

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: RESTORATION RECONSIDERED: HISTORICAL
ACCURACY OF THE KITCHEN AT ADENA,
A FEDERAL PERIOD HOUSE MUSEUM

Degree Candidate: Fred Rhodes Smith

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Thesis directed by: C. Richard Bierce, AIA
Welch Center for Graduate and Professional Studies
Goucher College

This thesis examines the role of standards, decision processes, and professionalism in contemporary restoration practice as a preparatory step to reconsidering the kitchen at Adena, a Federal Period house museum. The thesis surveys recent historical research as it relates to the accuracy of previous restorations of kitchens from this period and evaluates the demands of modern interpretive themes for re-restoration. The thesis demonstrates the difficulty of making restoration decisions with scant physical evidence and offers a process for contemporary practice.

The thesis includes seven chapters. Chapter II traces the origins of restoration philosophy and the evolution of contemporary restoration practice in the United States. Chapter III reviews the historical background and physical aspects of kitchens from the Federal Period and explains why early restorations lack historical accuracy. Using case studies, chapters IV and V analyze contemporary practice by comparing present-day

re-restorations at the Octagon and Monticello with their previous campaigns. Chapter VI evaluates the historical accuracy of the 1953 restoration of the kitchen at Adena and offers three options for the treatment of the building fabric, dependent on further investigation.

The findings support the suppositions that the requirements of interpretive programs initiate re-restoration campaigns and that restorers seek physical evidence to justify altering the building fabric in order to comply with contemporary standards.

The central question of the thesis was how are restoration decisions made and what constitutes conclusive evidence under contemporary practice.

The thesis determines that restoration decisions are based on informed probabilities or proven facts, depending on the reasoning process used to evaluate the evidence. Evidence is conclusive only when it is used to deduce a fact.

The thesis concludes that the best contemporary practice requires careful record keeping, thoughtful use of all sources of evidence, and acknowledgment of the reasoning that leads to decisions.

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Fred Rhodes Smith

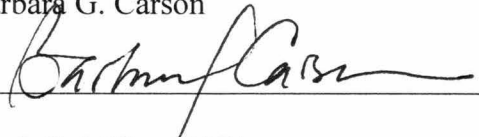
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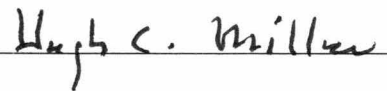
Advisory Committee:
C. Richard Bierce, Chair

AIA

Barbara G. Carson



Hugh C. Miller, FAIA



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This thesis is dedicated to my wife

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

House museums and more broadly, historic sites, have a special power to rivet a visitor's attention and engage his or her imagination. This is a wonderful power; one that all of us in the field of Historic Preservation would do well to consider very carefully. It stems in great measure from the perceived authenticity of what is seen at these sites. The clarity with which the issue of authenticity is handled, both in interpretation and in fact, is therefore a major issue.

It is central to recognize that the ability to mislead through what is seen and heard at historic sites is as great as the ability to engage. The message we give is crucial because millions of people pass through America's historic sites every year. These visitors constitute the single largest opportunity for us as preservationists to influence people face-to-face who care about saving our built and natural heritage.

Our integrity as museum professionals is put to a special test at historic sites. What we present to the public is accepted as truth. We need to be sure, through scholarship and stewardship, that the truth is not only clear, but that it is presented in a way that enlists the visitor to our cause.¹

Authenticity at house museums is at the foundation of the credibility of the historic preservation movement. At restored sites, the public trust must be maintained in order for historic preservation activities to continue with society's approval. To interpret history accurately, historic house museums must be restored accurately. This thesis examines how decisions affecting historical building fabric are made under contemporary practice, by means of studying recent re-restorations of kitchens in Federal Period house museums.

Long overlooked, kitchens and other domestic spaces were considered to be secondary spaces in house museums, both in their interpretation and in the treatment of the building fabric. Often, these spaces were remodeled for non-interpretive purposes, such as gift shops or tearooms, or were restored incorrectly based on false assumptions and inaccurate scholarship. Kitchens in house museums from the Federal Period were particularly affected by the lack of historical research, which caused physical evidence to be destroyed, making the restoration and re-restoration of these kitchens especially difficult. To satisfy contemporary interpretive goals, new research is being undertaken to inform the accurate restoration of these rooms. Today, kitchens from the Federal Period are being re-restored to display history more accurately. As previous restorations are being examined under the light of new historical evidence, the question must be asked: what constitutes conclusive evidence for restoration decisions under contemporary practice?

Research Motive

The motivation for this study stems from my desire to define the standard of care for restoration under contemporary practice. Aside from the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the treatment of historic properties, no code of ethics or standards of professional conduct exist to guide practitioners. In 2000, I joined the Ohio Historical Society and was part of a team charged with the responsibility for the restoration of Adena, a Federal Period house museum located in Chillicothe, Ohio. Originally restored

in 1953, the interior of Adena was refurnished for the celebration of the bicentennial of Ohio statehood in 2003.

The goal of the refurnishing project was to illustrate the lives of the occupants and provide a sense of immediacy to the interiors. Work included the installation of historical wallpapers, carpeting, and window coverings as well as the application of accurate paint colors to walls and trim. Aside from the kitchen, no architectural changes were necessary. There, the interpretive plan called for physical changes that could not be substantiated with a cursory architectural investigation. Despite compelling historical evidence, it was agreed that physical changes to the kitchen could not occur until a detailed investigation was completed.

I undertook this topic to prepare for this investigation. In April 2004, funds became available for the next steps in the re-restoration of the kitchen at Adena. As the Ohio Historical Society moves ahead, what evidence should we try to discover and what is the standard of care for responsible decisions? What options do we have if the physical evidence is not conclusive? Finally, on what basis do I make decisions about restoration, not just at Adena, but throughout my career? This thesis is my attempt to answer these questions.

Methods and Approach

The findings for this investigation rely on the case study method. Research for the Octagon and Monticello case studies was conducted to document the initial and recent restoration campaigns. The John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library at the Colonial

Williamsburg Foundation contains a series of research reports related to kitchen equipment and furnishings. Documents related to the previous restorations of the Octagon, including field notes and committee reports, are on file at the archives of the American Architectural Foundation and the American Institute of Architects. The International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello holds previous historic structure reports and files of the Grigg restoration. The Archives/Library of the Ohio Historical Society contains the curators' files on the first restoration of Adena.

Interviews were conducted with practitioners responsible for restoration decisions at the case study sites for first-hand accounts not reflected in the documentation. In addition to the director of each restoration, those responsible for the architectural investigation and documentary research were interviewed. Other professionals not associated with the case studies were interviewed for an overview of contemporary practice.

Historical background for the study was developed through library searches primarily through the State Library of Ohio and OhioLINK, the Ohio Library and Information Network. OhioLINK contains the holdings of eighty-five public universities, community technical colleges, and private universities. An independent study of Federal Period kitchens in the spring of 2003 developed the background for Chapter III.

Summary by Chapter

The foundation for understanding contemporary practice begins with an analysis of historical influences. Chapter II contains the evolution of restoration philosophy and

practice in the United States before 1980. Contradictory nineteenth century philosophies toward the treatment of historic buildings, “scrape vs. anti-scrape,” continue to frame the debate today. Through examples of the philosophies in practice, Chapter II explains the role of standards and professionalism in twentieth-century practice in the United States. The chapter concludes with a description of recent developments, since 1980, that define and influence contemporary restoration practice.

In order to establish the context for the case studies, Chapter III provides a brief history of cooking and entertaining, and a description of the physical aspects of kitchens of the elite during the Federal Period. Changing historical interpretation in historic house museums has implications for accurate kitchen restoration. The chapter provides a sketch of recent developments. A summary of current research describes what is now known about the physical elements of the room, and emphasizes the deviations from typical colonial revival restoration. An example of a recent kitchen reconstruction suggests implications for contemporary practice.

Chapters IV and V analyze contemporary practice using the Octagon Museum and Monticello as case studies. Each study compares the most recent kitchen restoration with at least one previous campaign to examine the influence of the interpretive plan, professionalism, and standards on the treatment of the historical building. Each chapter summarizes the research methods, evidence, and decision process that affected the architectural fabric. The conclusion of each study assesses contemporary restoration practice for its impact on original fabric and its promotion of historical accuracy.

Using the results of the previous chapters as the basis, Chapter VI evaluates the historical accuracy of the kitchen at Adena, considers the potential value of re-restoration, and offers suggestions for ways to proceed based on contemporary practice.

Kitchens are frequently remodeled, sometimes by the original owner, as modern technology replaces outdated equipment. Chapter VII summarizes the findings of this study to address the difficulty of accurately restoring kitchens from the Federal Period. The conclusion offers a method to determine conclusive evidence for restoration decisions that may have broader application beyond the scope of this research.

Authenticity and Accuracy

At the commencement of this study, the definition of authenticity must be addressed. The word “authenticity” melds the meanings of Greek and Latin terms for authoritative and original. Things are trustworthy and entitled to respect if they come from someone in authority.² Authenticity is what people expect when they visit a historic house museum. But in the restoration of historic house museums, the definition of authenticity is open to interpretation. As defined by visitors themselves, authenticity means believability. “When it’s real, you can relate to it.”³

Among restorers, “‘authenticity’ is practically a cliché in restoration projects. I dare say that its definition and practice vary greatly. In many instances it becomes a matter of deciding where to draw the line. How far do you go toward replicating a feature or material for the sake of true replication, and how much do you just deceive the viewer into thinking it is correct?”⁴

This thesis will not examine “believability” or what constitutes a believable facsimile. Believability relies on perceptions, which change over time. An authenticity that changes over time is not an acceptable basis for restoration of historic properties. Therefore, the word “accuracy” is selected as a more appropriate term for evaluating restoration work. A standard definition is: “the quality or state of being careful or exact; free from mistakes or errors; precise.”⁵ Using this definition, the thesis reconsiders the restoration of the kitchen at Adena on the basis of historical accuracy.

RESTORATION is defined as the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of the removal of features from other periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period. The limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make properties functional is appropriate within a restoration project.⁶

CHAPTER II

TWENTIETH CENTURY RESTORATION PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES

During the twentieth century, divergent philosophies espoused by nineteenth century European theorists shaped restoration practice in the United States. As theories were applied to actual projects, restoration practice evolved. Lessons learned through important projects resulted in restoration practice becoming increasingly scientific, dominated by professionals, and interdisciplinary. Ultimately, as the century drew to a close, early restorations became the subject of scrutiny and reevaluation.

This chapter examines the philosophical underpinnings of restoration practice in the United States and describes the historical context of contemporary practice. From the best efforts of self-trained amateurs in the early 1900s, restoration has developed into a specialized endeavor employing formally trained specialists from a variety of fields. Initially directed solely by the discretion and motives of the restorers, restoration practice currently benefits from formal guidelines and definitions.

The chapter contains the evolution of three primary characteristics of restoration practice in the United States during the twentieth century and a review of their current state. These aspects include the philosophy of the treatment of the building fabric, the development of professionalism, and the progression of standards and guidelines.

Philosophical Basis: “Scrape vs. Anti-scrape”

In the nineteenth century, two philosophies affecting the restoration of buildings emerged in Europe, which continue to frame discourse on the topic in the United States today. In France, monuments damaged during the Revolution were seen as important elements of national identity and as worth preservation.⁷ In England, a religious revival in the 1820s initiated extensive restoration of Gothic churches.⁸ In both cases, restoration was carried out for symbolic reasons and to advance a moralistic agenda. Toward the end of the century, those alarmed by aggressive practices became equally zealous in calling for an end to the alteration and disfigurement of historic buildings.

During the eighteenth century, restoration was undertaken without the ideological implications that accompanied the practice in the nineteenth century. Samuel Johnson defined restoration in his *Dictionary of the English Language*, published in 1755, as “the act of replacing in a former state.” In practice, this meant undertaking repairs and building improvements associated with the maintenance of the structure. The concern was for replacing missing elements or features that were damaged, not for recreating or “editing” the building to conform to an historical style. This approach had been the traditional treatment of buildings until the end of the eighteenth century. In 1811, John Milner’s, *A Dissertation on the Modern Style of Altering Ancient Cathedrals*, introduced a new concept of restoration that reflected a romantic view of history, one that turned away from the Neoclassical Period and looked back toward the Middle Ages.⁹

After the French Revolution, popular opinion led to the formation of a civil service to save historical buildings. Many of the buildings severely damaged during the

Revolution were then seen as important to the identity of the nation. In 1830, the government of Louis Phillipe created the Inspection Generale des Monuments Historiques. Adolphe Napoleon Didron, who had completed an examination of Christian archaeology and of churches of the Middle Ages, was named secretary of the organization in 1835. In 1839, Didron published “Bulletin archeologique du comite des arts et monuments” in which he stated the maxim, “it is better to preserve than to restore and better to restore than to reconstruct.”¹⁰ The first restoration projects were disastrous since no architects possessed the education and skill to accurately restore the monuments of France. Not only did they lack knowledge of medieval art, they also were unprepared to undertake necessary structural stabilization.¹¹

In 1840, the French author Prosper Mérimée, who had risen to inspector general of historical monuments in the civil service, asked an acquaintance, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, to undertake the restoration of La Madeleine de Vézelay, a medieval church. The building was near collapse and even the best practicing architects had refused to become involved with the project. After completing a survey of the existing conditions and preparing drawings, Viollet-le-Duc undertook massive structural work that included shoring the foundations of masonry walls and reconstructing vaults, a flying buttress, and the sinking tower. In all this work, Viollet-le-Duc made aesthetic decisions in the absence of any historical documentation. The church of Vézelay was saved, and the abilities of Viollet-le-Duc became public.¹² In 1845, Mérimée summarized their approach to restoration: “Par restauration nous entendons la conservation de ce qui existe

et la reproduction de ce qui a manifestement existe.”¹³ (“By restoration we understand the conservation of that which exists and the recreation of that which definitely existed.”)

The salvation of Vézelay was justification for the continuation of the Service des Monuments Historiques, which next awarded Viollet-le-Duc the restoration of Notre Dame de Paris. His own report for restoration of the church conservatively stated that the conditions causing deterioration should be repaired instead of concealed, that the identity of shape and material should be retained, and that the replacement of ruined parts of the building should be identical to that which is removed. However, once involved with the restoration, his architectural sense and the encouragement of public authorities led him to complete certain elements and refine details to produce a “unity of style.”¹⁴ This new objective led him to write in 1866, “Restaurer un edifice...c’est le retablir dans un état complet qui peut n’avoir jamais existé à un moment donné.”¹⁵ (“To restore a building is to reestablish it to a completed state which may never have existed at any particular time.”)

The development of restoration philosophy in England was parallel to that in France. In England, the restoration of Gothic churches had become the physical component of the Ecclesiological movement. For architects and evangelists such as Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, the physical restoration of medieval churches ushered in the actual restoration of religion in England. While not formally associated, he and the Cambridge Camden Society were primarily responsible for promoting an aesthetic in restoration that supported their spiritual beliefs.¹⁶ In 1842, the Society published their attitudes toward restoration in *The Ecclesiologist*: “To restore is to revive the original

appearance...lost by decay, accident, or ill-judged alteration. We must, whether from existing evidences or from supposition, recover the original scheme of the edifice as conceived by the first builder....” In later volumes of *The Ecclesiologist*, an “eclectic” practice that combined restoration with remodeling was advocated. The rhetoric was surprising similar to the writings of Viollet-le-Duc. Restorers were urged to remove clerestories, change roof forms, and redesign windows in order “to restore it to the state in which it must have been originally erected.”¹⁷ Typically the work consisted of demolishing galleries, removing pews and church furniture, scraping plaster walls to the original stone, and eliminating whitewash.¹⁸ Much of the restoration of Gothic churches in England during the first half of the nineteenth century resulted in the alteration of buildings largely based on ideology and speculation rather than historical research. Yet, the result was that by 1850, with credit to the Ecclesiological movement, almost no churches remained in ruin.¹⁹

At mid-century, a reevaluation of the practices encouraged by Pugin and the Ecclesiologists began. A prolific architect of the time, Sir George Gilbert Scott, was inspired by Pugin’s writings to undertake scholarly appreciation of the Gothic style and to promote his own theories of restoration that were nevertheless often at odds with his own practice. In an 1848 lecture, *A Plea for the faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches*, that he later published, he defended himself against the criticism that he had altered “the character by which an ancient church has been for many years, perhaps centuries, best known.”²⁰ He rejected the “system of so-called restoration” advocated by the Ecclesiologists that removed later additions to produce an “ancient uniformity of

style.”²¹ However, as he wrote, if the building suffered from deterioration, “I think we are then at liberty to exercise our best judgment upon the subject, and if the original parts are found to be ‘precious’ and the late insertions to be ‘vile,’ I think we should be quite right in giving perpetuity to the one, and in removing the other.”²² Despite the then contemporary criticism of his practice, Scott was a leading proponent of conscientious restoration.²³ With Scott’s instigation, the Royal Institute of British Architects published “General Advice to Promoters of the Restoration of Ancient Buildings” in 1864.²⁴ The guide instructed architects that in matters of accurate restoration, “The duty of...all those having charge of ancient buildings should be (the) preservation (of whatever remains); and this should embrace every portion of original work which it is in any way possible to save, for it must be remembered that new (restoration) work is of no value or interest excepting so far it serves to preserve the ancient design, and that no interest will ever be attached to it unless original parts remain to attest its authenticity.”²⁵ Thus, restoration philosophy had come under critical scrutiny and had moved beyond religious ideology.

