vessels contained nineteen of the sherds with the remaining twenty-three not being attached to a vessel. The total amount of porcelain, counting sherds is only 2.4 percent of the ceramic assemblage of the King’s Arms and some of those sherds are from tea wares so is most likely the Kings Arms did not have as many porcelain serving vessels as the members of WG 4.

The King's Arms used delftware serving vessels while the Bunch of Grapes used earthenwares and white salt-glazed stoneware. Mary Brough and Mr. Riddlehurst must have recognized the exceptionally fragile nature of porcelain which is problematic in settings where many people handle the vessel. They likely selected the other wares because they were more durable and less expensive than porcelain. The data from the probate inventories shows that delftware and white salt-glazed stone were in use in the elite homes of the county, so its use in the King's Arms and the Bunch of Grapes would not have been a problem for the clientele Mrs. Brough and Mr. Riddlehurst hoped to attract.

The ceramics that would have been on the tables of the King's Arms and the Bunch of Grapes taverns show a diversity of materials and forms as did the elites' homes in Elizabeth City County. That said, the tavern keepers made some concessions to the public nature of their business. They chose to acquire less expensive wares but did maintain a variety of ceramic types. Had diversity not been important they could have purchased large lots of simple earthenwares. While both taverns had porcelain plates and serving bowls, the percentage of porcelain was lower in both tavern assemblages than in the probate inventories. The tavern keepers used the less expensive, but still acceptable, delft, white salt-glazed stoneware and earthenwares to prevent loss through breakage. The taverns had both coarse earthenware serving vessels and refined earthenware serving vessels. None of the plates were coarse earthenware, but a dish and a hollowware vessel from the King's Arms were Staffordshire slip ware and four dishes, and four flatware vessels were Staffordshire slipware in the Bunch of Grapes. It is possible that these Staffordshire slipware vessels were not used for the guests but were the vessels the tavern-keepers and their households used. The material goods at the taverns were consistent with

the most elite in Elizabeth City County but we have seen that the truly elite in Elizabeth City County did not rely only on the possession of goods. They demonstrated their place in the world and their superiority from the masses by increasing the complexity in which the material goods were used and in regards to food that meant trying to diversify the number and types of dishes presented at meals. Evidence of this type of diversity was rarer in the tavern assemblages but it did exist.

The Bunch of Grapes had evidence of a colorless glass cruet used to hold condiments and three white salt-glazed stoneware sauce boats. The King's Arms had less evidence of this kind. A glass stopper from some type of decanter was recovered from the King's Arms; it may have held a sauce or dressing. The inventory data showed that the county's elite provided their guests with the opportunity to modify their food using the sauce or condiment. The county's elite also used the number and variation of the dishes in a meal to set themselves apart from the rest of the community. The next section will examine tavern cooking and food preparation.

Tavern Cooking Material Culture

In attempting to examine the material culture associated with the preparation of food from these taverns we discover the scarcity of recovered metal items. Many of the most common cooking related items in the inventories were metal including skillets, trivets, and spits. Only two percent (n=83) of the material recovered from the King's Arms and three percent (n=326) from the Bunch of Grapes were metal. Most of the metal items recovered were nails. The King's Arms had no metal items that were associated with the preparation of food while the Bunch of Grapes had twenty-two iron fragments that were from pots. There was also evidence of cutlery recovered from the taverns; the King's Arms has one

fork tine and two bone cutlery handles while the Bunch of Grapes had three bone cutlery handles, three forks, one tin plated brass knife and three spoons, two of which were pewter.

While the metal items, so prevalent in the inventories, are not found in the archaeological assemblages, there were ceramic vessels associated with the preparation of food. Seventeen percent (n=18) of the ceramic vessels identified at the King's Arms were related to food preparation including seven pans, three pans with a pouring spout, one bowl, and one dish. The remaining five vessels had no form other than hollowware identified.

Although limited in our understanding of what types of food the King's Arms produced, there was some emphasis placed on dairy products. Pans that have a diameter of more than ten inches are often associated with the production of dairy products; they were used to cook the milk and on occasion for cooking (Beaudry et al. 1993: 35). All the pans identified at the King's Arms were greater than ten inches. Other categories of archaeological evidence, particularly features and deposits can also provide important evidence for considering foodways. The archaeological complex that made up the King's Arm consisted of two buildings, the large tavern building and a small dependency identified as a dairy. Structure 16 was identified as a dairy because it was a semi-subterranean structure with a brick paved work surface. The semi-subterranean nature of the structure helped to keep the dairy products cool in the Chesapeake region's summer heat and the brick paving helped keep the area clean which was important to the process. This use of dairy products was consistent with a desire to provide diversity as part of the dining experience. As one scholar of dining in colonial Virginia stated, "Dairy products were not only important nutritious and sweet tasting, they served as a filler, a meat

substitute, and an impromptu dish elegant enough to fit nicely on the table. Being such versatile items, these dairy byproducts were highly valued by Virginia hostesses” (Harbury 2004: 103). The King’s Arms complex also had a possible planting bed used to provide fresh produce and also quite possibly herbs. In fact, a 1769 advertisement to rent the tavern listed a garden in its description of the property (Purdie and Dixon 1 June 1769: P 3 C 1).

The Bunch of Grapes

There were sixty-one vessels associated with the preparation of food recovered from the Bunch of Grapes tavern complex; five were stoneware and fifty-six were earthenware. All of the earthenwares were coarse types like Buckley, North Devon Gravel tempered or the locally produced Yorktown ware. There was more variation in the vessel forms in the Bunch of Grapes assemblage than in the King’s Arms assemblage. There were nine vessel forms and the less specific “hollowware” category identified. The vessels recovered from the Bunch of Grapes complex included twenty-seven pans, eleven hollowware forms, eight bowls, five pots, two porringers, two possible pastry pans, two dishes, one colander, one cream pot, one pan with a spout and one pipkin. From this assemblage, it seems likely that the kitchen in the Bunch of Grapes could produce diverse foods. The cooks had multiple pans to cook with, one pan with a spout and the cream pot for processing dairy products, multiple bowls for mixing and two possible pastry pans. The cooks also had a colander which was an important tool for properly preparing foods (McWilliams 2005: 218).

The Bunch of Grapes tavern complex also provides some information on the food being produced in the tavern. There was one large and two smaller planting features excavated

among the tavern complex (Higgins *et al.* 1993: 76-77). These garden features imply that some produce was being grown on site which could be used to improve the cuisine.

Conclusions

The archaeological data from the King's Arms and Bunch of Grapes taverns indicates that the tavern keepers strove to provide a diverse experience to their customers. They served their food on a variety of serving pieces made of tin-enameled or delftware, white salt-glazed stoneware, porcelain, and refined earthenwares. That some pewter was used in the Bunch of Grapes is evident in the two pewter spoons recovered. Based on the number of pewter plates and serving vessels in the inventories and the rarity of recovering pewter from an archaeological context, it seems likely that pewter would have joined the other materials in both taverns' dining room.

In regards to the type of dishes being prepared, we face the challenge that many of the indicators of diverse cooking techniques were metal and little metal survived in the soils of Hampton. Even with that limitation, however, there are indicators of some diversity in the food and meals served. The King's Arms had a dairy which stored milk and cream used in a variety of dishes and had the garden mentioned in *The Virginia Gazette* that supplied fresh produce. We also have Mrs. Browne's testimony that she received a satisfying and multi-dish meal when she visited the King's Arms in 1755. The ability of the cook(s) at the Bunch of Grapes to produce diverse foods is easier to see from the archaeological remains. The sauce boats, the glass cruet, and the possible pastry pans imply that there was a range of diverse foods being prepared and that the customers of the Bunch of Grapes were invited or perhaps challenged to add sauces and condiments to their meal.

This examination of dining and the preparation of food in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County and Hampton, Virginia, indicates that the elite, those in WG 3 and WG 4, used items similar to the less elite but ensured that they had more diversity in the materials and manner in which food was prepared and in the number of prepared dishes that were presented at one time. The truly elite presented a variety of textures in the food they provided to the people at their tables along with the tools needed to modify the taste of their food through the use of condiments and sauces. This focus on diversity of presentation and various options allowed the elite of Elizabeth City County to behave in a manner consistent with their *habitus* and demonstrate the separation between themselves and those they viewed as their inferiors. It also was consistent in the focus of elites on fashionable behaviors as well as fashionable items. This focus became important with increased production of material goods, making the acquisition of goods much easier for the less affluent. The manner in which dining equipment like plates and serving dishes spread across the social spectrum of Elizabeth City County residents testifies to increased availability. This concept that the goods used to mark the elites would eventually be accessible to a broader cross section of society was commented on by Bourdieu. He explains that "...whenever the attempts of the initially most disadvantaged groups to come into possession of the asset previously possessed by groups immediately above them in the social hierarchy or immediately ahead of them in the race are more or less counterbalanced, at all levels, by the efforts of better placed groups to maintain scarcity and distinctiveness in their assets" (Bourdieu 1984: 161).

In a period that saw goods imported to colonial America increase from £871, 658:00:00 in the mid-1740s to £4,576,944:00:00 in 1771, it would have been exceptionally

challenging for the elite of Elizabeth City County to try to exploit only the scarcity value of goods (Breen 2004: 60). The cost of goods fell while the availability of goods increased to those lower on the social and economic hierarchy. In the county that held the colony's custom port, Virginians had particularly easy access to these goods.

In the face of these changes, the elite attempted to maintain the social boundary between themselves and others in two ways. They adopted the concept of being fashionable and increased the complexity of social settings. Being a person who should receive the respect due to a member of society's elite was no longer a matter of having or being familiar with goods, it was increasingly the ability to manipulate the goods in a social setting. Taverns as public social settings were places where the boundaries between the elite and the other needed to be strong. One reason was that these public places were where elites could study each other, places where the various elites competed in a variety of things including cards and dice games. The other reason is that taverns by their very nature drew strangers and while these strangers were not seen as a direct threat, they were an unknown. Was a traveler your social equal, your inferior, or your better? In a tavern you could not know. In colonial Virginia the society was organized around social hierarchy; if a person was your inferior you could act one way, your superior another and your equal a third. This could not be easily and accurately done with strangers. Thus, one way to judge a stranger was seeing how they took food and how they interacted with the material goods. Did they know what to do with sauce in the sauce boat, did they properly use knives and forks, or did they expect a dinner to be a big bowl of pottage?

These tensions challenged the elite throughout colonial Virginia but were felt more severely by the elite in a small eastern county like Elizabeth City. This analysis of the

material goods from probate inventories and the excavation of two taverns indicates that the elite of Elizabeth City County, a small and stagnating county, were concerned that the less elite could get access to the material goods that marked superior status. Therefore, elites diversified the way in which they prepared and used food to mark and naturalize the social distinctions. As mentioned in Chapter Two, naturalizing is the process of making differences like wealth inequality, that are the result of a social or political system, appear to the inhabitants of the system as natural and “meant to be.” This focus on protecting the boundary between elite and less elite was particularly important in a public location where individuals of unknown status would be found. If these strangers were *actors with pretensions*, how could the “proper” social hierarchy be maintained by the elite of Elizabeth City County? The elite could maintain order by being vigilant. They could watch and see if the stranger committed an error in the increasingly complicated quotidian rituals of eating and drinking. It is the rituals of public drinking that we will address in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: Drinking Alcohol and Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate

Unlike the food discussed in Chapter Four, the consumption of alcohol and warm caffeinated beverages are not required for survival. Alcohol has a long history of use and over time has been used for a variety of purposes. Warm caffeinated beverages, including tea, coffee and chocolate, have a much shorter history of use among English speaking peoples. This chapter examines the way alcohol and the warm caffeinated beverages were consumed and used in colonial Virginia. The discussion addresses the type of beverages consumed and the type of vessels they were consumed and served in and also explores the social settings and uses of these beverages. Social actors in colonial Virginia used these beverages intentionally to promote their individual agendas, to demonstrate their level of sophistication and gentility and to create social bonds within social groups and across the boundaries of social strata.

Chapter Four demonstrated that the preparation and serving of food were manipulated in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County to become real and visible social boundary markers. In a similar manner, the inhabitants of Elizabeth City County transformed the preparation and consumption of alcohol and warm caffeinated beverages into a sophisticated and complex suite of behaviors. Those behaviors were also reliant upon material goods, and both goods and behaviors conveyed information that allowed individuals to show their places in the social hierarchy and to place strangers or new acquaintances into the rigid social hierarchy of colonial Virginia.

The preparation and consumption of alcoholic and warm caffeinated beverages were loaded with social symbolism in colonial Virginia. The data from probate inventories provides information to determine how the material goods associated with drinking alcohol

were distributed among individuals and to determine what variation there was between different wealth groups. The hypothesis is that the differences between the wealthy and the less wealthy individuals will not be a simple presence or absence of goods. Rather, the difference will be an increase in the diversity of the material goods associated with drinking alcoholic and warm caffeinated beverages. This greater diversity is the physical manifestation of the complexity of the experience that a guest in that home would have faced.

The consumption of alcohol is an ancient practice that was often tied to social rituals (Joannes2000: 34-35, Dietler 1996: 102, Dixon 2006: 61-79). Drinking has been seen primarily as a social practice that “fosters same-sex friendships, camaraderie and solidarity” (Martin 2006: 97). As archaeologist Fredrick H. Smith explained about the English colonial world that, “alcohol drinking like tea drinking was also part of a larger social performance. Communal punch bowls and multi-handled drinking cups underscore the links between alcohol and sociability” (Smith 2008: 63).

