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Philadelphia Kitchens: A Special Report

with Recommendations for the Bishop White & Todd Houses



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PHILADELPHIA KITCHENS: A SPECIAL REPORT WITH RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE BISHOP WHITE AND TODD HOUSES

Jane Busch, Museum Intern
Independence National Historical Park

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Doris Devine Fanelli, Curator
John C. Milley, Chief of Museum Opertions

PHILADELPHIA KITCHENS: A SPECIAL REPORT WITH RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE BISHOP WHITE AND TODD HOUSES

Introduction

The purpose of this report is to provide documentation and recommendations for a more complete and accurate furnishing of the Todd and Bishop White house kitchens. When the original furnishing plans were written in the early 1960s, time constraints prevented thorough research on the kitchens. Now, the Friends of Independence National Historical Park internship provides the time to undertake such research. In addition, secondary sources that have appeared in the twenty years since the original plans were written assist in determining the appearance of early kitchens. Finally, advantage is being taken of this reinterpretation to furnish the Bishop White kitchen to the 1830s instead of to the 1790s; the interpretive benefits of this change are detailed in part two.

Some of the recommendations that follow will contradict those in the original furnishing plans. For the most part, however, the original plans were incomplete more than incorrect. More serious inadequacies resulted from the plans not being implemented properly. Objects called for in the furnishing plans were not supplied, while many superfluous objects were introduced, resulting in kitchens that are cluttered yet incomplete. The mere removal of numerous objects presently in the kitchens will bring immediate improvement. There is no need to fear that the kitchens will be Oare, however, since much additional equipment is needed. The background

information provided in this report will help upgrade the interpretation of the kitchens to visitors. All in all the changes will be substantial and, I believe, for the better.

Because research is never completed, recommendations for future research are included here. Reading diaries is time consuming, but it is the only way to uncover the scraps of information that tell what was really happening in Philadelphia's kitchens. Specifically, researchers should look at volumes 5-12 of Ann Warder's journal, volumes 5-15 and 19-25 of Sarah Fisher's diary, Hannah Bringhurst's diary, Deborah Norris Logan's diary, and receipt books and correspondence of other Philadelphia housewives, all located at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Contributionship and Mutual Assurance surveys need more study; I studied the 1784-1794 Mutual Assurance surveys in depth, but only sampled the rest. Someone should examine Philadelphia probate inventories for 1830-34. More research on food, especially for the later period, would be valuable since this study concentrated on the artifacts. If Hannah Glasse's Servant's Directory (1760) is as good as her cookbook, it would be worth a trip to Washington where there is a copy at the Library of Congress. A thorough analysis is needed of the archaeological materials excavated from the Bishop White house, and in general, research on kitchen ceramics of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

This report could not have been written without the support and assistance of everyone in the museum office at Independence National Historical Park. The Friends of INHP not only sponsored my position but also funded a trip to Cooperstown where I gained firsthand experience in fireplace cooking. The staffs of the Library Company and Historical

Society of Pennsylvania were very helpful. Other individuals who shared their time and knowledge were Lynne Belluscio of the Genesee Country Museum, Katarina Cerny of the Valley Forge Historical Society, Lu Ann DeCunzo of Historic Fallsington, Deborah Ducoff-Barone of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and William Woys Weaver. I owe special thanks to Penny Batcheler for her suggestions and enthusiasm.

PART ONE

THE TODD HOUSE KITCHEN

Introduction

The Todd house was built in 1775, with the kitchen on the first floor of a two-story brick backbuilding. Today the Todd house is furnished to reflect the Todd occupancy from 1791 to 1794; this will continue to be the aim in the kitchen. During this period the Todd household included Dolley Payne Todd, her husband John Todd Jr. (died October 24, 1793), their sons John Payne Todd (born February 29, 1792) and William Temple Todd (born summer 1793, died October 24, 1793), a law clerk named Isaac Heston from spring 1793 until his death that September, and at various times Dolley's younger siblings Lucy, Anna and John.[1] Although there is no documentation for servants, it would be unusual for a comfortable middle-class household like the Todds to be servantless. Alexander Murray, who occupied the house immediately prior to the Todds, had one female and one male servant.[2] Sarah Logan Fisher and Ann Warder, Quaker women of a socio-economic status comparable to Dolley's, had two (at least) and three servants, respectively.[3] We can assume that the Todds had one or two live-in servants.

Primary evidence on the appearance of the kitchen and its furnishings is sparse. The original kitchen was torn down between 1818 and 1843. The east wall remains but much of the evidence concerning its eighteenth century appearance has been erased by later alterations. Insurance surveys provide only the dimensions of the kitchen, and, in the 1807 survey, the notation that the kitchen is finished "as customary."[4] Archaeological excavations located the original necessary pit and indicated that there was

no well on the property. Excavated artifacts, however, provide little assistance. The artifacts associated with the cellar and privy are mainly post-eighteenth century. Artifacts recovered in the 1961 excavations to determine historic grades have been identified as fill, and therefore not associated with the occupants of the house. A group of artifacts excavated in the northwest corner of the property may be from a late eighteenth century trash deposit; however these have no field proveniences and in any case their assignment to the short Todd occupancy is problematic.[5] The inventory of John Todd Jr.'s estate taken December 7, 1793 adds little information. We can assume that some of the pine tables and windsor chairs were in the kitchen, but for specific kitchen furnishings we have only the entry "sundry kitchen furniture."[6] We have a complete inventory of John Todd Sr.'s estate, a large part of which was inherited by Dolley. However Dolley did not receive her share until February 1794, and by April she had moved out of the house,[7] so the value of the John Todd Sr. inventory is mainly comparative. We have no relevant diaries, account books or letters.

The lack of evidence specific to the Todd house has required that this report be a study of late eighteenth century Philadelphia kitchens, adapted to what we know of the Todd kitchen and household. The most important primary materials consulted were approximately two hundred Philadelphia county household inventories for the years 1791-95;[8] diaries written by

John Todd Sr., Ann Warder, Sarah Logan Fisher, Elizabeth Drinker and Elizabeth Powel; and Mary Plumsted's Cookery Book. With the exception of Elizabeth Powel, the diarists were all Quakers, and although they were somewhat wealthier than the Todds, they moved in the same social circles. Dolley's family stayed with the Drinkers when the former arrived in Philadelphia; Sarah Fisher noted John and Dolley's wedding in her diary.[9] Many eighteenth century cookbooks were consulted, including English cookbooks which were sold in Philadelphia, Amelia Simmons' American Cookery, and a New Jersey manuscript recipe book. The Park's file of eighteenth century English cartoons includes a number of views of kitchens, providing essential visual evidence, even though allowance must be made for American differences. Where eighteenth century sources could not provide answers, early nineteenth century works on housekeeping were consulted. Cooking and housekeeping changed slowly in these decades; in 1840 the great majority of Americans still cooked in an open fireplace. Although there are no good secondary sources on Philadelphia kitchens, some good studies of kitchens in other areas, and on related topics, were helpful.

Construction and Built-In Fixtures

Architectural investigation has established the dimensions of the kitchen, including the stairhall, as 11' x 19' 2 1/2". The brick walls are plastered inside and the floor is wood. Based on other kitchen backbuildings still extant, a door and window have been installed on the west wall. The surviving physical evidence indicates that the fireplace was on

the north wall, with a closet adjoining it to the east. A corresponding closet has been built adjoining the west fireplace breast. There is no evidence, physical or documentary, for an oven.[10]

It is probable that the interior woodwork included more than just a closet or two. Because the plaster had been removed from most of the east kitchen wall, leaving only a scattered residue of eighteenth century plaster, most of the evidence of woodwork has been destroyed. Similarly, only traces of original plaster with no evidence of woodwork were left on the east wall of the dining parlor.[11] Yet according to the 1807 Mutual Assurance Company survey for the house, the dining parlor had a mantle, closets, washboards (baseboards), surbase (chair rail), and windows cased,[12] and these features have been reconstructed. When we look to the 1807 survey for a description of the kitchen we find the ambiguous phrase "finished as customary." It is necessary for us to try to determine what "customary" meant.

Of the surviving Mutual Assurance surveys taken between 1784 and 1794, 162 mention kitchens. Of these, 130 describe the interior finish of the kitchen in some way. Approximately 80 of these describe the kitchen in general terms; the remainder describe specific features. Of the 80 described in general terms, more than 50 are described like the Todd kitchen, as "customary." A comparison with other descriptions shows that customary denoted the presence of certain features unknown to us, but understood by contemporary readers. Two kitchens were described as

"finished genteelly" and "finished in the best manner." We can assume that these kitchens contained extensive woodwork, yet the surveyor felt that a summary description was adequate. Nine kitchens were described as "plain"; probably indicating something less complete than customary. This is clearer when we look at a few qualified descriptions of kitchens "finished quite plain with only dresser," "with only floor and dresser," or that "hath only washboards." In other surveys rooms finished as kitchens are contrasted with other rooms finished plain: "One room below finished as a kitchen all the others plain having only washboards and windows cased" and "kitchen finished as customary the other part plain." One gets the impression that, customarily, a kitchen was something more than plain, and included more than just washboards or a dresser. When we look at the surveys in which individual features are specified we find, in various combinations, skirting, windows cased, washboards, closets, brick or paved floor, surbase, oven, pantry, shelves, and mantle. Most frequently mentioned are washboards (33), dresser (27, windows cased (27), closets (16), mantle (13), and surbase (9). The reconstructed Todd kitchen already has washboards, window cased, and a mantle, in addition to the closets, for which we have physical evidence. The kitchen at 338 Spruce Street was described "finished as customary" in a 1791 survey, yet recent investigation showed it contained a built-in dresser. I believe that the Todd kitchen, "finished as customary," more likely than not included a built-in dresser.[13]

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a dresser as "a kind of kitchen sideboard surmounted by rows of shelves on which plates, dishes, and kitchen utensils are ranged." There is considerable evidence that dressers were very common in eighteenth century kitchens. Views of eighteenth century English kitchens frequently show dressers (figs. 4 & 5).[14] The Art of Cookery, Mrs. Glasse wrote: "Take a side of pork, then take off all the inside fat, lay it on a long board or dresser."[15] Mrs. Parkes assumed the presence of a dresser when she wrote in Domestic Duties: "Your kitchen probably contains a sufficiency of tables, dressers and closets."[16] Both of these books were popular in America. When we look at strictly American evidence we have for the eighteenth century inventories, insurance surveys, other documentary sources such as account books, and surviving dressers. In her furnishing plan for a Long Island kitchen, Katarina Cerny presents evidence that dressers were common in New England and Virginia kitchens.[17] By the time we have American books on household management in the early nineteenth century, dressers are taken for granted. Robert Roberts wrote in his servant's directory: "Put your made dishes in plates and arrange them upon the dresser in regular order." Eliza Leslie referred to the kitchen dresser in an offhand manner that clearly indicates she expected one to be there.[18]

American dressers were constructed both as built-in and free-standing furniture, and we find evidence of both types in Philadelphia. Cabinetmakers were producing free-standing dressers in Philadelphia in the

late eighteenth century.[19] Dressers which appear in household inventories would be movable furniture.[20] Surviving free-standing eighteenth century dressers can be identified as Pennsylvania pieces, although they cannot be attributed specifically to Philadelphia.[21] Evidence of built-in dressers is found in the Mutual Assurance surveys as described above. Philadelphia Contributionship surveys from the 1750s indicate the presence of built-in dressers at mid-century.[22] The Carpenters' Company Rule Book confirms the inclusion of dressers as built-in carpentry, listing "shelves of common closets or dressers" and "plank shelves of dressers."[23] Built-in dressers dating to the 1790s survive in Philadelphia at Grumblethorpe, Cedar Grove, and at 108 Sansom Street. When we compare the evidence for both types of dressers, we find they appear much more frequently as built-in furniture in insurance surveys than as movable furniture in inventories. Eliza Leslie's House Book, written in Philadelphia in the 1830s, refers to dressers as noted above. But when Miss Leslie actually lists kitchen furniture, which she does in great detail, she discusses tables, chairs, ironing boards, floor coverings, even looking-glasses, but does not mention dressers. The obvious conclusion is that the dresser she refers to must be built-in, and that such was the customary practice in Philadelphia at that time.

In sum, when we combine analysis of the phrase "finished as customary" in Mutual Assurance surveys with a consideration of the use of dressers in eighteenth century kitchens, the evidence favors a built-in dresser in the Todd kitchen. We know from the surveys that

built-in dressers were found in kitchens corresponding to the Todd kitchen in size and location.[24] A dresser provides the most satisfactory solution to the problem of storage and work space in the small Todd kitchen.

The logical location for the dresser is on the east wall, abutting the wall enclosing the staircase. For its appearance, we must turn to eighteenth century prototypes. Originally a dresser was simply a bench where meat was dressed, hence its name.[25] In depictions of eighteenth century English kitchens the dresser frequently appears to be separate from the shelves on the wall above it, but by the early nineteenth century dresser and shelves are attached. Surviving American dressers are one piece, although free-standing dressers are constructed of two parts.[26] The closest models we have for the Todd dresser are the built-in dressers in Grumblethorpe and Cedar Grove (figs. 1 & 2) and free-standing late eighteenth century dressers made in Pennsylvania. Generally, the Grumblethorpe and Cedar Grove dressers should be adapted to fit the smaller Todd kitchen. The dresser at 338 Spruce Street was five feet long, which seems an appropriate size for the Todd kitchen. However, the upper shelves should not be enclosed by doors as at Grumblethorpe and Cedar Grove. According to Ormsbee, such doors appear ca. 1780. This is supported by the Mutual Assurance surveys for the dates 1784-94, which describe three enclosed dressers: policy 27, dated 1784, includes "a dresser and shelves

enclosed;" policy 110, dated 1785, includes "dresser with glass doors;" policy 266, dated 1791, includes "dresser with doors."[27] These descriptions confirm that enclosed dresser shelves were known at that date, yet imply that the majority of dressers had open shelves. Since the Todd house was built in 1775, it is more accurate to leave the dresser shelves open. Many English dressers, and some American dressers (figs. 5, 6, 7) are open on the bottom as well.[27] Although it would assist interpretation of the kitchen if the dresser bottom was open, I know of no surviving Pennsylvania dressers, built-in or free-standing, with open bottoms. Therefore it seems safer to build the dresser with doors on the bottom, and leave the doors ajar so visitors can see the contents.

Furniture

The dresser leaves room for one kitchen work table with drawers on the west wall. This should be pine, since the inventory of John Todd Jr.'s property lists eleven mahogany and pine tables. The table should be located as much under the window as possible without interfering with the closet doors. Because of lack of space, only two windsor chairs of the thirty-six mahogany and windsor chairs listed in the inventory should be located in the kitchen. These should be kept against the wall, except when pulled out as part of a particular activity. Wash tubs were placed on low benches or stools when in use (fig. 8).[29] Two stools provided for this purpose would serve for seating also. A small hanging shelf should be fixed to the west wall between the doorway and the southwest corner.

Food Supply and Storage

A popular perception of the eighteenth century kitchen is that foodstuffs were produced and prepared entirely "from scratch" beginning with planting the seeds or milking the cow. This was true on the farm, but not in urban Philadelphia. If the butter churn and dough trough symbolized the rural kitchen, the market basket symbolized the urban kitchen. Eliza Leslie, concerned that housewives were too disinterested in housekeeping, wrote nostalgically in 1840 of "the days when, during the presidency of her husband, Mrs. Washington, followed by a servant-man with a basket, went daily to Philadelphia market." Miss Leslie's description is probably exaggerated, most likely Martha Washington went to market on Wednesdays and Saturdays, the two main market days. Ann Warder wrote in her journal for October 22, 1788: "Fourth & Market Day--being equally good twice a week I rose about six and attended by my Man James went. It is an imploy very different to London neither so easy or pleasant being far more fatiguing nothing here placed in regular order except the Butchers who sell only either Mutton or Beef." Housewives made occasional trips to market on off days, but Ann Warder noted that she was never able to obtain what she wanted on these visits. Foodstuffs were also obtained at shops, such as grocer's or confectioner's. Bread and milk were customarily delivered to the customer's home. Elizabeth Drinker noted in her diary on September 5, 1805: "Our baker was paid off today, he

is afraid to come with bread, as ye fever is in our Neighborhood. Diarists refer to the milkman or milkwoman as Americans have done until the recent decline of home milk delivery. John Todd Sr. took a pint of milk in the morning and one in the evening. Elizabeth Drinker had other groceries, including poultry and butter, delivered to her home, at the same price they sold for in market. Some Philadelphians supplemented their purchased foodstuffs by keeping a cow for milk, or growing fruit and vegetables in a garden. John Todd Sr. kept a cow for awhile, as did the Drinkers and the Powels, however they seem to have been in the minority. Elizabeth Drinker wrote during the Revolutionary War: "We have not bought a pound of butter for 3 or 4 weeks past. All we get is from our cow, about 2 pounds a week, and very few of the citizens have any." Dolley Todd may very well have grown vegetables in her yard, but as a typical housewife would have obtained most of her provisions on twice-weekly trips to market. A market basket is essential, but a butter churn and dough trough are not recommended.[30]

Frequent trips to market for fresh food were necessary because food storage was uncertain in this period before the introduction of reliable canning and mechanical refrigeration. Elizabeth Drinker described their disposal of eight barrels of "high sented" salt fish one July. Ann Warder attributed a family illness to toast made with "grown flour"; chronic stomach problems fill the pages of contemporary

diaries. Nevertheless, large quantities of staples were purchased and stored, particularly in the fall to last through the winter, for example, 10 barrels of flour, 42 pounds of butter, or 222 pounds of beef. Meat, poultry, and seafood were preserved by smoking, pickling, salting, and potting. Pickling and salting seem to have been the most popular methods in Philadelphia. Meat was put up for winter in November or December, a major household undertaking. Sarah Fisher's diary included many entries such as, on December 2, 1786 : "Busy in the morning getting Tongues Salted--Pickle boiled for our Beef & c." Similarly, Elizabeth Drinker wrote on December 25, 1794: "Some of us up 'till midnight, as James was busy in the washhouse cutting up 6 hoggs." Potted meat was stored in earthenware pots with a layer of clarified butter on top. Pickled meats were sometimes kept in ceramic or glass jars; otherwise meat was hung or kept in barrels or tubs. Fruits and vegetables, including peaches, melons, cucumbers, mushrooms, radishes, and cabbages were pickled. Mrs. Glasse warned that pickles should be stored in stoneware jars, as the vinegar and salt could penetrate earthenware; however American authors sometimes specified earthen pots or jars, as well as glass jars for pickles. Jars of pickles had leather coverings tied over the opening. Fruit preserves and jellies, made with sugar and sometimes with brandy, were generally put into glasses, but stone pots, earthen and china cups, and wide-mouth bottles are mentioned as well. A piece of paper dipped

in brandy, cut to fit the opening of the container, was placed on top of the preserves, then another piece of paper was tied over the top. Other staple foods, such as flour and sugar, were stored in barrels, although finer sugar came in loaves. Stoneware pots were recommended for storing butter. Root vegetables were buried in sand in the cellar.[31]

The difficulty of providing the "cool, dry place" recommended for most food storage contributed to food spoilage. Noah Webster described the dilemma in one of his educational essays:

> It is warm weather--a man buys a quarter of veal or mutton--he deliberates whether he had better hang it up in the buttery or in the cellar--he does not know whether the heat above stairs, or the damp air below, is most injurious to fresh meat--finally he puts it into the buttery . . . the next day the meat is spoiled.[32]

Staple foods including flour, sugar, tea, pickles, preserves, and ketchups were kept in a storeroom.[33] Inventories indicate that for Philadelphians this storeroom, or a less formal food storage area, was usually located in the cellar despite the dampness. There were other possibilities: Elizabeth Drinker described her food stores as located in "ye middle room and cellar," and John Todd Sr. seems to have had a built-in "meat box" in his "middle room."[34] Inventories sometimes list foodstuffs in garrets. Nevertheless, the cellar seems to have been the primary food repository, and the Todd house contains no other space that could logically have been used for that purpose. Safes--movable closets with sides of wire net or perforated tin--were used

to keep cold meat, pies and other leftover foods,[35] usually in the cellar. Storing fresh meat and dairy products posed the most difficult problem in hot weather. Ann Warder described a backbuilding milkhouse cooled by water from a pump much as a country spring house was cooled by a natural spring; here were kept meat, milk, butter and cheese.[36] Bishop White's cold storage vault was not unique.[37] At the Todd house, however, we have no evidence for any special cold storage facility. We must assume that the Todds, like many others, made do with the coldest part of the cellar.