The harshest criticism of restoration as practiced in the nineteenth century came from John Ruskin, who called for an end to the practice in an often cited passage from his essay “The Lamp of Memory” from *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* published in 1849: “Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word *restoration* understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is *impossible*, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in

architecture.... Do not let us talk then of restoration. The thing is a Lie from beginning to end.”²⁶ To Ruskin, the value of a building rested in its history and its signs of age. Restorations that erased the evidence of time, as practiced by Scott and Viollet-le-Duc, destroyed the essence of the building. According to Ruskin, these “restored” buildings were better off demolished.²⁷ As a writer, Ruskin was successful in arousing interest in the restoration debate through books such as *The Stones of Venice* and *Examples of Architecture of Venice*, both published in 1851. While his voice stirred emotions, Ruskin was not an architect. He had little success in affecting change as his message had little practical value. Therefore, during the most prolific period of Ruskin’s campaign, restoration in the mode of Scott flourished, continuing until about 1875. Yet, his strident message provided the ideological basis for further developments in restoration philosophy.²⁸

In the autumn of 1876, William Morris visited Litchfield Cathedral and saw the re-restoration by Gilbert Scott. The church was initially restored by James Wyatt eighty years before. Just as Scott had inveighed on the work of Wyatt, Morris took aim at Scott. That winter Morris actively planned an organization to halt restoration of buildings and monuments. In March 1877, in a letter to the *Athenaeum*, Morris announced the formation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Its members were quick to launch an assault on restoration as practiced by Scott and others. In a lecture to the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1877, John J. Stevenson outlined two points that would become the underpinnings of the Society. First, an historical building is an historical record. To alter it, to scrape its plaster, is “to tear a page out of the records of

English History.” His second point was that all historical periods, not only the Middle Ages, were deserving of preservation.²⁹ Scott and his colleagues from the Institute bristled at the brash criticism of a practice they had undertaken nearly their entire careers. They labeled the new organization as the “Society for the Prevention of Restoration.” Referring to the removal of plaster—the scraping of the walls to expose fresh stone—William Morris himself coined the nickname that is now the shorthand for the ongoing debate: the “Anti-Scrape Society.”

In the nineteenth century, the definition of restoration evolved and took on different meanings. At the beginning of the century, restoration in the traditional sense meant preserving the building. During the first half of the century, the word and the practice meant putting back to a former state, one that perhaps did not exist at any particular time, but that embodied a unity of style. In this sense, the restoration of churches was undertaken in England to reestablish the role of religion in society, just as the restoration of monuments in France was undertaken to salvage the physical remnants of the national history. As these churches and monuments were saved, albeit altered, the practice of restoration came under scrutiny. The “anti-scrape” philosophy was firmly established by mid-century and found adherents by 1880. While anti-scrape is associated with the traditional meaning of restoration, the precedent of restoring, in the sense of removing later elements and taking a building back to an earlier period, had been established.

Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities

During the nineteenth century, the roots of the preservation movement were established in the United States. Although the first historic house museums were established before the Civil War, the country's Centennial in 1876 revived interest in preserving buildings associated with colonial forefathers. However, early in the twentieth century, restoration practice remained in its infancy. In the first two decades, restorers lacked formal training, a common philosophy, and the benefit of guidelines to govern their activities. Consequently, there was a great variety in the accuracy of these early projects. However, the methods of William Sumner Appleton and the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA), which he founded in 1910, consistently produced historically accurate work and contributed to the development of contemporary practice.

As Europeans undertook the preservation of buildings for symbolic purposes, so too did Americans. Hasbrouck House, the first historic house museum, was saved in 1850 by the State of New York to preserve George Washington's headquarters and to instill a sense of patriotism in its visitors. Washington used the building in 1782 and 1783 during the last two years of the Revolution. As the preservation committee argued, no traveler would "hesitate to make a pilgrimage to this beautiful spot, associated as it is with so many delightful reminiscences of our early history. And if he have an American heart in his bosom, he will feel himself to be a better man; his patriotism will kindle with deeper emotion; his aspirations for his country's good will ascend from a more devout mind, for having visited 'Head-Quarters of Washington'." ³⁰

In 1860, the grassroots campaign led by Miss Ann Pamela Cunningham to save Mount Vernon as a shrine to the Father of Our Country served as a prototype for other preservation organizations. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, private groups formed for the preservation of Andrew Jackson's Hermitage, George Mason's Gunston Hall, and the Lee Family's Stratford Hall to name a few.³¹ These efforts reflected the continuing interest in colonial and early American leaders, which became manifest in popular culture near the turn of the century as the Colonial Revival.³²

Changes in society during the late nineteenth century undermined confidence in the future and encouraged America's fascination with the reassuring past. Social and geographic mobility, changing ethnic composition due to the flood of immigrants, and economic instability were among the factors that shook the foundations of American institutions that had been laid by the colonial forefathers. Middle class and elite Americans of the Victorian Period furnished their homes with antiques and reproductions to associate themselves with the ideology of their ancestors and to instill similar character traits in themselves.³³

Those that could afford to "restore" their colonial houses created an idealized version in order to establish their prominence in the community and convey a connection with the principles of the founding fathers.³⁴ Having much in common with the radical restoration of churches in Europe, these projects sought to express more about the present than the past. The practice of converting an authentically colonial house into a Victorian version of a colonial house resulted in the drastic alteration of the building as architectural elements considered to be colonial were added or changed. These

financially secure and largely Anglo-Saxon homeowners sought to communicate their familial connection to the colonial past and to reinforce their dominant position in the community's hierarchy.³⁵

Architects eager to undertake these plentiful commissions began in earnest to study original colonial buildings, especially from the Revolutionary period. The first books and measured drawings of colonial period houses, authored by professional architects, were published in the last decades of the nineteenth century. While influential upon architectural practice and upon the popularization of the Colonial Revival style, these books and drawings had little positive effect on restorers or restoration practice.³⁶ Many architects undertook private restoration projects assuming that their training and study of architectural history prepared them for the task. These projects lacked real authority and by the 1920s, architects who engaged in the practice came under attack by fellow architects.³⁷

In the first decades of the twentieth century, attitudes about historical accuracy in restoration work began to change among some architects. In Philadelphia, the controversy surrounding the 1898 restoration of Independence Hall by architect T. Mellon Rogers provided the impetus for the city's chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) to form the Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments.³⁸ The committee began a study to restore Congress Hall accurately. This study was completed in 1910 and the committee offered their results to Philadelphia in return for project sponsorship. Under the direction of chapter architects, the restoration was completed in 1913. After architect and historian Fiske Kimball assumed the chairmanship of the AIA

Committee on Preservation of Natural Beauties and Historic Monuments in the United States in 1923, the AIA conducted a campaign to correct errors in restoration by educating architects and the public in proper methods of treating old buildings.³⁹ At the AIA national convention that year, Kimball sought greater accuracy in restoration when he urged his colleagues to help homeowners see that “their own best interest lies in keeping the building as near as possible in original condition.”⁴⁰

Among the ranks of devoted restorers was William Sumner Appleton, the founder of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA). Regarding his organization as similar to William Morris’s Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, Appleton opposed any kind of restoration that would destroy old work on a building.⁴¹ Although not professionally trained, his scholarly and conservative approach to restoration was the exception to typical practice and he is generally regarded as one of the first scientific restorers.⁴²

A personal trust fund gave Appleton the freedom to pursue interests outside of his real estate dealings and in 1905, he and two partners led the campaign for the restoration of the Paul Revere house in Boston. Heavily restored to its original 1680 appearance, it bore few similarities to the house at the time of Paul Revere’s occupancy. This experience undoubtedly shaped Appleton’s philosophy, for when he founded the SPNEA in 1910, his motive was to preserve the antiquities of New England including its noteworthy buildings and historic sites.⁴³ From the beginning of the organization, his efforts were focused on saving, restoring, and reusing historic buildings on the basis of

their architectural and aesthetic value, not for their association with an important historic figure.

Appleton's contribution to contemporary practice is best exemplified by the 1919 restoration of the Abraham Brown House in Watertown, Massachusetts. In his investigation of this and other New England buildings, he had become a student of architectural antiques. Rather than look at a building with a design sense, as many of his consulting architects did, he focused on the building fabric and what he could learn from it. He spent hours each day observing and photographing the work to document all of his decisions. His passion for preservation is evident in a letter to one of his architects in May 1919: "the 17th century work is safe as a church. I am, in spite of the criticism that I get, the most conservative restorer of the entire lot and a building is in the safest hands when I have charge of it."⁴⁴

In addition to setting an early standard for scientific restoration, the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities contributed to the growth of professionalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. Its publication, *Bulletin of the S.P.N.E.A.*, was the only source of detailed information in the United States concerning restoration practice.⁴⁵ As such, it had limited distribution and influence but nevertheless paved the way for future professional publications.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, public restoration projects were undertaken for reasons of association with patriotic themes while private projects were motivated by the values expressed by the colonial revival style. Few guidelines existed for restorers and consequently a great disparity existed in the treatment of the building

fabric. Toward the end of the 1920s, the American Institute of Architects was urging its members to take a more scholarly approach and to retain as much original fabric as possible. While some architects undertook careful restorations that included study and documentation, this was not the general practice. The work of Appleton and the SPNEA expanded the purpose of preservation to include buildings of architectural and aesthetic value as it undertook restorations that largely followed the conservative ideology of Morris and his “Anti-Scrape” Society.

The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

Although the significance of other projects in the twentieth century should not be ignored, no other single effort influenced and continues to influence the practice than the restoration of Williamsburg, Virginia. During the years 1928 to 1941, the basis for present-day philosophy and practice was established at The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Aspects of contemporary practice that emerged from the work at Colonial Williamsburg include scholarly research and documentation, interdisciplinary analysis, restoration standards and guidelines, and an historical interpretation program.

As early as 1907, W. A. R. Goodwin, while serving as rector of the Bruton Parish Church, recorded his vision of restoring the entire city of Williamsburg.⁴⁶ However it was not until 1926, when he convinced John D. Rockefeller Jr. to become invested financially, that Goodwin’s dream was able to become a reality. In small steps, Rockefeller increasingly underwrote what eventually became the restoration of the eighty-eight surviving original buildings, the reconstruction of fifty historically important

vanished structures and the construction of forty new exhibition buildings on one hundred seventy-three acres designated as the Historic Area of this colonial city.

Similarly, the restoration work proceeded in small steps as the vast undertaking became realized. At the beginning in 1927, when the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn was hired, restorations were routinely carried out by architects without the assistance of other disciplines such as historians, archaeologists, or landscape architects. Through their study of historical styles in the tradition of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, and through practice in the Colonial Revival style, architects were accustomed to adhering “faithfully to the spirit and detail of the originals.”⁴⁷ Thus, Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn initially was comfortable fabricating and completing details based upon their understanding of eighteenth-century architecture.

Soon, it became apparent to Goodwin that specialists were needed to accomplish an authentic restoration.⁴⁸ Accuracy in restoration came to the fore in the autumn of 1927 when the preliminary drawings for reconstructing the Wren Building were proposed. Rockefeller requested a review of the design by a committee of the AIA that included architectural historian Fiske Kimball.⁴⁹ In a private meeting, Kimball told Perry to adhere to Virginia precedents and resist the temptation to design in the “Wren tradition.” The attitude that authenticity was an academic, not a design, problem became adopted during that meeting. Thereafter, when evidence was not available, the design was based on historical research and a proven precedent.⁵⁰

By the summer of 1928, Goodwin saw the need for greater research⁵¹ and by September the architects at Williamsburg contacted research libraries asking for

assistance.⁵² However, trained historians, even the most progressive ones, did not study buildings at that time. Before the late 1930s, persons trained in disciplines other than history were the only professionals engaged in historical architectural research at Williamsburg.⁵³ In 1930, the Department of Research and Record was created within the architectural department and headed by Harold Shurtleff, himself an architect. Shurtleff recognized the enormous task of completing basic historical research for the architectural restoration and reconstruction. He also realized how unprepared his department was to undertake the assignment. To prepare himself to lead the department, in 1934, he entered the doctoral program in history at Harvard to become a trained historian. His study resulted in the publication of *The Log Cabin Myth*.⁵⁴ Shurtleff understood the staff's responsibility to the public to restore Williamsburg accurately and he set out to do it in a scholarly way, beginning with training himself.

Just as the field of architectural history was underdeveloped, so too was the field of historical archaeology. Archaeologists who studied anything newer than prehistory were rare and generally chided by others in the field.⁵⁵ The archaeological investigations at Williamsburg and other restorations of the 1930s advanced the role of archaeology as a tool of historical inquiry. However, at first, the findings were generally interpreted to verify what the architects wanted to build.⁵⁶ Only gradually did the profession of historical archaeology separate from its prehistorical cousin and develop its own standards for recording, preserving, and interpreting evidence dug from the ground.

Arthur Shurtleff, who directed the landscape restoration, relied less on research than did the architectural staff. His study of gardens from the South and in England

resulted in elaborate designs that were questioned at the time by the Williamsburg research department.⁵⁷ The most obvious example is the installation of a conjectural maze on the grounds of the Governor's Palace. Like other fields, the discipline of historical landscape architecture was in its infancy. Architects, who were the most familiar with historical buildings, directed the historical research as well as the restoration. While professionals other than architects were employed to conduct research at Williamsburg, a truly interdisciplinary approach did not exist.

Realizing that the work at Williamsburg would draw attention and criticism if not carried out professionally, Goodwin and Perry encouraged Rockefeller to establish an advisory board of experts to establish standards and review all the important decisions.⁵⁸ In November 1928, the Advisory Committee of Architects was established. In addition to Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, it included eight noted historians, architects, and scholars such as Fiske Kimball.⁵⁹ After challenging Rockefeller to explain his motivation for the endeavor, the committee engaged in two days of debate regarding restoration principles. The debate produced twenty guiding resolutions for the restoration of Williamsburg that addressed such issues as the difference between restoration and preservation as a treatment for buildings, the criteria for removal of non-period materials or even entire buildings, and the standards for replacement materials. Essentially, the committee of experts endorsed a conservative "anti-scrape" philosophy that discouraged new construction as part of the restoration of the town. However, when architect William Perry consolidated these resolutions into the "Decalogue," the Board's attitude toward new work was excluded. Like Viollet-le-Duc, Perry understood restoration to really

mean reconstruction.⁶⁰ The “Decalogue,” developed by nationally prominent scholars and adopted during the infancy of restoration practice when no other recognized standards existed, served as the basis for decisions at Williamsburg for over a decade. (Appendix I)

One reason why standards and modes of practice needed to be invented at Williamsburg was the near absence of professional organizations and scholarly publications that addressed restoration practice. In 1926, only two professional organizations included preservation of historic buildings as part of their mission.⁶¹ The American Historical Association’s primary interest was not the actual preservation of the structure, but simply noting the historical significance by marking buildings with tablets or inscriptions.⁶² The American Institute of Architects on the other hand, evolved to become more concerned with the preservation of buildings and interiors. In 1932, the AIA renamed its preservation committee to the Committee on Preservation of Historic Buildings to reflect this evolution.⁶³ The Institute would rally for a particular cause, especially if a recognized architect was involved. However, as an organization composed of practicing architects more concerned with the design of new buildings, the influence of the AIA on restoration practice was negligible.⁶⁴ Modes of practice at Williamsburg were developed out of necessity without the advantage of professional literature. By the time the American Society of Architectural Historians was organized in 1940 and published its first *Journal* in 1941, the major buildings at Colonial Williamsburg had already been restored or reconstructed.⁶⁵

Another accomplishment without precedent was the educational aspect of Williamsburg. Goodwin realized in 1930 that the scale and complexity of the work could be confusing to a visitor and began to plan a program of “interpretation.” From the beginning, the educational program sought to be as authoritative as the restoration work. A conference of historians similar to the conference of architects produced disappointing results because the participants had no interest in popular education.⁶⁶ Gradually Goodwin developed a program. Hostess training began in 1933, and in 1934, the Committee on Education was launched.⁶⁷ At the opening of the historic area of Colonial Williamsburg to the public in February 1934, W. A. R. Goodwin explained his vision of eventually exhibiting living history replete with stagecoaches and costumed interpreters.

There were many publications that may have shaped Goodwin’s vision. These include *Historic House Museums* by Laurence Vail Coleman, that was published in 1933; and the series that began in 1927, *A History of American Life*, by Dixon Ryan Fox and Arthur M. Schlesinger. Coleman’s book was the first to address all aspects of house museums from preservation to operation to interpretation. Influenced by various reform movements, Fox and Schlesinger were historians interested in scholarly study of ordinary people instead of military or political leaders.⁶⁸ They were among the first to study historic buildings and towns as archival records.

Despite these sources, Goodwin’s vision materialized gradually. After twelve years focused on the physical restoration, historical documentation of life in Williamsburg during the historical period remained lacking. Additionally, experienced historians capable of developing a credible interpretive program on the scale required by

Williamsburg were rare. It was not until 1944 that the Department of Interpretation was established at Williamsburg.⁶⁹

The restoration of Colonial Williamsburg changed restoration practice in the United States. At first influenced only by architects, the quest for authenticity led to restoration practice becoming increasingly interdisciplinary. For similar reasons, a scholarly approach quickly became the norm as the nation's experts critically studied the decisions and philosophy of Rockefeller's restorers. Before national standards were in place, Goodwin and Perry saw the necessity for guidelines and sought the country's most respected scholars for advice. The interpretation of Colonial Williamsburg gradually turned from describing buildings and objects to depicting everyday life during the birth of the nation. Williamsburg set the precedent for restoration practice and became the source of expertise for nearly every other restoration project of the time.⁷⁰

The Role of the Federal Government

Federal involvement in restoration practice increased during the Depression Era as funds were directed to public works projects, including the National Park Service. In this period, architects, historians, and archaeologists found employment and increased the level of professionalism on a nationwide scale. With professionalism came legislation and standards whose effects continue to influence restoration practice today.

After 1933, when the first major phase of work was complete at Williamsburg, the National Park Service became the largest employer of professionals in the field of historic preservation.⁷¹ In addition to architects, engineers, and archaeologists, the Park

Service became distinguished by its employment of professionally trained historians working at historic sites. Many of these historians, who first found work with the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), eventually secured permanent jobs with the Park Service and shaped national policy.