Alcohol was used in colonial Virginia in complex ways. The act of consuming alcoholic beverages was used to create bonds across social boundaries and within social groups. Drinking reinforced and clarified the social boundaries of the colony. Alcohol was used to create bonds of loyalty across the boundaries of the social hierarchy when elites desired to request or reward particular behaviors from their social inferiors. It was common for the newly elected militia officers to show their appreciation to and enhance the loyalty of the men now under their command by distributing alcohol. Gentlemen also often distributed alcohol while running for public office, hoping to sway the voters (Meacham 2009: 16-17). Nicholas Cresswell happened to be in Alexandria, Virginia, for the election of 1774, when

Col. Washington and Mr. Broadwater were running for a seat in the Virginia House of Burgesses, noting that “The Candidates gave the populace a Hogshead of Toddy (what we call punch in England)” (Gill and Curtis 2009: 17). At other times, social actors would provide alcohol to a group of social equals in events in their homes or at taverns. The New Jersey born tutor Philip Vickers Fithian, who worked on Virginia’s Northern Neck recorded in his journal numerous occasions at which he was the recipient of a planter’s hospitality (Fithian 1957: 57, 155, 157). Whether the alcohol was being shared between or within social groups, it served the purpose of increasing the bonds of sociability. It created a shared experience and however briefly a connection between the people sharing a moment (Pope 1994: 273-274).

One cannot look into the behavior of people in a tavern in colonial Virginia and not examine the role of drinking alcoholic beverages. The June 1766 newspaper account of the King’s Birthday lists twenty-six toasts that were drunk by the elite in celebration. Based on the previous chapter, it is expected that the social distinction markers associated with drinking will not simply be the presence or absence of wine glasses and decanters but rather the increasing diversity in both the material goods and manner in which the goods were utilized. On 3 April 1774, Fithian dined at Mr. Turburville’s where the host offered “porter-beer, cyder, rum, and brandy toddy” (Fithian 1957: 90). Likewise, Charlotte Browne on her visit to Hampton drank Madeira wine, punch, and cider (Harrison 1924: 306). Both of these events would require the drinker to understand the proper way to manipulate the material goods associated with the drinks.

Thirty-seven of the forty-eight inventories that contained goods have some evidence of alcoholic beverages. But the material identified in the inventories was not associated just

with the consumption of alcohol. There were also items associated with the production and storage of alcohol (Table 21).

Wealth Group	Case Bottles	Cask/Butt	Wine Bottle	Hogsheads Cider	Cider Press	Tubs	Cider Cask	Bottles Cider	Barrels Cider
1	24	8	305	20	0	0	0	3	6
2	8	14	60	0	1	0	2	0	5
3	9	11	84	37	0	0	20	0	1
4	17	6	152	13	0	5	54	0	0

Table 21 - Alcohol Related Items by Wealth Group

One type of item, the wine bottles, presents a challenge because they were used both for storage and consumption. There are three types of bottles identified in the inventories: wine bottles, cider bottles, and case bottles. Other than indicating the presence of wine, spirits, or cider they were used little in the following analysis.

The main focus of the following discussion is the manner in which these materials were used by the inhabitants of mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County to create and recreate social boundaries. Therefore, it is appropriate to start by examining the items that were used for consumption of alcoholic beverages. Consumption in this context is the actions associated with alcoholic beverages that were most often performed in the presence of other people and often in settings that were charged with social meaning such as meals and celebrations. These events have been referred to as “alcohol lubricated sociability” where relationships between individuals could be stressed (Smith 2008, Pope 1994). Four items, mugs, tumblers, decanters, and wine glasses have been identified as common consumption related items. Curiously, the inventory data lacks reference to punch bowls, another type of alcoholic consumption items. In fact only one occurrence of the word

“punch” appeared in the forty-eight inventories; that was in the inventory of John Tabb which referred to two punch ladles (ECCR Vol. E: 440-450).

An explanation for the lack of punchbowls is tied up in the difference between public and private hospitality. The relationship of punch and public hospitality, such as at militia days, court days or elections, was associated with rowdy behavior in an all-male environment (Meacham 2009: 16-17, Brown 1996: 249). Private hospitality in an individual’s home, such as dinner parties and dances, was more likely a mixed male and female company where less rowdy, more genteel behavior was expected. These different settings allowed men to demonstrate differing sides of their personas. To the militia or tavern goers they could show their competitive, aggressive sides, while the domestic events allowed them to display refinement and gentility (Kierner 1996: 459). These different approaches between public and private hospitality may explain why no “punch bowls” were clearly identified in probate inventories representing private hospitality.

Brief Explanation on the Types of Alcoholic Beverages Consumed in Colonial America.

Two basic types of alcoholic beverages, fermented and distilled could be found in colonial Virginia. Fermentation is the process of introducing yeasts of the *Saccharomyces* family into a liquid and allowing the yeasts to convert the sugars in the liquid into alcohol and other flavor enriching compounds (McGee 2004: 715-716). Ciders, beers, ales, and wines were and are fermented. Distillation is the process of taking a fermented beverage that contains moderate (5 to 12%) alcohol content and concentrating the alcohol content by heating the liquid in a chamber that allows the alcohol and other flavor rich vapors to escape. The escaping steam is then cooled so that it condenses into a liquid with significantly higher alcohol content (McGee 2004: 761). Rum, brandy and whiskey are

distilled products. There is clear evidence for the production of both distilled and fermented products in Elizabeth City County in the mid-eighteenth century. As noted in Chapter Three, many households had the equipment to make fermented cider. The only distillation equipment was Joseph Jegits's (WG 1) still (ECCR Vol. F: 161-164).

The inventory data indicates that there was a difference in the manner that the members of the different wealth groups served and consumed alcohol in their homes. The wealthier individuals tended to have the ability to serve different beverages in specialized serving vessels appropriate for the drinks. While those in lower wealth groups may have either limited their drinking to less expensive beverages like cider or beer or served wine or distilled spirits in a mug. The mug will, of course, hold the drink but that combination would have been seen as inappropriate to a genteel actor or for an *actor with pretensions*.

Probate Data on Alcohol

Utilizing the same approach used in the previous chapter, the inventories were examined to determine the most common alcohol-related items. Then the four different wealth groups were examined to see how each wealth group varied from the overarching picture and to see the ways the wealth groups differed from each other. The details of the four wealth groups can be found in Table 5.

One hundred and six items associated with the consumption of alcoholic beverages were identified in twenty-two inventories. Fifteen items were found in the inventories of WG 1, two items in WG 2, thirteen items in WG 3 and seventy-six items in WG 4. The consumption items that were recorded were mugs, tumblers, decanters and wine glasses (Table 22). Similar to other object types in the inventories there were examples of parcels of glasses in the inventories which contain an unknown number and type of glasses.

Group	Mugs	Tumblers	Decanter	Wine Glasses	Total
WG1	2	5	3	5	15
WG2	1	1	0	0	2
WG3	0	9	2	2	13
WG4	5	10	3	58	76
Total	8	25	8	65	106

Table 22 - Items Associated with Alcohol Consumption

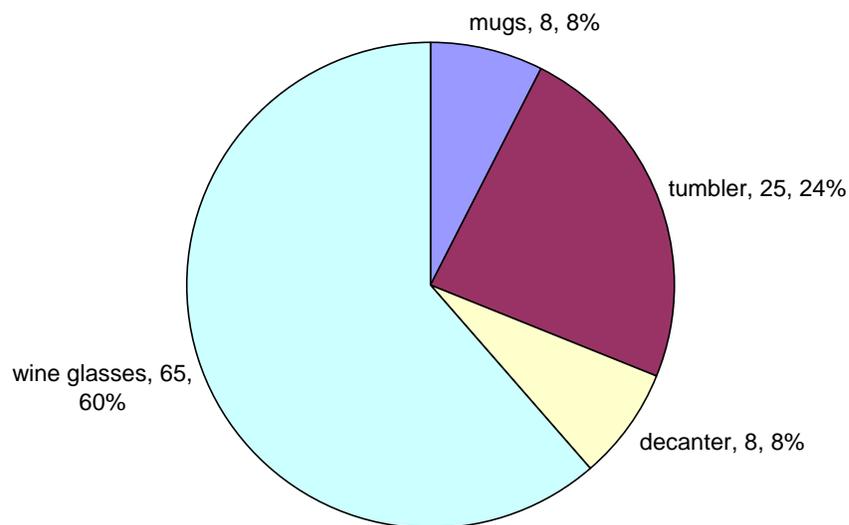


Figure 33 – Alcohol Consumption items, All WGs

When the consumption items are examined for the combined WGs sixty percent (n=65) of the items were wine glasses, twenty-four percent (n=25) were tumblers, eight percent (n=8) were mugs and eight percent (n=8) were decanters (Figure 33).

The average number of items found in an inventory that had alcohol consumption items was 4.82. Five of the inventories, fourteen percent, contained more than 4.82. Seventy-six

percent (n=81) of all consumption items were found in those five inventories. Fifty consumption items, including forty-four wine glasses were found in the inventory of Col. Tabb (WG 4). As with the analysis of the dining and cooking items, this rudimentary numerical examination is not an attempt to derive statistically significant data. However, this analysis does provide important baseline information.

Among the fourteen percent that had more than five consumption items, one was from WG 1, one from WG 3 and three from WG 4. Sarah Needham (WG 1) had six alcohol consumption items including a mug, two decanters, and three wine glasses (ECCR Vol. F: 300-303). David Wilson Curle (WG 3), had five tumblers and two wine glasses (ECCR Vol. F: 324-332). The remaining three individuals were all from Wealth Group 4. Starkey Robinson had two tumblers and seven wine glasses (ECCR Vol. E: 425-427). William Parson also had three mugs, two tumblers and four wine glasses. The individual with the most alcohol consumption items was John Tabb. Col. Tabb had fifty items, forty-four wine glasses, two decanters, and four tumblers. Tabb also had two “Bier glasses” and the two previously mentioned punch ladles (ECCR Vol. E: 440-450). Bier glasses were mentioned only in Tabb’s inventory; they were not encountered often enough to list with the other items.

The evidence from the alcohol consumption items is consistent with the hypothesis that the elite in Elizabeth City County chose to acquire drinking goods that were more diverse in form than the goods selected by the less elite. The elite were thus able to serve and consume different types of alcoholic beverages in specialized vessels.

The presence of mugs, tumblers and wine glasses indicates the ability to “properly” serve beer and cider, spirits and wine. There were seven individuals from WG 4 that had

alcohol consumption items and five of them had glassware for at least two types of drinks. Joseph Bannister (WG 4) did not have his glassware detailed. He had only a reference to “a parcel of glassware” noted in his inventory (ECCR Vol. E: 200). It is probable that he had wine glasses and tumblers in that parcel because he possessed one hundred and forty-four wine bottles and a group of case bottles. Mary Armistead (WG 4) had only two wine glasses, but she also had a small keg (contents not identified) and seventeen casks of cider. So it is possible she could have consumed or served to guests beverages other than wine (ECCR Vol. E: 163-167). It is also possible that as a widow with several grown children, the role she played as hostess for her family may have been reduced and that her son Westwood had taken over as social host of the household. In that case, Mary no longer needed to entertain in a genteel style at the end of her life.

There were seven individuals from WG 1 that had items for the consumption of alcoholic beverages. Only one had more than one type of drinking vessel. Only Sarah Needham had a mug and three wine glasses (ECCR Vol. F: 300-303). The remaining members of WG 1 are Joseph Jegits who had one mug, James Allen, Katherine Van Burkilow, and Mark Pursel who had only tumblers and Eustace Howard who had only wine glasses (ECCR Vol. F: 161-164, ECCR Vol. E: 76-77, Vol. E: 438-439, ECCR Vol. E: 355, ECCR, ECCR Vol. F: 319-320). The evidence suggests that these individuals had less ability to provide a diverse array of drinks in the appropriate glasses. If one of these individuals served multiple types of alcoholic beverages, it would have been obvious to a knowledgeable observer that the beverage and the vessel were not properly paired. Having looked in detail at the private homes of some Elizabeth City County residents, it is time to examine the two taverns in Hampton that catered to the elite and ascertain how similar or

different the tavern keeper's approach to the commercial and public consumption of alcohol was from the private realms.

Archaeology of Alcohol in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Hampton

There was clear evidence of alcohol consumption in the material recovered through archaeological excavation of the two tavern sites in Hampton. Since the documentary evidence, particularly the account of the King's Birthday, indicates that the taverns were frequented by the elite of Elizabeth City County, it is expected the excavated materials will demonstrate that the patrons in the taverns had an array of drinking options available to them. The various drinks were consumed in different vessels, likewise, wine, beer, cider and rum punch cost different amounts and were associated with social standing. Drinking punch, a mixture of rum, juice, and spices, was an elite social activity in the eighteenth century (Smith 2001: 490). The ingredients were expensive and the drink was prepared in a large bowl that was served communally in public settings in Elizabeth City County. Traveler Dr. Alexander Hamilton described the sharing of punch thusly: "Att night I was treated by Captain Binnings of Boston with a bowl of lemmon punch. He gave me letters for his relations at Boston. While we put about the bowl, a deal of comicall discourse Pass'd in which the landlord, a man of a particular talent at telling comic storys, bore a chief part" (Bridenbaugh 1948: 11). In describing the elite Virginians he met in his travels of 1765 an anonymous Frenchman wrote, "they live very well having all the necessaries on their Estates in great plenty. Madeira wine and punch made with Jamaica rum is their chief drink" (Anonymous 1921: 743). While some tavern patrons were consuming punch from punch bowls, others were consuming beer, ale and cider from mugs and wine from either glasses or cups. Generally, mugs are larger and hold more liquid than cups. Mugs

were used for beer, ale and cider, while cups were properly used for wine and spirituous beverages (Smith 2001: 485). The presence of square case bottles is taken as an indicator of spirits, although wine bottles do not indicate only wine. Two wine bottles were recovered from the King's Arms complex that were being used to prepare flavored spirits. One contained 169 cherry pits and one may have contained the remnants of cream but the tests were inconclusive (Higgins *et al.* 1993: 195-196). Both beverages demonstrate the diversity in drink choice made available to the King's Arms patron by Mrs. Brough, the tavern keeper. At the King's Arm the choice was not only spirits or some fermented beverage but also among several flavored spirits.

Evidence of Fermented Beverages in the Archaeological Record

The Bunch of Grapes

The items that indicate the consumption of fermented beverages are stem ware, mugs and cups not identified as tea related. There were 297 pieces of table glass recovered from the Bunch of Grapes tavern and the majority sixty-nine percent (n=200) could not be assigned a vessel form. Two percent (n=7) of the glass pieces were from vessel forms that were not associated with drinking. The remaining ninety fragments were associated with drinking. Twenty-percent (n=58) of the table glass came from stemware which indicates a wine glass. The tavern also had 3,534 pieces of bottle glass of which 3,420 came from wine bottles. The wine bottles were dark green glass and had a cylindrical form.