Because the Todd house cellar will not be refurnished, much of the preceding discussion relates to what the public will not see, although it helps to explain the functioning of the kitchen they do see. But a portion of these foodstuffs would have been kept on hand in the kitchen. Wooden salt boxes appear frequently in prints, inevitably hanging next to the fireplace (figs. 1, 3, 6). Mrs. Parkes wrote that the salt box should be hung near the fire,[38] and one should be so located in the Todd kitchen. Tin canisters are found in kitchen inventories, with tea and sugar specified as contents; other staples were probably stored in these, or in covered jars.[39] Four tin canisters, different sizes, should be placed on the dresser shelves. Early nineteenth century writers specified earthen pans with covers for keeping bread; Mrs. Parkes mentioned a wicker basket as well as an alternative.[40] Bread baskets appear occasionally in Philadelphia

inventories in the 1790s, however these could be tin baskets for serving bread; in one case "japanned" is specified. For lack of precise information, a large shallow earthenware pan, similar to a milk pan, should be placed on a closet shelf. Surviving pans often have a shelf for a lid, but the lids have been broken or lost. For this purpose, a lid will have to be provided. A stoneware pot (for butter), a stoneware jar (for pickles), and a redware jug (for liquids), should be placed on a dresser shelf; the jar should have a leather covering tied over the top (figs. 4-6).[41] Eliza Leslie and Catherine Beecher recommend wooden flour buckets with lids for holding sifted flour. The miniature barrels on the work tables in two English cartoons (fig. 6) seem to fit this description, and one should stand on the work table in the Todd kitchen.[42]

Food Preparation

Dolley Todd might have had a cook as one of her servants. If she did, she would still have done some of the cooking herself. If she did not have a cook, Dolley would have had assistance in preparing meals from a housemaid and from her sisters. Cooking was too big a job for one person. For a list of utensils used in preparing and cooking food we must look both at inventories and cookbooks. Inventories usually omit small items which were not valuable, but were essential kitchen utensils. Earthenware and tinware are generally referred to in lots rather than itemized. By carefully reading cookbooks and noting which utensils are specified or implied in recipes we

can fill in the gaps. Specific recommendations, in terms of quantities, material, and necessity, are based on the Todd's socio-economic status. We can assume that the Todd kitchen was well-equipped with all the basic kitchen utensils. But as a young household that was comfortable but not wealthy, their kitchen would have few luxuries. In addition, the small size of the kitchen precludes superfluous equipment.[43]

Food preparation equipment should include one large and one small earthenware bowl or pan and one large and one small wooden bowl for mixing, chopping, and holding foods. Baskets were used to hold foods like fruit and eggs, and as temporary receptacles for wastes, such as feathers from plucked chickens.[44] Three round baskets, of different sizes, should be in the Todd kitchen. Mortar and pestle were important pieces of kitchen equipment, used not only to grind spices, but also to grind nuts, beat milk and butter, and even to pulverize meat. Where inventories mention material they are most frequently brass, but wood, bell metal, iron, and marble appear also. The Todd kitchen should have one each of the following utensils used to break down food: coffee mill, grater, chopper, cleaver, and sugar nippers. Rolling pins were used to break up sugar and tenderize meat as well as to roll out dough. There should be two sharp utility knives, two wooden spoons, and two pewter spoons. Food was drained or mashed in a colander (or cullender). Sieves, with screened bottoms made of hair

or wire, were used to strain foods and to sift flour and meal. Dredging boxes were used to dredge foods, such as roasting meat, with flour; smaller pepper boxes were similarly used. Funnels were made of pewter, or more usually, tin. Recipes gave measurements of flour, butter, nuts, raisins, etc., by weight, and liquids in gills, pints, and quarts. Scales and weights were desirable in kitchens, and special pewter wine measures were available in the eighteenth century.[45] However, pewter measures appear infrequently in the inventories. Many housewives used whatever cups or glasses were on hand for measuring; cookbooks include tables adapting standard weights and hollow measures to available utensils, i.e. a common-sized tumbler holds half a pint.[46] One quart and one pint pewter mug and a set of scales and weights are recommended for measuring. Lastly, a copy of Mrs. Glasse's Art of Cookery should be supplied, as the most popular cookbook of the period.

When not in use, much of the food preparation equipment would have hung on the wall. Contemporary prints, not to mention the hooks and holes in the objects themselves, give ample evidence that hanging was customary. In English kitchens, items such as graters and choppers were hung from the dresser shelves (figs. 5, 6), and they may have been in American kitchens. However, lacking definite evidence of this it would be better to follow two representations of Philadelphia kitchens (figs. 1, 8) and hang utensils from wooden nailing strips on the wall. A wooden strip

should be attached to the west wall between the door and window, and the grater, chopper, rolling pin, colander, and other appropriate utensils should be hung here from nails. The coffee mill should be fixed to one side of the dresser as it appears in the Grumblethorpe kitchen (fig. 1). The mugs should be placed on the dresser shelves. Mortar and pestle, pepper box, and dredging box should be stored on the mantle, as they appear in many prints (figs. 1, 3, 4, 6).[47] Remaining large items, such as empty bowls and baskets, can be stored in the closet; small items in the work table drawers.

Fireplace and Equipment

The fireplace was probably the only fixture available for cooking in the Todd house kitchen. The logical place for an oven would be in the northeast corner, where physical evidence however indicates there was a closet. A copper wash boiler, such as the one in Cedar Grove, is another possible built-in fixture. Benjamin Franklin sent such a "copper" to Deborah in 1765; however, in 1840 they were still unusual in Philadelphia, and it is unlikely that such a feature was part of the Todd kitchen.[48] Built-in brick stoves were known in Philadelphia in the 1790s,[49] but there is no evidence, and really no room, for one in the Todd kitchen. Iron cookstoves were available, but rare until the 1830s, and were not predominant until after the Civil War.[50] On the other hand, it was normal to find a ten-plate stove in a Philadelphia kitchen in the 1790s. Ten-plate stoves could be used for some

cooking, and contained an oven for baking, a distinct advantage in a kitchen without a bake oven.[51] It is possible that there was a ten-plate stove in the Todd kitchen, but a stove would consume a lot of space in the small kitchen, and since they still appear in less than half of the inventories, a stove is not recommended. The circumstantial evidence that a fireplace alone was available for cooking in the Todd house is supported by Stephen Moylan's letter written in 1800: "The hearth in the kitchen has been long falling in, it is now completely so. I am getting a new hearth laid . . . I assure you the dinner for my family was yesterday cooked in the parlor."[52] The reconstructed fireplace in the Todd kitchen is very small, maybe unworkably small, for a cooking fireplace. Its size should be reevaluated in comparison with surviving 18th century kitchen fireplaces in Philadelphia, and serious consideration given to raising the height of the opening, and enlarging the brick hearth in front of the fireplace.[53] By all accounts, the predominant fuel used in Philadelphia through the eighteenth century was wood. Firewood was stored in the cellar, but a pile of cut wood should be available at the edge of the hearth.

Basic fireplace equipment consisted of crane, andirons, shovel, tongs and bellows. Andirons with hooks to hold a roasting spit are recommended. The bellows should be hung on a nail on the fireplace jamb, and the shovel and tongs leaned against the jamb in the same area (figs. 3, 7, 9).[54] Philadelphians colored their hearths black or

red, or a combination of the two, using either paint or less permanent redding and blacking mixtures.[55] The Todd hearth should be painted black in back and red in front.

Cooking Utensils

Boiling was the easiest and most popular method of cookery in the eighteenth century, therefore pots and kettles are the most basic pieces of cooking equipment.[56] Pots and kettles have bail handles so they can be suspended over the fire. Samuel Johnson distinguished pots from kettles in his dictionary: "In the kitchen the name of pot is given to the boiler that grows narrower towards the top, and of kettle to that which grows wider." Pots usually came in sizes up to twelve gallons, whereas kettles were frequently made to hold thirty or more gallons of liquid.[57] Philadelphia inventories in the 1790s usually list from two to five pots, almost always made of iron. Three iron pots, of different sizes, including at least one with a lid, would be appropriate for the Todd kitchen. Kettles, in contrast to pots, appear frequently in copper, brass, bell metal, and tin, in addition to iron. Brass and copper were less brittle than iron, and their lighter weight was a distinct advantage in the larger sizes. Copper and bell metal were preferred for preserving kettles or pans. Eighteenth century cooks were aware of the hazards of poisoning from these metals, for the cookbooks are full of such warnings as: "Take great care the pots or sauce-pans and covers be very clean and free

from all grease and sand, and that they be well tinned."[58] The Todd kitchen should have a large brass and a small copper kettle. Oval fish kettles were available in copper or tin, but since they appear only occasionally in inventories of the period they are not recommended here. Inventories list from one to three tea kettles per household, usually copper, less frequently iron or brass. One copper tea kettle should be placed in the Todd kitchen.

Skillets, stewpans, and saucepans were also utensils for boiling and stewing. They are distinguished from pots and kettles by having a long handle attached at the rim, and were used on the hearth rather than suspended from the crane. Because the appearance of these vessels has changed over time, there has been some confusion as to their forms in America in the late eighteenth century. The skillet, as it developed in England, was a three-legged utensil. Saucepans and stewpans emerged as special types of skillets. Samuel Johnson defined a saucepan as "a small skillet with a long handle, in which sauce or small things are boiled."[59] Skillets, saucepans, and stewpans all appear in Philadelphia inventories, frequently in the same inventory, indicating that there were recognized differences between them. An examination of the materials they were made of helps to determine how they differed. In thirteen inventories from the 1790s in which skillets are identified by material, ten are iron, one is copper, one is brass, and one is bell metal. Similarly, we find twenty-two sauce-

pans made of copper, but only one of tin and one of iron, and nine stewpans made of copper, two of tin, and one of iron. This further indicates that most saucepans and stewpans, being copper, did not have legs. Although I have not found any eighteenth century representations of American skillets, nineteenth century hardware catalogs show that iron American skillets continued to have legs like their English predecessors. In one catalog the skillet has a distinctly round bottom.[60] By combining the evidence of the English forms, eighteenth century American inventories and nineteenth century catalogs we are led to identify the skillet as a common wrought-iron utensil similar to a three-legged frying pan, only deeper, and having a rounded bottom. It is possible that locally made iron skillets replaced imported English skillets in late eighteenth century Philadelphia, since even a cursory survey of Philadelphia inventories earlier in the eighteenth century shows that brass and bell metal skillets, typical English types, were dominant. For the saucepan, we have an eighteenth century model in the letterhead of Philadelphia coppersmith Benjamin Harbeson, a deep utensil with tapered sides and a restricted opening.[61] Not all saucepans were small; larger sizes were used to cook a quart of oysters, or a couple chickens. Benjamin Franklin wrote to Deborah in 1760: "I send you two saucepans, plated inside with silver instead of tinning. . . . I got three, but keep the smallest here to make my water-gruel, and send you the largest and middlemost."[62] Stewpans

were shallower than saucepans, with straighter sides and wider mouths. William Kitchiner described the most useful size stewpan as twelve inches in diameter and six inches deep.[63]

The bell metal skillet presently in the Todd kitchen can be retained, as an old-fashioned, but not inappropriate utensil. Mary Plumsted and Amelia Simmons both specified bell metal skillets as alternatives to preserving pans, and it should be interpreted as a preserving utensil. In addition the kitchen should have an iron skillet and a small copper saucepan. Stewpans were not as common as saucepans and skillets.

Roasting approached boiling in popularity as a cooking method. Mrs. Glasse wrote of roasting and boiling: "That professed cooks will find fault with touching upon a branch of cookery which they never thought worth their notice, is what I expect. However, this I know, it is the most necessary part of it; and few servants there are, that know how to roast and boil to perfection."[64] Roasting equipment consists of a spit, six skewers, used to secure the meat to the spit, skewer rack for hanging them when not in use, and a dripping pan, to catch the drippings used to baste the roasting meat. Roasting jacks, usually clock jacks driven by weights, are not uncommon in inventories. One of these labor-saving devices, used to turn the meat automatically, is recommended for the Todd kitchen (fig. 5).

Another roasting device was the tin reflector oven, commonly called a tin kitchen in the nineteenth century (figs. 7, 8). The

reflector oven roasted meat by radiant as well as direct heat. In the late eighteenth century they were made of copper or tin.[65] However, their frequency is difficult to determine, because the terms "bake oven" and "Dutch oven" used to describe this utensil are also used to describe the heavy iron kettles with lids used for fireplace baking. When the entry reads "iron bake oven" or "Dutch oven broken lid" it refers to a bake kettle; when it reads "copper bake oven," "copper Dutch oven" or "1 Dutch Bakoven with Hooks" it refers to a reflector oven. But most entries are inconclusive. The term "tin kitchen" appears only once in the inventories surveyed. Reflector ovens were more typical of the nineteenth century than the eighteenth, and because the Todd kitchen will be equipped with a jack and spit, a reflector oven is not required. An iron Dutch oven, however, is recommended, because it would allow the cook to prepare baked goods that would otherwise require a built-in oven.

With the addition of the following, the Todd kitchen will contain a complete array of the basic utensils for fireplace cooking. A gridiron was used for broiling. A frying pan, with or without legs, was essential. In the nineteenth century the name "spider" was popular for frying pans on legs; this term appeared once in the inventories surveyed. A griddle, also called a bake iron, was used to make muffins, griddle cakes, etc., and like the iron bake oven helped to compensate for the lack of a built-in oven. Coffee pots were made of

copper, brass, and tin. Two trivets should be supplied, to support utensils without legs above the coals. Two pot hooks and a trammel are necessary to hang utensils from the crane, and finally, a ladle, skimmer, flesh fork, two iron spoons, and two fabric potholders.[66]

The absence of a built-in oven did not mean that the cook could not prepare pies, cakes, and breads at home. As noted above, such foods could be baked in an iron bake oven. Philadelphia's housewives also had the option of preparing foods at home and sending them to a bake house to be baked. This would be required for larger dishes or large quantities that would not fit in an iron bake oven. Mary Plumsted noted in her recipes for potted pigeons and venison pasty that they should be sent to the oven. Ann Warder wrote in her journal for October 11, 1788, "I sent my quarter of mutton to bake." Philadelphians customarily purchased their bread; Elizabeth Drinker did so even though their house was equipped with an oven. However, baking puddings, cakes, and especially pies was a special duty of the housewife, even in households with a hired cook. Ann Warder had a cook, yet prepared a weekly batch of pies, frequently minced meat. Elizabeth Drinker's married daughter came to her mother's house to bake pies in the oven. Sarah Fisher wrote in her diary: "In the morning engaged with Pudding, Pyes & c., my little Hannah assisting as I wish her very early to begin to know something of Family affairs that if she should be favored to live she make a good Housewife and an active

Mistress of a Family." Frances Trollope's account of Philadelphia in 1830 confirms that preparing pastries was well established as the responsibility of the housewife: in describing a day in the life of a "Philadelphia lady of the first class," Mrs. Trollope notes that the hours from breakfast to 11 A.M. were spent at work in the pastry room.[67]

Pies were baked in dishes or patty (pastry) pans; only rarely does the term plate appear in an eighteenth century recipe for pies.[68] The press-molded, slip-decorated redwares commonly excavated in Philadelphia were probably baking dishes for pies; the deep, oblong dishes would have been used for meat pies. Patty pans had straight tapered sides, and came in large as well as small sizes. The Ashfield recipe book specifies a patty pan for a pie containing a whole goose.[69] By the 1790s tin patty pans were probably more common than earthenware. Pudding pans were deeper than patty pans.[70] The Todd kitchen should have some baking dishes, but not too many since there was no oven on the premises. Four round press-molded baking dishes, two oblong press-molded baking dishes, and two pudding pans, all earthenware, and one dozen tin patty pans are recommended.

The cooking utensils should be put away in their proper places when they are not set out as part of specific cooking activities. The hearths of too many historic houses are unrealistically cluttered. Most of the fireplace cooking utensils would have been stored in the bottom of the dresser when not in use; this can be seen in views of

kitchens where the dresser bottoms have no doors (figs. 5, 6, 7). Some of the utensils would have been hung near the fireplace. The skewers should be hung by the fireplace, the potholders from the mantle, and the skimmer, flesh fork, ladle, and iron spoons on the wall to the right of the fireplace. Some of the larger items with pierced handles, for example the frying pan and iron skillet, should be hung from nails on the wall to the left of the fireplace. Pot lids should be hung over the mantelpiece (figs. 4-7). All the prints of eighteenth century English kitchens show racks to hold spits over the mantelpiece. These do not appear in views of American kitchens. Perhaps in the nineteenth century, when the American views were done, the tin roasting oven had replaced the large roasting spit. The only documentary evidence I found was the listing "1 spit rack" in the 1778 inventory of Joseph Galloway. But it is not clear that this refers to a wall rack; if so, it seems an odd thing to be included in an inventory of movable property. Unless better evidence is found, a spit rack should not be constructed. The spit can be placed in a corner against the wall when not in use. Inventories rarely indicate what items were stored in kitchen closets. The 1791 inventory of Benjamin Brooks lists "1 lot of crockery in the kitchen closet" and the 1794 inventory of George Reinhart lists "2 closets of Queen's Ware, China & Tin Ware for kitchen use." Aside from this evidence, the closets are the logical place to store the tin and earthen baking dishes.

Eating Utensils

John Todd Jr.'s inventory lists "Sundry Setts of China Articles of Glass Ware and Waiters & c."[71] Philadelphia inventories taken by room in the 1790s indicate that china and glassware were almost never kept in the kitchen. They usually appear in a parlor, sometimes in a pantry or storeroom.[72] When closets like those in the Todd dining parlor were available china and glassware were stored within. But the Todds would also have had more utilitarian dishes, for everyday use, and for the servants. A typical combination would be a set of Queensware (creamware), a set of pewter, and some miscellaneous pieces of coarse earthenware. Queensware was kept in parlors and in kitchens, depending on how it was used, and space available. Given the layout of the Todd kitchen and dining parlor, queensware should be stored in one of the parlor closets. Pewter was almost always kept in the kitchen. Dressers have been used to display pewter, and later the ceramics that replaced pewter, from their first appearance up to the present (figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7). One dozen pewter plates, three serving dishes, and three basins should be placed on the upper shelves of the dresser, with the plates overlapping. Six cups and porringers, two wide-mouth jugs and a pitcher of coarse earthenware (black glazed redware is recommended) should be arranged on the shelves in front of the pewter. These would be used with the pewter at meals. Common steel knives and forks for table use were frequently found in the kitchen, often in a knife box with two compartments and a handle.