The growth of Federal programs before World War II required greater organization and professionalism. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 provided the legislative tool for the identification of nationally significant historic sites and acquisition of these sites by the government for inclusion in the National Park System. It formalized the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) that was begun in 1933 to employ architects to record historic buildings. Even before the bill's passage, the need for recognized standards for restoration was felt.⁷² With the CCC performing restoration work throughout the states, debates on restoration policy were ongoing. Passage of the Act increased the need for standards.⁷³

Between 1936 and 1938, four policy statements were issued from the National Park Service. In May 1937, an all-inclusive general restoration policy was adopted upon recommendation of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments.⁷⁴ (Appendices II and III) Probably written by Fiske Kimball, the policy outlined the conservative anti-scrape approach to the architectural fabric first formalized in the "Decalogue."⁷⁵ It called for researching and recording evidence and decisions, retaining old work, and replacing missing elements if sufficient evidence was available. Echoing Didron's sentiments from almost a century earlier, the policy states, "Better preserve than repair, better repair than restore, better restore than reconstruct."⁷⁶

Today, National Park Service *Management Policies* are the primary source to help managers make day-to-day decisions. One of these policies, NPS-28, states the basic principles for the management of all cultural resources in the national park system according to law and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards. It extends the conservative approach for the treatment of cultural resources, emphasizing protection and preservation.⁷⁷

The policies of the National Park Service set an example for restoration across the United States but had little effect on restorations where no federal funds were involved. Nevertheless, historians and architects from the Park Service led the campaign for a scholarly approach to preservation through publications and presentations.⁷⁸ Many in the Park Service saw the need for a national organization to combine the professionalism of the Park Service with public support found in private organizations. In 1947, a small group of professionals from a diverse mix of public and private preservation organizations formed the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings. Their goals were to mobilize public sentiment, diffuse knowledge on preservation issues, examine and support specific preservation projects, and conduct research related to preservation and use of historic sites.⁷⁹ In 1949, this organization evolved into the National Trust for Historic Preservation whose formation also coordinated public and private preservation efforts nationwide and expanded the scope of preservation beyond specific restoration projects.

During the period of prosperity following World War II, the nature of American cities began to change, which threatened historic buildings, sites, and districts.

Understandably, during a time of “urban renewal” and highway building, a primary focus of preservation activities was the protection of historical assets from demolition. In the 1960s, a shift towards an appreciation of the context and setting of any historic building began, resulting in less focus on individual “high style” buildings. Consequently, restoration philosophy and practice remained largely unchanged during this time. For example, in an appendix to the proceedings of a conference sponsored by the National Trust in 1963, restoration principles are described that are essentially the same as those adopted by the National Park Service Advisory Board in 1937.⁸⁰

In 1966, the National Trust for Historic Preservation published *With Heritage So Rich*, a report based on a congressional study, which detailed the loss of significant historical and architectural buildings, sites, structures, and districts.⁸¹ The report listed the results of a survey of these historical resources and recommended action that included offering financial incentives for their preservation. The report led to the adoption of the Historic Preservation Act of 1966, which widened the focus of preservation in the United States from saving and restoring individual landmark buildings to identifying and rehabilitating historic districts and buildings of local and statewide significance.⁸² The Act established the National Register of Historic Places to encourage the identification and preservation of historic properties through tax incentives and grants. The Act also established the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and with Section 106, a review process to consider preservation in all federally funded projects.

In 1977, the Department of the Interior established the first standards for rehabilitation projects. Originally developed as the requirement for grant-in-aid projects

assisted through the National Historic Preservation Fund, a basis for evaluating the quality of rehabilitation projects became necessary due to the 1976 Tax Reform Act, which provided “tax incentives to encourage the preservation of historic structures.” Written by W. Brown Morton III and Gary L. Hume, the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Rehabilitation were published as 36 CFR 68 in the Code of Federal Regulations in March 1977. Later that year, the standards were expanded for all preservation projects in The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Preservation Projects with Guidelines for Applying the Standards. Published and distributed nationally in 1979, the standards “represent the first effort in the history of the United States to articulate and place in Federal regulations an ethical framework for historic preservation work and to foster a national consensus for appropriate action.”⁸³

Revised in 1983 and again in 1995, the standards now describe four treatments for historic properties: preservation, rehabilitation, restoration (Appendix IV), and reconstruction. The definitions of treatment provide a common language among professionals.⁸⁴ These standards are used for all Federal preservation projects and private projects receiving tax credits or grants. Beyond this, state and local governments have adopted the standards to execute non-federal preservation projects. The standards provide clear, yet flexible, guidance to governments, institutions, and individuals to make responsible decisions while undertaking preservation projects throughout the United States.⁸⁵

The underlying principles for preservation standards in the United States are an outgrowth from international efforts to establish common practices and policies for

preservation work. The first international preservation guidelines were adopted in 1931 with the Athens Charter and were expanded in the 1950s during conventions held by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In 1964, during the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, the initial guidelines of the Athens Charter were made more specific. Now known as the Venice Charter, its articles directly influenced the Secretary of the Interior's Standards. Articles nine through thirteen of the Venice Charter address restoration standards specifically.⁸⁶

Although the Venice Charter has not been adopted in this country, as a member state, the United States participates in UNESCO and the International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM). Additionally, many American preservationists participate in non-governmental international organizations such as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Council of Museums (ICOM). Participation in these international organizations has resulted in broad acceptance in the United States of the principles of the Venice Charter, which in turn has shaped preservation standards in this country.

The Origins of Contemporary Restoration Practice

In the 1960s, the historic preservation movement became a vital part of downtown revitalization, resulting in the rehabilitation of historic buildings for offices, housing, and other social and environmental needs. During this shift in emphasis, historic house museums became regarded as relics and irrelevant.⁸⁷ In the 1970s, two developments

altered the course of restoration practice: the refurnishing of rooms at Colonial Williamsburg, especially in the Governor's Palace, and the publication of William Seale's *Recreating the Historic House Interior*. These advancements are responsible for the reexamination and re-restoration of previously restored historic house museums. Their influence has delivered new relevancy as well as accuracy to the historical interpretation of these buildings.

The first building to be refurnished at Colonial Williamsburg was the Raleigh Tavern. In November 1972, the interiors were changed from resembling a suburban house from the 1920s to reflect an eighteenth-century tavern. To understand how life was lived, curators studied eighteenth-century English paintings and prints. The result reflected human habitation and use, not a decorated scene based on the personal taste of curators.⁸⁸

The success of the Raleigh Tavern led to the examination of other buildings in the Historic Area. Like the tavern, their refurnishings were based on paintings, prints, and inventories describing furniture and possessions. In 1974, Graham Hood, chief curator at Williamsburg, began his study of the enormous inventory of Lord Botetourt, the first full governor to live in the Palace.⁸⁹ At the same time, the leading scholars of eighteenth-century houses came to Williamsburg and shared their knowledge while attending the Foundation's Antiques Forum. In 1976, the first room of the Palace was refurnished, and by 1978, the entire Palace, originally reconstructed and furnished in the 1930s, was under scrutiny.

The Palace project was high profile and controversial. Criticism was deflected by Hood through his insistence on scholarship on the part of his curators: “I want you to explain carefully the process of logic by which you move from the words to the three-dimensional objects. I am instructing you to excise totally from your vocabulary the words ‘must have been,’ or ‘might have been.’ If you believe the primary evidence is unclear or inconclusive, then show us the logic of your comparative thinking. This is going to be a process of reason and deduction, not of taste or feeling. We’re going to make this the most tightly argued and most compelling refurnishing project that’s ever been done here.”⁹⁰

The Governor’s Palace, reopened in 1981, was the result of a multidisciplinary effort. In addition to the research of curators, the Palace project used the skills of social and institutional historians, conservators, architectural investigators, archaeologists, interpretive specialists, and craftsmen available from the staff of Colonial Williamsburg.⁹¹ The successful result of the Palace project produced a wave of refurnishing projects at historic sites such as Gunston Hall, Monticello, Mount Vernon, the Wickham-Valentine House, and the White House of the Confederacy.⁹²

In 1979, historian William Seale provided the means to breathe new life into interpretively frozen house museums.⁹³ *Recreating the Historic House Interior* became a manual that summarized the research techniques and planning tools of the professional historian and that encouraged physical and interpretive changes in previously restored houses.⁹⁴ Since 1980, restoration practice has been driven to convert decorative arts museums into history museums.⁹⁵ Whereas past interpretations of house museums had

been developed around architectural themes and collections of objects, Seale's book reoriented interpretation toward the history of people and events through a meticulous recreation of context. By following Seale's method, restoration projects attempt to create a "complete, self-contained ambiance that reflects the lifestyle of the inhabitant at a specific point in time."⁹⁶

The shift in practice away from an art-connoisseurship model to a site-specific science model relies on a high level of research among professionals from the fields of archaeology, history, and architectural history. However, restoration of these buildings, when motivated by interpretive goals, increases the requirement for historical accuracy. Contemporary research in material culture, social history, and African-American and women's studies is often at odds with the physical manifestation of a restored building. This new knowledge then initiates a campaign for re-restoration. Many early restorers based architectural restoration decisions upon aesthetics, "l' unite de style," or on local precedents. However, Seale warns, "The most desirable decisions *architecturally* are not always the best *historically*."⁹⁷ Emphasis on research has also resulted in caution regarding altering the building fabric. Again Seale advises, "If there is some doubt about the wisdom of removing part of your building, then do not do it..."⁹⁸ Today, architectural investigation is *de rigueur* for most restorations⁹⁹ and undertaken as a facet of historical research. Once primarily the responsibility of the architect in charge, restoration decisions are now based on the input from varied professionals in specialized fields.

Current thinking considers how restoration driven by interpretive motives will affect historic building fabric. Some argue that restoration is cyclical and subject to revision as history is reexamined. “A restored house is like a history book. Changing the way houses look, assuming you can do it more accurately, is nothing more than creating better history.”¹⁰⁰ However, unlike building fabric, historic interpretation is flexible and responds easily to the latest fashion. “At first we told the stories of powerful white males, especially of their military, political and financial successes. Then, we told stories of objects, especially fine art and high-style decorative arts. Now we are interested in the stories of the common little people and the behind-the-scenes objects. Often we fall into the trap of believing that the last story is more true than the first.”¹⁰¹ Historic preservation according to others, is “history manifest in tangible materials” and cannot be corrected at a later time. The material record is irreplaceable, and what we choose to repair, replace, or demolish changes the physical history and determines how a property will be remembered, studied, and interpreted by future generations.¹⁰²

Conclusion

The analysis of the primary aspects of restoration philosophy is important in order to understand their influence on contemporary practice. This chapter has traced the evolution of the philosophy of treating building fabric, the development of professionalism, and the progression of standards and guidelines during the twentieth century. These aspects define restoration as practiced today.

Twentieth-century restoration philosophy for the treatment of historic building fabric in the United States is rooted in nineteenth-century theories of Europeans Viollet-le-Duc, Ruskin, and Morris, among others. The approach taken by William Sumner Appleton and the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities is an outgrowth of the “anti-scrape” philosophy of Ruskin. Appleton sought to preserve and carefully restore buildings for their intrinsic historical value. Consequently, he placed a high priority on retaining original building fabric. He regarded his organization as being similar to William Morris’s Society for the Protection of Ancient Building in England.

The philosophy at Colonial Williamsburg was necessarily different since much of the historical area was reconstructed. The motivation of the restoration work was for “its educational and inspirational value ...that was more significant than the architecture itself.”¹⁰³ The practices of the restorers at Williamsburg owed much to Viollet-le-Duc, who believed that “to restore a building is to reestablish it to a completed state which may never have existed at any particular time.” Restoring a building to a particular time period affects the building fabric in two ways. It means the removal, “scraping,” of features from other periods in the building’s history and the reconstruction of missing features from the significant period.

How well a building is restored—the degree of historical accuracy—is the result of developments in professionalism and standards. The Advisory Committee of Architects was formed at Colonial Williamsburg to give credibility to the restoration and to “prevent later criticism.”¹⁰⁴ To provide a framework for restoration practice and a basis for making decisions defensible, the committee developed the “Decalogue,” which guided all

aspects of the treatment of the historical buildings within the restoration area. These standards became the measure of accurate restoration and of professional conduct at Williamsburg.

Many members of the Williamsburg Advisory Committee went on to influence the conservative restoration policy for the treatment of historic properties in the National Park Service. Based on the model set forth by the Park Service and guidelines developed in Europe, the Secretary of the Interior established standards of treatment of historic buildings. Through nationwide use of these standards, a common language is now established among restorers and other preservationists.

During the twentieth century, the interpretive purpose of historic house museums evolved away from commemorating national shrines. Today it is necessary to restore and re-restore historic house museums “in order to display and teach more accurate history.”¹⁰⁵ The practices at Colonial Williamsburg show that the quality of historical research and the documentation of decisions define the standards of professionalism. Today, restoration is a “process of reason and logic not feeling or taste.”

Counterbalancing the motives for restoration is a concern for the impact of restoration on the artifact—the original, historical architectural fabric. At the end of the twentieth century, it was “fairly clear that the pendulum has swung toward caution: conservationists are generally unwilling to impose their judgments on sites if these might compromise the right of future generations to reexamine same.”¹⁰⁶ It is clear that both preserving original fabric and interpreting the historical message are the principle

objectives of contemporary restoration practice. It is also clear that standards combined with a professional, interdisciplinary approach are the tools to be used.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FEDERAL PERIOD KITCHEN

Until recently, in the restoration of historic houses, kitchens and service spaces have been regarded as less important than formal rooms. A new model of interpretation of house museums follows the work of social historians who study the everyday activities of ordinary people. With this historical model, the stories of the people who grow the food and prepare the meal are told in conjunction with the stories of those who attend the formal dinner. To tell accurately the stories of those who labored, prepared, served, and dined, it is important to restore the kitchen accurately. Following a brief history of cooking technology and dining customs during the Federal Period, the influences on previous and current kitchen restorations will be discussed. Based on recent developments, the necessity to reexamine previous kitchen restorations will be demonstrated and a process for making decisions will be suggested.

Brief History of the Federal Period Kitchen

The Revolutionary War not only liberated the American colonies from the tyranny of King George III; it also initiated the liberation of American culture from Europe. The years following the revolution were uncharted waters for the new United

States as the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution became realities in American society. In the political realm, the debate between Alexander Hamilton's Federalists and Thomas Jefferson's Republicans raged over the strength of the central government. Meanwhile, in the realm of social interaction, new customs were being forged that expressed democracy. During the colonial period, social and political elites had been one and the same. But during the Federal period, class distinctions remained even as notions of equality were penetrating the American psyche. Respectability among genteel society could be achieved not only through a birthright, but also through the acquisition of wealth, education, and manners. In addition to providing an understanding of America's cultural identity in its formative years, an investigation of dining and entertaining in the United States during the Federal Period also sheds light on food preparation methods and equipment. While studies of mealtime habits during the colonial and Victorian periods abound, little information is available that treats the intervening years.¹⁰⁷ The following is a brief summary of influences on American cuisine and dining during the years 1780 to 1830 and an outline of the technological changes that occurred in the kitchen in response to the new cuisine.

Influences

During the revolution, political ties with France, combined with anti-English sentiment, introduced the colonists to French culture, which after the revolution influenced American fashion, architecture, and cuisine.¹⁰⁸ However, despite political independence from England, American culture also continued to be shaped by English traditions. From the infancy of the United States, Americans have suffered from a case

of cultural inferiority and have modeled their sense of refinement and sophistication after European precedents.¹⁰⁹ During the Federal period, the elite and the aspiring elite developed their menus and dining customs from both English and French culture.

Before 1800, urban centers such as Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New York were fashioned after the elegance of London; consequently, English recipes dictated the high style menu. The first cookbook published in the United States was *The Compleat Housewife* by Eliza Smith, an Englishwoman. Originally appearing in England in 1727, it was printed in Williamsburg in 1742 and 1752 and reprinted in New York in 1764. Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery* was published in England in 1747. It became the most popular cookbook in England and the colonies during the second half of the eighteenth century.¹¹⁰ Other English cookbooks of the time include *The Frugal Housewife* by Susannah Carter, printed in Boston in 1772 and *The New Art of Cookery* by Richard Briggs, printed in Philadelphia in 1792.¹¹¹ A menu set in the English style consisted of a variety of meats, including fish, chicken, squab, mutton or turtle, but especially beef, either roasted or boiled, with a few traditionally prepared vegetables. Sauces were never used nor was gravy.

National pride was evident in the commentary accompanying the recipes in these early cookbooks. Antagonism between the French and English was apparent. The English characterized their cooking as simple, straightforward, and nutritious while demeaning French cooking as feeding the palate but not the stomach.¹¹² Yet, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the English gradually accepted French cuisine. As early as 1767, Menon's *Les Soupers de la Cour* was translated into English under the title *The Art*

of Cookery Displayed. Cookbooks like this one showed that a French sauce was neither as complicated nor as expensive as had been thought.¹¹³ By 1800, the French Revolution had caused an exodus of France's chefs to the finest kitchens throughout Europe, which led to the dominance of French cooking on the tastes of Europe's social elite.

During the nineteenth century, elite Americans embraced both English and French cookery and dinner service. A prudent host might choose a traditional English menu for its substance and economy while a host striving to be perceived as more socially sophisticated would choose a French repast.¹¹⁴ The differences between English and French dinners were striking and involved more than the selection of food. The traditional English dinner was served *a l'anglais*. All the dishes for the course were placed on the table and the hostess or host served the guests. Both meats and vegetables were served together and desserts of pudding or pie were served with the last course or separately.¹¹⁵ The French manner, *a la francais*, was more elaborate and involved servants. Food was arranged on a sideboard and a servant offered each dish to the guests. During the course of a meal, twenty to thirty separate dishes may have been offered. To entertain in this manner required a large expenditure for staff and an appropriately trained chef.¹¹⁶ Although these methods of service existed, in the new democracy, standards of etiquette were ever developing. Menus and service could be indiscriminately mixed depending on the current fashion, the size of domestic staff, or the type of event.

Outside of urban high society, American diets varied widely depending on location and social class. Foods available locally were incorporated into dishes that were influenced by Native American and African recipes. European cookbooks contained no

recipes using foods indigenous to the New World. The first truly American cookbook, *American Cookery* by Amelia Simmons, was published in Hartford, Connecticut in 1796.¹¹⁷ It was the first cookbook in the United States to include recipes using corn. In addition to slapjacks, Indian pudding, and corn cakes, the little cookbook included a recipe for pickled watermelon rind and fish chowder. Other dishes included the traditional English fare of roasted or boiled meats, vegetables, and puddings. In 1807, another English cookbook, *A New System of Domestic Cookery* by Maria Rundell, was published. Editions were printed in Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New York and later reissued in 1823.¹¹⁸ Despite the strong anti-British sentiment after the War of 1812 and the intolerance of European interference on the American continents, as expressed in the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, America continued to follow European taste. The English menu remained popular even while growing interest in French cooking led an American, Eliza Leslie, to publish *Domestic French Cookery* in 1832. Miss Leslie so heavily edited French cuisine for American tastes that she eliminated much that was French.¹¹⁹

On the plantation, cookbooks were seldom needed since recipes were guarded and passed down from mother to daughter. While Amelia Simmons was the first to record the culinary fare of New England, which was derived from English tradition, Mary Randolph was the first to set down the bill of fare of the plantation and reveal its French heritage.¹²⁰ In *The Virginia Housewife: or Methodical Cook*, published in 1824, she describes the preparation of a number of sauces and gravies, including a simple process for melting butter without scorching or separating it.¹²¹ Other recipes depicting the variety of southern dishes include gumbo, ochra, Indian meal pudding, and gaspacho.