Fifty eight ceramic vessels associated with alcohol consumption were recovered from the Bunch of Grapes tavern. Thirty-one percent (n=18) were mugs and twenty-eight percent (n=16) were cups. Fourteen of the sixteen cups were made of coarse earthenware, while two were creamware. There were eight Staffordshire slipware cups, three cups were English earthenware with a mottled glaze, and one cup was made from English

earthenware with iron in the glaze. Two of the cups were made of unidentified coarse earthenware.

There were eighteen mugs, one was porcelain, eight were stoneware and nine were earthenware. There were two types of stoneware mugs. Six were white salt-glazed stoneware and two were brown stoneware. Among the earthenware mugs were three delftware mugs, two mugs of coarse English earthenware with a mottled glaze, two creamware mugs, one mug of coarse English earthenware with iron in the glaze and one mug of unidentified coarse earthenware. This variation of material in mugs, a vessel form associated with drinks of less social standing in an elite tavern, is consistent with the concept that diversity in colors and textures were desired by the elite in mid-eighteenth-century Hampton. An elite patron at the tavern might order ale or cider but could receive it in a porcelain mug.

The King's Arms

The artifacts recovered from the King's Arms included seventy-two pieces of table glass. Twenty-six percent of the recovered table glass was associated with stemware. Of the 353 pieces of dark green bottle glass all but four were associated with wine bottles. The assemblage included nine cups, one delftware, six of Staffordshire slipware, and two made from English earthenware with iron in the glaze. Two of the nine mugs recovered were made of English iron glazed coarse earthenware, three were a brown stoneware, two mugs were a white dipped salt glazed stoneware, one was a Rhenish blue-gray stoneware and one was a white salt-glazed stoneware.

Conclusion

In both of these elite taverns beer and cider could be served in receptacles made from different materials including a porcelain mug, white salt-glazed mugs and a delftware cup. While the elites of Elizabeth City County did drink wine, beer and cider, they did it using vessels made from a variety of materials shaped into different forms. Some drinks came in mugs, some in cups, and others in stemware. The ability of the tavern keepers to match that variation is evidence of their choosing to mirror the practices of the elite homes.

Evidence of Distilled Beverages in the Archaeological Record

The Bunch of Grapes

The items associated with the consumption of distilled spirits are the tumbler, the case or square sided bottle, and the punch bowl. There were twenty-one pieces of table glass identified as being fragments of tumblers. The twenty-one pieces were recovered from seven different archaeological contexts which lead to the conclusion that they represent several tumblers. Seventy pieces of glass from square bottles were recovered along with sherds of eighteen unique delftware punch bowls.

The King's Arms

The archaeological complex of the King's Arms yielded two pieces of tumbler from different archaeological contexts, four pieces of glass from square bottles, and fragments of thirteen delftware punch bowls. The assemblage also included the previously noted pair of wine bottles that had been used to create spirit based drinks for the King's Arms tavern.

The patrons at the Bunch of Grapes or the King's Arms could purchase a variety of alcoholic beverages and expect the beverage to be served in one of a multitude of possible containers. Drinking alcohol in these taverns was not limited to downing beer or cider in an earthenware mug. The elite patrons of the Bunch of Grapes and the King's Arms could

chose to make their drinking as complicated as taking part in the elaborate punch ritual or ordering a particular flavored spirit that had been made by the tavern keeper. All this diversity of choice assisted the patrons of a tavern in identifying the social standing of the other customers. The ability to pay for a bowl of expensive punch for other drinkers to share, the ability to properly order a drink more complex than a mug of cider, and knowing that there were different types of wine were all behaviors that indicated elevated social status. An elite consumer like the Reverend William Selden was aware that there were different varieties of wine. In November of 1773 Selden purchased thirty gallons of “Vidomia wine,” a golden Madeira wine from the Canary Islands (Oregon State University), he also purchased a wine decanter (Selden: Box One). *The Virginia Gazette* documents that knowledgeable consumers could have taken part in a sale in Hampton of claret and Lisbon wines in January of 1769 (Purdie & Dixon 12 January 1769: P 3 C 2). In 1771, George Wythe, an Elizabeth City County native then dwelling in Williamsburg asked the firm of John Norton and Sons to ship three dozen wine glasses and one dozen beer glasses (Mason 1937: 169). Wythe’s specificity indicates that he was aware that beer and wine should not be served from the same type of glass and wanted to be able to serve the beverages properly in his home. These facts reinforce the idea that the elites of Elizabeth City County were knowledgeable of the range of alcoholic beverages and that they believed that there were “proper” material goods associated with specific alcoholic beverages. The Bunch of Grapes and the King’s Arms both served a variety of alcoholic beverages but that was not the only type of beverage they served that had complex material goods and behaviors associated with its consumption. Several non-alcoholic caffeinated

drinks, tea, coffee, and chocolate had become very popular within the British colonial system by the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Warm Caffeinated Beverages: Tea, Coffee and Chocolate

While consuming alcoholic beverages was an ancient custom in England, the taking of tea, coffee and chocolate were not. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, these drinks had become very popular in the English world. These three beverages were introduced to Europeans as a result of the European exploration and expansion of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They shared several traits, all contain caffeine, all were used in Europe with sugar which was not how they were consumed in their areas of origin, and all started out in Europe and its colonies as drinks of the wealthy and socially elite but rapidly became popular with people in all social categories (Flandrin 2000: 359-360, Harbury 2004: 123). Each of these beverages also required a complex suite of material goods to be consumed in a fashionable manner.

Tea was consumed in China for thousands of years. It was mentioned in Marco Polo's writings but was not introduced to the European in a meaningful way until the beginning of the seventeenth century (Toussaint-Samat 1994: 597). It was the last of the "colonial beverages" to become popular in Europe (Morineau 2000: 389). Legend has tea being introduced to the court of Charles II by his queen Catharine of Braganza in the mid-seventeenth century (Morineau 2000: 390) In 1678, the British East India Company imported a mere 4, 713 pounds of tea (Morineau 2000: 390). Tea was used sparingly in Holland and France; it became widely popular in England after 1730 (Flandrin 2000: 360). Between 1760 and 1797 tea accounted for 50 percent of the value of the imported cargo the British East India Tea Company (Flandrin 2000: 360). Until the mid-eighteenth century,

tea was “the preserve of the upper classes” but then spread throughout society (Shammas 1980: 14). Tea was “virtually unknown beyond the very wealthy” in Virginia in the seventeenth century but it spread so completely through eastern Virginia that by the War of American Independence most households had tea-related items (Martin 1996: 78).

Coffee was introduced to the Europeans by the Turks and was popular in Venice by the late sixteenth century. By the mid-seventeenth century coffee had become widely popular with the French elites and by the mid-eighteenth century it was a staple for all social levels in France. Coffee was introduced to the English in the seventeenth century and achieved some popularity with the elite but it was not as popular in England as it was on the European continent (Flandrin 2000: 360). Coffee houses flourished in London but these establishments also sold tea which eventually became more popular with the English public at large (Morineau 2000: 388). “Coffee and tea entered the Chesapeake in the mid-eighteenth century through the most fashionable homes and taverns” (Meacham 2009: 125). There were two reasons for the popularity of tea over coffee in Virginia. The first was that coffee’s source areas were not within the English colonial system, and the second was that tea could be steeped more than once when ground coffee could not be re-used. Both of these made tea a more economically desirable beverage than coffee for colonial Virginians (Meacham 2009: 125).

While chocolate in drink form had been used by the Olmecs and the Mayans before the Aztecs, it was the Aztecs that introduced it to Cortes. The drink became popular in Spain and throughout Europe, reaching England in 1657 (A.F Smith 2007: 122). The chocolate drink of Meso-America used chilies and other savory flavors. The Europeans added sugar

and made it a sweet drink. It is unclear who first added sugar to the drink but tradition claims it was nuns in the Oaxaca region of Mexico (Morneau 2000: 385).

Chocolate was found in homes of the Chesapeake region in the mid-eighteenth century. Colonial traveler Dr. Alexander Hamilton encountered bad chocolate in his travels in 1744, “I breakfasted upon some dirty chocolate, but the best that the house could afford...” (Bridenbaugh 1948: 7). Philip Vickers Fithian recorded in his diary that he, “Sup’d on chocolate & hoe-cake” on 15 January 1774. Fithian felt no need to explain chocolate to his northern friends but did explain that a hoe cake was “so called because it was baked on a hoe before the fire,” the hoe cake was unusual not the chocolate (Fithian 1957: 55). These anecdotes imply that chocolate had become a fairly common beverage in the colonial Chesapeake region and that in neither case was it presented as part of an elaborate meal or with some type of special significance.

Of the three “colonial beverages” the most popular in England and her colonies was tea. Tea was at first something for the elite but soon all levels of society desired tea. Historian T.H. Breen describes how eighteenth-century residents of Long Island had a strong desire for tea but did not know how to prepare the drink. He reports on one rural resident who spread damp tea leaves on his bread like butter, and another boiled the leaves and ate them like porridge (Breen 2004: 171). Besides being a new consumable, tea also introduced many new goods that consumers needed to drink the beverage properly. The same Long Island residents who were unaware how to prepare tea also were not sure what to do with a tea kettle (Breen 2004: 171-172). Proper tea drinking required not just tea but the material goods to make and serve it and the knowledge of how to use the goods. Tea was popular with all sorts, but it was among the elite that complex material goods for taking were

found. “While for many the drinking of tea was no more than a gathering of friends and family, again, among the wealthiest, new forms, styles, and intricate formal behaviors proliferated” (Martin 1996: 78). People could, and many did, make tea without the specific tea equipment. But when the goods were used or not used properly in a social context, they took on meaning (Martin 1996: 79),

With tea, like alcohol and food consumption, it was not just having the props, the social actor needed to know what to do with the props. “Having sugar tongs, for instance, signals that you know it is improper to touch food with your fingers” (Martin 1996: 81). Tea had become popular with all levels of the social hierarchy in Virginia by the middle of the eighteenth century. But that popularity did not mean that all the aspects of the complex suite of behaviors that were associated with consuming tea would be found at all social levels. In that way the material goods associated with tea were similar to the goods associated with dining and alcohol consumption. It is expected that the less wealthy in Elizabeth City County will have some evidence of the consumption of tea and the other warm caffeinated beverages but not the full suite of goods needed to execute the behaviors in accordance with the custom of the day.

Evidence of Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate in Elizabeth City County

Goods related to warm caffeinated beverages had become accessible to individuals from many levels of the economic hierarchy in Elizabeth City County. Seventy percent (n=34) of the inventories had evidence of the taking of tea and/or coffee consumption. No chocolate related items were identified in the inventories. The inventories were examined for tea cups, coffee cups, saucers, tea pots, coffee pots, tea spoons, tongs, tea kettles, and groups of tea equipment. Also noted in the inventories were other items that were clearly

associated with tea and coffee. The inventories contained 289 items related to tea and coffee (Figure 34).

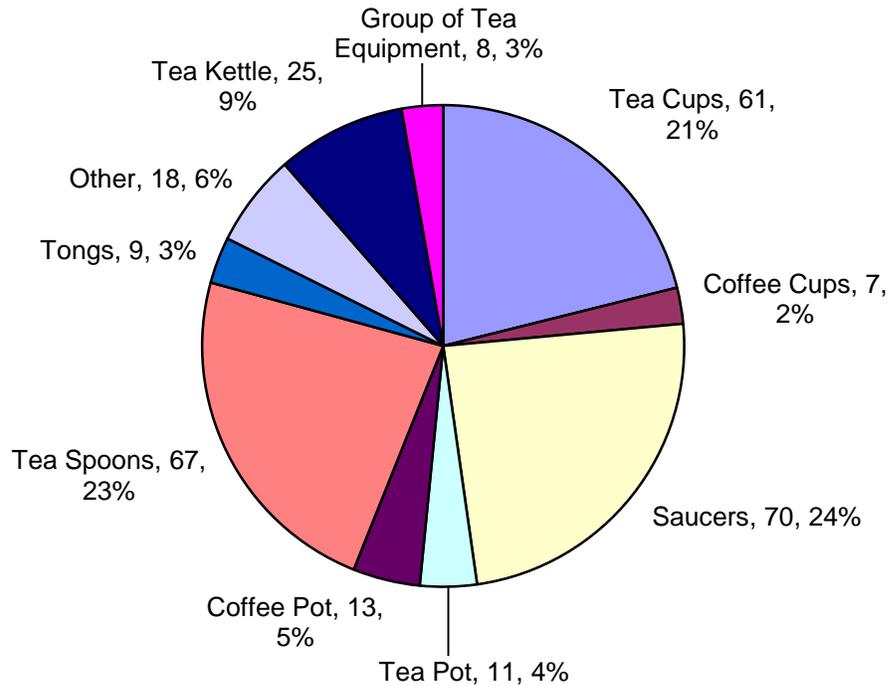


Figure 34 - Tea and Coffee Equipment all WGs

Twenty-four percent (n= 70) of the entries were saucers, twenty-three percent (n=67) tea spoons, twenty-one percent (n=61) were tea cups. All other items were less than ten percent of the total. Fourteen individuals had no evidence of tea or coffee equipment, twelve from WG1 and two from WG 3. Fifty-seven percent (n=16) of WG 1 had evidence of tea consumption and five of these had coffee pots. One hundred percent of WG 4 had tea or coffee related items.

The average number of tea related items was 6.0 and the average number of categories in an inventory was 4.9. In looking for diversity in the assemblages, fourteen inventories that had more than the average number of categories were identified. Four individuals were from WG 1, and seven of the eight members of WG 4 had more than 4.9 categories.

When the inventories that had more than the average number of items were examined, there were twelve, three from WG 1 and seven from WG 4.