One dozen each bone-handled knives and forks should be placed in a knife box on the dresser. Despite the small size and crowded aspect of the kitchen, the servants would have taken their meals there. By all accounts the kitchen was the servant's domain in Philadelphia in the eighteenth century, for working, eating, and socializing. Elizabeth Powel made separate diary entries of provisions procured "for the use of the kitchen." Elizabeth Drinker frequently referred to her servants as "those in the kitchen." It was so unusual for a member of the family to eat in the kitchen that Elizabeth Drinker wrote in her diary on November 10, 1805: "Sister being alone would not have the cloath laid, but din'd in ye kitchen. I don't remember the like ever before hap'g."[73] It is possible that children sometimes ate in the kitchen; however, the evidence I have found is inconclusive.[74]

Cleaning

The main source of the water used in the Todd house kitchen would have been a pump on the street, since no evidence of a well was found in the yard. According to contemporary accounts, Philadelphia was well supplied with public pumps. The pump presently in the Todd house yard should be removed, since there is no evidence for it, and it confuses the interpretation. A pump could be placed by the street instead. A rain barrel, as used at the Griffith's house next door, is appropriate.[75] Rain water was considered superior to well water for

cooking and laundry.[76] A wooden bucket for carrying water should be placed in the kitchen near the door. A tin wash basin with handle should be provided for washing hands, and hung on a nail near the dining parlor door when not in use (fig. 1). Soap should be placed on the hanging shelf by the door in a small earthen dish.[77] Eliza Leslie wrote that "in cities it is the usual custom to exchange fat and ashes for hard soap" and the presence of soap houses in the eighteenth century indicates that such was the custom in the 1790s as well. Elizabeth Drinker wrote in her diary for July 20, 1784: "This month our neig'r. Gardner has finish'd a large Soap House; directly opposite us--a disagreeable surcumstance."[78] A roller towel of coarse linen, for drying hands, should be hung on a towel roller below the hanging shelf. Roller towels appear in views of eighteenth century English kitchens (fig. 3 & 4), and are listed as kitchen equipment in early nineteenth century housekeeping manuals. "Roller for towell" appears in the account book of Philadelphia cabinetmaker David Evans in 1791.[79]

The basic equipment for dishwashing was two large wooden tubs, one with hot water for washing and one with cold water for rinsing. These were placed on wooden stools or benches when in use (fig. 8) and otherwise should be stored upside down under the work table. The dishes were first scraped, grease into the grease pot, to be saved for soap, and other scraps into the slop-pail; an earthen pot and a small wooden bucket with a lid should be provided for this purpose. Manuals

sometimes, but not always, included soap with the dishwashing equipment; it seems hot water was commonly considered to be sufficient. Two linen dish cloths for washing and a linen towel for drying should all have loops and hang on nails on the side of the dresser. Inventories show that towels not in use were stored with the rest of the household linens, usually upstairs in a chamber. Wooden racks for draining dishes were known in late eighteenth century Philadelphia,[80] but they are infrequent in inventories. As late as 1840, Eliza Leslie described them as a convenience rather than a necessity; therefore, an old japanned waiter for draining dishes is recommended as an alternative. Pots, pans and other cooking equipment were not washed in the tubs, but rather rinsed out and scoured with sand or ashes.[81]

Laundry twice a month seems to have been customary in Philadelphia in the late eighteenth century. It was common to send clothes out to be laundered, or to adopt a combination such as sending some clothes out and washing the remainder at home, or sending them all out to wash, but ironing at home. Given the Todd's socioeconomic status and the space limitations of their home, we can appropriately interpret that they had their laundry sent out, for convenience, but ironed it at home, for economy. Eliza Leslie recommends at least four irons for one person ironing; inventories from the 1790s list between two and seven, so four flatirons should be placed on the mantlepiece,

as they commonly appear in prints (fig. 1 & 2). Two iron stands should be provided, and hung from the mantlepiece when not in use (fig. 1). Ironing boards were common, but with ironing done once every two weeks we can assume that the board was kept out of the way in the cellar. When in use it would be placed on the work table, and covered with a woolen ironing blanket and linen ironing sheet.[82]

Most of the general cleaning equipment, including brooms, brushes, receptacles for dust and ashes, would probably have been stored in the cellar where there was more room. But if the kitchen was swept every day, as the manuals recommend, it would be logical to keep a broom in the kitchen (fig. 1). A broom should be placed against the west wall by the door. Mouse and cockroach traps can also be considered in this context. Eliza Leslie wrote: "Every house should be provided with cockroach traps. They are made of brown earthenware, and are to be bought for a trifle at the pottery shops, or in the Philadelphia market."[83] Cockroach traps made of redware, resembling an inverted flower pot, have been excavated at the Bishop White house, and at other eighteenth century sites in Philadelphia. Two redware cockroach traps and a wooden mouse trap should be placed in appropriate corners of the Todd kitchen.

Lighting

Candles were still the primary method of lighting in the 1790s; like soap, in the city they were purchased more often than made at

home. Inventories usually list brass and iron candlesticks in the kitchen, however the brass candlesticks were probably used in other rooms, and brought to the kitchen to clean. Joseph Sermon made four "flat-bottom" candlesticks for John Cadwalader's kitchen in the 1770s; seven decades later Catherine Beecher and Eliza Leslie were still recommending "broad-bottomed" candlesticks for kitchen use.[84] Candlesticks with such broad bottoms can be distinguished in prints among the candlesticks on the kitchen mantle, where they invariably appear (figs. 1, 3-6). Two sturdy iron candlesticks with broad bottoms, containing stumps of tallow candles, should be placed on the mantle in the Todd kitchen. It would not be inappropriate for candlesticks from other rooms to be placed here as well. A lantern with a candle should be placed on the hanging shelf by the door, convenient for those going out at night. Mrs. Parkes wrote that the candle-box, another essential, should be kept as far from the fire as possible.[85] Therefore, a tin candle box should be hung on the wall between the stairs and the door to the dining parlor.

Miscellaneous

Neither curtains nor carpets appear in inventories of Philadelphia kitchens in the 1790s. The average home did not have curtains at all in this period. When they were present, as John Todd Jr.'s inventory indicates they were in the Todd house, they were very rarely hung in the kitchen. Elizabeth Drinker referred in 1794 to a

carpet in the kitchen of their summer house, but again, the inventories indicate that this was atypical. Curtains and carpets are not recommended for the Todd kitchen.[86]

The fowling piece listed in John Todd Jr.'s inventory is appropriately hung over the doorway from the kitchen to the yard.

The Scene Recreated

In order for the refurnished kitchen to appear as convincing as possible, specific activities should be selected and the furnishings arranged as they would be if that activity were in progress. Seasonal changes in these arrangements would be desirable. Pickling meat for winter use would be appropriate in late November. Seasonal fruits and vegetables (as described in Appendix A) could be "prepared" in the summer. As a starting point, the kitchen should be arranged for the preparation of an ordinary family dinner described by Elizabeth Drinker: beef steaks, neats tongue (ox tongue), veal broth for the children, and gooseberry tarts. The Drinkers consumed this meal on June 18, 1794; however, the ingredients could have been available year-round, since gooseberries were preserved for winter use. Assume it is noon, and the dinner hour is two. The neats tongues are stewing according to Mrs. Glasse's recipe "To stew Neats Tongues whole," and a copy of The Art of Cookery is on the work table, opened to that page.[87] A small pot hanging on the crane contains two neats tongues (for our purposes represented by the pot). Although we cannot provide a fire,

a good supply of wood coals should fill the back hearth area. Since the tongues have been stewing for two hours, the cook at the work table is preparing ingredients to add to the stew. The following should be arranged on the work table: chopping knife, utility knife, mortar and pestle, pepper box, wine bottle, bundle of herbs, small piece muslin with spieces tied inside, chopped capers (artificial) in a small wooden bowl, two turnips, and four carrots (artificial). The slop bucket should be available below the table. The beef steaks will be broiled at the last minute. Six thinly sliced raw rump steaks (artificial) should be placed on a pewter dish at the back of the work table. The gridiron should be ready on the hearth. A saucepan on a trivet over the fire contains the broth which was prepared earlier. Six gooseberry tarts in small tin patty pans (artificial tarts in reproduction pans) were also prepared earlier, and are arranged on the dresser. Also on the dresser are two creamware serving dishes, ready for the steaks and tongues.

Summary List of Furnishings

It is assumed in the following list that eighteenth century objects will be used wherever possible and practical. In the south-west corner where the objects are most accessible to visitors it may be desirable to use reproductions.

West Wall, Left to Right

redware dish, small (INHP 5081)

soap

lantern

tallow candle

hanging shelf

wooden towel roller

linen roller towel

stool (INHP 5016)

musket (S.N. 4.041)

broom

wooden bucket

colander

2 wooden spoons

rolling pin (INHP 8254)

sugar nippers (INHP 4947)

grater (INHP 4045)

cleaver

windsor side chair, bow-back (INHP 5623)

pine work table with drawers (INHP 4615)

(on table)

small wooden barrel with lid

mortar and pestle (INHP 3786, 3787)

utility knife

Mrs. Glasse, The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy

pewter dish (INHP 3359)

chopping knife (INHP 8256)

pepper box (INHP 5652)

wine bottle with cork (INHP 5173)

small bunch of dried herbs

wooden bowl, small

muslin tied into a small bundle

artificial foods: capers, carrots (4), turnips (2), steaks (6)

(in table drawers)

utility knife (INHP 4312)

funnel (INHP 5478)

set of scales and weights

2 pewter spoons (INHP 5476, 5477)

redware cockroach trap

2 wooden tubs

small wooden bucket with lid

redware pot (INHP 8350)

iron skillet

frying pan

<u>North Wall, Left to Right</u>

(west closet)

6 small tin patty pans

2 redware pudding pans (INHP 5058)

4 round redware press-molded baking dishes (INHP 4262, 5084, 5087, 8569)

2 oblong redware press-molded baking dishes (INHP 4428, 3582)

3 round baskets (INHP 5017, 8491)

2 iron pot lids

dredging box (INHP 7156)

2 broad-bottomed iron candlesticks

2 tallow candle stubs

4 flat irons (INHP 5071, 5072, 5090)

clock jack (INHP 1512)

salt box (INHP 8684)

2 iron stands

2 potholders, fabric

6 skewers and rack (INHP 4254)

bellows

crane (INHP 5039)

2 pot hooks (INHP 5253)

trammel

iron pot with lid

pair andirons with spit hooks (INHP 2596, 2597)

trivet (INHP 3551)

copper saucepan

gridiron (INHP 4067)

shovel

tongs

firewood

(east closet)

large wooden bowl (INHP 4062)

sieve

large redware bowl or pan (INHP 4311)

small redware bowl or pan (INHP 3674)

shallow redware pan with cover

japanned tin waiter

East Wall, Left to Right

wooden mousetrap (INHP 6586)

2 iron spoons

ladle (INHP 10854)

skimmer (INHP 10855)

flesh fork (INHP 12683)

windsor side chair, bow-back (INHP 1098)

market basket

stool

spit

redware cockroach trap

(hanging on side of dresser)

linen towel with loop

2 linen dish cloths with loops

coffee mill (INHP 4046)

(on dresser shelves and counter)

3 pewter basins (INHP 3358, 4025, 5175)

12 pewter plates (INHP 3353, 3354, 3356, 3357, 3360, 3573, 3574, 3575, (10654, 10655; S.N. 46.002, S.N. 46.011)

2 pewter serving dishes (INHP 4582, 3379)

pint pewter mug

quart pewter mug (INHP 3378)

6 redware cups and porringers (INHP 4334, 4843, 5874, 7135, 11073)

2 redware jugs, wide-mouth (INHP 2495)

1 redware pitcher (INHP 4332)

1 stoneware pot

4 tin canisters (INHP 5651)

1 stoneware jar with leather covering (INHP 3789)

1 redware jug with cork (INHP 4229)

2 creamware serving dishes (INHP 4099, 8319)

6 gooseberry tarts (artificial) in small tin patty pans (reproduction)

knife box

12 bone-handled knives (INHP 7848, 7849)

12 bone-handled forks (INHP 7844-7847)

(in dresser bottom)

2 iron pots (INHP 5234)

1 large brass kettle

1 small copper kettle (INHP 5462)

copper tea kettle (INHP 7301)

bell metal skillet (INHP 4111)

dripping pan (INHP 4119)

iron Dutch oven

griddle (INHP 7158)

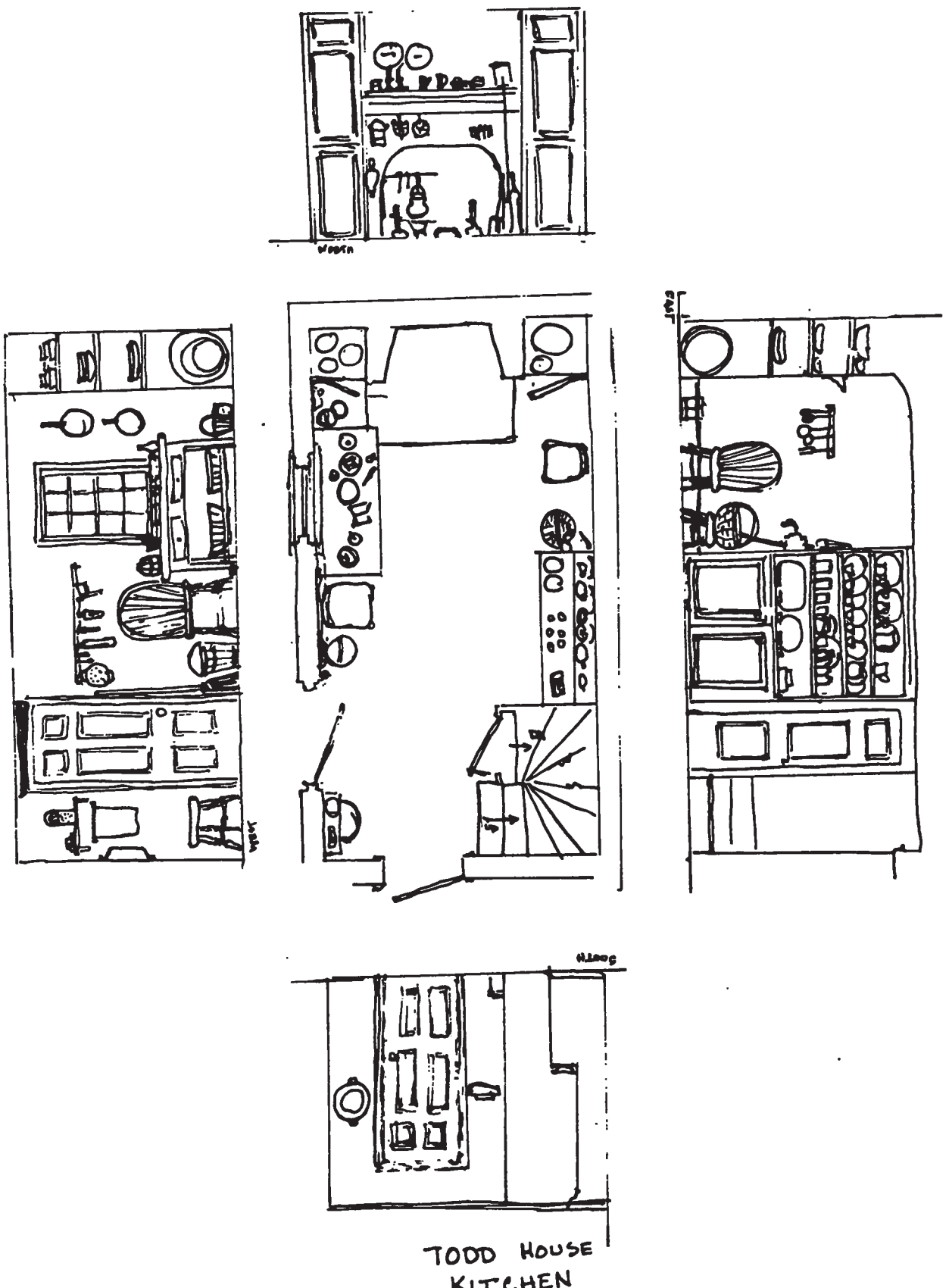
coffee pot (S.N. 3.056)

trivet (INHP 10850)

South Wall, Left to Right

tin candle box (S.N. 39.002)

tin wash basin



TODD HOUSE
KITCHEN

J. BEACH, DELINEATOR
S. KOLTER, DEL.

0 1 5

NOTES

[1]Untitled typescript in History Department files, INHP, p. 5.

[2]Paul G. Sifton, "The Todd House Grounds and Neighboring Properties," Philadelphia, ts on file at INHP, January 1963, ch. 2, sec. 1, p. 8.

[3]Sarah Logan Fisher, "Diary," 25 vols., Philadlephia, 1776-1795, ms at Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vols. 16 & 17; Ann Warder, "Journals" 14 vols., Philadelphia, 1786-1789, ms in Ann Warder Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vols. 13-14.

[4]William Campbell and Architectural Staff, "Architectural Data," Chapter III in "Historic Structures Report Part II, on Dilworth-Todd-Moylan House," Philadelphia, INHP, December 1960, ts, sec. 2, pp. 15-20, Appendix B, pp. 1-2.

[5]Jackson B. Moore, "Archaeological Data," Chapter IV in "Historic Structures Report Part II, on Dilworth-Todd-Moylan House," Philadelphia, INHP July 1960, ts; notes in accession folders 210 and 610.

[6]Agnes Downey Mullins, Ruth Matzkin Knapp, and Charles G. Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Todd House," Philadelphia, INHP, ts, Appendix A, p. 20.

[7]Ibid., Appendix A, pp. 16-19, 26; Untitled typescript in History Department files, INHP, pp. 8-10.

[8]These are in filmstrip cans 19-32 in the INHP Library and are referred to frequently throughout this report.

[9]Elizabeth Drinker, "Journal," 7 vols., Philadelphia, 1758-1806, ts at Historical Society of Pennsylvania, July 9, 1783; Fisher, January 7, 1790.

[10]Campbell, sec. 1, pp. 4-5, sec. 2, pp. 15-17.

[11]Ibid., sec. 2, p. 7.

[12]Ibid., Appendix B, p. 2.

[13]My analysis is based on the surveys published in Anthony N. B. Garvan, ed., The Architectural Surveys, 1784-1794, The Mutual Assurance Company Papers, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Mutual Assurance Company, 1976). The survey for 338 Spruce Street is in possession of the present owners of the house.

[14]See also cartoon titled "A New Cock Wanted" and untitled cartoon showing a kitchen in notebook of cartoons in INHP museum office; also illustrations in New Jersey Historical Society, Pleasures of Colonial Cooking (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1982), pp. 20, 158.

[15]Mrs. [Hannah] Glasse, The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy, new ed. (London: A. Millar, W. Law, R. Cater, T. Wilson & R. Spence, 1789), p. 281.

[16]Mrs. William Parkes, Domestic Duties; or Instructions to Young Married Ladies, 1st American ed. from the 3d. London ed. (New York: J & J Harper, 1828), p. 172.

[17]Katarina Cerny, "Installation and Interpretation of the 1793 Kitchen at the Joseph Lloyd Manor House, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island," September 8, 1981, ts, copy in Museum Office, INHP. Eighteenth-century dressers in restored kitchens are illustrated in Frances Phipps, Colonial Kitchens, Their Furnishings, and Their Gardens (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1972), pp. 37, 59, 93, and color plates 4, 7, 8.

[18]Robert Roberts, The House Servant's Directory (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1827), p. 152; Miss [Eliza] Leslie, The House Book: or, A Manual of Domestic Economy (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1840), pp. 236, 238, 342.