Many of these dishes reflect the influence of slaves who developed a style of cooking using rice, black-eyed peas, corn, wild greens, and pork.¹²²

The custom on the plantation was to sit down for dinner at two or three in the afternoon and embark on a first course of soup, several meat dishes (including ham, chicken, fish, and beef), and a variety of vegetables followed by a second course of puddings, pies, and cakes. After the table was cleared, fruits and nuts were served with coffee, tea, beer, or champagne. Frequent and long-staying visitors made such elaborate meals routine and slaves provided the required domestic help. While the urban centers of the north employed cookery to demonstrate refinement and social respectability, plantation cuisine was one element of the generous hospitality expected from southern gentility.

Meals prepared and eaten by the middle and lower classes were very simple in comparison to those served by the upper class and gentry. On special occasions or when entertaining, the middle class prepared more elaborate meals as they emulated the gentry and upper class. Everyday common meals were soup, pot roast, or porridge thickened with grain, such as corn. Salt-cured pork was frequently used, but the meat could be fish, clams, venison, or whatever could be found. Vegetables were added to the basic meal when they could be obtained. The meal was typically prepared in a cast iron pot over an open fire.¹²³

American cooking during the Federal Period revealed cultural aspirations, taste, and tradition in the diverse social climate of the fledgling democracy. While haute cuisine was influenced by trends in Europe, the diets of most Americans were quite basic

and relied on what was available locally. Research shows that during the Federal Period a variety of menus and methods of preparing food existed, depending on location and social standing. Additional research is needed to understand the complex developments of this time.

Technological Changes

As the extent and variety of American cuisine expanded, so did the requirements of the kitchen. In the pre-Revolution colonial kitchen, cooking centered on the fireplace. In the early eighteenth century, masonry fireplaces and hearths were built of locally quarried stone or handcrafted brick.¹²⁴ Fires were built within the firebox and coals were dragged out onto the hearth for use in cooking. Pots, pans, and skillets were placed on trivets over the coals, while roasting and boiling was done over the fire. The term “open-hearth cooking” refers to the practice of cooking outside of the firebox on the hearth.¹²⁵

The chimney bar or lug pole was the primary element of the firebox. It was usually made of iron, extended across the width of the chimney, located several feet above the hearth, and had each end secured in masonry pockets. After the pole was installed, the pockets were mortared, which allowed easy replacement of the pole if necessary. Pothangers were supported from the lug pole, from which pots and other cookware were suspended.¹²⁶

Well-to-do households had a more elaborate and convenient apparatus for support. A swinging iron crane was hinged to one side of the firebox and swung outward, like a gate. It permitted easy access to pots and allowed them to be adjusted from the projecting arm over different parts of the hearth. It also allowed the pots to be

raised or lowered to regulate heat without reaching over the fire. Larger fireboxes had one attached to each side. Iron cranes became more common after the mid-eighteenth century.¹²⁷

By the 1770s, brick bake ovens that were built into the sides or back of the firebox were common to larger plantations and the homes of the wealthy. Previously, the oven was built on the outside of the building, next to the fireplace chimney. Neither of these older designs for ovens incorporated flues. A fire would be built inside the oven to heat the masonry to baking temperature. The coals would be removed and the bread would be placed in the cavity until baked. In the case of ovens that were built into the firebox cheeks, smoke vented directly into the main chimney.

Indoor ovens that were built next to the fireplace had a separate flue to direct the smoke into the main chimney. Ovens in this position had their own ash pit and an iron door.¹²⁸ Removing the oven from the hearth allowed smaller fireboxes, efficient use of fuel, and more convenient access to the oven. Directions for the actual construction of a conventional oven came from cookbook writer Hannah Glasse: “In the building of your oven for baking, observe that you make it round, low roofed, and a little mouth; then it will take less fire, and keep in the heat better than a long oven and high roofed, and it will bake the bread better.”¹²⁹

Roasting was done on a spit (a long and pointed metal rod) supported at the ends by fire-dogs. Several methods were developed to secure the meat on the spit. The spit had a wheel at one end that was turned manually with a handle, or mechanically with a jack. The most efficient was a clock jack, which used a weight attached high on a wall

beside or above the fireplace, to drive gears connected together by a chain, leather belt or rope. The gears were connected to the wheel on the spit. Another common type was the smoke jack. It used the air flow in the chimney to turn fan blades, which drove a shaft connected to the spit.¹³⁰

Cooking technology continued to advance in the late eighteenth century with the introduction of various iron and sheet metal implements into the kitchen. Meat could be prepared in a “roasting kitchen” that was placed in front of the fire. A metal box made by a tinsmith to accommodate the hearth, it had a rounded back with a metal door to access the meat for basting. The front of the box was open toward the fire and the meat was placed on a spit that needed constant turning.¹³¹ These implements, such as the roasting kitchen and swinging crane, allowed a greater variety of recipes to be prepared, albeit with difficulty.

Especially in urban areas, but also on plantations, haute cuisine required more sophisticated equipment and cooks. In Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New York, hired domestic servants replaced indentured servants, who were either young girls or immigrants. On the plantation, slaves provided the labor. The elite, who could afford to, hired a French or French-trained chef. While cast iron heating stoves were available, cast iron cooking ranges were not produced until the first decades of the nineteenth century.

As early as 1750, a household in the United States that regularly served complex meals from the European menu had a kitchen equipped with a masonry stew stove and possibly a roaster, in addition to the fireplace. The stew stove facilitated the preparation of fine sauces associated with classic French cuisine. The stew stove is an ancient

device, discovered during excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum, and preserved from the ashes of Mt. Vesuvius, which erupted in A. D. 79. While common on the European Continent, they did not reach England until the seventeenth century and did not gain widespread acceptance until the eighteenth century.¹³² In a story told by William Verral in his 1759 *The Cook's Paradise*, an old friend asks what a stove is: "Why, sir, [they are] little round machines of iron fix'ed in brickwork about three feet from the ground, where charcoal is always burnt on all occasions in the cooking, without which all your other [cooking] materials are of no sort of use but as you see 'em now."¹³³

As developed during the sixteenth century, the stove was an open grate of wrought iron for roasting meat and suspending pots and kettles over a fire. Larger pots had feet and sat directly on the fire. Later, wells were constructed in solid brickwork for stew pans or saucepans to be suspended or inserted. A fire was built below the well in a recess accessible from the front of the range. The fires under the various wells could be adjusted to provide different temperatures, much like modern cooktops. The control of heat permitted the preparation of sauces. Smoke and steam from cooking were collected in an oversized hood above the apparatus and directed either to the chimney, a window, or not vented at all.

Even in the best conditions, cooking at a stew stove was an unpleasant activity accompanied by heat and smoke. Charcoal was used in stew stoves and thought to be unhealthy by some. According to Parson Woodforde in *The Diary of a Country Parson*, when his niece Nancy made jam, "she became giddy, too long at the stove where charcoal was burning though the outward door was open all the time."¹³⁴ Developments

by the end of the eighteenth century included the addition of cast iron covers, ovens, and set kettles to provide hot water for food preparation and dishwashing.¹³⁵ (Figure 1)



Figure 1: Woodcut from 1542 showing stew stove ("A Cook," Hans Bergmair, 1542, courtesy of www.pbm.com/~lindahl/food-art).

A primitive version of stew stoves was introduced to the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War by European troops and demonstrates how simply the convenience could be built. Captain Samuel Richards of the Third Connecticut Regiment described his observations of the French Army in 1781: "I viewed their manner of encamping over night, the perfect mechanical manner of performing all they had to do: such as digging a circular hole & making niches in which to set their camp kettles for

cooking their food...” These temporary earthen kitchens were constructed for longer-term encampments. In 1762, Humphrey Bland described the construction of earthen kitchens in *Treatise of Military Discipline*. According to Bland, a three-foot wide trench is dug, two feet deep, in a circle with an outside diameter of twenty-five feet. A sixteen-foot diameter dirt mound is made in the center of the circle, creating a one-and-one-half-foot shelf around the outside of the mound. One-foot-square niches were dug into the inside of the trench for a firebox and four-inch chimney holes were made in the top to allow heat to escape and make a place for cook pots. Although requiring more work to construct, these earthen kitchens used less wood than open fires, organized the men for mess, and reduced the fire hazard to tents.¹³⁶ (Figure 2)

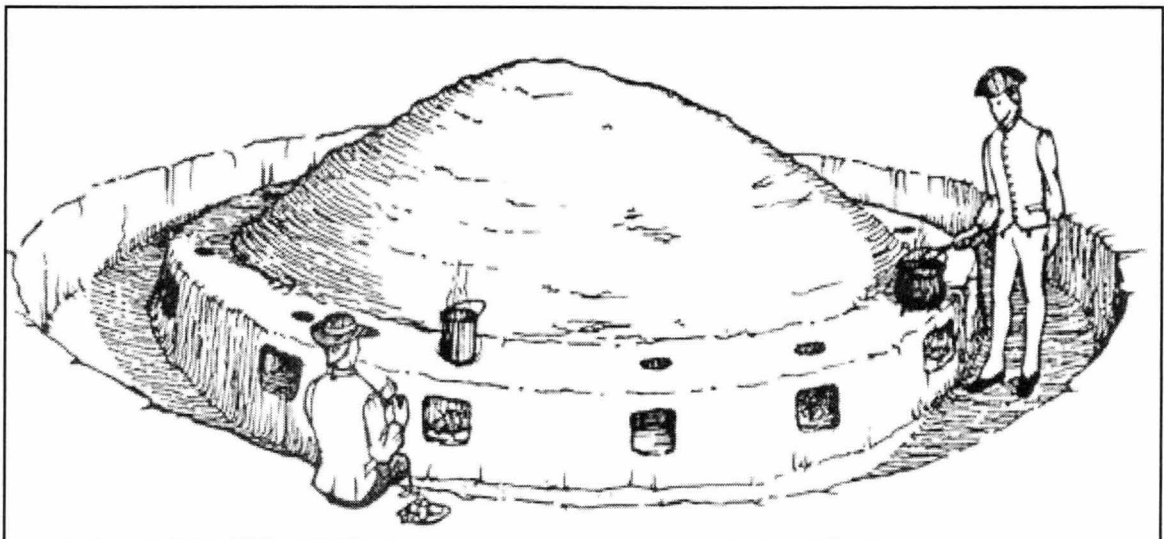


Figure 2: Diagram of Revolutionary War camp kitchen (illustration by Ross Hamel from “Earthen Camp Kitchens”).

These earthen kitchens probably developed from the French *potager* [poe-ta-shay], which were commonly used in French kitchens during the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries. “By the beginning of the seventeenth century [in France] ... even the female cook was no longer dependent on her fireplace alone, for with a little luck her kitchen might be fitted with a brick potager, ‘a slightly raised place where one prepares soups, or where there are several little charcoal stoves on which they are simmered.’... The relative comfort and convenience of raised stoves (i.e., potagers) should not be underestimated. It would have been miserable to work for long hours year-round at a blazing hearth. In comparison, the less intense heat and the chance to work standing up ... would have encouraged the cook to pay closer attention to the fine points of his or her art.”¹³⁷ (Figure 3)

In 1805, Benjamin Thompson, known as Count Rumford, published the findings of his research into heat transfer as it applies to cooking. His essay, “On the Construction of Kitchen Fireplaces and Kitchen Utensils; Together With Remarks and Observations Relating to the Various Processes of Cookery, and Proposals for Improving that Most Useful Art,” addressed every known cooking apparatus of the kitchen and proposed more inventions of his own. The publication described the success of actual installations of his stew ranges and boilers in Munich and introduced a design for a roaster that promised to evenly cook and seal in the moisture and flavor of meat that was not possible by roasting over a fireplace.

According to Rumford, the problem with stew ranges as they were commonly used was that they were not closed. “The fuel is burned in a long open grate called a *kitchen range*, over which the pots and kettles are freely suspended, or placed on stands; or fires made with charcoal in square holes, called *stoves*, in a solid mass of brick-work,

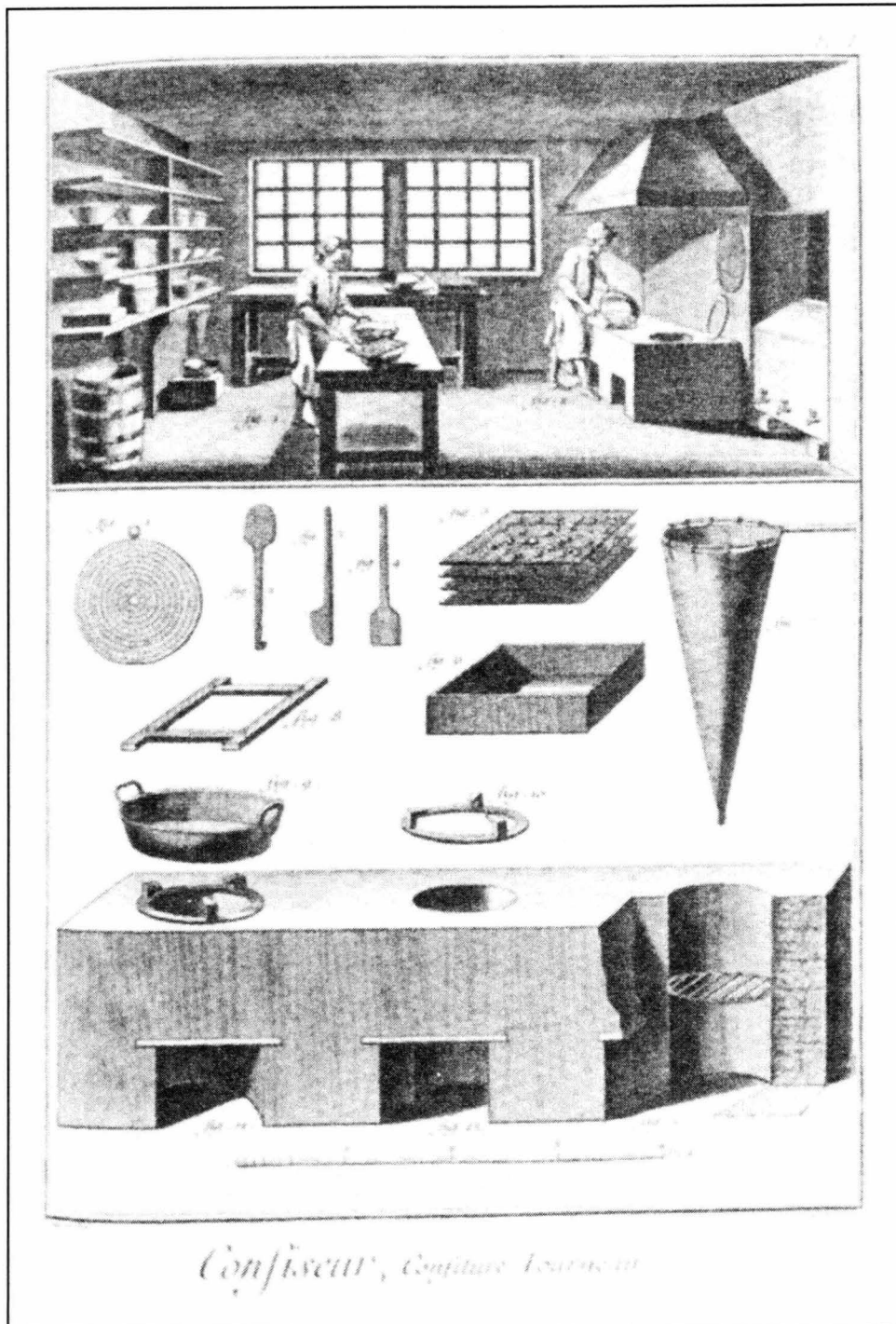


Figure 3: Potager with kitchen equipment (illustration from “Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789”).

and connected with no flue to carry off the smoke, over which holes stewpans or saucepans are placed on tripods, or on bars of iron, exposed on every side to the cold air of the atmosphere.”¹³⁸ His improvements in the design of the stew range consisted of building passages within the masonry mass to direct smoke away from the fire and directly into the chimney. Likewise, a hood over the range captured the steam and channeled it into the flue. Iron doors over the fire chambers below the worktop allowed the temperature of each vessel to be regulated by controlling the quantity of air entering the fire chamber. Other refinements included directing the smoke of the fires through channels to back boilers, thus increasing the efficiency of the device by extracting the maximum amount of heating capacity from the fuel. His refinements in the design of the stew range increased the efficiency and control of the device while removing the smoke and steam.

His innovation in roasting was so successful that it bears his name. The Rumford roaster is a horizontal hollow cylinder of sheet iron, about eighteen inches in diameter and twenty-four inches long. It is placed in a masonry enclosure and a fire chamber is built below it. Iron tubes along the side of the cylinder become heated red-hot and circulate air through the cylinder. The meat is placed inside on a rack in a drip pan, which contains water to prevent drying the meat. An iron door, flush with the enclosing masonry, seals the cylinder. Another door, below the cylinder, controls the quantity of air to the fire chamber and thus the temperature of the roaster. Smoke from the fire is drawn out through a flue that connects to a chimney. A third door, below the fire chamber, is for ash removal. According to Rumford, the meat is roasted from the high

temperature air delivered into the chamber through the tubes not baked at the comparatively lower and diminishing temperatures of a masonry bake oven.¹³⁹

In the United States, Rumford's designs were popularized in builder's handbooks and domestic encyclopedias. In the 1827 edition of Asher Benjamin's *American Builder's Companion*, a compact arrangement for a kitchen wall is illustrated with notes on its construction. Within about fourteen feet, Benjamin includes a traditional masonry oven, fireplace, Rumford roaster, two stew pots, and a boiler for a washkettle. A rolling shutter that collects steam from the boilers and diverts it into the chimney is also described. Manuals like this described how to install a Rumford design without the science associated with it and left the interpretation up to the builder. (Figure 4)

An English work entitled *The Domestic Encyclopedia: or A Dictionary of Facts and Useful Knowledge*, revised for American publication in 1821 by Thomas Cooper, M.D., explains that the large section on cookery is reproduced from a work entitled *Domestic Cookery*. Perhaps this is a reference to Maria Rundell's *A New System of Domestic Cookery*, another English work that was first published in the United States in 1807. In any case, his section on cookery, including his illustrations, is taken directly from Rumford's treatise.