Again it was not the simple ownership of the material goods associated with tea or coffee consumption but being able to execute the entire suite of tea related behaviors that was the goal. For example, of the twenty-two individuals that had a below average number of tea items in their inventories no one had specialized tea or coffee cups. Five of those individuals had parcels of tea wares mentioned, but that still leaves seventeen people with evidence of tea consumption and not the proper cups to drink from. The most common item among this group was tea kettles; sixteen tea kettles were identified in the inventories of fifteen people. While there were six coffee pots and two tea pots, no individual owned more than one and nobody owned both a coffee pot and a tea pot. If a member of this group wanted to serve tea on some occasions and coffee on others, the beverages would be served in the incorrect vessels on occasion.

The individuals with an above average number of tea and coffee related categories were Nathaniel Cunningham (WG 1), David Wilson Curle (WG 3), Joseph Bannister (WG 4), Mary Armistead (WG 4), Starkey Robinson (WG 4), Westwood Armistead (WG 4), and John Tabb (WG 4). Nathaniel Cunningham, (WG 1) had an estate valued at £117 pounds, that included one tea pot, one coffee pot, six tea spoons, a tea kettle and “some teaware.” Cunningham seems to have focused some level of attention on presentation for eating and taking tea and coffee. Besides his tea and coffee equipment, he had six walnut chairs, a walnut table, 27 plates and “some old silver.” His plates were a combination of pewter, earthenware and stoneware (ECCR Vol. E: 532-533). Joseph Bannister, (WG 4), had the ability to set a complete tea service for four. He had four tea cups, four saucers, one tea

pot, six tea spoons, and one pair of tea tongs (ECCR Vol. E: 200). Similarly Mary Armistead, (WG 4), could sit five for tea with her five tea cups, five saucers, one tea pot, one coffee pot, five tea spoons and one pair of tea tongs (ECCR Vol. E: 163-167). Starkey Robinson, (WG 4), could host six guests with his seven tea cups, six saucers, one coffee pot, six tea spoons, one pair of tongs, a tea kettle, a sugar dish, and a milk pot (ECCR Vol. E: 425-427). Likewise, Westwood Armistead had eight tea cups, ten saucers, one tea pot, one coffee pot, five tea spoons, a pair of tongs, and a tea kettle (ECCR Vol. E: 145-150). Colonel John Tabb had ten tea cups, two coffee cups, twelve saucers, two tea pots, two coffee pots, eleven tea spoons, a tea kettle, and four other items. The four items that fell in the other category for Tabb were two milk pots, a spoon boat, and a sugar dish (ECCR Vol. E: 440-450). The individuals in WG 4 clearly had the ability to serve their guests tea properly, in a tea cup on a saucer from a tea pot, and to allow their guests to use tongs.

The manner in which the tea and coffee related goods are distributed among the less elite members of WG 1 indicate that those individuals had some of the materials associated with the consumption of warm caffeinated beverages but not the complete suite of goods. This less than complete set meant they and their guests could not demonstrate the full range of behaviors associated with the consumption of tea or coffee.

While these less elite individuals could invite people in for tea, they could not execute all of the behaviors one of the elite would expect. This conclusion is driven home by the fact that none of the individuals in WG 1 or WG 2 had a tea cup. Often they had a kettle and some of the other props, but in the end they and their guests had to drink the tea they made in another vessel. This variation from the idealized behavior would be clear to any elite who took tea in these homes. Similar were the individuals with a coffee pot but no

coffee cups, who could perform only part of the expected behavior. These people's unfamiliarity with the full range of tea or coffee equipment, saucers, sugar bowls and milk pots, would identify them as non-elites when they met others.

Archaeological Evidence of Tea at the Hampton Taverns

The Bunch of Grapes

Thirty-seven ceramic vessels associated with consumption of warm caffeinated beverages were recovered from the Bunch of Grapes tavern complex. These vessels included fourteen tea bowls, fourteen saucers, three tea cups, two tea pots, one can, a straight sided cup, one cream jug, one sugar bowl, and one tea strainer; the difference between tea cups and tea bowls was the presence of a handle on the former. There were seventeen porcelain vessels, fourteen Chinese and three English; twelve stoneware vessels, eleven white salt-glazed and one Jackfield; four delftware vessels, and four refined earthenware vessels.

This assemblage has several of the rarer items mentioned in the inventories, items that fell into the "other" category including a sugar bowl, a cream jug, and a tea strainer. The assemblage also included a can, a straight-sided handled vessel often associated with the consumption of chocolate. There was some variation in the material but much of it was in a color scheme similar to Chinese porcelain. The notable exception was the Jackfield cream jug. Jackfield, a type of stoneware manufactured between 1745-1790, had a lustrous black glaze (Noel-Hume 1980: 123). The lustrous black glaze on the Jackfield would have increased the color variation on the tavern's table when viewed against other tea-related vessels which were all primarily white to bluish white.

The King's Arms

Thirteen vessels associated with tea consumption were recovered from the King's Arms Tavern excavations, including seven saucers, four tea bowls and two cups. Five of the vessels were Chinese porcelain, three were delftware, three were refined earthenwares and two were white salt-glazed stoneware. None of the other artifacts recovered from the King's Arms complex could be associated with the consumption of tea, so the ceramic vessels are the sole material indicator of tea use.

Conclusion

The evidence examined regarding the consumption of tea, coffee, and chocolate is consistent with the evidence from dining, cooking, and alcohol consumption. The elite and the less elite had access to an extensive array of material goods. This meant the elite who were interested in preserving the social boundaries needed to focus upon the complexity of actions more than upon the simple possession of specific goods. Having tea and drinking tea no longer marked one as elite as it had earlier in the colony's history. Knowing what to do with a cup and saucer, how to use the sugar tongs and the proper way to pass the cream pot marked one as elite in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County.

CHAPTER SIX: Conclusions

Summary of Previous Chapters

This study has examined material goods in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County and Hampton, Virginia. The archaeological and documentary data presented clearly indicates that many of the goods associated with elite status and elite activities early in the eighteenth century had become accessible throughout the social hierarchy. This increased accessibility presented a challenge to elites who in the past had used goods to demonstrate their elite status. The elites reacted by embracing more complex forms of dining and drinking behaviors to clearly delineate their social prominence.

A broader range and quantity of material goods were coming to colonial America and the Chesapeake region after 1730 (Price 1998: 100-103, Breen 2004: 52). This study has explored how that increase in goods influenced the quotidian behaviors of the elite in Elizabeth City County and the ways in which the keepers of two taverns chose to mirror those behaviors. The previous chapters examined several key points, first that the area of Hampton and Elizabeth City County is severely understudied in a region where serious scholarly analysis has been happening for decades. This lack of attention has skewed the understanding of colonial Virginia by focusing on either the colonial capital at Williamsburg or on the large plantation communities such as George Washington's Mount Vernon and Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. The lack of scholarship that focuses on Hampton and Elizabeth City County is made more noticeable given the amount of high quality archaeological excavations that have been conducted in the heart of this community. Besides explaining why Hampton and Elizabeth City County warrant further study, the first chapter discussed why taverns are a type of location that need study. In a port town community like Hampton, the continual arrival of travelers from London or

other hubs of the English colonial system added stress to the inhabitants. The need to be seen as genteel and respectable was vital to the elite colonial Virginian's *habitus*. The idea that a traveler could have perceived Hampton and its residents as unmannered bumpkins would have infuriated the elite of Elizabeth City. This fear drove them to stay as current as they could regarding both the material and behavioral aspects of fashion.

The first chapter also explained that taverns were a place of public display of good and bad behaviors, drew the interest of the colonial Virginia government, and were discussed in the media, which published debates about the behaviors of tavern keepers and tavern goers. Concerned Virginians used the newspaper to describe tavern behaviors in the harshest possible terms while defenders described taverns in a very positive light. The chapter also laid out the methodology. An approach that focused on social agency was taken to provide for a more nuanced approach to the analysis of the goods people choose to bring into their homes and taverns.

The second chapter reviewed the concept of social hierarchy and the way one's world view is influenced by an agent's upbringing. This chapter explored the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu and his concepts of *habitus* and *hexis*. *Habitus* is the way an individual from a particular social level understands the world to be and how one behaves. *Hexis* is the physical embodiment of the *habitus*. One's *hexis* controls how she moves, sits, and speaks, all of an actor's physical action. After explaining the concepts of *habitus* and *hexis* the chapter then examined the competitive nature of gentry life in eighteenth-century Virginia. The chapter summarized the manner in which the gentry had established control of the social hierarchy in the first quarter of the eighteenth century and how they continually worried about staying in control. This led to the gentry having an intense

competitive focus. The travel accounts of Dr. Hamilton and Nicholas Cresswell were examined to better understand the critical eye that people were under in the Chesapeake region during the mid-eighteenth century.

The second chapter presented the types of data used for this study, including archaeologically derived data from the excavations of the King's Arms and Bunch of Grape tavern complexes, a small amount of data from the papers of Edward Moss and the Reverend William Selden, and data from fifty-four probate inventories recorded in the Elizabeth City County court house from 1760 to 1770. The data from the inventories were sorted and organized and four wealth groups were created. The point was made that while the members of Wealth Group 4 were the elite in Elizabeth City County, they were not the elite when the entirety of Virginia was considered. Several categories of goods used as indicators of standard of living by other scholars were identified. The data from the inventories was examined for similarities and differences between the wealth groups. One of the conclusions of this preliminary analysis was that goods associated with elite behaviors like taking tea or using serving vessels at dinner and the use of forks could be found in all of the wealth groups.

The third chapter took a different tack and examined the way gender and status as head of household influenced the ownership of goods rather than simply looking at the effect of wealth on goods ownership. In some ways this analysis was limited by the small number of women among the decedents but some conclusions could be drawn. One conclusion was that evidence of tasks that were traditionally associated with women could be found in the inventories of male decedents. In some cases this was obvious, a reference to a women's saddle or a dress, and in others it was indirect. For example, evidence was

the tools associated with tasks traditionally performed by women in the colonial Chesapeake, such as cidery, cloth production, and dairying. These activities indicated a woman in the household because women used skills generally not taught to men and the tasks were not absolutely necessary for the running of a household. Basically, a male-only household could survive without making cider, or cheese, or cloth, as those items could be purchased.

The inventory data indicated that more important than gender in determining what items an individual had in his/her inventory was their social role. If that person were the head of a household that individual owned items associated with a wide spectrum of activities, agricultural production, food processing, food storage, and the things needed to maintain a home. If they did not run a household as was the case for several of the decedents, the inventories did not have items associated with the whole spectrum of household behaviors. In those cases the inventories had items associated with a smaller selection of activities.

The data regarding the excavated tavern complexes was examined in light of the conclusions reached through the analysis of the data in the inventories. The archaeological data was consistent with the information from the inventories. Since both tavern keepers were heads of households, the taverns had evidence of the diverse range of activities that were associated with managing a household, whether the head of the house was male or female. Since the archaeological material recovered from the taverns was primarily glass and ceramics, more detailed analysis was focused on the consumption and preparation of food.

Chapter Four reviewed the scholarship regarding food and social status in colonial Virginia and then examined in detail the data from the probate inventories from Elizabeth

City County. The analysis of the probate inventory data demonstrated that a wide variety of material associated with dining could be found in the homes of members of Wealth Group 1, the least wealthy group, but in smaller numbers than in the other groups. This evidence indicated that items that had previously been limited to the wealthy, like Chinese porcelain and forks, had become accessible throughout the social hierarchy. Furthermore, the goods acquired by wealthier actors were not merely for display but also for use in increasingly complicated behaviors. Elite dining of the mid-eighteenth-century English world required a genteel host and hostess to serve multiple courses simultaneously. One porcelain bowl would not be enough to demonstrate an elite setting to guests. Multiple serving vessels in multiple materials, such as porcelain, pewter, and refined earthenware, needed to be used in combination to impress guests and signal a genteel household. The data derived from the archaeological excavations of two of Hampton's taverns that catered to the elite was then examined. That data was similar to the probate data in that the taverns' assemblages had variation in the material types used for items associated with dining, suggesting that the tavern keepers were aware of what the elite expected in a genteel setting.

The next section of Chapter Four examined the goods associated with cooking; if one planned to serve multiple dishes of food at the same time, it seems logical that the household would need the ability to cook multiple food items at the same time. The hosts and hostesses of colonial Elizabeth City County were also striving to present variation in taste, temperature and texture of the food being prepared. The cooking items from the inventory data were analyzed and it was clear that less elite individuals had the material to prepare one or two dishes often using similar wet cooking techniques like boiling or

stewing. Wealthier individuals, those in WG 3 and WG 4, had the materials needed to prepare more than two dishes at the same time and could employ both wet and dry cooking techniques. The inventory data further indicated that the elite had items that allowed for variation in taste, texture and temperature while the less wealthy did not. The wealthy had salad plates, custard cups and chafing dishes. The material goods recovered from the two tavern complexes indicated that the variation of the elite homes was available in the taverns.

The fifth chapter examined the role the consumption of alcohol and the three “colonial beverages” tea, coffee and chocolate played in colonial Virginia. Alcoholic beverages and tea and coffee were important aspects of public and private social interaction in colonial Virginia. The chapter then examined the data from the inventories to determine if there was evidence of material goods associated with drinking behaviors that had earlier been associated with the elite and if the more elite inventories had evidence of an increasing ability to present a variety of drinks to household guests. The pattern identified in the chapter on dining and cooking was found in the inventory data associated with drinking alcohol. Tumblers and decanters which earlier were associated with the more costly distilled spirits were found in households of WG 1. Often the tumblers or decanters were the only items associated with the consumption of alcohol in the inventory. The members of WG 4 typically had the ability to serve wine in the proper glasses, beer in mugs, and had wine bottles and case bottles for their wine and spirits.

When the goods associated with the consumption of warm caffeinated beverages were examined the same pattern was identified. Individuals in the less elite WG 1 had evidence that they were consumers of tea and coffee but none of them had a complete suite of goods

for tea or coffee consumption. Among the goods associated with coffee, several coffee pots were listed in WG1 but no coffee cups. So if an individual was serving coffee from the proper pot, she had to serve it in improper cups unlike the elite members of WG 4.

The data derived from the excavations of the taverns also showed the ability to serve a variety of alcoholic and warm caffeinated beverages and to serve them in a variety of vessels that were made from a variety of materials. This demonstrated that the tavern keepers had chosen to mirror the behaviors found in the county's elite homes. A tavern that catered to less wealthy individuals would have less diversity in serving vessel form and material.