[19]Nancy Goyne Evans, "Unsophisticated Furniture Made and Used in Philadelphia and Environs, ca. 1750-1800" in Country Cabinetwork and Simple City Furniture, ed. John D. Morse (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970), pp. 181-82.

[20]Inventories of John Roop, November 1, 1791 and James Read, November 25, 1793, on microfilm, canisters 20 and 25, in INHP Library.

[21]See American Antiques from Israel Sack Collection (Washington, D.C.: Highland House Publishers, 1972 and 1974), vol. 3, p. 727, vol. 5, p. 1301; Parke-Bernet Galleries, Catalogue, sale 3265, Nov. 12 & 13, 1971, p. 123.

[22]Microfilm roll no. XV, INHP Library.

[23]Charles Peterson, ed., The Rules of Work of the Carpenters' Company of the City and County of Philadelphia, 1786 (Philadelphia: Bell Publishing Co. for the Carpenters' Co., 1971), p. 24.

[24]Garvan, policies no. 24, 137, 168, 171, 224, 241, 244, 253.

[25]Eighteenth-century dictionaries quoted in Cerny; Margaret B. Schiffer, Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories, 1684-1850 (Exton, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing, 1974), p. 118.

[26]Thomas H. Ormsbee, Field Guide to Early American Furniture (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1951), pp. 321-22.

[27]Ibid., pp. 33-35; Garvan.

[28]See also Phipps, pp. 59, 93; Abbott Lowell Cummings, ed., Rural Household Inventories (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964), illustration of kitchen in Tristram Coffin House.

[29]See illustrations in Eric Quayle, Old Cook Books: An Illustrated History (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1978), p. 78; Edgar de N. Mayhew and Minor Myers, Jr., A Documentary History of American Interiors (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), p. 367; cartoon titled "Mr. Ferrit in the Suds," in notebook of cartoons in INHP Museum Office.

[30]Leslie, p. 3; Warder; Drinker; John Todd Sr., "Diary," Philadelphia, 1790-93, ms in INHP museum collection, catalogue #644; Elizabeth Powel, diary entries in almanacs, and receipt books, Philadelphia, ms in Powel Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Fisher; Deborah Franklin, "Account of Expenses," in Leonard W. Labaree, ed., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, 22 vols. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1966), vol. 10, pp. 101-2; Johann David Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation [1783-1784], translated and edited by Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1911), p. 112.

[31]Drinker, August 3, 1803; Warder, November 9, 1788; Todd; Powel; Glasse, p. 293; New Jersey Historical Society; Amelia Simmons, American Cookery (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, printers, 1796); Mary Plumsted, "Mary Plumsted's Cookery Book, 1776," Philadelphia, 1776, ms in Plumsted Family Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; An American Lady, New American Cookery, or Female Companion (New York: T. B. Jansen, 1805); [Maria E. Rundell], A New System of Domestic Encyclopedia, 2d. Am. ed., edited by Thomas Cooper, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1821), vol. I, p. 345.

[32][Noah Webster], The Prompter; or a Commentary on Common Sayings and Subjects (n.p.: 1799), p. 51.

[33]Powel; Willich, Vol. III, Appendix, p. 72; Leslie, p. 248.

[34]Drinker; Todd.

[35]Leslie, p. 244.

[36]Warder.

[37]Inventories for John Morton Jr. (1812) and Josiah Siddens (1822) mention vaults; Eliza Leslie refers to vaults for cold storage, p. 243; Franklin had an ice house under the basement of his house,

"Historic Structures Report, Part I on Franklin's House," Philadelphia, INHP, December 1961, ts, Appendix F, p. 1; "Vaults for Victuals" are listed in John Haviland, The Builder's Assistant, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: John Biorfn, 1821), vol. 3, Appendix.

[38]Parkes, p. 134.

[39]Cerny found tin boxes and canisters used for tea, biscuits, cookies, bread and sugar in New York and New England inventories. Mrs. Parkes specifies covered jars for currants, rice, and sugar, p. 188.

[40]Parkes, p. 188; Willich, Vol. III, Appendix, p. 77; Rundell, p. vii.

[41]Susan H. Myers, Handcraft to Industry: Philadelphia Ceramics in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980) and Jeanette Lasansky, Central Pennsylvania Redware Pottery, 1780-1904 (Lewisburg, Pa.: Union County Oral Traditions Project, 1979) were used as references on ceramic forms. More research is needed on use and terminology of ceramics.

[42]Leslie, p. 238; Catherine E. Beecher, A Treatise on Domestic Economy (Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon & Webb, 1841; reprint ed. New York: Source Book Press, 1970), p. 370; "The Physicians Friend", cartoon in notebook in INHP Museum Office.

[43]The inventories consulted were taken in Philadelphia in the 1790s and are on microfilm in the INHP Library. Published cookbooks consulted included those by Glasse, Rundell, Simmons, "An American Lady," all previously cited, and Susannah Carter, The Frugal Housewife (Philadelphia: James Carey, 1796). Manuscript recipe books consulted were Mary Plumsted's book, at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the Ashfield recipe book, published by the New Jersey Historical Society. Emphasis was placed on Simmons, Plumsted and the Ashfield book in compiling a list of equipment used to prepare and cook food. Prints provided additional information. Eliza Leslie's and Catherine Beecher's books were consulted where eighteenth century sources were insufficient. A few secondary sources were particularly helpful in confirming, explaining, or comparing specific items: Jane Carson, Colonial Virginia Cookery (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1969); Frances Phipps, Colonial Kitchens, Their Furnishings, and Their Gardens (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1972); and Katarina Cerny's furnishing plan for the Lloyd Manor House kitchen.

[44]See also illustrations in New Jersey Historical Society, pp. 20, 106, 158; Historical Society of York County, Lewis Miller: Sketches and Chronicles (York, Pa.: Historical Society of York County, 1966), p. 78; Molly Harrison, The Kitchen in History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), fig. 35.

[45]Charles F. Montgomery, A History of American Pewter (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 199-200.

[46]The Cook's Own Book, and Housekeeper's Register, by a Boston Housekeeper. (Boston: Munroe & Francis; New York: Charles S. Francis; Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, and Grigg & Elliot, 1833), p. xxxiv.

[47]See also New Jersey Historical Society, p. xviii; cartoons titled "Beauties of Grease," "Billy in the Salt Box," and untitled in notebook in INHP Museum Office.

[48]"Historic Structures Report, Part I on Franklin's House," Appendix B, pp. 1-2; Leslie, p. 11.

[49]Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., "Heating Stoves in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology 3 (1971), pp. 45, 51.

[50]Ibid., pp. 46, 51; Waverly Root and Richard de Rochemont, Eating in America: A History (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1976), pp. 221-22; Siegfried Giedion, Mechanization Takes Command (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1948), pp. 527-36.

[51]Edgerton, pp. 27, 51; Leslie, p. 127. The inventory of Robert Collings, September 14, 1792, lists "1 Ten Plate Stove, & Pipe, with iron Tea Kettle."

[52]Campbell, sec. 1, p. 4.

[53]The kitchen at 338 Spruce Street is slightly larger than the Todd kitchen, with the fireplace similarly positioned on the end wall. The fireplace is 48: wide and 43 1/2" high, compared to 48" wide and 38" high for the Todd kitchen fireplace.

[54]See also Mayhew & Myers, pp. 362, 369; cartoon titled "The Physician's Friend," in notebook.

[55]Drinker; Fisher; Leslie, p. 201; Beecher, p. 297; [Lydia Maria Child], The Frugal Housewife, 3d ed. (Boston: Carter & Hendee, 1830), p. 21.

[56]Where specific sources are not given, the information and recommendations presented in this section are based on the sources listed in note 42.

[57]John D. Tyler, "Cast-Iron Cooking Vessels," in James R. Mitchell, ed., Antique Metalware (New York: Universe Books, n.d.), p. 222.

[58]Glasse, p. 152.

[59]Oxford English Dictionary; J. Seymour Lindsay, Iron and Brass Implements of the English and American House (Bass River, Ma.: Carl Jacobs, 1964), pp. 25-26; Carson, pp. 30-31.

[60]Leibrandt & McDowell, Price List of Stoves, and Stove Hollow-Ware (Philadelphia: J. B. Chandler, printer, 1861), p. 84; Linda Campbell Franklin, From Hearth to Cookstove, 2d ed. (Orlando, Fla.: House of Collectibles, 1978), p. 193.

[61]Reproduced in Henry J. Kauffman, Early American Copper, Tin and Brass (New York: Medill McBride Co., 1950), p. 36.

[62]Labaree, vol. 9, p. 27.

[63]Leibrandt & McDowell, pp. 82-83; Russell & Erwin Manufacturing Co., Illustrated Catalogue of American Hardware (New York: Francis Hart & Co., printers, 1865; reprint ed., Association for Preservation Technology, 1980), p. 391; William Kitchiner, The Cook's Oracle and Housekeeper's Manual 7th ed. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1838), p. 89.

[64]Glasse, p. 21.

[65]Carson, p. 29; substantiated by entries in Philadelphia inventories. The 1774 inventory for Samuel Neave listing a copper Dutch oven may be an early example.

[66]Eighteenth-century potholders are illustrated in Margaret B. Schiffer, Historical Needlework of Pennsylvania (New York: Bonanza Books, 1958), pp. 92, 125.

[67]Plumsted; Warder; Drinker; Fisher; Frances Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, ed. Donald Smalley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), pp. 280-81.

[68]In her recipe for lemon pudding, Amelia Simmons instructs the cook to lay the paste on "a dish, plate or saucers," p. 29.

[69]New Jersey Historical Society, p. 121.

[70]Patty pans and pudding pans are illustrated in Carson, p. 32.

[71]Mullins, Knapp and Dorman, Appendix A, p. 20.

[72]This is confirmed as the usual practice of the period in Mayhew and Myers, pp. 96, 98.

[73]Powel; Drinker.

[74]Child's chair appears in two inventories among kitchen furnishings, although the inventories are not broken down by room. Elizabeth Drinker referred on October 1, 1798 to little William dining with the men in the kitchen but it is not clear whether this was a customary or unusual occurrence.

[75]Sifton, ch. 2, sec. 1, pp. 9, 12. Additional accounts of Philadelphia's plentiful water supply are found in the research card note file under Philadelphia, city of, wells and pumps.

[76]Parkes, p. 169; Leslie, p. 8; Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, Plain Directions on Domestic Economy (New York: Samuel Wood and Sons, 1821), p. 5.

[77]Leslie, pp. 1, 231; Beecher, p. 367; Parkes, p. 148.

[78]Drinker.

[79]Evans, p. 194. A towel roller from the 18th or early 19th century is illustrated in the same source on page 195. Additional illustrations of roller towels in kitchens are found in Harrison, fig. 35 and the cartoon titled "A New Cock Wanted" in the notebook in the Museum Office. Roller towels are described in Leslie, p. 230; Beecher, p. 367; Parkes, p. 128. A late 18th or early 19th century towel roller survives in the kitchen at Cedar Grove.

[80]Evans, p. 194.

[81]On dishwashing and equipment see Roberts, pp. 34, 66; Parkes, p. 129; Beecher, pp. 367-68, 371; Leslie, pp. 219-24, 240.

[82]On laundry customs and ironing equipment see Drinker; Warder; Fisher; Beecher, pp. 324, 369; Leslie, pp. 12, 26-27; Evans, p. 156; Nicholas B. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvnaia, 1964), pp. 17, 49.

[83]Leslie, p. 109.

[84]Mayhew and Myers, p. 71; Wainwright, p. 17; Leslie, p. 237; Beecher, p. 370.

[85]Parkes, p. 134.

[86]Mayhew and Myers, p. 66; Mullins, Knapp and Dorman, Appendix A, p. 20; Drinker.

[87]Glasse, p. 63.

PART TWO

THE BISHOP WHITE HOUSE KITCHEN

Introduction

Bishop William White and his family occupied the house at 309 Walnut Street from the time of its completion in 1787 until the Bishop's death in 1836. In 1830 the household consisted of the Bishop, his children Thomas and Elizabeth White Macpherson, seven grandchildren, and four servants. Elizabeth died the following year.[1] The kitchen, located on the first floor of the two-story brick back-building, will be furnished as it would have looked in the last years of the Bishop's life. This will help to resolve some of the present confusion in interpreting the building. The second floor is clearly restored to its 1836 appearance, based on John Sartain's painting from that date. The first floor is ostensibly restored to the 1790s, but it contains many objects, including White family pieces, from the early nineteenth century. Interpreting the first floor consistently with the second floor will be more comprehensible, accurate, and interesting. The study, as portrayed in the painting, is not a sterile, one-period room. It contains furnishings accumulated over the fifty year occupation of the White family, and can tell the story not just in 1836 but for all the years preceding. This report aims to achieve the same effect in the kitchen. When compared to the Todd kitchen, the Bishop White kitchen will show change, but not great

change, for household technology progressed slowly in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the White household was a mature household in 1836, using a kitchen that had been completely outfitted in 1787. By 1836 its appearance would tend to be conservative. Durable furnishings, such as iron fireplace equipment, would be retained over the entire period. Much of the ceramics, on the other hand, would have broken and been replaced by new ceramics or by the tinware that was becoming increasingly predominant. New objects and habits, unknown or uncommon in the 1780s, would have been added along the way.

As with the Todd kitchen, we must attempt to reconstruct the original appearance and furnishings of the Bishop White kitchen from fragmentary evidence. The original backbuilding was torn down between 1876 and 1880, leaving only the west party wall, the foundations of the kitchen cellar, and the vaulted cold storage sub-cellar. The 1795 Mutual Assurance Company policy gives the dimensions of the backbuilding. The earliest surviving insurance survey dates to 1858, after the Bishop's period; nevertheless, this detailed survey which includes a floor plan provides important evidence on the interior finish of the kitchen. Archaeological excavations have provided additional data pertaining to the kitchen, including the locations of a well and cistern in the back yard, and shards of kitchen ceramics attributable to the White family occupancy. The archaeological

remains are our only clue to the actual kitchen furnishings, since we have no household inventory. Although a substantial number of Bishop White's letters survive, for the present purpose they provide only some brief references to servants.[2]

All of the sources used to determine the appearance of the Todd kitchen are relevant to the Bishop White kitchen as well, since they portray the period when the kitchen was constructed and initially furnished. As noted above, much would have remained the same in 1836. The most important additional materials consulted in order to interpret the later date were inventories, housekeeping guides, prints, and recipe books. By the 1830s household inventories were less common, and when taken, more cursory than in the 1790s. Nevertheless, examination of early nineteenth century inventories, including a complete search of extant inventories for 1835 in the Office of Register of Wills, reveals some definite developments in kitchen furnishings. The most important sources used for information on Philadelphia kitchens in the 1830s were housekeeping guides published between 1821 and 1841, specifically those by A. F. M. Willich, Robert Roberts, Mrs. Parkes, Lydia Maria Child, Eliza Farrar, Eliza Leslie, and Catherine Beecher. Although such guides describe prescription rather than practice, they provide detailed information on furnishings and housekeeping that is available only in fragments in late eighteenth century sources. Often, the reader can detect how

common practice diverged from the author's recommendations. The most valuable of these books is Eliza Leslie's House Book. Miss Leslie describes the use and furnishings of kitchens in the most detail, and moreover, she is a Philadelphian. Her book is based on the way things are done in Philadelphia, and includes explicit references to local customs. Although Eliza Leslie describes the ideal, rather than the average kitchen, her prescriptions reflect actual practice more closely than those of Catherine Beecher, who was a reformer introducing new ideas. In this period we also have representations of American kitchens which we lack in the eighteenth century. Three manuscript recipe books kept by Philadelphians in this period provide additional insights.

Construction and Built-In Fixtures

The dimensions of the reconstructed kitchen, based on the surviving foundations, are 16' 7" x 26' 3". The brick walls are plastered, with washboards (baseboards) and mouldings as described in the 1858 insurance survey. The floor is wood. Three windows, described in the 1858 survey, have been installed on the east and north walls. Because the ground level, as established by the archaeologists, is below the kitchen floor level there is no outside door. Access to the yard was through the piazza or through the cellar. The location of the fireplace is established by the flue remaining on the west wall. The brick hearth has been extended to the northwest corner

because of the support provided by the masonry vaulted ash pit in the cellar underneath.[3]

The 1858 survey specifies "one large closet" in the kitchen. The location of this closet in the southeast corner on the 1858 floor plan corresponds to foundations found in the kitchen cellar. The survey makes no mention of a dresser. If a built-in dresser was included in the original kitchen it would certainly have remained in 1858, since no major alterations were undertaken before that date. One would expect the detailed 1858 survey to mention a dresser if one were present. On the other hand, the survey does not mention a mantle, another feature one would expect, and which has been included in the restoration. It is conceivable that the kitchen contained a built-in dresser which was omitted by the surveyor, but given the negative evidence provided by the survey as recorded, a dresser should not be reconstructed. This leaves the closet as the primary, perhaps the only, kitchen storage area. As such, its utilization deserves careful consideration, particularly since in the past it has commonly been called a pantry. We can begin by looking at rooms shown or described as pantries. Mrs. Parkes, Robert Roberts, and Eliza Leslie all agree that a pantry is a storage room for glassware, china, and other items used to set the table. It is also where the footman washes glassware and breakfast things and cleans the silver. Eliza Leslie places the pantry "either adjoining to the dining-room or very near it."[4]

Pantries in two Philadelphia inventories from the 1770s fit this description perfectly: they are located in the main house near the parlor, and contain glassware, china, queensware, waiters, etc.[5] To be so used, these pantries were rooms, rather than closets, "a small apartment" according to Miss Leslie. Two floor plans of Philadelphia homes, dated ca. 1781 and 1789, show pantries that are indeed small apartments with windows; one has a fireplace.[6] Both are located between the kitchen and dining room. In three Mutual Assurance surveys from the years 1819-20, pantries are located in backbuildings next to the kitchen, but with shelves, washboards, and windows, they still fit the above definition.[7]

So far, we are describing a space quite different from the comparatively small, windowless compartment in the Bishop White kitchen. However, insurance surveys and inventories provide three examples of pantries, two in cellars and one in a backbuilding, that communicate with the kitchen and not with the dining parlor. In the two that are inventoried we find kitchen equipment rather than tableware.[8] It is tempting to classify the Bishop White kitchen closet as a pantry of this type. However, we do not know what these pantries looked like, whether they had windows, or how large they were. Because the Bishop White kitchen closet does not fit the typical description of a pantry, and because it is called a closet in the 1858 survey, I recommend that it be interpreted to the public as a closet. However, the two

"kitchen" pantries inventoried provide appropriate models for the utilization of our closet: with fireplace equipment below, kitchen ceramics, everyday tableware, and some food containers above, the closet will take the place of the dresser that is not present. Such an interpretation is entirely hypothetical but it seems the best solution based on the limited evidence available. The electric light presently in the closet should be removed or turned off except during maintenance work. Objects in the closet are quite visible the majority of the time, and if at times they are difficult to see, that is part of the historic house experience.