Even as Rumford's improvements in the design of ranges and roasters were being copied and recopied on both sides of the Atlantic, advances in the manufacture of cast iron by the English resulted in improvements to open-hearth cooking. The hob-grate was a kind of range, inserted into the firebox. The hob-grate had horizontal bars that formed a

sort of basket. At each side, iron flaps or hobs extended like shelves and supported pans, like a hot plate would have.¹⁴⁰

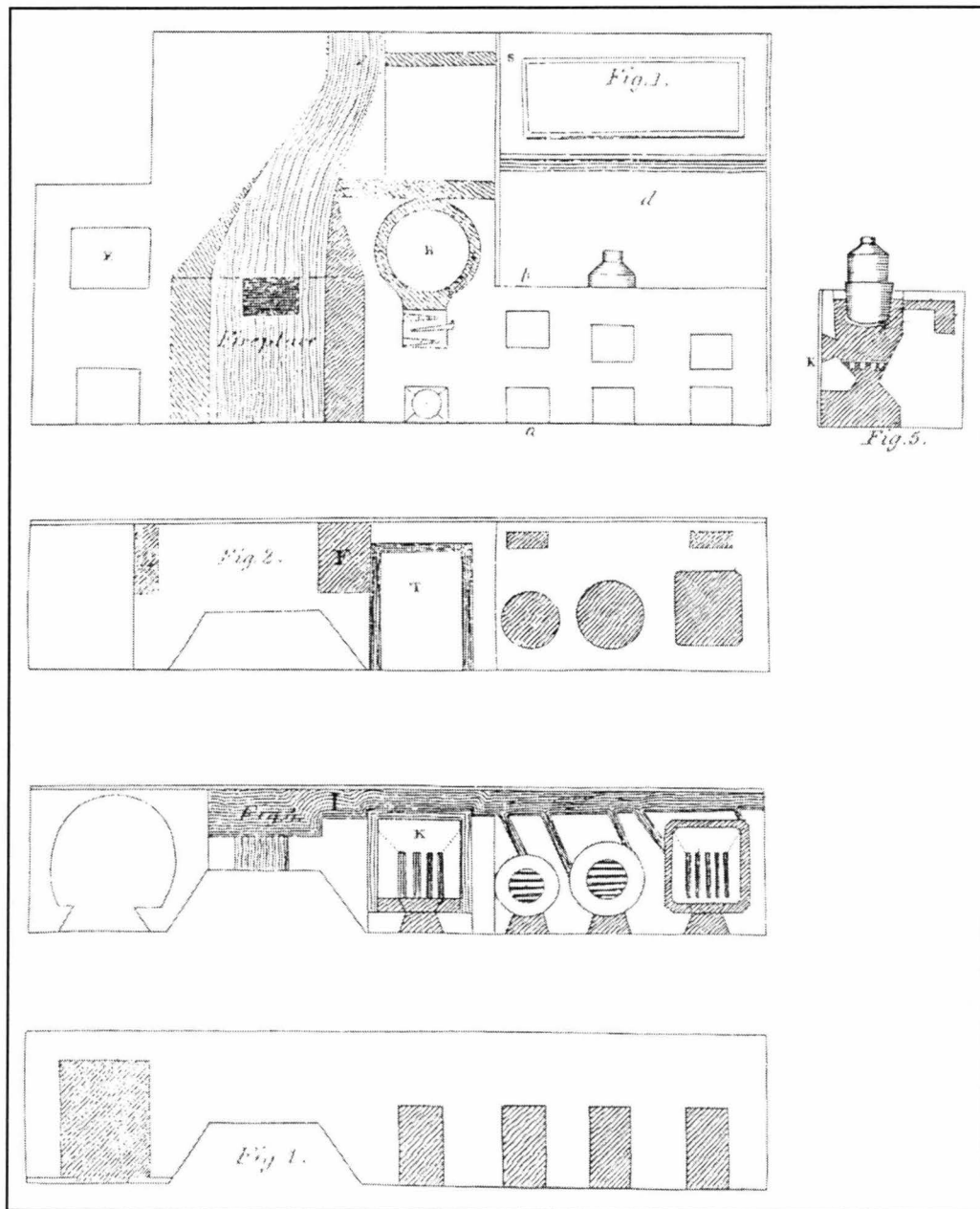


Figure 4: Fireplace wall with Rumford roaster and stew stove (“American Builder’s Companion” by Asher Benjamin, 1827).

The closed-fire cooking range, first produced in 1802, was another development that resulted from improvements in cast-iron manufacturing.¹⁴¹ Although the iron cookstove was available, many households, especially in rural areas, clung to long-known and reliable cooking methods and therefore the open hearth. The advantages of the iron cookstove became generally accepted in the late 1840s and resulted in most homes being equipped with them by the late 1850s.¹⁴² Just as stew ranges entered the homes of the upper class first, so did iron ranges. Hearths were easily adapted as the new range was placed directly into the firebox and vented into the existing chimney. The range provided a compact and practical arrangement of oven, firebox and boiler. The fire built in the center chamber warmed the flanking oven and boiler as well as the top of the range. Pots and pans were warmed directly on the hot plate and roasting was done over the open fire. Modification of the existing fireplace involved the simple removal of only the pot crane and andirons. Another advantage was that it could be moved with the owner.

Summary

During the Federal period, after the colonies declared their political independence from England, the newly formed United States declared its intolerance of European interference in the Americas. Conversely, the American social elite continued to look to Europe for standards of taste and fashion. Culinary changes, especially the incorporation of French cuisine into the American entertainment menu, required skilled staffs and up-to-date kitchens. While most American homes relied on the traditional cooking hearth, well-to-do urbanites and southern plantation owners adopted stew stoves and roasters. Improved manufacturing and the availability of iron cook stoves by 1850 preempted

widespread acceptance of stew stoves and roasters by the lower classes. Technological advances, developments in cuisine, and social customs of the elite meant considerable changes that differentiated a progressive kitchen of the first half of the nineteenth century from the iconic open hearth of the colonial period. Just as differences in the menus of Americans varied with location and social class, so too did the equipment in their kitchens. Research has begun to understand these developments, but much remains to be learned about this evolutionary period.

Interpretation of Kitchens in Federal Period Historic House Museums

Under contemporary practice, restoration is motivated by interpretive history rather than by commemorative history or for decorative arts display. Those house museums restored a generation ago are being re-restored to become more historically accurate.¹⁴³ As spaces secondary to the commemorative or decorative arts message, kitchens and other domestic spaces were restored in a generic and picturesque way. The restoration of Federal Period kitchens tended to be shaped by the popular image of a “colonial” kitchen. Recognition of the earlier influence of the Colonial Revival combined with recent research and new interpretive motives justify reexamination and alteration of previous kitchen restorations.

The Influence of the Colonial Revival

The period following the Civil War brought disconcerting changes to American society that were mitigated by a nostalgic view of the past. Industrialization, immigration, urbanization, the financial panic of 1873, and disillusionment with the

Reconstruction inspired a longing for “simpler times.”¹⁴⁴ Looking back to the founding fathers reassured Americans that the basis of society was sound amid cultural upheaval. During the Victorian era when it was thought that furnishings revealed and developed a person’s character, colonial furniture and accessories were collected in the home to display a shared ideology with one’s ancestors.¹⁴⁵ “Colonial” came to be known as a vague period over two generations prior that encompassed portions of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Thus the Colonial Revival was and remains a sociological movement that indiscriminately borrows from the past to bolster confidence in the present.¹⁴⁶

The influence of the Colonial Revival on kitchen interpretation began as early as 1864 with a series of fairs held to raise money for the forerunner of the Red Cross. During that year, New England kitchen exhibits were held at “Sanitary Fairs” in Brooklyn, Poughkeepsie, New York City, Saint Louis, Philadelphia and Indianapolis. Although the origin of the idea for these kitchen exhibits is unknown, each was furnished and carefully developed. A brochure publicizing the purpose of the exhibit alluded to its patriotic motives, which were similar to the motives of the first historic house restorations.¹⁴⁷

All six kitchens were furnished similarly. The central feature was the open-hearth fireplace, which symbolized the “olden times.”¹⁴⁸ The smell of pork and beans filled the air. Strings of dried apples hung from the mantel, candlesticks sat on the mantel, and often a rifle hung above the fireplace. Other features included a grandfather clock, a Bible, a teapot, a dresser with pewter and china, a farm table, chairs, and the requisite

spinning wheel. Guides were dressed in Martha Washington mobcaps and pseudo-eighteenth-century costumes. In at least one exhibit, African Americans posed as “helps,” playing the fiddle or knitting. Guests were treated to meals of brown bread, mush, pumpkin and apple pies, doughnuts, and cider. The kitchens were the main attraction of the fairs and responsible for their success.

Generally regarded as the beginning of the Colonial Revival, the “Olde Tyme” kitchen exhibit at the International Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 received wide publicity in popular magazines. (Figure 5) The kitchen was built in a log house, which perpetuated another myth that all early settlers lived in such buildings.¹⁴⁹ As a reconstructed building, the log house exhibited room arrangements and furniture in addition to the kitchen. Similar to the exhibits of 1864, the Fairmount Park display featured the fireplace as the focal point with its wide chimney, mantel, candlesticks, and rifle mounted on the wall above the open hearth. Furniture included a spinning wheel, cradle, dresser, and rocking chair.

The World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago had its share of log cabins including “The New England Log Cabin and Ye Olde Time Restaurant.” Victorian decorating sensibility produced a scene that in effect attributed values of piety and purity to colonial and revolutionary forebears.¹⁵⁰ In the kitchen exhibits at the 1864, 1876, and 1893 fairs, historical accuracy took a distant second place to the physical representation of popular anti-modern sentiment. Similar to today’s theme parks, these kitchen exhibits offered refreshments and an escape from their urbanized, industrial venues.



Figure 5: New England kitchen, Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, 1876
 (“Frank Leslie’s Illustrated,” 10 June 1876).

The move of the kitchen exhibit from the midway to the museum marks the next step in legitimizing the Colonial Revival interpretation of the kitchen. Period rooms at the turn of the twentieth century mixed motives of artistic value and historical accuracy.¹⁵¹ In 1880, George Sheldon of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association in Deerfield, Massachusetts installed an early period kitchen composed of various salvaged fragments from a number of houses in and around Deerfield. Unlike the kitchen exhibits of the fairs, Sheldon’s period room was composed of authentic elements albeit inaccurately arranged. With similarities to a stage set, the room was intended more as a memorial to the Native American and Puritan inhabitants of the Pocumtuck Valley than as an academic exercise.¹⁵²

Charles Wilcomb's 1896 Colonial Kitchen installation at the Golden Gate Park Memorial Museum in San Francisco received public acclaim at the time for its believability. A transplanted Yankee from Laconia, New Hampshire, Wilcomb had first-hand knowledge of New England kitchens. The first of two period kitchens that he installed in California, the 1896 kitchen was intended to preserve original objects and exhibit them to the public in an authentic setting. Based on his perception of the colonial kitchen, the room was a composite of various sources rather than a reproduction of a single, particular room.¹⁵³ Essentially a decorative arts display, the room contained a dresser of pewter ware, blue china cupboard, tall clock, spinning and weaving devices, and cooking equipment. Wilcomb used artistic judgment to produce an exhibit that was believable to his Victorian audience.

In 1907, George Francis Dow created The Colonial Kitchen at the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts, and attempted to evoke a sense of everyday life in the past. He paid attention to every detail of the room including the dirt-packed floor, nine-over-nine windows, box-beamed ceiling, wood paneling, reproduced trim from existing houses, and the placement of authentic objects.¹⁵⁴

The rooms fashioned by Sheldon, Wilcomb, and Dow reveal a sensibility similar to the New England Kitchens of the 1864, 1876, and 1893 fairs. Like the fair kitchens, the early period rooms displayed a long pole where gourds and dried herbs were hung, a rifle mounted above the mantel, an iron crane and cooking pots in the large, open hearth fireplace, candlesticks, pewter plates, cupboards, and other furniture. Significantly, these early period rooms were assembled by native New Englanders who were motivated by

patriotism and nostalgia. By the turn of the century, the popular, make-believe image of the “Olde Tyme” kitchen had become sanctioned by the museum community and would proceed to influence later period room installations as well as historic house restorations.

The popularity and enduring appeal of these kitchens stemmed from the needs of modern Victorian society. They reinforced perceived virtues of colonial purity and piety as models of behavior while showing how far the country had progressed. The generic New England kitchen, carefully arranged, appealed to Victorian sensibility while homogenizing and editing history into a romanticized version of the past. During a time when the primarily white, Anglo-Saxon middle and upper classes felt threatened by immigration, economic turmoil, and urban rootlessness, the image of the Colonial Revival kitchen reaffirmed the values perceived as central to American life even as the histories of blacks, servants, women, and the poor were eradicated.¹⁵⁵

The Colonial Revival has had a lasting influence on the restoration of historic house museums. The image of the New England kitchen was adopted during the Victorian era, a time when one’s values and ideals were primarily communicated through objects in the home, for its association with patriotism and domesticity. Restorers at Colonial Williamsburg, for example, engaged in detailed research and believed they had worked free from the influences of such anachronistic period displays as discussed here.¹⁵⁶ However, at Williamsburg, the Colonial Revival’s effect of mythologizing American history resulted in a somewhat sanitized and picturesque portrayal of kitchens and cooking during the late eighteenth century. (Figure 6) Given the pervasive and ready acceptance of this image, the New England kitchen from the Colonial Revival was

the single most dominant influence on kitchen restoration and remains a significant factor today.



Figure 6: Palace kitchen before installation of stew stove (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

Current Research at Colonial Williamsburg

Today, the effects of discoveries in social history are being perceived at historic house museums. Now, along with the commemoration of an important historical figure, the stories of ordinary people doing everyday activities are also told. “New social history” refers to the response of historians to questions posed by modern-day society. Just as social cleavages in the late eighteenth century initiated the Colonial Revival, upheavals in society during the 1960s such as the Vietnam War, the civil rights

movement, gender equality, and sexual liberation again changed the nature of the answers sought by visitors to historic sites. In 1977, “Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg,” the first educational master plan at the foundation, was written. It addressed the contemporary needs of visitors who wanted to understand how people in early American communities went about their business, exercised the will of the community, and reconciled differences among themselves. The publication announced a dramatic shift in the interpretive goals for Williamsburg: “the quality of American life is more at issue now than the defense of our system of government.”¹⁵⁷ The master plan set a new agenda for the historians, archaeologists, architectural historians, and curators.

To exhibit the new social history in an accurate and meaningful way, research from a number of disciplines is necessary and has therefore been growing as the breadth of the field is realized. Kitchen restorations are now being scrutinized under a lens crafted by scholars of zooarchaeology, material culture, foodways, and culinary history, to name a few. The impact of their research changes old notions of how furniture was arranged, what cooking implements were used, what foods were prepared, and who ate what. Furthermore, new research raises the question of the accuracy of the previous physical restoration of the building fabric.

Zooarchaeology and archaeobotanists study archaeological animal and plant remains to decipher not only what foods were consumed but also what plants were cultivated.¹⁵⁸ Both studies are applicable to social history and kitchen restoration. Animal bones are retrieved and examined to determine species and inspected for signs of butchering and burning. This information contributes to an understanding of food

procurement, preparation, and cooking. Plant seeds are collected through a flotation process and phytoliths (microscopic impressions of plant cells) are analyzed to determine which crops were raised and how they were farmed.

Understanding and interpreting the differences in menus and food preparation between social classes is important to an accurate depiction of history. At Colonial Williamsburg, zooarchaeologists have documented the differences in the diets of slaves compared to white elites. Butcher marks on the skeletons of animals show that those dining in the Governor's Palace ate larger portions of meat from domesticated animals, primarily cattle. Conversely, the slave diet was composed of up to forty percent wildlife, including fish and turtle.¹⁵⁹ It was found that slaves chopped their meat into smaller pieces, presumably for preparing one-pot meals that could boil for hours unattended. The Governor's larger cuts, however, were roasted, requiring the constant attention of a cook or slave.

While written histories, such as diaries, may contain errors of fact on the part of the author, ordinary physical objects seem to be undeniable historical evidence. Yet, objects, much like written texts, are subject to interpretation and misreading.¹⁶⁰ The study of material culture includes not only collecting and identifying artifacts such as clothing, furniture, common objects, and utensils, but also placing the artifact in its proper historical setting to evoke the sense of a moment in time. In kitchen restoration, one gains a better sense of the work involved for meal preparation based on how the room is equipped. A kitchen accurately furnished with heavy kettles, cast iron skillet, a mortar and pestle, wooden water buckets, Dutch oven, coffee mill, cleaver, grater,

toaster, griddle, colander, jelly mold, rolling pin, pastry wheel, and skimmer makes a vivid impression that cooking was difficult, hot, and frequently dangerous work. The everyday objects of an historical setting not only restore the appearance of a room, they also restore realism.

For the 1982 refitting of the kitchen at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, curators researched the inventory taken after Lord Botetourt died in 1770. The inventory of sixteen thousand items from sixty-one living and working spaces was the primary reference for this work.¹⁶¹ With the inventory of kitchen items in hand, researchers examined each item on the list and prepared a report describing its appearance, function, and precedent.¹⁶² Recommendations from the report became the furnishing plan for the kitchen. The implements used in the kitchen since the refurbishing have been substantiated by the inventory. The accurately furnished kitchen is functionally believable and made even more so by the enactors of the foodways program at Williamsburg.