Conclusions:

The probate inventory data, when combined with the archaeological data from the taverns, revealed that elite Elizabeth City County residents had a different approach to their selection of goods than the less elite. The elites were interested in being able to prepare and present to their guests multiple dishes of food served on an array of different serving vessels; the same was true with the beverages served. Wine, spirits, tea, and coffee all had a variety of specialized material goods and behaviors associated with them. It seems clear that different social levels of colonial Elizabeth City County engaged in different behaviors in terms of beverage consumption. This multitude of items and possible behaviors did two things: it demonstrated that the host and hostess participated in the genteel behavior of the colonial elite and it presented a polite challenge to guests. Only guests from the same social station, those who shared the same *habitus* as the hosts, a *habitus* that drove them to fear disrespect, would have worked to learn the new fashionable behaviors and negotiate the complexity of the dining table or tea table and its accoutrements.

The Hampton taverns had evidence that their tables also had complexity, as Mrs. Brough and Mr. Riddlehurst served a variety of fashionable and complex beverages. In taverns like the King's Arms and Bunch of Grapes, some of the patrons would be strangers. In the hyper-competitive world of the Virginia gentry, these strangers might try to gain an advantage by implying that they were of a higher status. The small "tests of the table" provided by the variety of material goods and their associated rules for use were important methods to determine a stranger's true social position.

The detailed analyses of the archaeological and inventory data from mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County revealed three significant aspects about that place and time. The first was that Hampton supported two rather sophisticated taverns. The traditional scholarly view of towns other than the colonial capitals of Williamsburg and Annapolis was that they were small and insignificant. The fact that Hampton had two taverns catering to a small group, the elites, implies that there were enough elite individuals in the vicinity to support the taverns. The second significant insight from the analysis of the data is that it was not a decedent's gender that primarily influenced the types of goods they owned but rather the role they held. If they were the heads of household, they controlled goods that allowed for all of the common household tasks to be performed; if they were not the head of a household, the items they owned did not have that ability. The final aspect mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County life brought to light by the study showed that the non-elite individuals actively acquired goods that signaled their desire for membership in a genteel world. In reaction to this consumer behavior, the elite (meaning wealthier) began to focus on increasingly complex behaviors and suites of goods to properly perform quotidian tasks such as dining, cooking, consuming alcohol, and

consuming the colonial beverages of tea, coffee and chocolate. The fact that the less wealthy residents of Elizabeth City County were acquiring goods similar to the wealthy indicated that those less wealthy actors believed they could manipulate how they were perceived by others. This implies that they did not buy into the idea that they (the less elite) were locked in their social positions or that only the elite had the right to benefit from the increasing availability of goods.

That a large amount of goods like ceramic, cloth, and glassware was arriving in colonial Virginia in the mid-eighteenth century is clear (Breen 2004: 28-29, Price 1998: 100-104, Coulter 1945). The increase in availability allowed those goods to be purchased by individuals of lower social status, a phenomenon noticed by the inhabitants of Virginia and one that worried the elite members of that society. A 1769 article in the *Virginia Gazette* decried that, “In former times it was customary for people to dress in some degree proportional to their circumstances, but at present all distinctions are lost among us, except that those in general are finest who are poorest” (Purdie and Dixon 20 March 1769: P 3 C 2). The Virginia gentry had a definite desire to demonstrate their place at the top of the social hierarchy. They needed to find ways to counteract the trend of increasingly accessible consumer goods. Goods that had been available only to the elite earlier in the century, items like tea, coffee, and porcelain were commonplace by the middle of the eighteenth century. Elites in Elizabeth City adopted increasingly complex behaviors in concert with the lower cost of goods to maintain what they believed to be the natural divisions in the society.

The probate inventory data and the archaeological excavations of the King’s Arms and the Bunch of Grapes taverns make it clear that the difference between elite homes, taverns

patronized by the elite, and homes of the less elite was the presence of items that allowed for complex meals and drinks to be served in the elite homes and the elite taverns.

However, the items that allowed for that complexity were themselves increasingly less expensive. An example from the inventories of the low cost of items only elites had was Col. Tabb's salad plates. The entry of "4 delft dishes and 2 salet plates" listed the value of those items as five shillings. Another entry in Tabb's inventory that had many of the items that allowed him to provide a proper experience for his guests included four tea cups, six saucers, a milk pot, a spoon boat, a tea pot and a mustard pot. The total cost of those items was nine shillings (ECCR Vol. E: 440-450). In a similar vein Joseph Bannister's inventory listed his "china tea pot, four cups and saucers" for five shillings and his "six Chinese custard cups" for seven shillings and six pence. Although in some cases items were made of valuable materials like Bannister's silver tea and serving spoons, it was generally not the cost of the items that associated them with elite behavior.

Similarly, the items that allowed for diverse alcoholic beverages to be served were not particularly expensive but carried social importance. William Pasone's two tumblers and four wine glasses, valued at five shillings, and his three stoneware mugs, valued at one shilling ten-and-a-half pence, meant that for just over six shillings he could provide his guests with spirits, wine and ale in the proper vessels. So for Mr. Riddlehurst or Mrs. Brough to have the different vessels in their taverns was not an unreasonable outlay of capital but rather a small investment to ensure that their customers knew that the Bunch of Grapes and the King's Arms catered to Elizabeth City County's elite.

The archaeological data indicated that there were instances when the tavern owners purchased less fragile materials. For example, Mr. Riddlehurst used white salt-glazed

stoneware plates instead of the porcelain ones seen in the WG 4 inventories, and Mrs. Brough used delftware for serving vessels instead of the more fragile porcelain. So using less expensive material in the taverns was acceptable as long as a host had the ability to have diversity in service materials. Serving wine or rum in a mug was not.

Based on the data from the inventories and excavations, the elite in mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County used complex dining behaviors to naturalize their place at the head of the social hierarchy rather than exceptionally expensive materials or those with the patina of age and family power. The need of the elite of Elizabeth City County to ensure that they were viewed as elites was based on the nature of colonial Virginia's hyper-competitive social ethos and the constant influx of strangers to the port of Hampton. The shift to more complex dining and drinking behaviors was precipitated by the increased availability of goods that occurred in the eighteenth century. The need to be separate was why Elizabeth City County elites made sure the rest of the populous ate at some distance during the King's Birthday event in 1766. The desire to be recognized by the other elites in Virginia is why somebody made sure the publisher of *The Virginia Gazette* knew about the event.

Future Directions

This project demonstrated that combining documentary and archaeological data provides for a deeper understanding of both data sets. The analysis of the inventories demonstrated that it was not simple possession of items but the ownership of suites of goods that indicated membership in the county's elite. With that insight the material culture of the taverns could be examined for the suite of goods rather than for particular types of ceramic wares or glass vessels that indicated elite status. As the only study of

mid-eighteenth-century Elizabeth City County and Hampton, this work should serve as the basis for future studies. Sites occupied during the seventeenth century have been excavated in the former Elizabeth City County and data from those sites could be analyzed in a manner similar to the one used above. Besides future research possibilities this study has shown the necessity for examining ceramic data at the vessel level. That approach will allow researchers to look for variety in vessel forms as well as in material. This approach will provide the ability to determine if the site's residents had chosen to acquire some or all of the suite of items needed to set a sophisticated dining or tea table.

This study of one of the communities in colonial Virginia has provided insight into the social processes that existed outside of the capital. Since insight can be derived from a study of Hampton and Elizabeth City County, certainly studies of Norfolk, Fredericksburg, and other communities must be done to correct our understanding of those colonial Virginians who did not live on a large plantation or in the colony's capital.

Appendices

Appendix A Base Probate Inventory Data²

Name	WG	value nearest Pound	Sex	Furniture	Fabrics (bed/table)	Books	Cloth Production	Cooking	Dining	Tea drinking	Slaves	livestock	Clothes
Francis Desay	1	3	m	y	y	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	y
Minson Turner Proby	1	13	m	y	n	n	y	y	n	y	n	n	n
William Evans	1	14	m	y	n	n	y	y	y	n	n	y	n
Henry Baines	1	15	m	y	n	n	n	n	y	n	n	y	n
Thomasina Rogers	1	18	f	y	n	n	y	y	y	n	n	y	n
Christopher Pierce	1	21	m	y	y	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n
John McHolland	1	28	m	y	n	n	y	y	y	n	n	y	n
William Mitchell	1	34	m	y	y	n	n	y	y	y	n	n	n
Sarah Baker	1	41	f	y	y	n	n	y	y	y	n	y	n
William Tomkins	1	43	m	y	n	n	y	y	n	n	n	y	y
John George	1	44	m	y	n	n	n	y	n	n	n	y	n
Bertrand Servant	1	48	m	y	n	n	y	y	y	y	y	n	n
Mary Tomkins	1	50	f	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n
Eustace Howard	1	56	m	y	y	n	y	y	y	n	n	y	y
William Sanders	1	68	m	y	n	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n
Gerrard Young	1	75	m	y	n	y	y	y	y	n	n	y	n
James Allen	1	81	m	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	n	y	y
Francis Minson	1	90	m	y	n	n	n	y	n	y	y	y	n

² Individuals in Red only had enslaved individuals listed on their inventories no material goods

Name	WG	value nearest Pound	Sex	Furniture	Fabrics (bed/table)	Books	Cloth Production	Cooking	Dining	Tea drinking	Slaves	livestock	Clothes
William Morris	1	97	m	y	n	n	y	y	n	n	y	n	n
Katherine Van Burkilow	1	100	f	y	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	n	y
Mark Pursel	1	115	m	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	n	y	y
Nathaniel Cunningham	1	117	m	y	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	y	n
Thomas Watts	1	117	m	y	n	n	y	y	y	y	y	y	y
Isaac Todd	1	124	m	y	n	n	n	n	y	y	n	y	y
Sarah Needham	1	126	f	y	y	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	n
John Stores Sr.	1	128	m	y	n	n	y	y	y	n	y	y	n
Joseph Jegits	1	129	m	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	n
James Brodie	1	131	m	y	y	y	n	n	y	y	y	n	n
Martha Sweeny	1	132	f	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n
Robert Hundley	1	133	m	y	n	n	n	y	y	y	y	n	n
William Waymouth	2	203	m	y	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	y	n
Alexander Kennedy	2	214	m	y	y	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	n
Eleanor Seldan	2	268	f	y	y	y	y	n	n	y	y	n	n
John Meredith	2	273	m	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n
James Manson	2	279	m	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	n
William Carter	2	280	m	y	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	y	n
Robert Wallace	2	282	m	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n
Hurlsey Carter	3	322	m	y	n	n	y	y	y	n	y	y	n
Sarah Curle	3	345	f	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	y	n	n
John Lowry	3	360	m	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	n
John Bright	3	364	m	y	y	n	y	y	y	n	y	y	n
James Lattimer	3	375	m	y	n	n	y	y	n	y	y	y	n
Nicholas Bailey	3	390	m	y	y	n	y	y	y	n	y	y	n

Name	WG	value nearest Pound	Sex	Furniture	Fabrics (bed/table)	Books	Cloth Production	Cooking	Dining	Tea drinking	Slaves	livestock	Clothes
Johnson Mallory	3	404	m	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	n	y	n
David Wilson Curle	3	412	m	y	y	n	n	y	y	y	y	y	n
Joseph Bannister	4	422	m	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	n
Edward Armistead	4	507	m	y	y	n	y	y	y	n	y	y	n
Mary Armistead	4	517	f	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	n
Samuel Curle	4	522	m	y	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	y	n
Starkey Robinson	4	578	m	y	y	n	n	y	y	y	y	y	n
William Parsone	4	779	m	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	n
Westwood Armistead	4	1274	m	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	y	n
John Tabb	4	1284	m	y	y	y	n	y	y	y	y	y	y

Appendix B Dining Data

Name	Sex	group	Plates	Serving Vessels	Platters	Dessert	Knives	Forks	Container of multiple K&F	total
Francis Desay	m	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Minson Turner Proby	m	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
William Evans	m	1	3	3	0	0	2	2	0	10
Henry Baines	m	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Thomasina Rogers	f	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	6
Christopher Pierce	m	1	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	7
John McHolland	m	1	5	8	0	0	0	0	0	13
William Mitchell	m	1	10	3	0	0	4	5	0	22
Sarah Baker	f	1	6	4	0	0	0	0	1	11
William Tomkins	m	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
John George	m	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bertrand Servant	m	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	4
Eustace Howard	m	1	15	3	0	0	0	0	0	18
William Sanders	m	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Gerrard Young	m	1	10	9	0	0	3	3	0	25
James Allen	m	1	11	9	0	0	0	0	2	22
Francis Minson	m	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
William Morris	m	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Katherine Van Burkilow	f	1	15	3	0	0	0	0	0	18
Mark Pursel	m	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Nathaniel Cunningham	m	1	29	7	0	0	0	0	0	36
Thomas Watts	m	1	13	7	0	0	0	0	0	20
Isaac Todd	m	1	10	5	0	0	0	0	0	15

Name	Sex	group	Plates	Serving Vessels	Platters	Dessert	Knives	Forks	Container of multiple K&F	total
Sarah Needham	f	1	22	6	0	0	0	0	0	28
John Stores Sr.	m	1	22	5	0	0	0	0	0	27
Joseph Jegits	m	1	25	9	0	0	0	0	0	34
James Brodie	m	1	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	7
Robert Hundley	m	1	11	4	0	0	3	3	0	21
William Waymouth	m	2	15	9	0	0	0	0	1	25
Alexander Kennedy	m	2	14	7	0	0	0	0	0	21
Eleanor Seldan	f	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
James Manson	m	2	32	4	0	0	6	6	0	48
William Carter	m	2	9	3	0	0	0	0	1	13
Hurlsey Carter	m	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
John Lowry	m	3	24	20	0	0	0	0	1	45
John Bright	m	3	3	4	0	0	3	3	0	13
James Lattimer	m	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nicholas Bailey	m	3	15	6	0	0	0	0	0	21
Johnson Mallory	m	3	18	2	1	0	0	0	1	22
David Wilson Curle	m	3	18	4	0	0	0	0	0	22
Joseph Bannister	m	4	47	9	0	6	18	17	0	97
Edward Armistead	m	4	6	4	0	0	0	0	1	11
Mary Armistead	f	4	34	3	0	0	0	0	0	37
Samuel Curle	m	4	29	1	0	0	0	0	0	30
Starkey Robinson	m	4	36	7	0	0	0	0	0	43
William Parsone	m	4	36	12	1	8	0	0	0	57
Westwood Armistead	m	4	46	10	0	0	0	0	1	57
John Tabb	m	4	53	29	0	0	12	12	1	107