In the Todd kitchen report we reviewed how the kitchen functioned in coordination with the cellar. In the Bishop White house cellar we have evidence of the fixtures, probably more elaborate than in the average home of the period, that were used to carry out those functions. In the kitchen cellar we have evidence for a fireplace on the west wall, shelves in a closet under the stairs, and a large closet corresponding to the closet above in the kitchen. Adjoining the fireplace are traces of an ~~arched~~ vaulted brick structure, with a chute communicating with the kitchen fireplace above. The evidence strongly suggests that this was an ash hole.[9] Below the kitchen cellar is a cold storage vault, entered by ladder and containing a shallow brick well, which has survived almost intact. In the cellar of the main house there is a large walled-off storage area, complete with original door and barred window, which has been interpreted as a wine cellar.[10]

Furniture

A large kitchen work table with drawers should be placed in the middle of the room, toward the north end. Here it will be out of the line of traffic going to the necessary, but still near the hearth, and will be lighted from windows on the north and east walls. A gateleg table should be placed between the windows on the east wall. Although gateleg tables were old-fashioned even by the late eighteenth century, their continuing popularity in kitchens is evident from their use at Grumblethorpe and in the Mount family kitchen in the nineteenth century (figs. 1 & 9). The gateleg table presently in the Bishop White kitchen is constructed with cut nails, indicating a post-1790 date of manufacture. The gateleg form continued to be used in kitchens because it was so practical: with leaves down it takes little space in the Bishop White kitchen, but it can easily be opened for additional workspace or for servants' meals. A third small table should stand by the door to the closet. Six kitchen chairs are recommended to accommodate the four servants plus others visiting or working in the kitchen. They should be a mixture of dates and styles: three rush-seat chairs, two birdcage windsor side chairs, and a rocking chair for the cook (recommended by Eliza Leslie) would be appropriate. One chair should be placed by the hearth, the rest against the walls, to be pulled out as needed. A bench along the north end of the east wall will serve to hold wash tubs and other equipment. Similiarly, two low

three or four-legged stools are versatile pieces for sitting or holding containers of food. A footstool (fig. 1) such as that shown in the painting of the Bishop White's study will provide access to upper shelves. There is too little evidence for a free-standing dresser to place one in the Bishop White kitchen. The Philadelphia tradition of built-in rather than free-standing dressers was discussed in part one. Inventories from 1835 support this interpretation since they list objects in dressers but not the dressers themselves. The lack of such a basic piece of kitchen furniture seems awkward, but we will have to assume that the closet, which was unusually large, served in its stead. Cupboards appear in inventories of the period, so a hanging cupboard is acceptable, although I have found no specific evidence on this form. Two shelves should be hung on the north wall, one in the hearth area and another between the door and window.[11]

Food Supply and Storage

The market remained the main source of provisions. The critical Mrs. Trollope spoke highly of Philadelphia's market when she visited in 1830: "It is indeed, the very perfection of a market. . . . The neatness, freshness, and entire absence of every thing disagreeable to sight or smell, must be witnessed to be believed." Mrs. Trollope mentioned flowers, fruits, vegetables, dairy and poultry yard among the market's offerings. Eliza Leslie recommends one large and one small market basket; two would not be excessive to supply the White household.[12]

By 1836, canning may have made some inroads into older techniques of food preservation. Canned foods are boiled in their containers, to kill bacteria and create a vacuum, although early canners did not know about bacteria. In the eighteenth century most pickles and preserves relied on salt, sugar, vinegar or alcohol for preservation, and were placed in containers after cooking. However some recipes prescribe boiling the foods in their containers, for example Amelia Simmons's recipe to preserve gooseberries, damsons or plumbs in glass bottles sealed with corks. Nevertheless, canning was unreliable until Nicholas Appert perfected the process in France. Appert published The Art of Preserving in 1810, and it is included in the appendix to the 1821 Philadelphia edition of Willich's Domestic Encyclopedia. By then commercial canning was underway in the United States, begun, as far as we know, in 1819 by William Underwood in Boston and Thomas Kensett in New York. It is possible that the White household used some canned foods, prepared either commercially or at home. For the most part, however, Americans in this period still relied on the older methods of pickling and preserving. One reason was the difficulty of obtaining glass jars that could be sealed properly and easily for canning. (The Mason jar was patented in 1858.) Manuscript recipe books written in Philadelphia in the 1820s and 1830s include many recipes for pickling and preserving. Eliza Leslie designated the end of October a good time for putting meat into pickle. One especially popular method of

pickling was attributed to one Admiral Pocock; his recipe appears in two manuscript recipe books, and Elizabeth Powel noted in her almanac when their beef was put into Pocock's pickle.[13]

The cold storage vault below the kitchen cellar probably remained in use throughout the White family occupancy. Archaeological evidence indicates that it was filled in during the 1870s.[14] Wooden refrigerators, lined with metal and cooled with ice, were relatively new in 1840 when Eliza Leslie wrote: "In a refrigerator, articles of provision may be kept from spoiling with much more certainty than when placed in a cellar or vault."[15] The vault has a shallow central well, probably used for ice and perhaps foods that needed to be kept coldest. Iron pintels still in place in the walls of the vault indicate a mechanism to raise and lower ice or objects into the well.[16] The vault probably combined the functions of a milk house and root cellar, containing milk, butter, cheese, meat, fruits, and vegetables. The 1822 inventory of Josiah Siddens's house included "potatoes and turnips in vault."

Provisions that could stand warmer temperatures were kept in a storeroom, staples such as tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar, flour, rice, jars of preserves and pickles, and supplies such as soap and candles. The storeroom was locked, and the mistress kept the key.[17] Eliza Leslie preferred the storeroom to be near the kitchen, but expected it would frequently be in the cellar: "If you are under the necessity of keeping articles of provision in a cellar, it should be partitioned

off or separated by a wall from that in which the fuel, & c., is deposited."[18] There is no first floor storeroom in the Bishop White house; at the time the house was built foods were usually stored in the cellar, as described in part one. However, the walled area in the cellar beneath the main house is an excellent candidate for the purpose of storeroom. In the past this has been interpreted as a wine cellar, and certainly wine was kept there, along with provisions. In the 1813 inventory of John Mifflin's estate only wines and liquors are listed in the "wine cellar." However foodstuffs are not listed at all in this inventory. There are other examples of less specialized storage areas. In Chester County inventories liquors and foods are found together in cellars, even in a wine cellar.[19] The 1835 inventory of Hugh Roberts lists wine and groceries together in a storeroom; however the location of the storeroom is not clear.[20] On January 9, 1807, Elizabeth Powel noted in her almanac that her store room contained twelve loaves of sugar and seventeen bottles of cherry brandy.[21] These examples provide some precedent for interpreting the Bishop White "wine cellar" as a dual-purpose storeroom. The logic of the house supports such a conclusion. It is unlikely that the storeroom would have been located in the large open cellar with dirt floor. The closet in the kitchen cellar could have been a food storeroom, but it is not big enough alone, and the fireplace nearby would make it a warmer area. The locked wine cellar is big enough for

food and wine, and with a wood floor laid in mortar it would protect provisions from dirt and theft. Even if the cellar is not opened to the public, explanation of these food storage areas is a part of the kitchen interpretation.

For those foods kept on hand in the kitchen, storage containers were not radically different than in 1790. However we have a little more information in the housekeeping guides. These show tin containers, for bread, spices, or lard, becoming more common. Glass demijohns are recommended for liquids, and it is probable that glass bottles and jars were more common considering the growth of American glass manufacturing. The following should be placed on a shelf in the closet: two tin canisters (for tea, chocolate, etc.), two glass jars (for catchups), 2 redware jars (for rice and beans), stoneware pot (for butter), two gallon-size glass demijohns (for vinegar and molasses), and two stoneware jars (for pickles and preserves). The jars should have leather covers, and forms should be based on sherds from the Bishop White archaeological collection. Occasionally a partial barrel of food is listed in a kitchen inventory. It seems appropriate to have two wooden barrels with lids in the kitchen closet, one for flour and one for meal, to save frequent trips to the storeroom where the rest of the barrels would be stored. A salt box should hang next to the fireplace. A tin box for bread, a round wooden box for pounded sugar, and a wooden bucket with lid for sifted

flour should stand on the shelf on the north wall. The hanging cupboard cannot be identified absolutely as a spice cabinet, since it is fitted with shelves rather than compartments for spices. However, such a fine piece of furniture, fitted with a lock, would contain something other than ordinary utensils or ingredients, and should be interpreted as a cupboard for spices. It could be furnished with small tin or wood spice boxes, but these will be unnecessary since the cupboard will be closed.[22]

Food Preparation

As compared to the Todd kitchen, the Bishop White kitchen will have a larger array of equipment for preparing food. This is due to the greater size and affluence of the household, and to the later date. On the whole, kitchens in the 1830s were more elaborately equipped than kitchens in the 1790s, part of the basic American trend toward ever-expanding production and consumption of material goods. Eliza Leslie's and Catherine Beecher's housekeeping books provide a basic guide to kitchen equipment. The items they list are not entirely new, but they are present in larger quantities, different materials, and a variety of sub-types. Tin replaces items formerly made of wood, earthenware, or other metals. In adapting these lists of equipment we have to consider that real kitchens were not so completely and precisely equipped, and that the Bishop White kitchen would have contained some new items mixed in with many older ones.

For mixing, Eliza Leslie recommends shallow earthen pans for eggs and deep earthen pans with straight sides for butter and sugar. A manuscript recipe for pie crust also specifies a pan for mixing. These references indicate that straight-sided pans as well as bowls (with convex sides) were used for mixing (fig. 7). Two redware bowls and two redware pans, large and small, should be provided, and based on sherd evidence. Two deep round tin pans are multi-purpose utensils, for holding foods, apple parings, etc.[23] Three baskets of different sizes should be provided to hold fruits, vegetables or eggs. Utensils to cut, chop, and mix should include: a large mortar and pestle (Miss Leslie recommends marble), coffee mill, large and small grater, chopping knife, wooden chopping bowl, sugar nippers, two cutting knives, two wooden spoons, two pewter spoons, wooden beetle (for mashing potatoes and turnips, and pounding meat), hickory egg beater, wooden spaddle (to stir butter and sugar, like today's rubber spatula), and tin apple corer. In addition to a rolling pin, wooden pasteboards were commonly used for rolling out dough. In the summer, pastry might have been prepared in the cellar, where it was cooler. A funnel, colander, dredging box, and pepper box should all be made of tin. Large and small sieves should be furnished. Liquid measures made of tin were usual by this time. A complete set consisted of six, however three, in pint, quart, and gallon sizes, would be sufficient for most cooks. Manuscript recipes frequently give amounts in terms

of tea cups or coffee cups, therefore an old porcelain tea cup should be on hand in the kitchen. Amounts were still commonly given by weight and kitchen scales remained desirable. Printed cookbooks were more usual by now, and American cookbooks had been available since 1796. An American cookbook, though not required, would be appropriate in the kitchen.[24]

Utensils with handles, holes, or loops for hanging should be suspended from a nailing strip on the north wall, where they would be convenient to the work table. The mortar and pestle, pepper box, and dredging box can be placed on the mantle. Bowls, pans, and other large items will go on the closet shelves; small items in the work table drawers. A set of kitchen scales should be hung below the shelf on the north wall, and the cookbook placed upon the shelf.

Fireplace and Equipment

Cast iron cooking stoves were being used in Philadelphia kitchens in the 1830s; that much is clear from inventories and from advertisements. But the majority still used open fireplaces for cooking. The Bishop White household would be less likely to install a cooking stove than a young, new household, and it is safest to assume that they did not have such an appliance. Ten plate stoves were more common than the newer types of cooking stoves. Miss Leslie would not recommend a particular cooking stove in her House Book, but she did write: "We can, however, speak with certainty of the excellence of a

wood stove of the common ten-plate form. . . . With this stove there is never the slightest difficulty, and no cook ever objects to it, it being simple, manageable, and sure."[25] The stove she described could be used to bake, roast, and broil. It is possible that the Bishop White kitchen contained this, or a less elaborate ten-plate stove, but we have no evidence. With a fireplace available in the cellar, a supplementary cooking appliance would not be necessary, although a baking appliance would be convenient since there was no built-in oven. One development, for which we do have evidence, is the replacement of wood by coal in the fireplace. John Sartain's painting of Bishop White's study shows a coal grate in the fireplace, strong circumstantial evidence that coal was used in the kitchen as well. By this time coal was a more economical fuel than wood. It is clear in the House Book that coal was used in Philadelphia kitchens. A coal-burning fireplace in the Bishop White kitchen will help interpret changes in household technology, and a large coal grate should be supplied. A fire-screen should be provided as an accessory: "Where there is a grate or an open stove, fire-screens are indispensable to comfort, and no room should be without one." Fire-screens are visible in many views of English kitchens (figs. 4, 6), where coal was the normal fuel. Miss Leslie gives directions for constructing fire-screens on castors, those for the kitchen made of common wood and covered with dark, durable fabric.[26] The fireplace should be supplied with a

crane, bellows hung on a nail on the jamb, hearth brush, shovel, and tongs leaning against the jamb, a coal scuttle on the hearth, and a firepan, for carrying live coals, hanging from the mantle. The hearth should be painted black in back and red in front.

Cooking Utensils

Most of the cooking was done at the fireplace in the kitchen. This we know by established patterns of room use, and because of the lighter accumulation of soot in the cellar chimney flue. The cellar fireplace was probably used for cooking when there was an extra-heavy workload, when there was a large company, or during fall pickling and preserving.[27] Therefore a full array of cooking utensils, except preserving kettles, should be available in the kitchen. As with food preparation, the White kitchen will contain more specialized utensils than the Todd kitchen, including such items as a fish kettle, waffle iron, and coffee roaster. By the 1830s tin was recommended for cooking utensils formerly made of copper and brass, materials that had long been a source of concern. Nevertheless, copper and brass continue to appear in inventories, and we can assume that the White household continued to use their old durable kettles, probably taking extra care to keep the tin linings in repair.

For boiling and stewing the kitchen should be supplied with five iron pots, some with covers, a large brass kettle for boiling water, two small kettles of brass and iron, one iron skillet, one copper

saucepan with cover, one tin saucepan with cover, one copper stewpan, one copper fish kettle with cover, one copper tea kettle, and one iron tea kettle.[28] The tin kitchen for roasting seems to have superseded the open spit. Eliza Leslie and Catherine Beecher both include tin kitchens in their equipment lists, but make no mention of spits, dripping pans, or clock jacks. The tin kitchen was faster and easier to use for roasting. Its spit could be set in different positions, so constant turning was not required, and a door in back allowed the cook to baste the meat without moving the entire roaster.[29] Skewers were still required to fasten the meat to the spit; a set of these with a rack should be supplied. In addition to a large tin kitchen, a standing bird spit, an older form, would still be useful for roasting small birds and game.

Two iron Dutch ovens, a waffle iron, and a griddle would supply the fireplace baked goods. Period recipe books include recipes for waffles, doughnuts, crullers, Virginia cakes (baked on a griddle) and many cakes and pies that could either be baked in a Dutch oven or sent to a bake house. Eliza Leslie recommended sending large cakes to a bake house. Many of the earthen baking pans and dishes originally supplied to the kitchen would have broken over the years (archaeologists unearthed ample evidence of this), and some would be replaced with more modern tinware. Mrs. Child wrote: "If you wish to bake your meat pie, line a deep earthen or tin pan with paste made of

flour, cold water, and lard. . . . Cover the top with crust, and put it in the oven, or bake-kettle."[30] An appropriate assortment of bakeware would be six redware baking dishes, including three round and three oblong, and two redware pudding pans, form and decoration based on sherd evidence; two pie dishes, twelve patty pans, two cake pans, and six muffin rings (used on the griddle), all of tin. In addition the pans provided for food preparation could do double duty. The term pie plate as we know it seems to come into use in the mid-nineteenth century. Mrs. Child specified "deep plates" for baking carrot, squash, cherry, and custard pies. An 1861 hardware catalogue shows deep and shallow "pie plates" in the forms we know them today. Eliza Leslie refers at various times to plates, dishes, and patty pans for pies; the differences between them are not clear.[31] Certainly the terms "dish", "pie", and "pan" were loosely used, and one person's pie plate could have been another's dish. Nevertheless, there were different forms, and different functions, and further research to identify these differences would aid in equipping and understanding the White kitchen.

Additional cooking utensils should include a toasting iron, a gridiron, a coffee roaster, a frying pan, and a coffee pot. Six queensware (creamware) molds should be provided for puddings and jellies. Accessories should include two pot hooks, two trammels, two trivets, two ladles, two iron spoons, a skimmer, flesh fork, and

turner. Eliza Leslie describes pot and iron holders made of worsted, or calico backed with flannel; such a holder hangs from the mantle in William Sidney Mount's painting "The Sportsman's Last Visit" (1835).[32] Two calico potholders should be provided.

Pothooks and trammels hang on the crane. The rack of skewers should hang on the right fireplace jamb. A larger wrought iron rack on the left fireplace jamb will hold the ladles, spoons, skimmer, flesh fork, and turner. The potholders should be hung from the bottom of the fireplace mantle. Pot lids can hang on the wall over the mantle. The remaining pots, kettles, baking dishes, etc., will have to be stored in the closet, larger items on the floor, smaller items on a shelf.

Eating Utensils

Mrs. Parkes wrote that a household should have a dinner service of china for company, a dinner service for ordinary use, and a third service for the kitchen.[33] The three types of tableware that predominate the Bishop White house archaeological collection--blue and white Chinese export porcelain, creamware, and blue and white transfer-printed earthenware--neatly fit Mrs. Parkes's outline. The Chinese export porcelain certainly served as the family's good dinner service throughout their residency. The archaeological collection includes later pieces that would have been purchased as the original set diminished through breakage. Creamware was probably the family's ordinary dinner service in the 1780s when it was fashionable. At that time the

servants would have used pewter and redware, and pieces of old-fashioned salt-glazed stoneware, indicated by excavated sherds. Blue and white transfer-printed earthenware was popular in the 1810s and 1820s. A dinner service of this ware would have replaced creamware for the family's everyday use. Surviving pieces of creamware would have been relegated to the kitchen, which was their usual place by the 1830s; Miss Leslie specifies "white crockery" or "common queensware" for the kitchen table.[34]

It remained customary to store good china, along with glassware, somewhere other than the kitchen. In the few instances where china is listed in a kitchen closet it is usually less valuable pieces: "old" china, "American" china, or china "for kitchen use."[35] For fine china, pantry or china closets in or near the dining parlor were usual, and preferred. The Bishop White house presents somewhat of a dilemma in this respect, because the two closets in the dining parlor chimney breasts are nowhere near sufficient to hold the Bishop's china and glassware. But there are a number of alternatives for additional china storage space. Two insurance survey plans for the Bishop White house, drawn in 1858 and 1876, both show a semi-circular recess in the wall between the dining parlor and piazza, opening onto the piazza. This could very well be a closet, and if so is perfectly situated for a china closet.[36] It is also probable that some of the china and glassware was stored in the sideboard, a practice clearly delineated

in Chester County inventories.[37] A third possibility is that china was stored in a free-standing corner cupboard in the dining parlor. These were more common in Philadelphia and south than in New England where they were usually built-in.[38] Corner cupboards appear frequently in Philadelphia inventories in the 1790s; when material is specified as walnut or mahogany we are clearly dealing with parlor rather than kitchen furniture. Finally, china may have been stored in an upstairs closet, in one of the bedchambers, or even the storeroom over the necessary. Mrs. Eliza Farrar wrote in The Young Lady's Friend, in 1837: "The best dinner-set is often kept in the closet of a spare chamber; so piles of plates and arms full of dishes are seen walking down stairs on company days, and walking up again the day after." This practice is borne out by the inventories.[39] It is not our purpose here to conclude where the china was stored, but merely to show that it need not, and most likely was not, stored in the kitchen closet.

Transfer-printed earthenware could have been stored in any of the above-mentioned places. As an ordinary dinner service it could also have been stored in the kitchen closet. Given the physical layout of the Bishop White house, at least what we know of it, the kitchen closet provides the best means of accommodating this dinner service. A complete dinner set of Chinese export porcelain contained on the average roughly 170 pieces.[40] Even if we assume the ordinary

transfer-printed dinner service was less complete and elaborate, it should contain one hundred or more pieces. Preliminary analysis of the sherds indicates that the set included plates, bowls, cups, mugs, sugars, creamers, tea pots, and pitchers, and that different patterns were combined. A complete analysis of the sherds will provide a good foundation for acquiring duplicate pieces, which should be arranged on the closet shelves.