In 1983, Colonial Williamsburg established its Department of Historic Foodways to research and recreate foods of the eighteenth century. The goal of the department is to make the kitchens convincing by actually using them.¹⁶³ In the Palace kitchen, the department uses costumed interpreters to demonstrate historic cooking methods to visitors. The foodways program has had a direct impact on the physical reconstruction of the kitchen. The abundance of tin-lined copperware on Botetourt's inventory led researchers to believe that sauces were prepared. Copperware is required for sauces since it conducts heat evenly, preventing scalding. Based on evidence that he brought his own

French-trained cook from England, it was concluded that French cuisine was served.¹⁶⁴

Further research showed the precedent for a stew range from similarly equipped kitchens in England.¹⁶⁵

The influence of social history over the last thirty years or so has expanded the scope of interpretation at historic house museums. As history museums, these houses require greater accuracy throughout the building to depict the histories of previously disenfranchised constituencies such as women, blacks, and the poor. Research from disciplines such as zooarchaeology, material culture, and foodways develops new evidence and reexamines old evidence in a comprehensive manner. The continuously unfolding picture of history has ramifications for the kitchens of museums that can afford to undertake the necessary research.

It is important to point out that this new research affects only those house museums with available funds to undertake the necessary investigation. Surveys in 1990 revealed that sixty-five percent of historic properties' museums have no full-time paid staff and that about another twenty-five percent employ only one full-time staff member. Additionally, the majority of historic house museums operate on annual budgets of less than fifty thousand dollars.¹⁶⁶ While the new research is important to all house museums, its impact affects only well-funded museums, normally of national importance. Therefore, museums and sites with a national reputation to protect cannot afford to ignore the new research.

The Palace Kitchen

Just as the refurnishing of the Palace itself led to a reexamination of historic house interiors, so has the refitting of the Palace kitchen caused a reexamination of the accuracy of restored kitchens in historic house museums. The research completed during the project is a recognized repository of information for restorers. The researchers from Colonial Williamsburg are considered to be the authorities to consult for kitchen restoration questions.

As early as 1973, the accuracy and believability of kitchen installations at Colonial Williamsburg were questioned.¹⁶⁷ To address these concerns, a series of research reports were prepared. A primary report was a review of the Botetourt inventory to determine how the kitchen was equipped. The extensive report analyzed each item and produced a short history of its common use. The report also set the kitchen in its historical context with a description of the various cooks, confectioners, and bakers who worked in the kitchen as well as their training.¹⁶⁸ Other equally detailed reports addressed bake ovens, architectural fittings, and built-in furniture.¹⁶⁹ Based on the findings of these reports, the oven was made functional, the existing moveable dresser was replaced with a built-in one, the room was furnished accurately according to the inventory, and the overly-large fireplace was fitted with a hob grate.¹⁷⁰ The composite picture that emerged from the research revealed a kitchen that was as well-equipped and well-staffed as any high-style European kitchen of the mid-eighteenth century.

In 1989, the manager of historic food programs, Rosemary Brandau, attended the Attingham Summer School in England to gain a better understanding of old British

kitchens and colonial period cooking. Her research lead her to question whether Lord Botetourt had a stew stove in his kitchen. Her evidence was completely documentary; precedents existed in England as early as the late seventeenth century, the “man-cook” was from England and probably trained in French cooking, and the inventory had an abundance of copperware for stove cooking.

After Ms. Brandau’s death in 1993, Williamsburg curator Betty Leviner completed the research on the Palace stew stove. Her analysis added a study of precedents in the United States known to have had stew stoves during Botetourt’s residency in the Palace. In 1995, the stew stove was installed in the kitchen. (Figure 7) The curator’s recommendation to reconstruct the stove was based on three tests:

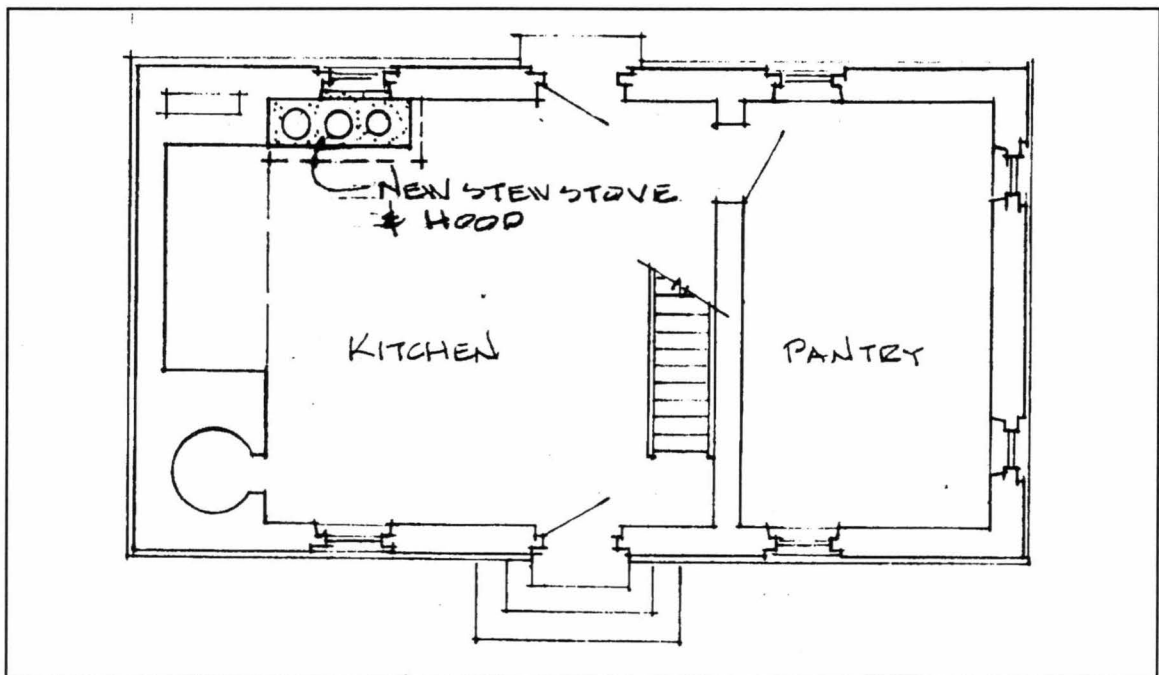


Figure 7: Plan of Palace kitchen showing new stew stove (drawing by James Waite, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

Governor Botetourt could afford to build a stew stove, he was familiar with French cuisine and could afford to pay for it, and he had someone who was trained to prepare the food.¹⁷¹ Although based on no remaining architectural evidence, the existence of the stove was determined from substantial evidence. The reconstructed stew stove is an accurate element of kitchens from the period and is another means to interpret the hierarchical society of colonial Virginia.¹⁷² (Figure 8)



Figure 8: The Governor's Palace kitchen, showing the installation of the stew stove on the right (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

The decision to reconstruct the stew stove in the Palace kitchen at Colonial Williamsburg was undoubtedly influenced by the goal of interpreting colonial foodways. However, no physical evidence was considered since the kitchen building itself is a reconstruction from the 1930s. Instead, precedents were used as models for the design of the new stove. Through detailed research, the required criteria to determine the existence

of the stove were developed. The decision to build the stove was justified through this research and resulted in an accurate portrayal of history.

Although both are reconstructed, the Palace kitchen and its stew stove have a strong influence on contemporary restoration practice. No other organization in the United States engages in research to the extent of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. The basic historical research that has been compiled since 1928 is an academic resource for any investigator or restorer. Especially regarding kitchens and food preparation, Colonial Williamsburg is particularly suited for testing hypotheses in working historical kitchens. Experts at Williamsburg have not only compiled the research and precedents for Federal Period kitchens; they have also developed a disciplined process to evaluate, substantiate, and document restoration decisions.

Conclusion

Developments in social history have placed greater emphasis on interpreting the lives of ordinary people and everyday events at historic house museums in addition to traditional historical themes. This in turn has created a need to accurately restore domestic spaces including kitchens. During the Federal Period, technological advancements, changing social customs, and European influences on cuisine meant physical changes for the kitchens of progressive-minded people. In the last twenty years, research of meal preparation and dining customs from the Federal Period has determined that wide differences existed based on social class, traditions, location, and aspirations.

Similarly, disparities existed in the way kitchens were arranged, equipped, and built. Additional research is needed to understand this neglected aspect of this time period.

During the Victorian Period, nostalgia for America's colonial past was motivated by a need to shore up existing institutions in the face of social and economic upheaval caused by mass immigration and industrialization. The history of the United States during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries became blended into a romanticized "colonial period." Middle and upper class white Americans seeking reassurance about their place in the socioeconomic hierarchy idealized colonists, frontiersmen, and the founding fathers.

Sanitary fairs of the late eighteenth century initiated the popular image of the "New England Kitchen." That image of a generic colonial kitchen endured and was based less on scholarship and more on common perception. For most of the twentieth century, the accurate restoration of Federal Period kitchens was hindered by such Colonial Revival images.

Disciplines concerned with researching ordinary people, everyday activities, and common objects provide the needed documentation to undertake a reexamination and re-restoration of domestic spaces, including kitchens. Research begun in the mid-1970s for both the refurbishing of the Governor's Palace and the refurnishing of the Palace kitchen resulted in a more accurate understanding of history.

The reconstruction of the stew stove in the Palace kitchen in 1995 is instructive for the re-restoration of Federal Period kitchens. The installation of the stew stove was found to be essential to the interpretive program; research from various sources found the

probability of the existence of a stew stove to be overwhelming; and criteria were developed to evaluate the decision to reconstruct a stove. For restoration projects, reconstruction of missing historical features is permitted by the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Treatment of Historic Properties. However, the additional critical requirement for such restoration is substantiation of the decision with physical evidence.¹⁷³ The weight of new historical evidence from various allied fields of research is not a substitute for physical evidence in restoration.

Historic house museums under economic and community pressure to justify their existence cannot afford to ignore the influence of social history on the interpretation of their building.¹⁷⁴ To remain viable and to retain relevance, museums must relate a variety of experiences to visitors regardless of ethnicity, cultural background, or gender. Historic house museums must re-restore to portray history accurately if they are to fulfill their mission of historical education. At a time when interpretive pressure is high and more is known than ever before, kitchens of the Federal Period should be reevaluated and re-restored accurately.

CHAPTER IV

PRESERVATION OF THE OCTAGON AND RESTORATION OF ITS KITCHEN

Beginning with the selection of its architect, the Octagon has been closely associated with the evolution of the profession of architecture in the United States. The choice of an unpaid gentleman-architect for the commission over the first professionally trained architect in the United States illustrates the state of the profession in the late eighteenth century. The distinctive design of the building and its setting made the Octagon one of the most important and recognizable residences in Washington City. Its prestigious location, close to the President's House and the homes of diplomats, made it important as a temporary residence for President Madison and his wife during the War of 1812 and for social entertaining.

After the American Institute of Architects (AIA) made the building its headquarters in 1898, the Octagon continued its connection with the profession of architecture. Essentially, the treatment of the building by the AIA reflects the profession's changing attitudes toward historic buildings during the twentieth century.¹⁷⁵ These attitudes are illustrated by a study of the three restorations of the kitchen. Through an examination of the decisions and their impact on the historic building, this chapter shows the development of restoration practice in the twentieth century.

General History

The Tayloe Mansion in Washington D. C., now known as the Octagon Museum, was built as the winter home of John Tayloe III and his wife, Ann Ogle, in 1798. Both had come from wealthy families with extensive land holdings. John Tayloe III grew up on Mount Airy plantation, built by his father in Richmond County, Virginia, in 1758. Mount Airy itself is significant in American architectural history as an example of the willingness of colonists to adopt what they considered the high style in Europe. The primary façade of Mount Airy was derived from a design in James Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture* published in 1728.¹⁷⁶ Ann Ogle's family owned two-thousand-acre Belair plantation in Prince George's County, Maryland, although she spent much of her youth living in Annapolis. Her grandfather had served three terms as governor and her father was elected to that office in 1798. Thus, she was accustomed to country, as well as urban, gentility. A year after returning from his education in England in 1791, John Tayloe III courted and married Ann Ogle, uniting two of the most prominent families in the Chesapeake Bay region.

After their marriage, the Tayloes' primary residence was Mount Airy although the time they spent in Annapolis during the winter justified renting a townhouse. But John Tayloe had political aspirations, serving in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1793 and the state senate in 1798. A residence in Maryland did not serve that end, so for their winter residence, they chose to build in the new federal city. Washington was conveniently located to both Mount Airy and Annapolis but offered other advantages. The nearby ports of Georgetown and Alexandria provided commerce and social

entertainment, while the undeveloped city offered investment opportunities and future interaction with the policy makers of the new republic. In 1797, Tayloe purchased an unusual triangular lot within two blocks of the President's House in an area that he assumed would become home to visiting diplomats.

Tayloe initially considered hiring Benjamin Latrobe, the only professionally trained architect in the country at the time, to design his new house. Having recently arrived from England in March 1796, Latrobe produced a complete set of drawings for Tayloe before he purchased the triangular piece of land. Designed for a rectangular site, Latrobe's plan became worthless when Tayloe bought his odd-shaped lot. Dr. William Thornton, a gentleman-architect, encouraged Tayloe to purchase the unusual lot, apparently to secure the commission to design the house.¹⁷⁷ But other considerations probably entered into the decision to hire Thornton. Latrobe's politics, which made him popular with a republican like Jefferson, were a mark against him with the Federalist Tayloe. Another significant factor against Latrobe was the scope and elaborate detail of his design. While appropriately impressive, the submitted design was beyond what Tayloe would consider spending. Even Thornton's smaller design, when executed, caused Tayloe distress since the final cost was nearly three times the initial estimate of thirteen thousand dollars.¹⁷⁸ Selecting the gentleman-architect Thornton allied Tayloe with the founders of the federal city. Thornton's design for the new Capitol building had been selected in 1793 by George Washington and was being erected at the time Tayloe was looking for an architect. Latrobe's unexecuted design for Tayloe and the selection of Thornton are important to the history of architecture as a profession in this country.

Thus, before it was built, the Octagon was closely associated with the profession of architecture in the United States.

Thornton's design was necessarily radical to respond to the building site's unusual geometry. As built, the two major rectangular rooms, the dining room and drawing room, are placed at a seventy-degree angle to each other and are joined by positioning a triangular space between, which contains the main stair, service stair, and pantry. In front of the main stair, towards the street, is the distinctive circular entrance hall. The lower level contains service spaces, including the kitchen below the dining room, the servants' hall under the drawing room, a wine cellar, and storage rooms. The second floor holds Tayloe's circular library, master bedchamber, and two other chambers, possibly for guests. The third floor has the family parlor above the library, and four bedchambers, two plainly finished and two more elaborately done. The rooms took on many uses as guests came and went and as the Tayloes' fifteen children grew and occupied the house. In addition to the family members, servants lived in the house but were segregated to secondary spaces with separate access, such as the service stairway. The carriage house, laundry, stable, icehouse, smokehouse, and meat house were located behind the main house.

The unusual plan resulted in unconventional exterior massing. Thornton abandoned a traditional Georgian approach in favor of neoclassicism, which allowed him to simplify the exterior details of the building's complex shape. The details are reduced in order to emphasize the scale and form of the massing. While Latrobe had produced Greek revival designs of the Doric order, Thornton may have been more influenced by

the late eighteenth century work of Robert Adam. Most of the materials were available locally. Stone came from a quarry forty miles to the south along Aquia Creek, brick was made in Washington, while wood came from sources along the east coast. Iron was produced in furnaces in Maryland and fabricated into components, such as hinges and fencing, by local blacksmiths. The mantels however, came from Coade Manufactory in London. Workers included skilled tradesmen and laborers. Slaves were among both groups and often were hired out to construction projects by their owners. Excavation began in the spring of 1799, and the house was completed three years later.

Tayloe used the income from his agricultural interests to bankroll his urban ventures as part of his calculated strategy to diversify his holdings. His new home provided the setting in which to enter into the social life of Washington. While other planters in Tayloe's position tried similar business ventures, they invested too aggressively and failed. Tayloe, on the other hand, carefully considered his risks and invested in particular lots within a few blocks of the President's House.

Before the War of 1812, Tayloe split his time between the Octagon and Mount Airy. His plantation, afterall, provided the funds for him to make these new investments. During the war, after the President's House was burned, the Octagon served as the temporary home of James and Dolley Madison. In Tayloe's second floor library on 17 February 1815, James Madison signed the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war with the British.

In 1817, the Tayloes made the Octagon their year-round residence yet continued to manage their plantation at Mount Airy. In 1828, John Tayloe died; leaving his estate

to his eleven children that survived him. His wife Ann continued to live in the house until her death in 1855. Afterwards, the house remained in the Tayloe family but was rented for a number of activities, first as a girls' school, then as space for the Navy Hydrographic Office. Toward the turn of the century during a time of massive immigration, it was used as a tenement house.

Beginning in 1889, Glenn Brown, a founding member of the Washington, D. C. Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, began a campaign to move the organization's national headquarters from New York to Washington.¹⁷⁹ In order to influence Congress on matters of public building projects, the AIA located to the Octagon in 1897. At first, the organization leased the building from the Tayloe heirs, but upon the initiative and persuasiveness of President Charles McKim, the AIA purchased the building in 1902. Within five years, the AIA made the final payment for the house.¹⁸⁰

In 1916, the AIA Board proposed converting the house into a museum in honor of McKim. D. Everette Waid, who served in a number of capacities with the Institute, including President and Treasurer, submitted a resolution to the membership at the fiftieth AIA convention: "Be it resolved, that the American Institute of Architects hereby commits itself to the policy of a complete restoration of its national headquarters, The Octagon House, including its grounds and outbuildings and their refurnishing in such a manner as to be an historical exemplar of the period of 1800."¹⁸¹ While the resolution passed, it meant the AIA would have to move from the Octagon. But the membership could not raise adequate funds to erect a new headquarters building. In 1922, serving as the Chairman of the Building Committee, D. Everett Waid proposed a compromise

measure. The headquarters of the AIA would remain in the Octagon and the first two floors would be restored as museum rooms and offices.¹⁸² He also proposed erecting a new convention hall on the property that would necessitate the demolition of the adjacent stable. Debate over the fate of the stable delayed plans for a new building.¹⁸³

While under AIA ownership, the Macmillan Commission met at the Octagon and produced the city plan for Washington to restore Pierre L'Enfant's ideas, the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts was born there, as was the American Federation of Arts, and the Historic American Buildings Survey. During World War II, the OSS, now the Central Intelligence Agency, occupied the building, followed after the war by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. In 1968, the American Architectural Foundation purchased the building and opened it to the public as a museum in 1970. The American Architectural Foundation is a non-profit organization devoted to helping citizens, community leaders, and elected officials understand the value of architecture, and to use that knowledge to transform communities.¹⁸⁴

Restoration History

The Octagon has been associated with the promotion of the value of architecture to society for well over one hundred years, serving as the headquarters for the AIA from 1897 until 1968.¹⁸⁵ During that time, the AIA undertook several renovation efforts. At first, the restoration goal was to return the Octagon to its original condition.¹⁸⁶ Beginning in 1911, Glenn Brown recorded the existing building in measured drawings of extraordinary detail that have been an important reference for restorers since.