Appendix C Cooking Data

Name	WG	Cooking	Fry pan/Skillet	Pot	Pot Rack	Trivet	Bell metal vessel	Pans	Griddle	Grill plate	Spice tool	Spit	Pipkin	Total
Francis Desay	1	n												0
Minson Turner Proby	1	y		1										1
William Evans	1	y	1	2	2							1		6
Henry Baines	1	n												0
Thomasina Rogers	1	y		1	1							1		3
Christopher Pierce	1	y	1	1	2									4
John McHolland	1	y	1	1										2
William Mitchell	1	y	1	2				1		1				5
Sarah Baker	1	y	1	1	1	1								4
William Tomkins	1	y	1	1						1		1		4
John George	1	y		1										1
Bertrand Servant	1	y	1	2										3
Eustace Howard	1	y	1	2	1	1				1	1	1		8
William Sanders	1	y	1	2										3
Gerrard Young	1	y	1	2			1				1	2		7
James Allen	1	y		3				4		1	2			10
Francis Minson	1	y		1	1						2	1		5
William Morris	1	y		1										1
Katherine Van Burkilow	1	y	1					1						2
Mark Pursel	1	y		3	3			1			1			8
Nathaniel Cunningham	1	y	1	1	1			1						4
Thomas Watts	1	y	2	6	2	1				1	1	1		14
Isaac Todd	1	y	1	1	1							1		4
Sarah Needham	1	y	1	2	2				1			2		8

Name	WG	Cooking	Fry pan/Skillet	Pot	Pot Rack	Trivet	Bell metal vessel	Pans	Griddle	Grill plate	Spice tool	Spit	Pipkin	Total
John Stores Sr.	1	y	1	2	2							1		6
Joseph Jegits	1	y	2		1	1		1				1		6
James Brodie	1	n												0
Robert Hundley	1	y	1	2										3
William Waymouth	2	y	2	7	4			3					1	17
Alexander Kennedy	2	y	2					5				1		8
Eleanor Selden	2	n												0
James Manson	2	y	2	3							1			6
William Carter	2	y		5	4						1			10
Hurlsley Carter	3	y	2	2	1							1		6
John Lowry	3	y	2	7	2			1				2		14
John Bright	3	y	2	4	4							1		11
James Lattimer	3	y		3								1		4
Nicholas Bailey	3	y	1	2								1		4
Johnson Mallory	3	y	2		2	1					1			6
Davis Wilson Curle	3	y	2	1	2		1		1			1		8
Joseph Bannister	3	y		2	3			1	1	1				8
Edward Armistead	4	y	1	3	1		1					1		7
Mary Armistead	4	y				1	1					2		5
Samuel Curle	4	y	1	4	3	1	2	2		1	1	2		17
Starkey Robinson	4	y	1								1			2
William Parson	4	y	2						1			2		5
Westwood Armistead	4	y		2	2	1	1				2	2		10
John Tabb	4	y	1	4	4		2					1		12

Appendix D Alcohol Consumption Data

Name		Mugs	Case Bottles	Wine Bottles	Tumbler	Decanter	Wine Glasses	Bottles of cider	Total
Joseph Bannister	4		y	144					144
William Evans	1			8					8
Christopher Pierce	1			8					8
William Mitchell	1			105					105
William Tomkins	1		4						4
Bertrand Servant	1							3	3
Eustace Howard	1						2		2
Gerrard Young	1			12					12
James Allen	1			29	2				31
Francis Minson	1			2					2
Katherine Van Burkilow	1				2	1			3
Mark Pursel	1			10	1				11
Nathaniel Cunningham	1		12	10					22
Isaac Todd	1								0
Sarah Needham	1	1		71		2	3		77
John Stores Sr.	1			5					5
Joseph Jegits	1	1	8	8					17
Robert Hundley	1			37					37
William Waymouth	2	1		24					25
Alexander Kennedy	2			36					36
Eleanor Seldan	2				1				1
James Manson	2	?	8		?				8
William Carter	2								0
Hurlsey Carter	3				3				3
John Lowry	3								0
John Bright	3								0

Name		Mugs	Case Bottles	Wine Bottles	Tumbler	Decanter	Wine Glasses	Bottles of cider	Total
Nicholas Bailey	3			12					12
Johnson Mallory	3				1	2			3
David Wilson Curle	3		9	72	5		2		88
Mary Armistead	4						2		2
Samuel Curle	4	1		7	1	1	1		11
Starkey Robinson	4		11		2		7		20
William Parson	4	3		1	2		4		10
Westwood Armistead	4	1			1		?		2
John Tabb	4		6		4	2	44		56

Appendix E Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate Data

Name	WG	Tea cups	coffee cups	saucers	Tea pot	Coffee Pot	Tea Spoons	tongs	other	tea kettle	Group of tea equipment	Totals
Minson Turner Proby	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
William Mitchell	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Sarah Baker	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Bertrand Servant	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Eustace Howard	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
James Allen	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	4
Francis Minson	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	1	0	6
Katherine Van Burkilow	1	4	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	11
Mark Pursel	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Nathaniel Cunningham	1	0	0	0	1	1	6	0	0	1	1	10
Thomas Watts	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Isaac Todd	1	6	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	14
Sarah Needham	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	7
Joseph Jegits	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
James Brodie	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
Robert Hundley	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	4
William Waymouth	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Alexander Kennedy	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Eleanor Selden	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3
James Manson	2	0	0	0	3	0	6	0	0	1	1	11
William Carter	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Hursley Carter	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
John Lowry	3	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	1	1	0	7
James Latimer	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

Name	WG	Tea cups	coffee cups	saucers	Tea pot	Coffee Pot	Tea Spoons	tongs	other	tea kettle	Group of tea equipment	Totals
Johnson Mallory	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Davis Wilson Curle	3	8	5	9	0	0	4	0	2	2	0	30
Joseph Bannister	4	4	0	4	1	0	6	1	0	0	0	16
Edward Armistead	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mary Armistead	4	5	0	5	1	1	5	1	0	0	0	18
Samuel Curle	4	0	0	6	0	0	6	1	1	0	0	14
Starkey Robinson	4	7	0	6	0	1	6	1	2	1	0	24
William Parson	4	9	0	7	0	0	0	0	1		0	17
Westwood Armistead	4	8	0	10	1	1	5	1	0	1	0	27
John Tabb	4	10	2	12	2	2	11	0	4	1	0	44

Appendix F Vessels from Bunch of Grapes Tavern³

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
658	front	décor	Earthenware	Delftware	Vase?	exterior monochrome blue
596	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue foliate/avian? decoration
602	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue decoration
160	Back	personal	Earthenware	Course	Chamber pot	dark orange to brown body with sparse sand and clay inclusions
553	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Plate	interior monochrome blue floral/foliate decoration
268	Back	Storage	Earthenware	Buckley	Jar	
613	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior manganese colored ground

³ Vessel Data based on data graciously provided by Deborah Davenport of WMCAR. The author took the data and classified the vessels into function and front or back of house

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
277	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Buckley	Pan	
595	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior and interior monochrome blue decoration
58	Back	Food Prep	Stoneware	Brown	Pan	
235	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pan	buff to dark orange body with sand and clay inclusions
1013	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	chevron and lattice
233	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pan	dark red-brown body with sand inclusions and mica flecks
1022	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	dot
903	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	combed
444	front	drinking	Earthenware	Creamware	Cup	ribbed exterior

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
150	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Bowl	grey body with black core and heavy sand inclusions
506	front	servicing	Earthenware	Delftware	Basin	9" diameter
410	front	servicing	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Plate	interior brown green and yellow clouded glaze
206	Back	food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Hollowware	dark orange to brown body with sand inclusions
299	front	drinking	Earthenware	English Mottled Glaze	Cup	
308	front	drinking	Earthenware	English Mottled Glaze	Mug	reeded
354	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	North Devon Slipware	Colander	
301	front	drinking	Earthenware	English Mottled Glaze	Cup	
293	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	English Iron Glazed	Porringer	
91	front	servicing	Porcelain	Chinese	Plate	interior underglaze blue

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
204	Back	food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Hollowware	light orange body with grey core
592	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior polychrome floral decoration
630	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	individual?
654	front	architectural	Earthenware	Delftware	Tile	manganese clouded-like glaze
457	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	Royal?
467	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	Queen's
454	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	Queen's
492	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Platter	Queen's
966	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Hollowware	reeded
531	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Hollowware	exterior polychrome floral decoration
820	front	tea	Earthenware	Pearlware	Saucer	hand painted blue

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
72	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Bowl	interior and exterior overglaze red and black
97	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Plate	interior underglaze blue
601	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior manganese colored ground
958	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Bowl	incised bands
1001	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	bead and reel
474	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	garland-embossed
1116	intrusive		Earthenware	Whiteware	Saucer	
398	front	serving	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Bowl	interior and exterior green clouded glaze
338	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	New England	Pot	interior clear lead glaze
975	front	drinking	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Jug	reeded exterior

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
287	front	drinking	Earthenware	English Iron Glazed	Mug	
472	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	feather-edged
704	front	serving	Earthenware	Pearlware	Bowl	dipped
1026	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	barley
295	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	English Iron Glazed	Porringer	
514	front	personal	Earthenware	Delftware	Chamberpot	
257	back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pot	dark orange body with clay inclusions
356	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	North Devon Slipware	Dish	interior sgraffito geometric decoration
535	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Mug	exterior manganese colored ground
335	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	North Devon Gravel-Tempered	Bowl	bisque
475	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	shell-edged blue

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
621	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	individual?
956	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Bowl	5" diameter
77	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Cup	exterior underglaze blue
95	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Plate	interior underglaze blue and overglaze red
101	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Saucer	interior underglaze blue and overglaze red
172	front	serving	Earthenware	Course	Dish	dark orange to brown body with sand and clay inclusions
236	back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pan	dark orange brick-like body with sand and clay inclusions
569	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Plate	interior monochrome blue floral decoration
694	front	serving	Stoneware	Red-bodied	hollowware	reeded

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
978	front	drinking	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Mug	reeded
1010	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	bead and reel
1032	front	tea	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Saucer	
1037	front	tea	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Saucer	scratch blue
29	Back	storage	Stoneware	Brown	Jar	
137	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Teabowl	interior and exterior underglaze blue
684	front	tea	Stoneware	Jackfield	Cream jug	
996	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	barley
1006	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	bead and reel
610	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue foliate decoration
1023	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	dot

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
631	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	individual?
941	front	serving	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Flatware	marbleized
400	front	serving	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Cup	interior clear lead glaze
452	front	drinking	Earthenware	Creamware	Mug	
86	front	drinking	Porcelain	Chinese	Mug	exterior overglaze black
232	back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pan	dark red-brown body with sand inclusions
402	front	serving	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Hollowware	vegetable
660	front	drinking	Porcelain	English	Jug?	hand painted blue
465	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	Royal

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
364	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	North Devon Slipware	Hollowware	exterior sgraffito floral(?) decoration
220	back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pan	buff body with heavy yellow clay inclusions
500	front	servicing	Earthenware	Creamware	Serving dish	lobed body and grooved rim
153	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Bowl	dark orange body with sand inclusions and mica flecks
24	Back	Food Prep	Stoneware	Brown	Hollowware	
114	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Saucer	interior overglaze polychrome
128	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Teabowl	interior and exterior underglaze blue
129	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Teabowl	exterior underglaze blue
241	back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pipkin	buff body with sand and clay inclusions
267	Back	Storage	Earthenware	Buckley	Jar	
385	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Yorktown	Pan	interior clear lead glaze

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
692	front	serving	Stoneware	Drab Ware	bowl	interior white slip
963	front	tea	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Cup	scratch blue
992	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	basket
1024	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	lattice
1030	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Sauce boat	diaper and molded exterior
1041	front	tea	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Tea strainer	
1086	intrusive		Earthenware	Whiteware	Plate	shell-edged blue
288	back	personal	Earthenware	English Iron Glazed	Ointment pot	
360	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	North Devon Slipware	Dish	
534	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Mug	exterior polychrome decoration
656	front	architectural	Earthenware	Delftware	Tile	monochrome blue landscape scene

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
28	back	storage	Stoneware	Brown	Jar	
45	front	drinking	Stoneware	Brown	Mug	
73	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Bowl	interior and exterior overglaze red
175	front	serving	Earthenware	Course	Dish	dark orange-red and yellow agate body with interior and exterior tin glaze
192	Back	food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Hollowware	grey body with interior and exterior green lead glaze
196	Back	food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Hollowware	orange body with trace of iron oxide slip
221	back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pan	orange body with sparse clay inclusions
318	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	New England	Pan	interior clear lead glaze
322	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	New England	Pan	interior clear lead glaze
340	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	New England	Pot	interior clear lead glaze

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
451	front	drinking	Earthenware	Creamware	Mug	beaded
471	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	feather-edged
494	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Platter	Royal
529	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Hollowware	
1017	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	diaper and basket
320	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	New England	Pan	interior green lead glaze
327	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	New England	Pan	interior clear lead glaze
386	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Yorktown	Pan with pouring spout	interior clear lead glaze
525	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Dish	interior polychrome geometric decoration
459	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	Royal?
69	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Bowl	interior and exterior underglaze blue and overglaze red

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
151	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Bowl	dark orange body with mica flecks and indeterminate black inclusions
166	front	drinking	Earthenware	Course	Cup	orange-red body with sand inclusions
223	back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pan	dark orange body with indeterminate black inclusions
399	front	serving	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Bowl	lidded?
407	front	serving	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Plate	interior and exterior green clouded glaze
408	front	serving	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Plate	interior and exterior brown clouded glaze
411	front	serving	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Plate	interior brown green and yellow clouded glaze
412	front	serving	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Plate	interior brown green and yellow clouded glaze