The kitchen dinner service, also stored on the closet shelves, will consist mainly of unmatched pieces of queensware, including late eighteenth century pieces formerly part of the family's dinner service, and nineteenth century pieces purchased specifically for kitchen use. Preliminary analysis of the sherds indicates that the royal pattern predominated, but there are smaller amounts of feather-edged, and some blue (pearlware) and green shell-edged wares. Eliza Leslie specifies plates, dishes, pitchers, cups, saucers, salt-cellar, and pepper box of creamware or white crockery for the domestics' table.[41] Ten plates, three dishes, two pitchers, ten cups and saucers, a salt-cellar and a pepper box should suffice for the Bishop's servants. Fragments of black-glazed redware mugs excavated at the Bishop White house certainly represent kitchen ceramics, and two of these may be provided, but by 1836 they would have been largely superseded by creamware. Eliza Leslie also recommends common glass tumblers for the domestics; six of these should be provided. Some insight into the

servants' mealtime in this period may be gathered from Mrs. Farrar: "I have been in some families, where the comfort of those who eat in the kitchen is as scrupulously guarded as that of those who eat in the parlour, and no one is permitted to ring the bell, till the domestics have had a quiet half hour for their meal, and children are forbidden to open the kitchen door during that time."[42] One would expect such gentility to characterize the Bishop White household.

Finally, a knife box should be provided for common bone-handled knives and forks, stocked with a dozen and a half of each, and stored on a closet shelf. Plate baskets for carrying dirty plates are mentioned by Robert Roberts and Eliza Leslie;[43] two large, deep baskets for this purpose should be stored in the closet.

Cleaning

Water for the Bishop White house was obtained from three different sources at various times during the house's early history. The brick-lined well in the back yard must have been part of the house's original construction, and would have been covered with a pump to bring up water. The few artifacts recovered from the well are not sufficient to indicate when it was filled in. Because the bricks lining the well are dry laid without mortar, and the well is close to the necessary, it is conceivable that the well became polluted before the end of the Bishop's tenure. A brick cistern lined with cement was located in the yard just northeast of the well. Because the wall of

the ca. 1880 back building intersects the cistern, we know it was filled in before that date. The cistern fill contained construction-related materials such as brick bats and fragments of stone and mortar, along with mid-nineteenth century artifacts including a piece of ironstone made no earlier than 1865, so it seems logical that it was filled in when the original kitchen was demolished. The archaeologists did not determine when the cistern was constructed, but assumed it would have been constructed to replace the well when the latter ceased to function.[44] This, however, is not necessarily the case; insurance surveys describe wells and cisterns in use simultaneously.[45] In addition, well water and rain water had different uses, as noted in part one. It is entirely possible that both well and cistern were constructed along with the house. A small excavation to examine the back trench and construction of the cistern might resolve the question.

A third source of water was a pipe from the city's water main in Walnut Street. In the original furnishing plan, curator Charles Dorman included in the kitchen a stone sink supplied with water through a pipe connected to the water main in Walnut Street. Mr. Dorman based his recommendation on bills he saw in the possession of a family member.[46] Although I have not yet been able to locate these bills, other evidence supports the feasibility of such a piped-in water supply. Philadelphia's water works began operation in 1800 and

by 1801 water was being supplied to sixty-three dwelling houses.[47] In 1803 Schuylkill water was conducted into Elizabeth Powel's new house on Chestnut Street.[48] We know that the Bishop White house kitchen had cold running water by the time of the 1858 insurance survey.[49] Eliza Leslie refers to kitchen sinks in her 1840 House Book, but does not describe them as she would if they were novel or unusual. In contrast, Catherine Beecher takes pains to convince her readers that kitchen sinks are necessary, and describes how they are constructed. One would conclude that sinks were common in urban Philadelphia, but not in rural New England.[50]

A kitchen sink, in sum, is an appropriate feature of the 1836 kitchen, with the added interpretive value of showing progress in plumbing since the eighteenth century. Because the sink would have drained to the outside, the obvious location is in the northwest corner of the kitchen where it could empty directly into the necessary drain. Surely the Bishop would not have constructed a new drain in his yard when the necessary drain would have served perfectly. Waste water from the sink would have helped to flush out the necessary. The brick floor under the sink in this corner would be another benefit. The sink should be made of stone, with a single brass cock for cold water. John Cadwalader installed a stone sink in his kitchen in the 1770s (a pump would have supplied the water) and John Haviland lists "sink stones" in The Builder's Assistant in 1821.[51] The presence of a

sink in the kitchen made obtaining water easier, but it did not change the method of washing dishes. These were still washed in tubs, one for washing and one for rinsing; the sink was used to obtain water and to discard waste water. Eliza Leslie wrote: "Let the sink be kept extremely clean; and care should be taken that nothing goes down it that may cause any stoppage. Over it have nails on which to hang the dish-cloths, & c. All water in which vegetables havé been washed or boiled, should be thrown out at once; as, if allowed to stand, it will soon smell disagreeable; cabbage in particular." When not in use, dishwashing equipment should be stored in the vicinity of the sink: two tubs and a wooden dish drainer stacked in the corner by the fireplace jamb, covered slop-pail and redware grease pot under the sink, two coarse linen dish cloths and a dish towel, with loops, hanging over the sink, and a piece of soap in an earthenware dish on the shelf. A water bucket should stand next to the sink. Although tin tubs and buckets were available at this time, wood probably remained more common, and is recommended here. A roller towel should be hung next to the sink on the west wall. When needed, the tubs and other equipment would be carried over to the bench, which would be pulled out from the wall. A tin wash basin should be kept at one end of this bench, and hung on the wall when the bench is used otherwise. A linen hand towel should hang on the wall nearby.[52]

By the 1830s Philadelphians usually washed their clothes once a week, and many families sent their laundry out. However, Miss Leslie

recommended a home laundry for large families, which would include the Whites.[53] If the White household did wash clothes at home, the kitchen cellar is the obvious place for the job. In fact, the availability of this space with well and cistern right outside the door supports the argument that they did wash clothes at home. Household inventories are not conclusive in this matter; although they frequently list laundry equipment in the cellar, it is possible that the items were being stored there between washings. Nevertheless, I recommend that the kitchen cellar be interpreted as a laundry and ironing room; therefore, related equipment will not be found in the kitchen.

The cellar is also a more appropriate place then the kitchen for house-cleaning equipment. A broom and any additional items wanted near the kitchen could conveniently be kept in the necessary wing, behind the door to the kitchen. Three redware cockroach traps and a wooden mousetrap, as described in part one, should be distributed in corners of the kitchen and closet.

Lighting

Both candlesticks and lamps appear in kitchen inventories of the 1810s to 1830s, frequently both types in one kitchen. Eliza Leslie lists both as kitchen furnishings: broad-bottomed tin candlesticks and broad-bottomed lamps of tin or brass.[54] Because the painting of Bishop White's study shows a candle on the mantlepiece, we know that

candles were still used in the house, though not necessarily to the exclusion of oil lamps. Including both forms of lighting in the kitchen would be accurate, and would help show the trend in nineteenth century lighting technology. Four candlesticks, with tallow candles, and two oil lamps, utilitarian models with broad bottoms, should be provided and collected on the mantle except as needed. No inventory yet located lists a chandelier in a kitchen; since chandeliers were for show, not utility and economy, this is not surprising. A tin candle box should hang on the south wall next to the closet.

Miscellaneous

Curtains continue to be absent from kitchen inventories through the third decade of the nineteenth century, and should not be hung in the Bishop White house kitchen. Kitchen carpets, in contrast, are commonly found in inventories in the 1830s, almost always designated as rag carpet. Eliza Leslie confirms their popularity, in this case by recommending against their use: "We highly disapprove of putting rag carpets on kitchen floors, in consequence of the dirt and grease with which they soon become saturated."[55] Miss Leslie recommended oil-cloth instead, but noted that it was not commonly used. Inventories often list kitchen rag carpets as a lot, or in plural, indicating that there was more than one in the room. It is possible that an arrangement of rag runners, as seen at Grumblethorpe (fig. 1)

or Cedar Grove (fig. 2) was common. Rag runners are recommended for the Bishop White kitchen.

A looking glass is another item that commonly appears in kitchen inventories in the 1830s. Looking glasses appear only occasionally in kitchens in 1790s inventories. Again, Eliza Leslie confirms their presence by recommending against their use, claiming they result in hair in the food.[56] Looking glasses can be seen in the Grumblethorpe and Mount family kitchens (figs. 1 & 9), hanging next to a window for better light. A small looking glass should be hung over the bench on the east wall, next to the window.

The kitchen clock symbolizes change in American kitchens, indeed in American life, as profound as those brought about by the cookstove. Eliza Leslie wrote: "The duties of the domestics (particularly those of the cook) cannot be regularly performed without a kitchen clock," and Catherine Beecher concurred.[57] Inventories from the 1830s do not list kitchen clocks as frequently as rag carpets or looking glasses. However, clocks appear in the kitchens at Grumblethorpe and on the cover of the Housekeeper's Almanac (fig. 1 & 7).[58] Of particular interest is the way Philadelphia manuscript recipe books of the period refer to clock-time in cooking, a characteristic not found in eighteenth century cookbooks. A recipe for French Soup, for example, contains the instructions "keep it boiling from 8 o'clock in the morning till 2," and there are many similar examples.[59] A clock

should be included in the Bishop White kitchen as an important element showing the development of the American kitchen. A wag-on-wall clock, as illustrated in period kitchens, should be hung on the west wall between the staircases.

Recommendations for Cellar

The Bishop White house cellar should be refurnished as an important and fascinating part of the functioning home. The kitchen cellar can be fully equipped as a laundry on Eliza Leslie's detailed specifications, supplemented by inventory listings. Preserving utensils should be kept there, and pastry-making utensils in the summer. A safe for leftover foods would be appropriate there also. The large open cellar under the house should be devoted to coal storage. The enclosed storeroom can be furnished as described by Leslie, Beecher, and Willich, with wines and liquors added. An eighteenth century storeroom is illustrated in The Pleasures of Colonial Cooking, published by the New Jersey Historical Society. Until the cellar is furnished, visitors can learn a great deal from tours of the cellar as it is.

The Scene Recreated

It would be desirable to coordinate the activities represented in the kitchen with those represented in the dining parlor, which is set up for dinner. However, since the Todd kitchen already demonstrates

dinner preparations, it would be more interesting and educational to show a different activity in the Bishop White kitchen. If the dining table were set for the dessert course, we could show preparations for dishwashing in the kitchen, an activity that is frequently the subject of visitor questions. On the work table are two baskets of (dirty) Chinese export porcelain dishes, and a knife box with knives and forks. For the safety of the dishes, the baskets could be filled with some other material, and a few plates arranged on top. Five plates have been "scraped" and stacked on the table awaiting washing. A wooden spoon for scraping lies next to them, and the slop bucket and grease pot are below the table. The bench has been pulled away from the wall, and supports the tubs and dish drainer. A dish cloth is draped over the edge of one of the tubs. Nearby is a stool, to hold plates ready to be washed. When the plates are removed from the drainer and dried with a towel they would be stacked on the nearby gateleg table. The large brass kettle for heating water hangs on the crane. At the front of the hearth cooking utensils wait to be cleaned: tin kitchen, a pot with an iron spoon, a skillet, and an iron Dutch oven. Dinner could have included a roast, cooked vegetables, and cakes baked in the Dutch oven. Food preparation utensils waiting to be washed have been gathered together in a redware mixing pan: cutting knife, grater, wooden spaddle, hickory egg beater, and tin measuring cup. The colander still stands in the sink, where the vegetables were drained.

Summary List of Furnishings

West Wall, Left to Right

rush seat chair (INHP 7564)

windsor side chair, bird cage (INHP 7401)

wag-on-wall clock

mortar and pestle, large

tin pepper box

tin dredging box

2 iron pot covers

copper fish kettle cover

copper saucepan cover

tin saucepan cover

3 candlesticks (INHP 4363, 6598, 7598)

3 tallow candles

2 oil lamps

2 calico potholders (INHP 4131)

iron utensil rack

2 ladles (INHP 5458, 6202)

iron spoon

skimmer (INHP (4105)

flesh fork (INHP 12650)

turner (INHP 12651)

coal scuttle

shovel

tongs

hearth brush

rush seat chair (INHP 6298)

crane (INHP, B.W. kitchen)

2 pot hooks (INHP 6274)

2 trammels (INHP 5252)

large brass kettle

kitchen coal grate

tin kitchen (INHP 5205)

iron skillet (INHP, storage)

iron pot

iron spoon

iron Dutch oven

fire screen

fire pan (INHP 5240)

saltbox

set of skewers & rack (INHP 232)

bellows

redware cockroach trap

wooden towel roller

linen roller towel

<u>North Wall, Left to Right</u>

redware dish (INHP 5852)

soap

candlestick with tallow candle

hanging shelf

linen dish cloth

linen dish towel

brass water cock

stone sink

tin colander

wooden water bucket (INHP 3791)

tin bread box

American cookbook (INHP 11642)

round wooden box (INHP 5457)

wooden bucket with lid

hanging shelf

hanging kitchen scales

grater, large (INHP 5779)

chopping knife

sugar nippers (INHP 5089)

wooden spoon

wooden beetle

rolling pin (INHP 3675)

tin funnel

wooden paste board (INHP 5006)

four-legged stool (INHP 4061)

linen hand towel

tin wash basin

East Wall, Left to Right

bench (INHP, storage)

2 wooden tubs

linen dish cloth

wooden plate drainer

looking glass (INHP 8164)

rocking chair (INHP 6225)

redware cockroach trap

gateleg table (INHP 1500)

hanging cupboard (INHP 4341)

rush seat chair (INHP 6882)

South Wall, Left to Right

tin candle box (INHP 4200)

(In closet)

footstool

1 large and 1 small market basket (INHP 5073)

3 round baskets, different sizes (INHP 5057, 5060, 6681)

2 tin canisters

2 wide-mouthed glass bottles (INHP 6737, 6738)

2 stoneware jars with leather covers (INHP 5146)

2 black-glazed redware jars with leather covers (INHP 3706, 3707)

stoneware pot (INHP 5481)

2 glass demijohns (INHP 3623, 6885)

2 wooden barrels with lids (INHP 4979, 7126)

1 large & 1 small redware bowl (INHP 3091)

small redware pan (INHP 8079)

wooden bowl (INHP 10976)

2 deep, round tin pans (INHP 4063)

coffee mill (INHP 6007)

1 large & 1 small sieve (INHP 4308, 6004)

1 quart & 1 gallon size tin measures

porcelain tea cup, 18th century (INHP 5870)

4 iron pots (INHP 5248)

small brass kettle (INHP 3782)

small iron kettle (INHP 3742)

copper saucepan

tin saucepan

copper fish kettle

copper stewpan

copper tea kettle (INHP 3817)

iron tea kettle (INHP 5064)

bird spit (INHP 5857)

iron Dutch oven

waffle iron (INHP 10848)

griddle

6 creamware molds (INHP 3680-3682, 4095, 4096)

3 round redware baking dishes (INHP 3089, 3098, 7023)

3 oblong redware baking dishes

2 redware pudding pans (INHP 2493, 3143)

2 tin pie dishes

12 tin patty pans

2 tin cake pans

6 tin muffin rings

toasting iron (INHP 3055)

gridiron (INHP 4948)

coffee roaster (INHP 5040)

frying pan (INHP 3790)

coffee pot (INHP 8160)

2 trivets (INHP 3056)

dinner service of blue & white transfer-printed earthenware
(INHP 4867, 4868, 5270, 7599, 7600)

10 plates, creamware & pearlware (INHP 3308-3314, 3316, 3711, 5772)

3 dishes, creamware & pearlware (INHP 3329, 7569, 8653)

2 pitchers, creamware & pearlware

10 cups, creamware & pearlware

10 saucers, creamware & pearlware

salt cellar, creamware or pearlware (INHP 3347)

pepper box, creamware or pearlware (INHP 3348)

6 glass tumblers (S.N. 38.010)

2 black-glazed redware mugs (INHP 4335)

redware cockroach trap

wooden mousetrap (INHP 6061)

small table

four-legged stool

Center of Room

4 rag carpet runners

windsor side chair, birdcage (INHP 3979)

work table with drawers (INHP 1116)

redware pot (INHP 3708)

wooden bucket with lid (INHP 5733)

(On table)

knife box (INHP 4133)

18 bone-handled knives (INHP 8663-8666, 8673-8677)

18 bone-handled forks (INHP 8661, 8667-8672, 8678, 8679)

2 large, deep baskets (INHP 5480)

Chinese export porcelain, assorted (in baskets)

5 Chinese export porcelain plates

wooden spoon

redware pan (large) (INHP 8347)

cutting knife

grater, small

wooden spaddle

hickory egg beater

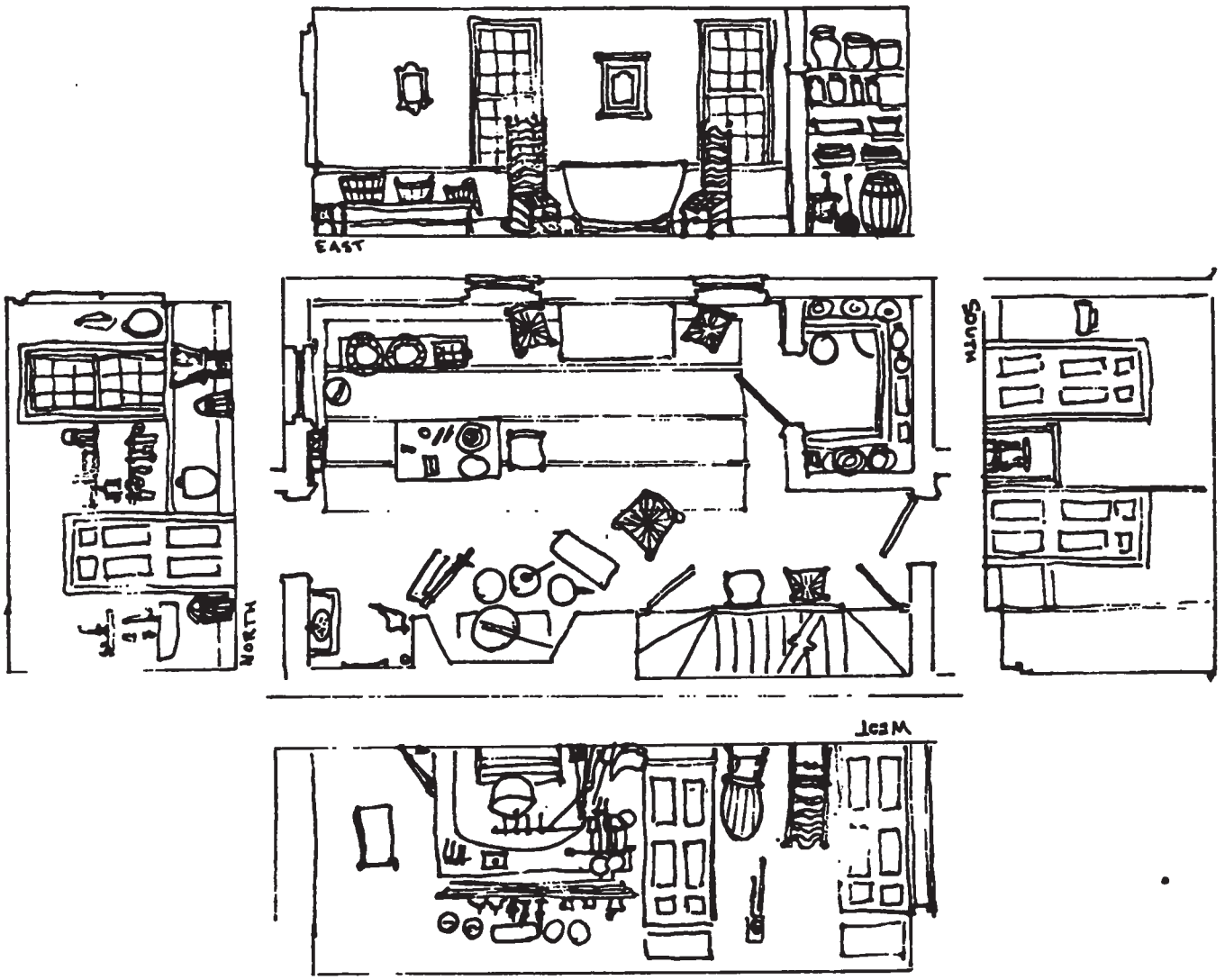
tin measuring cup, pint size

(In drawer)

cutting knife

2 pewter spoons (INHP 5150, 5151)

tin apple corer



BISHOP WHITE HOUSE

KITCHEN

J. BUSCH, DESIGNER
J. KOLTER, DEL

0 1 5ft

NOTES

[1]David A. Kimball and Charles G. Dorman, "Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House," Philadelphia, Independence National Historical Park, December 1961, Part B, p. 2 & footnote 4. The 1830 U.S. Census listing for the Bishop White household is as follows:

1	F. W. Male	15-20
1	do do	20-30
1	do do	50-60
1	do do	80-90
1	F. W. Female	15-20
4	do do	20-30
1	do do	50-60
1	F. C. Male	24-26
1	F. C. Female	10-24
2	do do	24-36
14		

[2]Staff, "Historic Structures Report, Part II on Bishop White House," Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, March 1959.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Mrs. William Parkes, Domestic Duties; or Instructions to Young Married Ladies, 1st American ed. from the 3d London ed. (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1828), pp. 146, 148; Robert Roberts, The House Servant's Directory (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1827), p. 34; Miss [Eliza] Leslie, The House Book or, A Manual of Domestic Economy (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1840), p. 251.