However, due to financial limitations, a true restoration program was delayed and scarce funds were used for maintenance. The early work included general repairs in 1914, the installation of a forced-air furnace system in 1918, and a steam heating system in 1924. The dining room floor was structurally reinforced with steel beams in 1924.¹⁸⁷ This work was treated as routine maintenance work, not restoration. Consequently a lack of both supervision and performance criteria resulted in poor workmanship, the repair of the exterior brick walls being one example.¹⁸⁸

During the 1940s, Fiske Kimball formed a restoration committee that included Frederick V. Murphy and Thomas Waterman as consultants. Under Kimball's direction, decisions about original material were conservative. Particularly where the building needed structural work, the committee acted to strengthen, rather than replace members. When the stability of the floors was questioned, the committee employed an engineer who verified that the bearing capacity of the structure was adequate.¹⁸⁹

The first major restoration program occurred in 1949. At that time, the AIA staff left the cramped quarters of the Octagon and relocated to a newly-constructed administration building on the property. From 1948 to 1956, Milton Grigg directed the restoration as Chairman of the Building and Grounds Committee with the initial approval of the AIA's Committee on Preservation of Historic Buildings. During this period, the AIA abandoned its previously conservative approach, instead opting to turn the Octagon into a modern building for use as offices. Deteriorated stone on the exterior walls was replaced and additional heating and electrical work was done to meet the demands of this use.¹⁹⁰ The committee hired consulting engineers, who analyzed the wood structure by

applying modern structural design guidelines for commercial structures to it. Consequently, it was found to be unsound. Grigg directed his own engineers, Robert E. Lee and James Gongwer, to undertake aggressive structural modifications to the house. The main stair was reinforced with structural steel and portions of the first floor were reinforced. Large areas of the second floor, originally framed with heavy timber joists, were entirely replaced with steel-reinforced concrete.

Replacing the structure of the second floor meant the first floor ceiling had to be removed. The elaborate original plaster cornices of all rooms except the vestibule on the first floor were completely removed and replaced with modern plaster. Some of the original pine flooring was salvaged for the Dolley Madison Room on the second floor, but other rooms had new pine floors installed. The basement ceiling was lowered eighteen inches to conceal the new steel beams.¹⁹¹

The floor replacement project began in 1954. While work progressed, members of the AIA Committee on Historic Buildings came to Washington and were alarmed by the drastic alterations to the building. To protest the modifications and prove the structure sound, they took pieces of the original framing to the Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wisconsin, for testing. The lab found the wood “had ample strength for continued service” and “was so far superior to the kinds of woods that were being addressed in the 1950s tables, it would be invalid to use those tables.”¹⁹² Nevertheless, work proceeded.

In 1965, the Committee rejected the use of the Octagon as AIA offices, reiterating the words of D. Everett Waid from almost fifty years before:

...we believe that the further development of office space in this limited area should be stopped. In fact, we believe that the trend should be reversed and that a gradual return to the historic layout of the grounds should be undertaken—as close to the original condition as possible. Not the least element on this limited site is the original stable—which must have been nearly as important to the house in the eyes of Tayloe, the Virginian horseman who built the place. The announcement of the plan for the new building—as designed for the competition—has filled with dismay and indignation the very people in public life who ought to be our best friends. We believe that the Institute needs to reassure these people that it is backing the same amenities, including historic preservation, that they are.¹⁹³

After failing to establish an endowment for the maintenance of the Octagon, the building, without the adjacent service structures, was sold to the American Architectural Foundation (AAF) for one million dollars in 1968. The purpose of the sale was “to provide a means, through the Foundation, of restoring and refurbishing the Octagon House, and maintaining the same as an historic, architectural landmark, dedicated by the profession as a public monument.”¹⁹⁴ In 1971, the remainder of the site was cleared for a new AIA administration building.

In 1968, the Octagon House Committee, composed of Fellows of the AIA, selected J. Everette Fauber to guide the second major restoration campaign.¹⁹⁵ Samuel Allen Chambers Jr. completed the historical research.¹⁹⁶ While Fauber was the architect-of-record, the high-profile committee, lead by Mrs. Victorine DuPont Homsey, FAIA, was more than very involved and required Fauber to get committee approval of every decision down to color selections.¹⁹⁷

During this campaign, the condemned third floor was reconstructed with steel beams to carry the load for AAF office occupancy. The principal bedrooms of the second floor were converted to galleries for exhibitions. To meet the environmental demands of

the galleries, sophisticated equipment that filled the attic and large portions of the basement was installed. Restrooms were installed in the basement for visitors. These intrusions transformed the building into a modern museum with office space. As a result, original historic fabric was damaged, altered, or removed entirely causing irreversible loss. The installation of modern mechanical equipment and plumbing necessitated cutting holes, changing framing, and excavating floors. This work was done without documenting existing conditions or completing archaeological mitigation.

As the building has undergone numerous restoration campaigns during its ownership by the AIA and the AAF, the interpretation goals and general use of the building have changed direction. As early as 1914, the AIA resolved that work on the house and grounds “should be of the character of restoration to the condition of a town house of a gentleman of 1800.”¹⁹⁸ At mid-century, financial realities forced the AIA to find alternative uses for the building to keep it in service for day-to-day activities and provide an income for the institute. Parts of the building were leased as office space to tenants such as the National Architectural Accreditation Board, a local Red Cross unit, and the Modular Building Standards Association.¹⁹⁹

In 2004, the Octagon Museum assists the mission of the AAF by providing museum-quality exhibition galleries and office space, as well as being an exhibit of architecture itself. The basement and first floor of the building are restored to a period of residency by the Tayloes, from 1817 to John Tayloe’s death in 1828. On the second floor, galleries display historic and contemporary material from around the world relevant to the educational mission of the AAF. The third floor is used for administrative offices.

Although some spaces are still used for exhibits and staff offices, the previous policy of leasing office space and renting the house for private parties has ended.

The American Architectural Foundation recently completed a five-million-dollar restoration effort to address structural concerns, install a new mechanical system to provide museum-quality galleries, and to restore basement and first floor interpretive areas. During the 1990 to 1996 campaign, structural restoration reversed interventions from the two primary restoration periods in 1949 to 1956 and 1968 to 1970.²⁰⁰ The work also removed fan coil units that were leaking in the attic and relocated ductwork that had been installed in closets, fireplace flues, and cavities.

In 1990, the American Architectural Foundation began archaeological and architectural investigations that resulted in the Historic Structure Report and Master Plan, prepared by the historical architectural firm of Mesick, Cohen, Waite. The report concluded that the structural steel construction of the previous restorations was concentrating the load on the masonry bearing walls, causing them to crack. The changes in the distribution of loads also jeopardized the jack arches over the windows. The Octagon Advisory Committee, under the direction of Foundation President Norman Koonce, decided to replace the structural steel and to restore the original wood framing, except for the steel reinforcing the main stair and the concrete circular vestibule floor. The geometry of the vestibule distributed the loading to the walls, and it was decided there was no structural advantage to disturbing the stair components.²⁰¹ The mechanical changes placed all climate control units in a remote, underground, concrete mechanical vault located in the New York Avenue right-of-way. Seven horizontal tunnels, thirty

inches in diameter, direct conditioned air under the foundation of the building where it connects to new ductwork throughout the building. The improvement provided many benefits directly linked to the mission of the AAF. First, ceilings of the basement were raised to their original heights and areas formerly used as mechanical space were reclaimed for historical interpretation. Second, it allowed easy maintenance or even replacement of equipment without disruption to the architectural fabric. Third, it provided museum-quality temperature and humidity control as well as air filtration for the protection of historic artifacts in the galleries and on display as part of the collection.²⁰²

Aside from structural stabilization and climate control improvements, restoration of historic elements was accomplished in 1994. One of the first elements to be restored was the Philadelphia gutter and roof balustrade. Research found that the balustrade had been installed between 1815 and 1818, but removed twenty to thirty years later due to roof leaks. The restored balustrade relies on an improved stainless steel fastening system to avoid roof penetrations. Other exterior work included repointing and cleaning the brick, repairing window sashes and the jack arches, and installing a new wood shingled roof.²⁰³

On the interior, the walls and trim were painted the original colors, doors were grained, new wood floors were installed in the second floor galleries, and other elements, such as the Coade stone mantels, were restored. Archaeological investigation revealed evidence of a water collection and distribution system, of which portions were left exposed and incorporated into an exhibit about restoration research. Similarly, parts of

the basement ceiling and first floor framing were left open for visitors to inspect. The removal of mechanical equipment from the basement allowed spaces such as the wine storage room and sewing room to become interpretive spaces to complement the kitchen as part of the story of servant life at the Octagon. Finally, at the request of staff, third floor office space was restored to a later period, after the Tayloe occupancy, when the walls were canary yellow and the trim was painted black.²⁰⁴

The American Architectural Foundation's most recent restoration of the Octagon fulfills the mission of the organization in at least three ways. First, it has improved the historical interpretation of the house through a more accurate restoration of the architectural fabric. Second, it has provided galleries for public education and improved office space for its staff. Third, the AAF has used the restoration campaign itself to promote the organization in general and the value of architecture in the improvement of our communities specifically.

Kitchen Restoration History

The history of restoration at the Octagon Museum clearly shows how the use of the building has changed over time. An examination of the kitchen restorations reveals much about the goals for restoring and interpreting the building and the effect of those policies on original building fabric. It shows that within the context of all restoration work to the Octagon, the exterior architectural character, structural stability, and grand formal rooms were of higher priority than the accurate restoration and interpretation of the kitchen.

1949 to 1956

This restoration phase marked a philosophical turn in the treatment of the Octagon. The previous attitude of preserving the building was abandoned for more extensive alterations. The kitchen was a low priority compared to the structural stability of the house. The kitchen ceiling was completely removed to reinforce the dining room floor. Steel beams that had been installed in 1926 were braced with new diagonal members.²⁰⁵ In the process of the structural repair, the kitchen ceiling was lowered by eighteen inches.²⁰⁶ After the structural work, an entirely new plaster ceiling was installed.

James L. Cogar was selected to prepare a furnishing plan for the kitchen.²⁰⁷ He had been the curator at Colonial Williamsburg and was considered an authority of national prominence regarding antique furniture.²⁰⁸ His primary task was to locate furniture for display in the dining room and drawing room. Cogar's research included interviewing descendants of the Tayloe family, reviewing typical household inventories of the time, and compiling advertisements of furniture and fittings from the period. No inventory of Tayloe's estate has been found and Cogar based his selections on what he considered equivalent. Based on this research, in 1956, Cogar developed an extensive list of furniture and equipment that he considered typical for a gentleman of Tayloe's stature.²⁰⁹

From a review of Cogar's selections, it is apparent that his choices were based on setting a scene of domestic life rather than interpreting the lives and labors of Tayloe's servants. Cogar's kitchen furnishing plan resulted in a generic depiction of a mid-

eighteenth century kitchen rather than an accurate setting. He placed a table with four ladder back chairs in the center of the room. Other furniture was placed along the perimeter of the room against the wall and included a tall chest, a cupboard with open shelves, a cupboard with solid doors, and four Windsor chairs. Kitchen equipment seems to have been selected for its aesthetic value as well. The fireplace was fitted with a “clock spit” and andirons. Pewter plates, copper pans and kettles, skimmers, jugs, candlesticks, reflecting ovens, waffle irons, griddles and toasters, among other equipment, was displayed along the fireplace wall and on the two other tables in the room.²¹⁰

During this period of construction work to the Octagon, the primary motivations were to make structural alterations, to revise the mechanical and electrical systems, repair the exterior walls, and to clean up the interior, not to undertake a scholarly restoration. In 1950, it was reported that the Octagon “had been repaired and decorated to capture the dignity and charm which the building had when it was first built, 150 years ago.”²¹¹ In the absence of historical and architectural investigation, the restoration of the kitchen was influenced by Colonial Revival perceptions.

1968 to 1970

Under the direction of J. Everette Fauber Jr., FAIA, the second restoration modified the kitchen to present a picture that never existed during the residency of the Tayloes, despite the best efforts of restorers. The primary goal of the American Architectural Foundation was to convert the Octagon into a museum. Representing the period of occupancy by the Tayloes, approximately 1800 to 1828, was a secondary

concern. In an effort to restore this period accurately, more research of the building fabric was completed than in past restorations. However, due to the lack of adequate historical knowledge of kitchen technology and equipment, architectural decisions that affected the building fabric were incorrectly made.

Historian S. Allen Chambers Jr. researched family records, public archives, newspaper files, and other sources to develop background information on the Octagon and the Tayloes. This documentary information was sorely needed for the accuracy of both the restoration and the interpretive program. However, the focus of the research was the Tayloes themselves and the history of the Octagon. The motivation was to tell the stories of the “upstairs” spaces such as the drawing room and dining room, and not “downstairs” spaces like the kitchen or the servants’ hall. As secondary spaces, they were subjected to use as necessary mechanical rooms.

For the first time, analytical research into the finishes of the house was done. Paint specialist and architect John Dickey, FAIA, conducted tests to determine colors of trim for the windows and doors. A typical test of that time is now referred to as “scratch and match.” Layers of paint were gradually removed to expose the layer considered to be the original finish. Then paint samples were prepared to match the exposed color. Dickey also tested plaster and whitewash finishes. In the kitchen, he and Fauber removed furring on the south wall and inspected the stone wall. From evidence of whitewash, they determined that the original walls were not plastered.²¹² In 1969, the restoration committee accepted Fauber’s recommendation to remove the plaster from all walls of the kitchen and apply whitewash.

The ceiling had been replaced in 1949 and was again removed. This time, ductwork was installed in the ceiling space to supply air to the first floor. A new, suspended plaster ceiling was installed over metal lath and reduced the ceiling space in the kitchen by over a foot.

In addition to researching the plaster, Fauber completed architectural investigation of the brick floor, fireplace, and oven. He found traces of a bell call system and regretted that he didn't have more resources to investigate it.²¹³ During the installation of ductwork to the first floor, Fauber discovered an opening above the blind arch in the left side of the kitchen fireplace flue. It was two bricks high, one brick wide, and was covered in soot, like the bricks inside the flue. He observed the andirons and crane, installed by Cogar, and noted their placement saying, "none positively originals."²¹⁴ He commented that the workmanship of the oven "does not seem to be up to Colonial standards" and "could be a good reproduction" with a "convincing looking metal door."²¹⁵

His investigation of the brick floor determined that the floor originally was installed flat, in a herringbone pattern, to match the pattern found in an adjacent closet. The existing concrete floor was removed, and a new brick floor was installed over a new slab. The original floor had been removed after 1925, possibly during the previous restoration of 1949.

To furnish the kitchen, restorers once again referred to experts with ties to Colonial Williamsburg. This time, culinary historian Helen Duprey Bullock of the National Trust was consulted. Her books, *Williamsburg Art of Cookery or, Accomplished*

Gentlewoman's Companion and *National Treasury of Cookery*, made her the authority at that time on colonial food preparation and kitchen furnishings. Mrs. Bullock and Edward C. Kemper, the first Executive Director of the AIA, had researched the history of the kitchen. Furthermore, Mrs. Bullock had recently completed research of kitchens of the same period in connection with her work at the nearby Decatur House.²¹⁶

Fauber restored the kitchen fireplace wall based on the architectural evidence and on the drawings prepared by Glenn Brown in 1914. A small pile of bricks shown in the firebox opening on Brown's drawings was interpreted as "warming shelves" and reconstructed in bricks and mortar. The evidence of an opening in the side of the kitchen fireplace flue was noted, but without a historical basis to make a decision, Fauber built shelves in the alcove to the left of the fireplace. The existing clock jack was reinstalled and the oven was left untouched as well.

The restoration of the kitchen during the 1968 to 1970 campaign was well researched, well documented, and drew on the expertise of a number of professionals. However, in light of recent scholarship, the result seems colored by Colonial Revival preconceptions. Clearly, historical documentation, or the lack of it, had a direct impact on how the architectural evidence was perceived and interpreted. Ultimately, the kitchen was altered to create a scene in history that never existed.

1990 to 1996

The kitchen was investigated thoroughly in this campaign, building on previous research. These investigations resulted in physical changes that reflect both architectural and documentary evidence. While immediate structural work began on the exterior, the

building's first comprehensive Historic Structure Report was prepared. Mesick, Cohen, Waite reviewed documentation of the previous restorations by Henry Saylor and Everette Fauber. Matthew Mosca completed microscopical paint analysis for the kitchen.