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
507	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Basin	9" diameter
516	front	personal	Earthenware	Delftware	Chamberpot	
517	front	personal	Earthenware	Delftware	Chamberpot	
577	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Plate	interior monochrome blue geometric decoration
661	front	tea	Porcelain	English	Saucer	hand painted blue
662	front	tea	Porcelain	English	Saucer	hand painted blue
663	front	tea	Porcelain	English	Teabowl	hand painted blue
961	front	personal	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Chamberpot?	rolled rim
967	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Hollowware	molded exterior
968	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Hollowware	dot and basket exterior
969	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Hollowware	

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
977	front	drinking	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Mug	reeded
979	front	drinking	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Mug	strap handle
989	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	11 1/2" diameter
994	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	barley 9 1/2" diameter
995	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	barley
998	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	barley
1000	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	barley and horizontal wavy lines
1002	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	bead and reel
1003	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	bead and reel
1004	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	bead and reel
1007	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	bead and reel
1008	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	bead and reel

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
1009	front	servicing	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	bead and reel
1019	front	servicing	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	dot
1020	front	servicing	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	dot
1021	front	servicing	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	dot
1029	front	servicing	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Sauce boat	barley and molded exterior
1031	front	servicing	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Sauce boat	beaded and molded exterior
284	front	drinking	Earthenware	English Iron Glazed	Cup	37/8" height
313	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	New England	Hollowware	interior green lead glaze
323	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	New England	Pan	interior clear lead glaze
324	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	New England	Pan	interior clear lead glaze
528	front	servicing	Earthenware	Delftware	Hollowware	exterior manganese stipple

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
643	front	tea	Earthenware	Delftware	Teabowl	exterior monochrome blue floral/foliate decoration
44	front	drinking	Stoneware	Brown	Mug	6 11/16" height
319	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	New England	Pan	interior clear lead glaze
326	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	New England	Pan	interior clear lead glaze
298	front	drinking	Earthenware	English Mottled Glaze	Cup	
306	front	drinking	Earthenware	English Mottled Glaze	Mug	reeded
561	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Plate	interior monochrome blue decoration
645	front	tea	Earthenware	Delftware	Teabowl	exterior monochrome blue decoration
527	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Hollowware	exterior monochrome blue decoration
20	back	Storage	Stoneware	Brown	Bottle	

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
174	front	serving	Earthenware	Course	Dish	salmon and yellow agate body with interior and exterior tin glaze
238	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pan	buff to orange body with sand and clay inclusions
243	front	drinking	Earthenware	Course	Pitcher?	dark orange body with sand inclusions
271	Back	Storage	Earthenware	Buckley	Jar	
404	front	serving	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Plate	interior and exterior brown clouded glaze
430	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Bowl	
464	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	Royal
495	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Platter	Royal
537	Back	personal	Earthenware	Delftware	Ointment pot	
557	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Plate	

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
1011	front	servicing	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	bead and reel
205	Back	food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Hollowware	orange body with interior clear lead glaze
345	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	North Devon Gravel-Tempered	Pan	interior clear lead glaze
351	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	North Devon Slipware	Bowl	
18	Back	storage	Stoneware	Brown	Bottle	
59	Back	Food Prep	Stoneware	Nottingham	Pastry pan?	reeded
60	Back	Food Prep	Stoneware	Nottingham	Pastry pan?	reeded
76	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Can	exterior underglaze blue
108	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Saucer	interior underglaze blue
198	Back	food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Hollowware	orange body with interior green lead glaze
378	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Yorktown	Cream pot	interior and exterior clear lead glaze

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
387	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Yorktown	Pan	interior clear lead glaze
463	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	Royal
540	Back	personal	Earthenware	Delftware	Ointment pot	exterior monochrome blue decoration
560	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Plate	interior monochrome blue decoration
588	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue decoration
591	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue floral/foliate decoration
743	front	serving	Earthenware	Pearlware	Plate	hand painted blue
817	front	tea	Earthenware	Pearlware	Saucer	hand painted polychrome
972	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Hollowware	reeded
974	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Hollowware	lidded

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
988	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	9" diameter
1039	front	tea	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Sugar bowl?	
584	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue floral decoration
83	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Flatware	interior underglaze blue
133	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Teabowl	exterior underglaze blue reserves with Batavia reserves
135	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Teabowl	exterior underglaze blue and overglaze red
442	front	drinking	Earthenware	Creamware	Cup	beaded
489	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	Royal
499	front	tea	Earthenware	Creamware	Saucer	bead and reel
655	front	architectural	Earthenware	Delftware	Tile	manganese floral(?) decoration

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
732	front	serving	Earthenware	Pearlware	Hollowware	transfer printed blue interior and exterior
981	front	drinking	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Mug	reeded
986	front	drinking	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Mug	reeded
158	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Bowl	brown body with sand inclusions and mica flecks
365	Back	Storage	Earthenware	North Devon Slipware	Jug	
508	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Bottle	
515	front	personal	Earthenware	Delftware	Chamberpot	
532	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Mug	4" height
148	front	drinking	Earthenware	Course	Bottle	dark orange body with sand inclusions and mica flecks
157	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Bowl	dark orange body with sand and yellow clay inclusions

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
337	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	North Devon Gravel-Tempered	Bowl	bisque
608	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior and interior monochrome blue decoration
652	front	tea	Earthenware	Delftware	Teabowl	exterior monochrome blue decoration
87	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Plate	interior underglaze blue
94	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Plate	interior underglaze blue
113	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Saucer	interior overglaze red
131	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Teabowl	Batavia exterior
169	front	drinking	Earthenware	Course	Cup	red-orange body with interior and exterior clear lead glaze

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
177	front	serving	Earthenware	Course	Flatware	orange body with mica flecks
403	front	serving	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Plate	interior and exterior brown clouded glaze
405	front	serving	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Plate	interior and exterior green clouded glaze
509	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Bowl	exterior monochrome blue decoration
538	Back	personal	Earthenware	Delftware	Ointment pot	exterior monochrome blue decoration
578	front	serving	Earthenware	Delftware	Plate	interior manganese colored ground
632	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	individual?

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
653	front	architectural	Earthenware	Delftware	Tile	manganese decoration
973	front	serving	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Hollowware	
1045	front	tea	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Teapot?	
26	Back	Food Prep	Stoneware	Brown	Hollowware	
33	Back	storage	Stoneware	Brown	Jar	
68	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Bowl	interior underglaze
99	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Plate	interior overglaze red
124	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Teabowl	interior and exterior overglaze polychrome
134	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Teabowl	interior and exterior underglaze blue
188	Back	food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Hollowware	dark orange body with sand inclusions

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
213	front	drinking	Earthenware	Course	Mug	yellow-brown body with sand inclusions
226	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pan	orange body with sand inclusions
239	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pan	dark orange-brown brick-like body with sand inclusions
249	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pot	dark orange body with sand inclusions
283	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Buckley	Pan	
346	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	North Devon Gravel-Tempered	Pan	interior clear lead glaze
414	front	tea	Earthenware	Cream-colored	Saucer	interior and exterior clear lead glaze
629	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	individual?
685	front	drinking	Stoneware	Jackfield	Jug/pitcher?	
964	front	tea	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Cup	scratch blue

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
971	front	servicing	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Hollowware	
984	front	drinking	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Mug	4" diameter
991	front	servicing	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	basket and lattice
1028	front	servicing	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Platter	diaper and basket
1036	front	tea	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Saucer	scratch blue
1042	front	tea	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Teabowl	
1043	front	tea	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Teabowl	
1046	front	tea	Stoneware	White Saltglazed	Teapot?	scratch blue
281	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Buckley	Pan	
237	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pan	orange to dark orange body with sand and clay inclusions
252	Back	Food Prep	Earthenware	Course	Pot	buff body with sand and clay inclusions

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
589	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	exterior and interior polychrome decoration
627	front	drinking	Earthenware	Delftware	Punchbowl	individual?
638	front	tea	Earthenware	Delftware	Saucer	interior monochrome blue landscape decoration
893	Back	personal	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Chamberpot	dot-decorated
912	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	trailed
931	front	serving	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Dish	trailed
895	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	
915	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	trailed
937	front	serving	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Flatware	marbleized
939	front	serving	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Flatware	marbleized

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description 1
897	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	combed
917	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	exterior brown slip with white slip decoration
923	front	serving	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Dish	combed
933	front	serving	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Dish	trailed
918	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	exterior white slip with brown slip decoration
913	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	trailed
934	front	serving	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Dish	trailed
936	front	serving	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Flatware	dot-decorated

Appendix G Ceramic Vessel Data from the King's Arms⁴

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description
14	back	food prep	stoneware	Brown	Hollowware	
16	back	food prep	stoneware	Brown	Hollowware	
35	front	drinking	stoneware	Brown	Mug	multiple reeded body
37	front	drinking	stoneware	Brown	Mug	rouletted bands of wavy lines below rim
42	front	drinking	stoneware	Brown	Mug	Staffordshire?
49	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Bowl	overglaze
54	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Cup	underglaze blue
58	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Plate	underglaze blue
60	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Plate	underglaze blue
68	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Plate	underglaze blue with overglaze red
69	front	serving	Porcelain	Chinese	Plate	underglaze blue with iron oxide rim slip
85	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Saucer	overglaze red
89	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Saucer	underglaze blue
97	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Teabowl	underglaze blue
100	front	tea	Porcelain	Chinese	Teabowl	underglaze blue
104	back	unknown	Earthenware	Coarse	Indeterminate	dark orange body with exterior clear lead glaze
112	back	food prep	Earthenware	Coarse	Bowl	orange body with sand inclusions
115	back	personal	Earthenware	Coarse	Chamberpot	pink-orange brick-like body with grey core
115	back	personal	Earthenware	Coarse	Chamberpot	pink-orange brick-like body with grey core
119	back	food prep	Earthenware	Coarse	Dish	burned
133	back	food prep	Earthenware	Coarse	Hollowware	orange body with sand and clay inclusions
139	back	food prep	Earthenware	Coarse	Hollowware	buff body with red clay streaks
140	back	food prep	Earthenware	Coarse	Hollowware	orange to black body with interior and exterior dark green lead glaze

⁴ Vessel Data based on data graciously provide by Deborah Davenport of WMCAR. The author took the data and classified the vessels into function and front or back of house

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description
141	back	food prep	Earthenware	Coarse	Hollowware	light orange body with clay inclusions
164	back	food prep	Earthenware	Coarse	Pan	orange-red body with sand inclusions
169	back	food prep	Earthenware	Coarse	Pan	agate orange and yellow body with clay inclusions
174	back	food prep	Earthenware	Coarse	Pan with pouring spout	dark orange body with clay inclusions
174	back	food prep	Earthenware	Coarse	Pan with pouring spout	dark orange body with clay inclusions
207	front	drinking	Earthenware	English Iron Glazed	Cup	handled
207	front	drinking	Earthenware	English Iron Glazed	Cup	handled
209	back	food prep	Earthenware	English Iron Glazed	Pan	
210	front	drinking	Earthenware	English Iron Glazed	Mug	3 3
210	front	drinking	Earthenware	English Iron Glazed	Mug	3 3
215	back	food prep	Earthenware	North Devon Gravel-Tempered	Pan	
220	back	food prep	Earthenware	North Devon Gravel-Tempered	Pan with pouring spout	
228	back	storage	Earthenware	North Devon Slipware	Jug	sgraffito-decorated floral motif
231	back	food prep	Earthenware	New England	Pan	
232	back	food prep	Earthenware	New England	Pan	
262	front	personal	Earthenware	Creamware	Chamberpot	everted rim
318	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Plate	plain concave rim
330	front	serving	Earthenware	Creamware	Platter	Queen's
352	front	serving	Earthenware	DeIftware	Basin	ulterior monochrome blue floral decoration at base
358	front	serving	Earthenware	DeIftware	Bowl	undecorated
359	front	serving	Earthenware	DeIftware	Bowl	undecorated
360	front	serving	Earthenware	DeIftware	Bowl	undecorated
361	front	serving	Earthenware	DeIftware	Bowl	undecorated
371	front	serving	Earthenware	DeIftware	Bowl	exterior monochrome blue floral decoration
382	front	personal	Earthenware	DeIftware	Chamberpot	undecorated
386	front	drinking	Earthenware	DeIftware	Cup	exterior monochrome blue geometric decoration

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description
391	front	serving	Earthenware	De1ftware	Hollowware	undecorated
396	front	serving	Earthenware	De1ftware	Hollowware	undecorated
404	front	serving	Earthenware	De1ftware	Hollowware	exterior monochrome blue floral decoration
411	front	personal	Earthenware	De1ftware	Ointment pot	undecorated
414	front	personal	Earthenware	De1ftware	Ointment pot	undecorated
425	front	serving	Earthenware	De1ftware	Plate	banded monochrome blue
428	front	serving	Earthenware	De1ftware	Plate	monochrome blue floral decoration with banded rim
428	front	serving	Earthenware	De1ftware	Plate	monochrome blue floral decoration with banded rim
432	front	serving	Earthenware	De1ftware	Plate	indeterminate monochrome blue decoration
435	front	serving	Earthenware	De1ftware	Plate	indeterminate monochrome blue decoration
454	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue foliate(?) decoration
455	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior indeterminate monochrome blue decoration
462	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior indeterminate monochrome blue decoration
469	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue banded rim
470	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue floral decoration
472	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue foliate(?) decoration
473	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue floral decoration
474	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue "Chinese" floral(?) with multiple bands near base
475	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior monochrome blue floral decoration
482	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior indeterminate polychrome decoration
488	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior polychrome foliate decoration in square brush technique(?)
491	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	interior banded red
492	front	drinking	Earthenware	De1ftware	Punchbowl	exterior polychrome floral decoration on panelled ground
494	front	tea	Earthenware	De1ftware	Saucer	interior monochrome blue decoration
498	front	tea	Earthenware	De1ftware	Saucer	interior polychrome floral decoration
500	front	tea	Earthenware	De1ftware	Teabowl	exterior monochrome blue floral decoration
502	front	architecture	Earthenware	De1ftware	Tile	manganese floral decoration
505	front	serving	Porcelain	English	Plate	hand painted blue