[5]Inventories of Joseph Pemberton and Samuel Neave, in Kimball & Dorman, Appendix A & V.

[6]Plan of Charles Norris's house, 1789, in Norris of Fairhill MS, scrapbook #3, p. 235 at Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Plan of William Shippen's house, ca. 1781, reproduced in set of measured drawings of the Wistar House, in the AIA Old Philadelphia Survey located at the Free Library.

[7]Surveys for policies 4006, 4049, 4059 in Mutual Assurance surveys, microfilm roll XXXI in INHP library.

[8]Anthony N. B. Garvan, ed., The Architectural Surveys, 1784-1794, The Mutual Assurance Company Papers, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Mutual Assurance Company, 1976), policy 173; Samuel Bettle and William Skinner inventories in Appendix B.

[9]I have found two Mutual Assurance surveys describing ash holes that communicated with fireplaces above: In policy 265-266, dated 1791: "There is a conveniency from each chimney to convey the ashes to an ash hole," and in policy 161, dated 1786: "There is a small oven in the chimney and a grate to convey the ashes to a stone ash hole," Garvan. By ca. 1820, the Mutual Assurance surveys (microfilm roll XXXI) indicate that ash holes of some form were standard.

[10]Staff; and discussions with historic architect Penny Batcheler.

[11]Recommendations here are based on Leslie, p. 229; inventories in Office of Register of Wills (some included in Appendix B and in Kimball & Dorman, Appendices); views of 19th century kitchens in Harold L. Peterson, Americans at Home (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), plates 47, 57, 62, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 116; and Edgar de N. Mayhew & Minor Myers, Jr., A Documentary History of American Interiors (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), pp. 362-63, 366-67, 369.

[12]Frances Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, ed. by Donald Smalley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 277; Leslie, p. 239.

[13]Helen McKearin and Kenneth M. Wilson, American Bottles and Flasks and Their Ancestry (New York: Crown Publishers, 1978), pp. 248-55; Amelia Simmons, American Cookery (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, printers, 1796), p. 41; Nicholas Appert, "The Art of Preserving," appendix to A. F. M. Willich, The Domestic Encyclopedia, 2d Am. ed., edited by Thomas Cooper, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, Abraham Small, 1821); Jane Busch, "An Introduction to the Tin Can," Historical Archaeology 15 no. 1 (1981), pp. 95-96; Manuscript recipe books in INHP museum collection, catalogue numbers 3695 and 3696; M. L. Fisher, "Recipe Book," Philadelphia, 1825-26, ms in Mrs. Howell Tracy Fisher Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Leslie, Miss [Eliza], Directions for Cookery in its Various Branches, 20th ed. (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1837), p. 90; Elizabeth Powel, diary entries in almanacs, ms in Powel Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[14]The archaeologist's report is not clear on this point. The fill recovered from the vault contained early to late (ca. 1870) nineteenth century material. If the vault was filled in all at once, as the archaeologist interpreted it, then the latest materials would give the date when this occurred. See Paul J. F. Schumacher, "Archaeological Field Notes, Archaeological Project, Bishop White House Basement," October 12, 1956, ts in accession folder 132 in Museum Office, INHP.

[15]Leslie, House Book, p. 243.

[16]An ice house at Ashbridge in England is described as a vault with a pulley to raise and lower ice, in Rosamond Bayne-Powell, Housekeeping in the Eighteenth Century (London: John Murray, 1956), p. 64.

[17]Leslie, House Book, pp. 248-49; Willich, vol. 3, Appendix, p. 72; Parkes, p. 205; Catherine Beecher, A Treatise on Domestic Economy (Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon & Webb, 1841; reprint ed., New York: Source Book Press, 1970), p. 374.

[18]Leslie, House Book, p. 245.

[19]Margaret B. Schiffer, Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories, 1684-1850 (Exton, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing, 1974), pp. 197-99.

[20]Inventory dated May 12, 1835, located in Philadelphia Office of Register of Wills, will file 62.

[21]Powel.

[22]Leslie, House Book, pp. 233-40; Beecher, pp. 369-71.

[23]See illustrations in Peterson, plates 62, 86, 90.

[24]Leslie, House Book, pp. 233-41; Leslie, Directions for Cookery, p. 334, Beecher, pp. 369-71.

[25]Leslie, House Book, p. 127.

[26]Ibid., pp. 151-52.

[27]Frances Phipps writes that finished cellars were used for pickling and preserving: Colonial Kitchens: Their Furnishings and Their Gardens (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1972), p. 95.

[28]Where sources are not specified, the list of cooking equipment is based on Leslie, House Book, pp. 233-37; Beecher, pp. 369-70; and Philadelphia household inventories.

[29]New Jersey Historical Society, Pleasures of Colonial Cooking (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1982), p. 10.

[30][Lydia Maria Child], The Frugal Housewife, 3d ed. (Boston: Carter & Hendee, 1830), p. 58.

[31]Ibid., pp. 70-71; Leibrandt & McDowell, Price List of Stoves, and Stove Hollow-Ware (Philadelphia: J. B. Chandler, printer, 1861), p. 69; Leslie, House Book, p. 236; Leslie, Directions for Cookery, p. 272.

[32]Leslie, House Book, pp. 12, 126; Peterson, plate 47.

[33]Parkes, p. 188.

[34]Leslie, House Book, p. 133.

[35]The four instances I found of china in the kitchen were in the inventories of Elizabeth Specht, 1832 (Appendix B), Ann Ware, 1832 (Appendix R in Kimball and Dorman), Edward Tilghman, 1832 (Appendix B in Mullins, Knapp and Dorman), and George Reinhart, 1794 (Film roll 24 in INHP Library).

[36]Staff, Ch. II, illustrations 2 & 7. Interpretation as closet according to Penny Batcheler. A comparable closet was found in a house at 239 Pine Street, built in 1795.

[37]Schiffer, p. 121.

[38]Charles F. Montgomery, American Furniture: The Federal Period (New York: Viking Press, 1966), p. 436.

[39]Mrs. Eliza Farrar, The Young Lady's Friend (Boston: American Stationers' Co., 1837), p. 53; inventories of Katherine Kepple, 1794 and Elizabeth Griffith, 1812 (Appendices H & I in Kimball and Dorman), Edward Tilghman, 1832 (Appendix B in Mullins, Knapp and Dorman), and James Yard, February 23, 1835, which lists "Canton China" in back room, second story, will file 26, Office of Register of Wills.

[40]Jean McClure Mudge, Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade, (n.p.: University of Delaware Press, 1962), p. 129. Inventories provide guidelines to the pieces that made up a dinner service, John Mifflin's (Appendix K in Kimball and Dorman) is a good example. One manuscript recipe book in the INHP Collection (#3695) contains an itemized list of a French porcelain dining set of over 200 pieces.

[41]Leslie, House Book, p. 233.

[42]Farrar, p. 238.

[43]Roberts, pp. 50, 52; Leslie, p. 223.

[44]Archaeological data on the well and cistern is found in B. B. Powell, "Archaeological Data," Ch. IV in Staff; Schumacher, pp. 3-5; B. B. Powell, "Original Field Notes, Archaeological Project No. 15, Bishop White House," Philadelphia, INHP, 1957 and 1958, ms in Accesion folder 195.

[45]Garvan, policies no. 115, 138, 432-33 indicate pump and cistern in the yard.

[46]Kimball & Dorman, Part D, section 12, p. 3. Mr. Dorman recalls the date of these bills to be about 1812. Efforts are being made to locate the bills.

[47]Joseph Jackson, Encyclopedia of Philadelphia, 4 vols. (Harrisburg: National Historical Association, 1933), vol. 4, p. 1174.

[48]Elizabeth Powel, diary entries in almanacs, ms in Powel papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, May 24, 1803.

[49]Staff, ch. II sec. 1, p. 3.

[50]Leslie, pp. 223, 231; Beecher, p. 367.

[51]Nicholas B. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), p. 16; John Haviland, The Builder's Assistant, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: John Biorfn, 1821), vol. 3, Appendix. Early stone sinks survive at Graeme Park and the Cloisters. These are illustrated in William Chauncey Langdon, Everyday Things in American Life, 1776-1876 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), p. 198 and Eleanor Raymond, Early Domestic Architecture of Pennsylvania (Princeton: Pyne Press, 1973), plate 4. See also the cartoon titled "A New Cock Wanted" in notebook of cartoons in the Museum Office.

[52]Leslie, House Book, pp. 219-24, 230-31, 240; Beecher, pp. 367-68.

[53]Leslie, House Book, pp. 7-8, 13.

[54]Ibid., pp. 163, 237.

[55]Ibid., pp. 185-86.

[56]Ibid., p. 230.

[57]Ibid., p. 232; Beecher, p. 367.

[58]See also Peterson, plate 62.

[59]Recipe books are INHP catalogue nos. 3695 and 3696.

APPENDIX A

SUPPLEMENTARY DATA ON FOOD

The following materials show what kinds of foods were prepared and eaten in Philadelphia. First are exerpts from Ann Warder's journal, written from 1786 to 1789. Ann Warder included in her journal many observations, even explanations, of Philadelphia foods for the benefit of her sister in England, providing us with more insight into meal planning and seasonal variations than we can obtain from cookbooks alone. Following this are lists of recipes from three manuscript cookbooks written in Philadelphia. In Mary Plumsted's cookery book, written in 1776, there is little divergence from published English cookbooks of the period. It may even have been copied from an English cookbook. In contrast, two early nineteenth century recipe books are full of recipes that are typically American, even typically Philadelphian. Some of the recipes are copied from published cookbooks (Mrs. Rundle's and Miss Leslie's) but others are attributed to Philadelphia women.

Extracts from Ann Warder's Journal (in Philadelphia and vicinity unless otherwise noted)

May 27, 1786 New York	dinner--fish & asparagus; supper includes apple pie & custard
May 28, 1786 New York	breakfast--bread, butter, coffee, tea, chocolate, beef, cheese, honey
June 13, 1786	comments on abundance of fruit in Phladelphia, including pineapples, strawberries, cherries and peas
June 14, 1786	notes that Philadelphians take tea late, past 7:00, and skip supper

June 27, 1786	"We returned to sup at home which is become to me now intirely Pie or Fruit & Milk not being able to relish much Meat in this warm Climate."
July 5, 1786	dined on turtle
July 7, 1786	at a farm: "The hedges are all fruit trees of various kinds Apples Mulberrys Raspberrys Grape Vines & many other things that succeed each other so that there is all summer some thing to amuse the palate."
July 8, 1786	sallybub
July 9, 1786	"We had a second sallybub and a light supper."
July 11, 1786	supper--cat-fish
July 24, 1786	grape pie sweetened with treacle
July 19, 1786	dinner--pig; watermelon "I regret from there taking so little trouble that all Fruit last much less time then with us though there is a pritty constant succession which is necessary for they almost live upon it in Summer never think of dining without plenty of Pies--& Supping without Fruit & Milk"
August 2, 1786	dinner (called usual)--chickens, ducks, mock turtle, ham, plenty of vegetables; dessert course--pastries, floating island, fruit
August 5, 1786	picked blackberries describing burglary of their Milk House: "Here they broke in & took a piece of cheese drank up some Milk & stole Six woodcock which my husband counted of for his dinner today. This place was robed a few nights before we came of thirty pound of butter three whole cheese a [?] of Salmon which have made them carefull since not to leave so many valuables."
August 11, 1786	"English dinner--fish, roast beef, plum pudding, pies "After dinner we worked till three o'clock when we all partook of a nice Water Melon."

August 16, 1786 travelling in Central Pa.	"Here we dined off Tuff Beef steaks with Eggs & Bacon but above all what I am extremely fond off a fine Dish of Indian Corn which is here very common boiled & bit off the [?] when young with rubbing a piece of butter." 9:00 P.M.: tea, coffee, "barbaqued" chickens & ham
August 17, 1786 travelling--Pa.	dinner--"A curious Dish of Fish they call Trout which is indeed nice only as all fresh Water rather Boney."
August 19, 1786 travelling--Pa.	dinner--chicken, ham, pidgeons, loin of veal, mutton, rice pudding, baked custard, cowcumber, potatos, & cold slaw "this a new dish to me but frequent amongst the Germans which these people are generally--it is a [?] cabbage cut very fine with pepper & vinegar poured over it." supper--fish, Indian corn, pie
August 26, 1786 travelling--Pa.	dinner--grey squirrels, 2 broiled, others in soup
September 7, 1786 travelling--Pa.	Water & Musk Melon, peaches, grapes
September 8, 1786 travelling--Pa.	supper--fish & stewed pears
September 9, 1786 travelling--Pa.	supper--loin of lamb & peach pie
November 6, 1786	supper--oysters
November 8, 1786	dinner--"First rock fish, next mock turtle, ducks, ham and boiled turkey, with plenty of vegetables, and after these were removed, we had floating island, several kinds of pies with oranges and preserves."
November 10, 1786	"This morning most of the family busy preparing for a great dinner, two green turtles having been sent by Forbes &Stevens. . . . We had a black woman to cook and an elegant entertainment it was--having three tureens of soup, the two shells baked besides several dishes of stew, with boned turkey, roast ducks, veal and beef. After these were removed the table was filled with two kinds of jellies, and various kinds of pudding, pies and

	preserves, and then almonds, raisins, nuts, apples and oranges. Twenty-four sat down at the table. I admired the activity of the lusty cook, who prepared everything herself, and charged for a day and a half but three dollars."
November 28, 1786	"Sally had sent me for supper six of such oysters thou cans't form no idea of, two of them were sufficient for me."
December 3, 1786	John Warder's supper--mush.
December 21, 1786	dinner--partridge pie
December 25, 1786	Christmas dinner--saddle of venison
October 14, 1788	"I assisted my Maid about Dinner heating our oven (which is a small one built up like a Bakers & here much admired) we had a Rump of Beef Apple Pye & Potatoes."
October 22, 1788	"Set about making some pyes."
October 27, 1788	dinner (for company)--roast turkey, tongue laid in mashed potatoes, whip'd sallybubs, oyster pie, boiled leg of pork, bread pudding & tarts
October 29, 1788	market for cranberries
November 12, 1788	supper--oysters
November 21, 1788	supper--7:00 P.M.--nuts & apples
December 14, 1788	John Warder's supper--hominy & milk--"something like Mush only the corn is whole & obliged to be boiled all Day."
December 23, 1788	"Alone all this Day making Mince Meat & then desirous of trying it some Pies both which I accomplished before Dinner."
December 24, 1788	supper--oysters
January 2, 1789	"My Mince Meat all expended I set to making some fresh this Forenoon by my Dear Mother's receipt (at least what part of the sweetmeats I can only procure here which is Citron at about 4/6 per pound) except an equal proportion of Apple with

the Suet & leaving out the Meat intirely which makes them very good indeed & far less trouble but they are rather more extravagant each pye requiring a larger quantity."

January 3, 1789 — "After making my weekly batch of Pies I set to work again."

January 7, 1789 — "Got up Town to Market fully before breakfast appointing a considerable Number to Dine here Tomorrow I wished to make all the preparations in my power before hand therefore got Pies, Puddings & some Jellys nearly ready which occupied all the time till necessary to prepare for my afternoon visitors."