Vessel Number	House	Function	Material	Ware	Form	Description
605	front	serving	Earthenware	Pearlware	Plate	shell-edged green
613	front	serving	Earthenware	Pearlware	Plate	shell-edged green
638	front	tea	Earthenware	Pearlware	Saucer	transfer printed blue
643	front	tea	Earthenware	Pearlware	Saucer	hand painted polychrome
647	front	tea	Earthenware	Pearlware	Teabowl	hand painted blue
683	back	storage	stoneware	Rhenish	Jug	multiple reeded manganese neck
685	back	storage	stoneware	Rhenish	Jug	incised
695	front	drinking	stoneware	Rhenish	Mug	cobalt rim cordons
702	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	handled
703	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	combed and dot-decorated
706	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	dot-decorated
707	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	dot-decorated
710	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	dot-decorated
712	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Cup	trailed
717	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Dish	dot-decorated
723	front	drinking	Earthenware	Staffordshire Slipware	Hollowware	exterior brown slip with white slip decoration
729	front	personal	stoneware	White Saltglazed	Chamberpot	
732	front	tea	stoneware	White Saltglazed	Cup	
740	front	drinking	stoneware	White Saltglazed	Hollowware	
746	front	drinking	stoneware	White Saltglazed	Mug	3" rim diameter
751	front	drinking	stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	barley
752	front	drinking	stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	barley
763	front	drinking	stoneware	White Saltglazed	Plate	diaper
771	front	tea	stoneware	White Saltglazed	Saucer	
783	front	drinking	stoneware	White Slip-dipped	Mug	cordoned base
783	front	drinking	stoneware	White Slip-dipped	Mug	cordoned base

Appendix H Glass from the Bunch of Grapes⁵

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
6	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
6	4	Glass	Bottle	colorless	unknown
6	3	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
6	1	Glass	Table	colorless	bowl
6	1	Glass	Table	colorless	tumbler
6	1	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
15	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
18	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
18	1	glass	Table	colorless	unknown
18	1	glass	Table	colorless	unknown
18	5	glass	Window	colorless	Window
19	73	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
19	2	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
19	2	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
19	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
19	1	Glass	Fragments	unknown	Glass fragment
19	1	Glass	Phial	medium green	Phial
19	3	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
19	4	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
19	3	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
23	17	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
23	1	Glass	Phial	aqua	Phial
23	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
23	2	Glass	Table	colorless	tumbler/flip glass
26	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
26	1	Glass	Window	colorless	Window

⁵ Artifact Data based on data graciously provided from WMCAR. Data reorganized by the author for this thesis

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
27	16	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
27	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	carboy
27	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
27	3	Glass	Bottle	aqua	unknown
27	1	Glass	Phial	medium green	Phial
27	2	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
28	2	Glass	Fragments	Unknown	Glass fragment
30	11	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
30	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
30	1	Glass	Bottle	light green	unknown
30	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
30	6	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
32	6	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
32	3	glass	Table	colorless	unknown
32	2	glass	Table	colorless	stemware?
32	1	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
32	2	glass	Window	colorless	Window
34	1	Glass	Phial	colorless	Bottle/phial glass
36	1	Glass	Phial	medium green	Phial
44	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
45	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
45	2	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
45	3	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
46	6	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
46	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
51	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
51	1	Glass	Fragments	unknown	Glass fragment
55	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
56	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
62	2	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
74	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
83	2	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
84	500	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
84	5	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	square-bodied
84	2	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	decanter?
84	14	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
84	15	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
84	2	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	square-bodied
84	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
84	19	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
84	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	square-bodied
84	1	glass	Bottle	light green	Wine
84	10	glass	Bottle	aqua	flat sided
84	2	glass	Flask	light green	flask
84	1	glass	Fragments	Unknown	Glass fragment
84	3	glass	Fragments	white	Glass fragment
84	5	glass	Phial	light green	Phial
84	1	glass	Phial	blue-green	Phial
84	2	glass	Phial	green-blue	Phial
84	21	glass	Table	colorless	unknown
84	3	glass	Table	colorless	decanter?
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	unknown
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
84	2	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	tumbler?
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	tumbler
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	tumbler
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	tumbler?
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	cordial?

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	candlestick?
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	decanter?
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
84	1	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
84	121	glass	Window	colorless	Window
89	61	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
89	5	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
89	1	Glass	Fragments	polychrome	Glass fragment
89	2	Glass	Phial	light green	Phial
89	1	Glass	Phial	light green	Phial
89	11	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
89	3	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
89	45	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
90	55	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
90	10	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
90	4	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
90	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	octagonal
90	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
90	5	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
90	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	flat sided
90	1	glass	Table	colorless	tumbler
90	1	glass	Table	colorless	goblet?
90	8	glass	Window	colorless	Window
91	7	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
91	1	glass	Table	colorless	unknown
91	1	glass	Window	colorless	Window
94	2	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
94	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
94	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
94	1	Glass	Fragments	white	Glass fragment
94	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
94	1	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
96	4	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
96	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
96	8	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
108	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
108	2	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
108	1	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
120	2	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
120	1	glass	Window	colorless	Window
132	255	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
132	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	panelled
132	12	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	square-bodied
132	7	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
132	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
132	5	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
132	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	octagonal?
132	2	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	square-bodied
132	5	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
132	4	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
132	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
132	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
132	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	wide mouth
132	5	glass	Bottle	aqua	unknown
132	9	glass	Fragments	Unknown	Glass fragment
132	4	glass	Phial	light green	Phial
132	1	glass	Phial	blue-green	Phial

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
132	34	glass	Table	colorless	unknown
132	2	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
132	3	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
132	1	glass	Table	colorless	decanter?
132	1	glass	Table	colorless	decanter?
132	1	glass	Table	colorless	stemware
132	23	glass	Window	colorless	Window
137	1	glass	Window	colorless	Window
141	9	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
141	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
141	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
141	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
141	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
141	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
141	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	liquor
141	3	Glass	Bottle	aqua	unknown
141	1	Glass	Bottle	aqua	unknown
141	1	Glass	Phial	blue-green	Phial
141	18	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
141	1	Glass	Table	colorless	hollowware
141	2	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
141	1	Glass	Table	blue-green	unknown
141	3	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
149	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
154	13	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
154	1	Glass	Fragments	brownish yellow	Glass fragment
154	2	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
154	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
154	1	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
157	4	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
157	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	octagonal
157	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
157	1	Glass	Fragments	brownish yellow	Glass fragment
157	1	Glass	Phial	light green	Phial
157	3	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
169	242	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
169	8	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
169	8	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
169	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
169	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
169	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
169	11	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
169	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
169	1	Glass	Phial	dark green	Phial
169	7	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
169	1	Glass	Table	colorless	bottle
169	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
169	1	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
170	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
170	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
170	3	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
170	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
185	5	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
185	6	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
185	1	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
187	304	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
187	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
187	6	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
187	19	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
187	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
187	11	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
187	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
187	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
187	16	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
187	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
187	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	wide-mouth container
187	2	Glass	Phial	light green	Phial
187	2	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
187	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
187	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
187	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
187	23	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
189	26	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
189	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
189	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
189	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
189	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
189	3	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
189	1	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
192	23	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
192	2	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
192	8	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
192	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
192	2	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
192	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
192	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
192	3	Glass	Table	colorless	tumbler
192	1	Glass	Table	colorless	tumbler
192	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
192	3	Glass	Window	colorless	Window

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
194	85	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
194	9	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
194	10	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
194	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
194	16	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
194	9	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
194	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
194	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
194	2	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
194	1	Glass	Table	colorless	handled cruet
194	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
194	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
194	1	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
233	299	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
233	12	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
233	6	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
233	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
233	5	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
233	1	Glass	Flask	light green	Flask
233	4	Glass	Phial	light green	Phial
233	1	Glass	Phial	light green	Phial
233	20	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
233	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
233	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
233	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
233	2	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
233	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
233	3	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
233	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
233	2	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
233	2	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
233	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
233	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
233	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
233	3	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
233	3	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
233	30	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
243	15	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
243	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
243	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
243	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
243	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
243	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
299	7	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
299	1	Glass	Bottle	light green	unknown
299	1	Glass	Fragments	colorless	Glass fragment
299	1	Glass	Phial	dark green	Phial
371	6	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
371	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	panelled
371	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
371	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
371	1	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
396	141	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
396	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
396	6	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
396	39	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
396	8	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
396	2	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
396	1	Glass	Bottle	ultramarine	unknown
396	11	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
396	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	wide-mouthed container
396	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
396	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
396	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
396	24	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
422	125	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
422	13	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
422	7	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
422	11	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
422	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
422	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
422	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
422	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
422	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
422	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
422	1	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
424	116	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
424	5	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
424	2	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
424	6	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
424	1	glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
424	12	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
424	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
438	2	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
438	99	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
438	12	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
438	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
438	4	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
438	14	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
438	4	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
438	1	Glass	Phial	light green	Phial
438	2	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
438	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
438	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
438	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stopper?
438	3	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
499	142	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
499	4	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
499	10	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
499	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
499	7	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
499	3	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
499	6	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
499	1	Glass	Bottle	amber	unknown
499	10	Glass	Phial	light green	Phial
499	1	Glass	Phial	aqua	Phial
499	1	Glass	Phial	light green	Phial
499	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
499	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
499	1	Glass	Table	colorless	tumbler
499	49	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
505	197	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
505	10	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
505	6	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
505	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	square-bodied
505	7	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
505	4	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
505	6	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
505	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
505	1	Glass	Phial	dark green	Phial

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
505	11	Glass	Phial	light green	Phial
505	1	Glass	Phial	light green	Phial
505	1	Glass	Phial	colorless	Phial
505	3	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
505	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
505	1	Glass	Table	colorless	hollowware
505	2	Glass	Table	colorless	tumbler
505	6	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware/tumbler
505	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
505	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
505	1	Glass	Table	colorless	stemware
505	1	Glass	Table	colorless	unknown
505	45	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
511	31	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
511	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	panelled
511	7	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
511	1	Glass	Bottle	dark green	Wine
511	3	Glass	Window	colorless	Window
537	1	glass	Bottle	Dark Green	Wine
537	1	glass	Table	colorless	unknown
537	1	glass	Window	colorless	Window

Appendix I Glass from King's Arms⁶

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
39	3	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
39	1	glass	Window glass	colorless	window
74	6	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
74	1	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
74	2	glass	Bottle glass	amber	Bottle
74	1	glass	Bottle glass	light green	Bottle
74	2	glass	Bottle glass	colorless	Bottle
74	1	glass	Bottle glass	colorless	Bottle
74	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown
74	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	stemware
74	3	glass	Window glass	colorless	window
119	25	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
119	3	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
119	1	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
119	2	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
119	2	glass	Glass fragments	dark green?	Glass fragments
119	3	glass	Phial glass	green	Phial
119	1	glass	Phial glass	green	Phial
119	3	glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown
119	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown
119	7	glass	Window glass	colorless	window
142	42	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
142	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	square-bodied
142	13	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
142	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle

⁶ Artifact Data based on data graciously provided from WMCAR. Data reorganized by the author for this thesis

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
142	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
142	3	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
142	3	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
142	2	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
142	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
142	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
142	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
142	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
142	3	Glass	Glass fragments	molten	Glass fragments
142	1	Glass	Phial glass	light green	Phial
142	2	Glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown
142	1	Glass	Table glass	colorless	Stemware
142	1	Glass	Table glass	colorless	Stemware
142	8	Glass	Window glass	colorless	window
179	46	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
179	3	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	square-bodied
179	2	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
179	1	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
179	1	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
179	1	glass	Glass fragment	molten	Glass fragments
179	1	glass	Phial glass	green	Phial
179	1	glass	Phial glass	light green	Phial
179	1	glass	Phial glass	colorless	Phial
179	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	tumbler
179	15	glass	Window glass	colorless	window
200	53	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
200	8	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
200	2	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
200	2	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
200	1	glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
200	1	glass	Bottle glass	green	Bottle
200	2	glass	Glass fragments	amber	Glass fragments
200	1	glass	Table glass	light green	Stemware
200	31	glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown
200	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown
200	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown
200	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	stemware
200	2	glass	Table glass	colorless	stemware
200	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	stemware
200	3	glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown
200	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	Stemware
200	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	Stemware
200	2	glass	Table glass	colorless	Stemware
200	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	Stemware
200	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	Stemware
200	2	glass	Table glass	colorless	decanter
200	24	glass	Window glass	colorless	window
214	15	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
214	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
214	2	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
214	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
214	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
214	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
214	2	Glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown
214	3	Glass	Window glass	colorless	window
217	46	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
217	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
217	1	Glass	Phial glass	light green	Phial
217	4	Glass	Phial glass	aqua	Phial
217	2	Glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
217	10	Glass	Window glass	colorless	window
220	6	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
220	1	Glass	Window glass	colorless	window
221	4	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
221	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
221	2	Glass	Window glass	colorless	window
223	8	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
223	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
223	1	Glass	Phial glass	green	Phial
223	1	Glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown
223	2	Glass	Window glass	colorless	window
228	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
228	6	Glass	Window glass	colorless	window
229	2	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
229	1	Glass	Window glass	colorless	window
230	7	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
232	9	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
232	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
232	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
232	1	Glass	Table glass	colorless	unknown
232	1	Glass	Table glass	colorless	stemware
232	4	Glass	Window glass	colorless	window
245	7	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
245	3	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
245	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
245	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
245	1	Glass	Table glass	colorless	tumbler
245	2	Glass	Table glass	colorless	Stemware
245	2	Glass	Window glass	colorless	window
246	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle

Context	Count	Artifact Type	Glass Type	Glass Color	Glass Form
246	1	Glass	Window glass	colorless	window
250	1	Glass	Bottle glass	dark green	Bottle
272	1	glass	Table glass	colorless	stemware
272	1	Glass	Table glass	colorless	stemware

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