Mary Plumsted's Cookery Book, 1776--List of Recipes

To Choler a Flank of Beef
To Choler a Pig
To Pott Pidgeons or Partridges
To make a Venison Pasty
To make Forced meat
How to do Tongues & Udders
To make a Ragou of Pigs Ears and Feet
To make Pockets
To make Artificial Sturgeon
To make Red Mamaled of Quinces
To Preserve Damsens
To make Jumbles
To make Nable Biscuits
Preserved Angelicoe
To Pickle Pokemelia
To make a Great Cake
To make Devonshire White pot
Pickle Peaches
To Clarify Sugar
To make Eyecing to put on the Top of the foregoing cake
To make Cruds [sic] & Cream
Almond Cheesecakes
Yam Pudding
Calfs Feet Jelly
Coconutt Cheesecake
Gravey for a Broiled Stake
To Cand[y] Lemon Peal
Preserve Peaches
Tansey Pudding
A Custard Pudding
[Untitled recipe for lamb]

Appendix A

A Dish to help out Supper for a Side Dish
To pickle a round of Beef
Jenkin's Soup
Frigasey Chicken or Rabits
To do a Calfs head
Lemmon Pudding
To make marrow Pudding
Currant Jam
A New Way for Pickling
Sirrup of Lemon
To Pickle Onions
White Marmaled of Quinces

Manuscript recipe book, ca. 1820 (INHP #3696)--List of Recipes

To stew Cucumbers
To stew red Cabbage
To fricassee Potatoes
To stew celery white
An Italian Cheese
Solid Syllabubs
Imperial Creams
Burnt Creams
Orange Jelly
Orange Marmalade
Lemon Creams
Orange Creams
Lemon Peal--to keep
A Batter Pudding
Potatoe Puffs
Small New College Puddings
Little Plumb Cakes
Raspberry Jam
Blanc Mange
Rice Cups
To make Bitters
For three Cheese Cakes
Blanc Mange for two forms
To stew Pippins
To stew Cranberries
Rice Pancakes
Ground Rice Pudding
Two Lemon Puddings
Two Cocoa Nut ditto
Two almond Puddings
Orange ditto
Two Apple Puddings
Two Potatoe Puddings

Two Citron Puddings
To make Paste
To preserve Pine Apples
Mrs. Rundle's Receipts to clean plate
To Pickle Red Cabbage
To Pickle Walnuts
To pickle small Onions
To pickle Peaches while green
To Stew Pears
To Stew Pigeons
To candy ripe Cherries
To parch Almonds
Sponge Bread
Plumb Cake
Ginger Nuts
Wigs
Waffles
New York Ally Cooks
To make Mushroom Catsup
Tomato Catsup
To stew Mushrooms
Fried Oysters
Boulis Beef
Jumbles
To make Rusk
Dough Nuts
To Make Mince Meat
Tomatus Mustard
Colours for paintng on Velvet
Pococks Receipt for hams
Pococks Receipt for Beef
Cake Yeast
Spiced Rhubarb
Recipe for any kind of Green preserves
Potatoe yeast
Pepperpot
Soft Gingerbread
A New York heart Cake
Another Composition cake
for Blacking
Receipt for curing Herrings
Plumb Cake
Calves feet Jelly
Hunters Beef
Carrot Soup
To Alamode a round of Beef
Soft Gingerbread
A cement for broken China
Receipt for Durable ink

Appendix A

Mrs. Waln's recipe for Spiced Rhubarb
To preserve Quinces
Madison Cake
Mrs. Rundle's light cake
Mrs. Waln's recipe for pickle
To pickle Oysters
To make Ginger Beer
For a cold
Lemon Syrup
Another
A plain Cake
Hoarhound Syrup
Julap for a child 2 years old
Pudding
To make Virginia Cake
Receipt for making French Soup
Mrs. Joseph Lewis's method of salting Beef
Yeast
Bread Pudding
Virginia Guava
Ice Cream
Another
Apple Float
Rice Jelly
Debby Marshall's receipt for Corned beef with Jelly

Manuscript recipe book, ca. 1835 (INHP #3695)--List of Recipes

Plain soup
Cookies
Croquets
Rice for Dessert
Anchovy Sauce
Clam Soup
Ochre and Tomatoes
Oyster Sauce
Preserve Strawberries
Macaroni Pudding
Batter Pudding
Boiled Bread Pudding
Currant Jelly
Terragon Vinegar
To make Batchelors Bread
Gelatin Jelly
Potatoe Yeast
Sponge Cake
Hard sugar Biscuit
Lemon Syrup

Appendix A

Ginger Syrup
Potatoe Cakes
Hunters Beef
Sally Lunn
Eve's Pudding
Hard Bran Gingerbread
Soft Gingerbread
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis's Recipe for Ginger Syrup
A cure for Chills
A cure for sore throat
Breast Salve plaister
A salve for burns & c.
A plaister for bruises or old sores
Antidotes or Remedies for Poison
To make soft Pomatum
Another way
Hard Pomatum
To take stains of any kind out of Linen
To make Flannels keep their colour
Recipe for Brown Mixture
German Polish
Method of making Soap
Lip Salve
Lemon Coloured wash
Antidote against Poison
Green Wash
Red Balsam
To stop Bleeding
To Bake a Round of Beef for Sea
To Stew a Rump of Beef
To make a baked bread pudding
Recipe for Rice Jelly
Potatoe Yeast
Ginger bread
To make Waffles
Plumb Cake
To Preserve Pippins
Mince Pies
Hams
Lemon Pudding without a Paste
A Yankee Indian Pudding
Apple Custard
Corn Pudding
Dough Nuts
Crullers
Sally Lunn
Burlington Biscuit
Beef Tea
Crullers
Seasoning for a Calves Head
Tomato and Ochre Soup
Green Pea Soup

APPENDIX B

PHILADELPHIA COUNTY KITCHEN INVENTORIES

Richard Farmer, February 7, 1791

Kitchen Furniture	
Jack & Spitts	4.10.-
30 Plates	2. 5.-
6 Water Plates	1.10.-
2 Water Dishes	1.10.-
12 Dishes	3. -.-
2 Iron Potts	-.10.-
1 Bake Oven	-.15.-
1 Copper Kettle	1.10.-
Grid Iron & Griddle	-. 5.-
Copper Saspan & Tea Kettle	1.10.-
7 Flat Irons	-.14.-
Bed Pan & Cullender	-.15.-
Warming Pan	-.10.-
2 small Mortars	-.10.-
Hand Irons Shovel & Tonges	-.15.-
Pans Coffe Mill & c.	-.15.-
Table	-. 2.6
Tub & Buckett	-. 2.-
9[?] Candle Sticks	-. 5.-

INHP film can 32, exposure 189

Joseph Mercier, Philadelphia, November 5, 1793

Kitchen	
1 Jack	2. -.-
1 pair cast hand Irons	-. 8.-
1 large do shovel and Tongs	1. -.-
1 pair Tongs brass top and 2 Iron Bars	-. 6.-
7 flat Irons and Stand	-.12.-
1 tin kitchen	-. 4.-
8 Brass Candle Sticks and 2 Iron	1. 2.-
1 Coper Coffee Pot	-. 5.-
19 Peaces tin ware lot	-.10.-
1 Iron Pestel and Mortar crakd	-. 2.-
2 coper sasepan	-. 6.-
1 knife basket 12 knifes 7 forkes 4 iron spoons 2 ladles and fork	-. 8.-
1 copper fish kittle	1. 5.-

1 Iron bake oven	-. 5.-
1 do do do	-. 7.-
4 Iron pots	-.15.-
3 old sase pans	-. 6.-
1 Iron Tea kittle and 2 copper do	-. 6.-
1 Warming Pan	-.10.-
11 pieces Earthen ware	-. 5.-
2 Grid Irons	-. 5.-
3 Coffee Mills	-. 4.-
3 Iron pots broke	-. 4.-
1 Brass kittle	-.15.-
1 choping knife	-. 4.-
2 pin[e] tables	-. 7.-
1 stone mortar	-. 5.-
5 Brushes a Basket sand sive & c.	-. 7.-
5 chairs	-. 9.-
1 mallet	-. 1.-

INHP film can 28, exposure 134

Isaac Lewis, Philadelphia, November 19, 1793

Kitchen	
1 Table 2 pr flat Irons 5 Candle Sticks	1. 2.6
1 pr And Irons Knive & Forks & Spoons	1.11.6
Sundry Queens Ware &c.	1. 0.0
2 Brass Kittles 1 Tea Do 2 Iron pots 1 Bake Oven	1. 2.6
Warming Pan Frying Coffee pot & Sundrys	0.15.0

INHP film can 26, exposure 105

Samuel Bettle, Philadelphia, December 13, 1793

Kitchin	
6 Rush bottom Chairs	-.15.-
1 large pine table	-.10.-
1 small do	-. 5.-
7 flat Irons	-.14.-
4 brass Candlesticks	1. -.-
4 steel do	3. -.-
2 pair Snuffers & trays	-. 7.6
13 pewter plates	1. -.-
4 large pewter dishes	1. -.-
1 Iron tea kettle	-.15.-
1 Copper do	-. 7.6
1 half barrel brass kettle	1.10.-
1 small do	-.12.-
Warming pan	1.15.-
Copper Stew pan	-. 2.6

pair Stilliards	-. 5.-
grid Iron	-. 2.6
frying pan	-. 7.6
2 large pots Iron	1.10.-
1 Skillet	-. 2.6
2 sauce pans	-. 3.9
2 small Iron pots	-. 5.-
1 Iron Mortar & pestle	-. 5.-
6 table spoons hard mettle	-. 2.6
1 coffee mill	-.12.6
Skimmer & ladle flesh fork	-. 3.9
3 large Queensware dishes	-. 7.6
2 1/2 dozn ditto plates	-.10.-
1 1/2 dozn knives & forks	-. 7.6
5 Iron Scewers[?]	-. -.6
1 Shovel & tongs	-. 5.-
1 pair Iron and Irons	-.10.-
1 large Clothes basket	-. 5.-
2 Walnut tea tables	3. -.-
sand sieve & dust pan	-. 2.6
pair bellows	-. 2.6
Pantry	
5 Earthen jars & [?]	-. 2.6
Churn & Cheese toaster	-. 5.-
1 bbl flour--only part	1.10.-
1 china bowl	-. 5.-
1 dutch oven	1. -.-

INHP film can 27, exposure 108

John Deal, Northern Liberties, January 23, 1835

Kitchen	
1 Ten Plate Stove	$ 3.00
1 Walnut Table	.50
1 Settee & Cushion	1.00
4 Kitchen Chairs	.50
1 Rag Carpet	1.25
1 Looking Glass & 3 [?]	.87 1/2
1 Fireboard & Andirons	.50
1 Pr of Lamps & Napoleon on Horseback [?]	.37 1/2
1 Lot of Crockery & c. in Kitchen Cupboard	1.50

Office of Register of Wills, will file 10 for year 1835

Joseph Dyre, Oxford Township, March 22, 1835

Kitchen	
a stove	$ 8.00
11 chairs	2.75
1 Dough Trough & table	1.50
9 pewter plates & 2 bells	1.50
Contents of Closet cupboards	2.50
garden seeds	1.00
pot Tramble & c. in fire place	2.00
Shovel tongs & Bellows	1.00
2 pair flatirons & c. on mantle	1.50
pots kettles & c. in sink closet	5.00
kitchen closet	1.50
quilting frames	.50
2 Bushes [?]	.25

Office of Register of Wills, will file 36 for year 1835

Robert Galbraith, Southwark, September 21, 1835

In the kitchen	
3 pine tables	$ 1.50
2 stoves	5.00
1 settee and 7 chairs and mattrass for settee	2.50
1 lot of iron pots and kettles	1.75
1 lot of gridirons, andirons, shovel & tongs	1.25
4 brass candlesticks and a lot of tinware	1.50
1 lot of crockery and quensware in the dresser	2.00
1 lot of rag carpet and a looking glass	.75
1 brass kettle and lot of cooking utensils in the cupboard under the stairs	4.00
1 lot of tub and sundries in the wood cellar	1.50

Office of Register of Wills, will file 134 for year 1835

Harvey Lewis, Philadelphia, October 21, 1835

Kitchen	
2 pine dining Tables	$ 4.00
6 Windsor chairs	1.50
1 Looking Glass	.50
1 Rag Carpet	5.00
a Lot of E Ware in Dresser	8.00
a Lot of Pots Kettles & c.	12.00

Office of Register of Wills, will file 150 for year 1835

Elizabeth Twamley, Philadelphia, October 21, 1835

Kitchen Furniture	
2 Tables, 1 small table	$ 2.00
6 Chairs	2.50
1 copper tea kettle, 1 small copper kettle, 2 bell Metal kettles, 5 brass Candlesticks	6.00
5 Iron pots, 1 sauce pan, 1 Gridel, 1 Gridiron, 1 frying pan, 1 bread toaster, 1 bake ovens, 1 coffee mill	7.25
1 Copper Wash kettle	4.00
1 Copper Fish kettle and cover	3.00
7 flat Irons, 3 Iron stands	3.00
2 Iron fenders	1.00
1 Rag carpet	3.00
1 Cloathes horse	.75
1 large Ironing board	.50
1 pie board	.50
1 pair Andirons, shovel, tongs, & bellows	1.50
1 lot bottles, jars, and tins	6.00
1 Iron tea kettle, pot hooks	.75
5 Gallon Oil Can	1.00
Tubs, buckets	1.50
4 1/2 tons Lehigh coal	24.00
6 Cords Wood	30.00

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Elizabeth Specht, Northern Liberties, November 18, 1835

In kitchen	
1 Old Clock and Case	$ 5.00
An old Desk	2.50
Kitchen Table	.50
8 Chairs	1.60
1 Small looking glass	.75
1 pr. brass Candlesticks, Snuffers & tray	.50
3 Small waiters	.18
A Lot of Old China, Queensware, Tinware & Crockery in Closet	3.50
2 Tea kettles, and Water bucket	1.50
A lot of Sundries in Closet	.75
Rag Carpeting on floor	1.50
A Lot of German books	1.00

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William Skinner, Northern Liberties, December 15, 1835

Kitchen	
1 Table	$ 1.00
6 Chairs	2.00
1 Winsor Settee	4.00
1 Lot Rag Carpet	1.50
1 Stove & Pipe	6.00
3 Lamps & 2 Candlesticks	1.50
3 Waiters & Brush	.50
Lot of Crockery Ware	1.50
1 Looking Glass	1.00
1 Picture & Frame	.25
Pantry	
6 Smoothing Irons	1.50
1 Safe	1.50
6 Wash Tubs	3.00
2 Brass Kettles	4.00
2 Meat Tubs	.50
Lot of Tin Ware	.50
do Pewter do	.50
Lot Iron pots & Pans	2.00
1 Copper Kettle	1.00
Lot Knives & forks	.75
do Stone & Earthen ware	1.25
" Bottles & c.	.75
" Washing machines & Baskets	.50
2 Coffee mills	.50
Closelines Cleavers & hatchets	.50
1/2 doz Paint Brushes	3.00
Lot Silver Spoons	7.00
do knives & forks	2.75

Office of Register of Wills, will file 173 for year 1835

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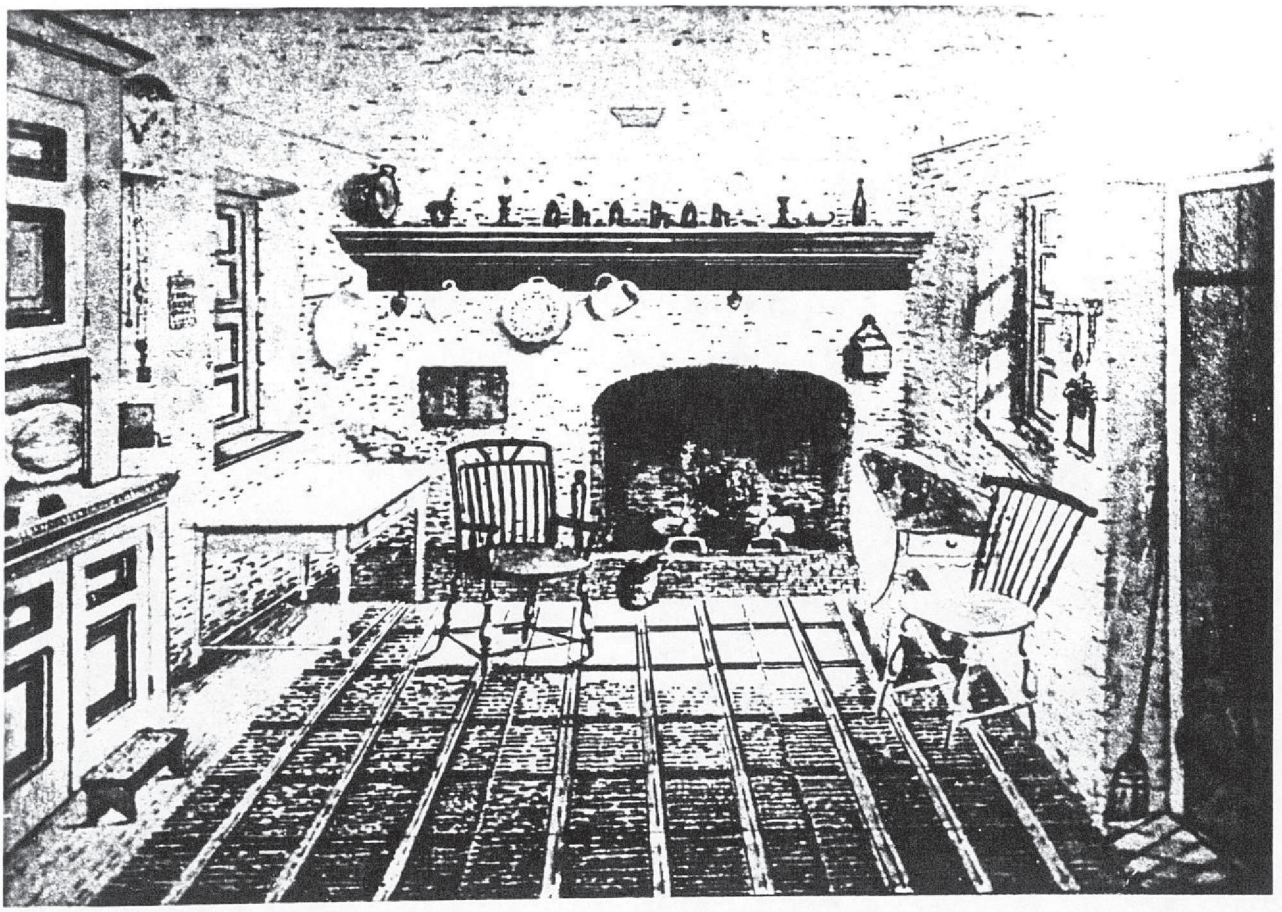


Fig. 1 Kitchen, Grumblethorpe. By John Richards, ca. 1870-1880. Courtesy Philadelphia Society for the Preservation of Landmarks. Original sketch at the Germantown Historical Society.

Details such as the clock, calendar, mirror, and rag carpet reveal this view as 19th century, yet Grumblethorpe's kitchen appears here much as it would have when it was remodeled in 1799. Utensils hang from the mantle and from nailing strips on the walls. The built-in dresser survives to the present day.



Fig. 2 Kitchen, Cedar Grove, 1887. Courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art.

The Morris family added this kitchen to Cedar Grove ca. 1795 and used it practically without alteration until they vacated the house in 1887. In the fireplace, two cranes and a hearth horse support cooking utensils. An assortment of Chinese export porcelain is displayed on the dresser.



Fig. 3 "The Christmas Pie or Richards Choice." London: Hames & Son, 1795. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Note here the variety of equipment above and beside the hearth, the roller towel on the wall, and the pots stored beneath a table or dresser.



Fig. 4 Frontispiece from Caroline Butler, New London and Country Cook. London, 1770, reprinted in Pleasures of Colonial Cooking.

Sealed food storage containers and hanging meats appear in this kitchen along with a diversity of cooking utensils. A roller towel is just visible in the background, and a fire screen in the foreground.



Fig. 5 Illustration from R. House, The Family Cookery. London, ca. 1800, reprinted in Pleasures of Colonial Cooking.

The dresser in this print illustrates typical storage patterns: dishes and food storage containers above, pots and pans below. A clock jack is visible above the female figure.



Fig. 6 "Advantages of Modern Education." Cornhill: Sc Knights, 1825.

Because the artist intended to portray sloppy kitchen management, the viewer sees a more realistic image of actual kitchen use than in typical, more stylized representations. Note the casual arrangement of utensils on the table and dresser, the fire screen, and the carpet.



Fig. 7 Front cover of The House-keeper's Almanac: and Good Wife's Receipt Book for . . . 1842. Philadelphia: Turner & Fisher. Courtesy Library Company of Philadelphia.

This wood engraving is an early representation of an American kitchen, probably a kitchen in a tavern. The larder in the foreground seems to symbolize American plenty. Although quite stylized, this view provides information on food containers and patterns of utensil storage. Note the two built-in dressers and the wall clock.



Fig. 8 "Life in Philadelphia, Sketches of Character: At Home." Drawn on stone by H. Harrison. Soho: W. H. Isaacs, 1830s. Courtesy Library Company of Philadelphia.

Dishwashing is rarely portrayed in art, as it is here. This lithograph shows the type of practical, utilitarian utensil storage that would have been found in the average kitchen. The "Life in Philadelphia" series was based on a series of etchings done by Edward Clay in the 1820s.



Fig. 9 "Mount Family Kitchen." By William Sidney Mount, 1830-1840, reprinted in Harold L. Peterson, Americans at Home.

Mount's sketch from life provides a glimpse of a working kitchen hearth. Note the gateleg table and the mirror hanging next to the window.