During preparation of the Historic Structure Report, the principal in charge, John Waite, FAIA, reviewed all historical photographs, illustrations, and surviving bills from the Tayloe records, as well as the drawings prepared by Glenn Brown in 1914. No early descriptions or illustrations of the kitchen were found.²¹⁷ (Figure 9)

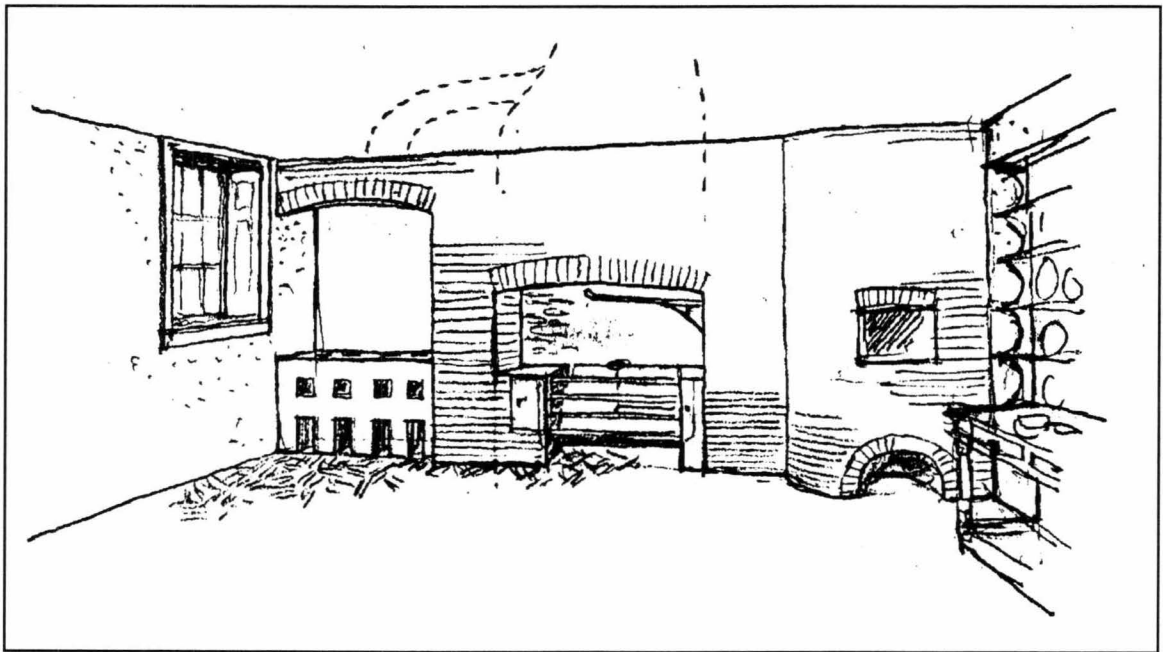


Figure 9: Proposal for restoration of the Octagon kitchen (Mesick, Cohen, Waite, Historic Structure Report, 1994).

In 1987, research was begun for the development of an interpretive plan for the Octagon. Nancy Davis, who at that time was Director of the Octagon Museum, initiated the program. The Octagon Research Plan was undertaken to discover, for the first time, more about those who lived there, how the house was built, and what of it survived.²¹⁸ At

the beginning of the research project, there was no intention of it affecting the restoration work.²¹⁹ The research however, which led to a series of exhibitions, had a direct impact on the restoration of the kitchen.

In 1990, research for the third exhibition lead to an examination of social customs and of eating and dining practices in the early federal city. By questioning what technology was used in “high style” kitchens of the period, researchers speculated that cooking would have been over coal-burning stoves and that a source of water would be close to the kitchen. Archaeological testing in the floor of the basement confirmed that a cistern was located in the hall outside the kitchen and that a system of piping existed at one time to divert roof water to the cistern. An investigation of the fireplace found that a hob grate was likely installed in the fireplace opening, in place of the clock jack and crane.

Along with these assumptions about cooking technology, researchers also questioned the purpose of the alcove to the left of the fireplace. Fauber’s observation about the soot-lined opening in the flue led to suppositions about what had been installed in the recess. Possibilities included a hot plate or a set kettle, both requiring a connection to the chimney flue, or a stew stove, which would only require a window for ventilation.²²⁰ All three devices could be heated with coal, charcoal, or wood. From inside the chimney flue, the soot lined opening mentioned by Fauber was located. A brick chase was traced and determined to be a vent for the arched hood over the stew stove. Tayloe family records confirmed that four stew holes were ordered from Henry Foxall in 1801.²²¹ Thornton’s drawings for the kitchen do not show stew stoves.

Archaeological testing revealed that the area of the stew stove had been disturbed during installation of underfloor piping. However, tile fragments were recovered that may have been used to finish the top of the stove.²²²

Paint analysis determined that the stone walls of the kitchen had been originally plastered, not whitewashed. This evidence contradicted the paint analysis of 1968 and Fauber's consequent decision to remove all plaster and install new whitewash. The whitewash was removed and all walls of the kitchen were replastered. A section of the servants' hall ceiling was left exposed to show how the original was built, including the clay pugging and wood lath.²²³

During this restoration campaign, the structural modifications of the past two campaigns were undone, with the exception of the stairway and vestibule changes. The floor structure of the dining room was replaced with wood joists of the same species as original, reclaimed from a demolished building in the Shenandoah Valley. The ceiling plaster, known to be from the 1968 restoration, was removed and a new ceiling was installed to the original height. (Figure 10)

Evidence and Decisions

The following is a summary of the evidence for altering various elements of the building fabric during the most recent restoration of the kitchen at the Octagon and the basis for those decisions.

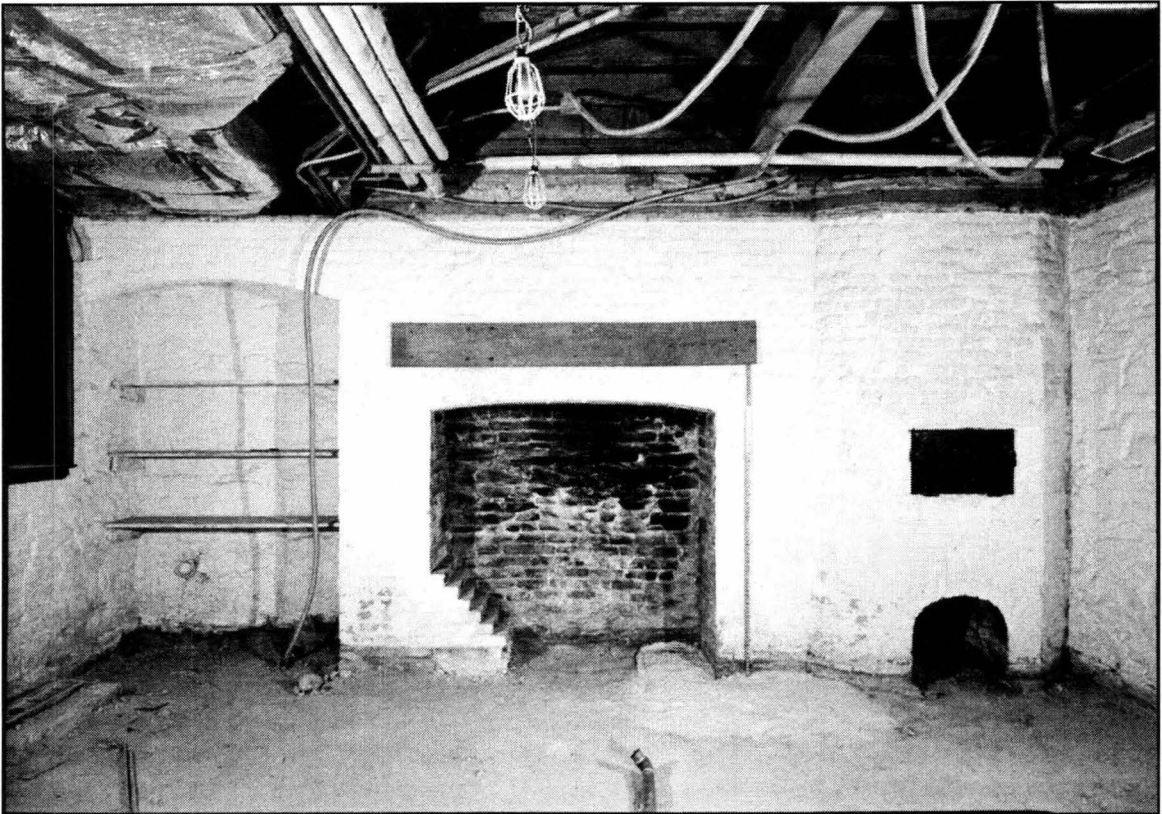


Figure 10: Fireplace wall at the Octagon during restoration in 1992 (photograph for the Historic American Buildings Survey by Jack E. Boucher).

Floor

The kitchen flooring was in original condition in 1925, based on a photograph. It was repaired in 1926. Fauber discovered the original floor under a concrete slab in the basement and duplicated the pattern over a modern concrete slab in 1969. Waite removed the 1969 floor and installed a new floor in 1995.

Ceiling

In 1926, 1949, and 1968, structural work removed all remnants of the original kitchen ceiling, brick soundproofing, wood lath, and clay pugging. Waite reconstructed

the original wood structural framing and raised the ceiling back to its original height. The ceiling was raised approximately eighteen inches.

Walls

Original plaster was first removed from all the basement walls in 1909. Glenn Brown drawings of 1914 delineate the walls of the kitchen with rubble stonework. Grigg installed a modern plaster finish to all basement walls in 1949. Fauber found new plaster on all walls. Using Brown's drawings as his reference, Fauber determined the original finish to be whitewash. Therefore, he recommended to the restoration committee to remove all of the existing plaster from the Grigg era and apply whitewash to the bare stone. All basement walls received this finish in 1970. Waite removed the whitewash and based on material testing of the coating, determined the original finish to be plaster. A new plaster finish restored the walls, including the fireplace wall, in 1995.

Alcove

Cogar intended to place a table in the alcove according to his 1956 furnishings plan. Fauber noticed the remnants of the flue above the alcove but did not know its purpose. Instead, he installed shelves inside the alcove in 1970. Waite considered at least three options, including a hot plate, set kettle, and stew stove, based on the opening into the chimney. No archaeological evidence was found to confirm a foundation for a stew stove since the area had been disturbed by previous trenching for plumbing and mechanical piping. Based on this physical evidence, Waite designed and reconstructed a new brick stew stove with three holes, based on historical precedent. (Figure 11)

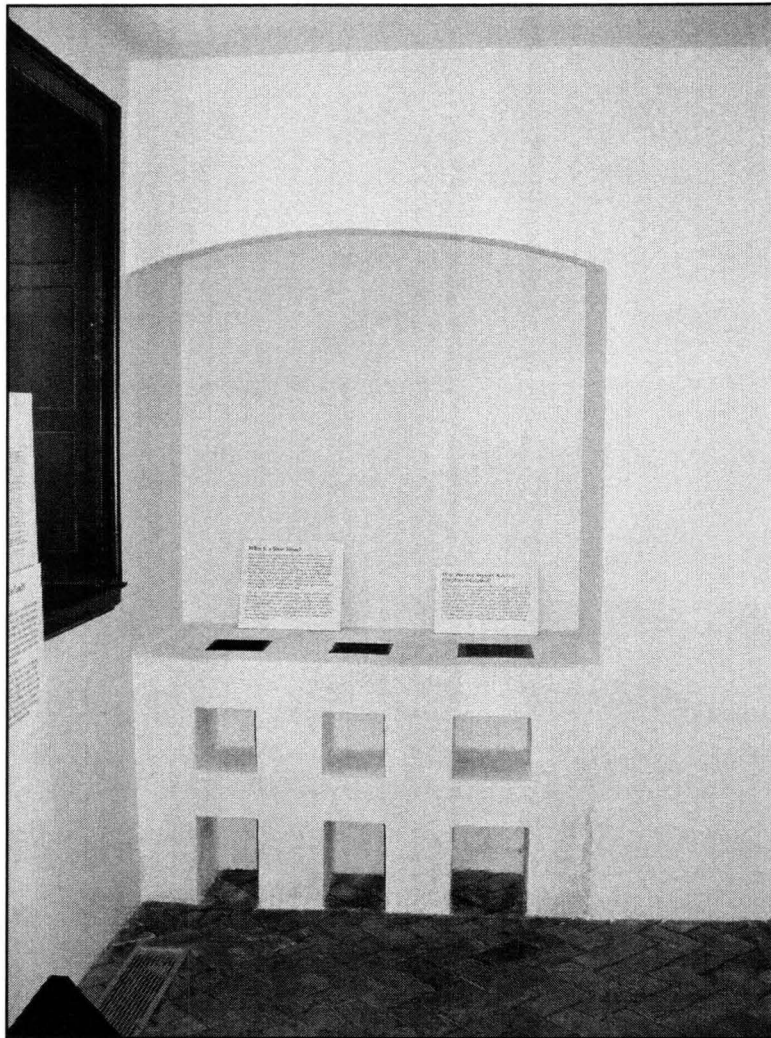


Figure 11: The reconstructed stew stove at the Octagon (photograph by author).

Waite's firm had completed restoration work at Montgomery Place (ca. 1805) at Annandale-on-Hudson and documented the original stew stove there. In 1996, while completing research for the kitchen at Monticello, Katherine Revell discovered an invoice from the Tayloe Papers that adds documentation for the existence of a stew stove at the Octagon. On 13 October 1801, Tayloe purchased four stew holes from Henry Foxall, the same iron foundry that supplied Jefferson at Monticello.²²⁴

Questions continued about the details of the stew stove, even after its reconstruction. The face was presumed to be stucco or plaster, in accordance with many comparable original installations. Speculation that the top was ceramic and that the front edge was a flat iron bar had basis in fact and in evidence, but arose after the completion of the restoration.²²⁵ Funding limitations prevented further investigation, and these questions were recorded in the project record for future research.

The reconstruction of the stew stove at the Octagon shows that even with the best research, questions about details remain unanswered. At this point, to complete the restoration, a certain amount of informed guesswork is necessary. Shortly after the installation at the Octagon was complete, new information caused those decisions to be reconsidered. This is bound to happen with any restoration and emphasizes the importance of documenting the evidence, thoughts, and remaining questions surrounding restoration decisions.

Fireplace

According to Cogar's plan, a clock spit and andirons were installed in 1956. Fauber noted in 1968 that the fireplace opening seemed to be complete, but altered. He noted the fireplace was equipped with "large andirons and a crane, none positively originals."²²⁶ The small pile of bricks carefully restored as "warming shelves" by Fauber were determined by Waite to be part of a cast iron hob grate installation. The interior of the firebox had been altered by previous restoration and did not confirm the hob grate with physical evidence. Waite notes an 1801 payment for "2 cranes and 4 eyes to a kitchen fireplace," which could have been mounted above the range to swing large pots

over the fire.²²⁷ Such ranges usually had vessels built in to provide a ready source of hot water. Since the necessary physical evidence was not found to restore the firebox with a reproduction range, an illustration of a hob grate was mounted in the opening for interpretive purposes. (Figures 12 and 13)



Figure 12: Cooking over a hob grate (Roughwood Collection, 1837 engraving).

The illustration is one solution that satisfies the requirements of the interpretive program and is an adequate alternative to re-restoration of the building. Other options to physically altering the building include descriptive panels and audiovisual presentations that describe what was suspected to have existed historically. Another solution that capitalizes on a visitor's experience of the room is the installation of a model. In this

case, a model of the conjectural hob-grate could be inserted in the firebox and would explain in three-dimensional terms how the kitchen was used.

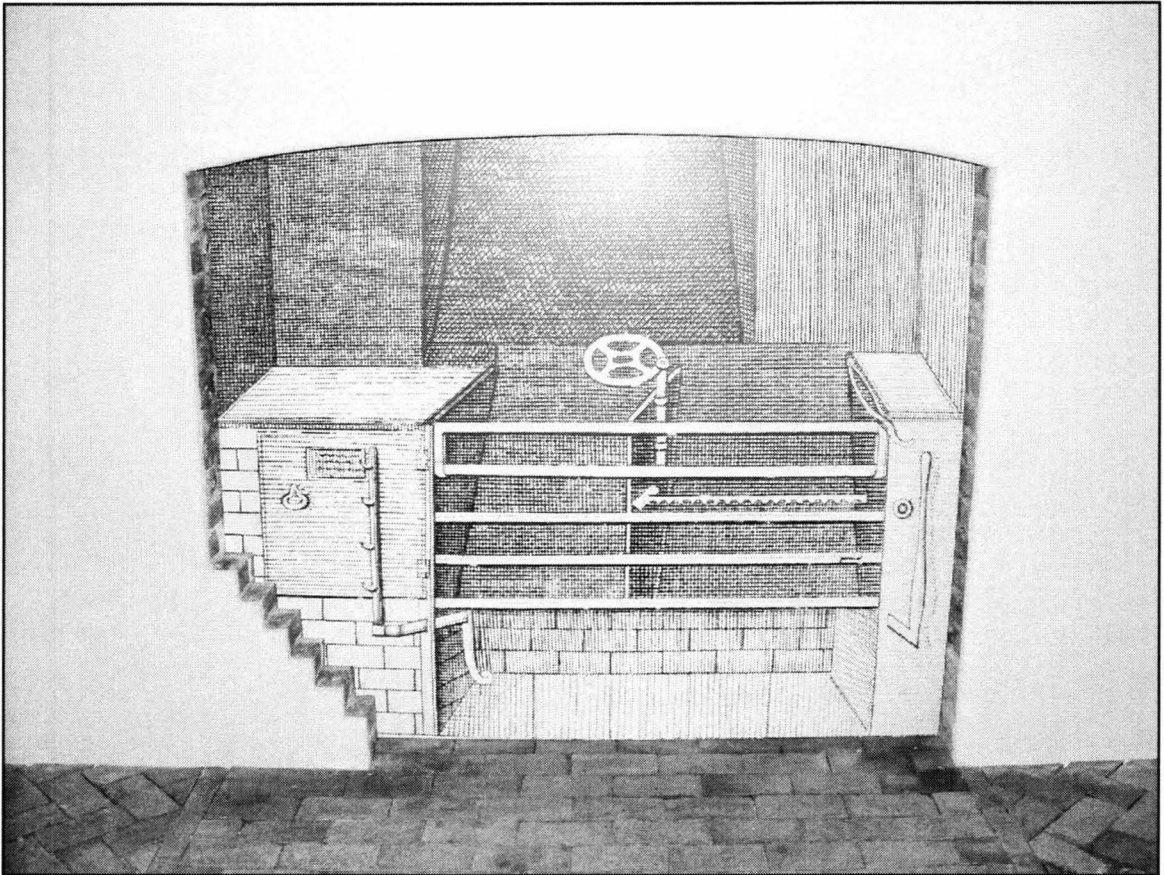


Figure 13: Hob grate illustration inserted in fireplace at the Octagon (photograph by author).

Oven and Wood Bin

The 1925 photograph shows an arch opening with an iron lintel, but no door on the oven opening. A reproduction door was installed before 1968 when Fauber noted, “convincing looking metal door.” Fauber also noted that the brickwork of the oven did not appear to be up to the standards of the craftsmen of the period.²²⁸ The oven has since

been determined to be original. Fauber and Waite both left the door and oven in place.
(Figure 14)

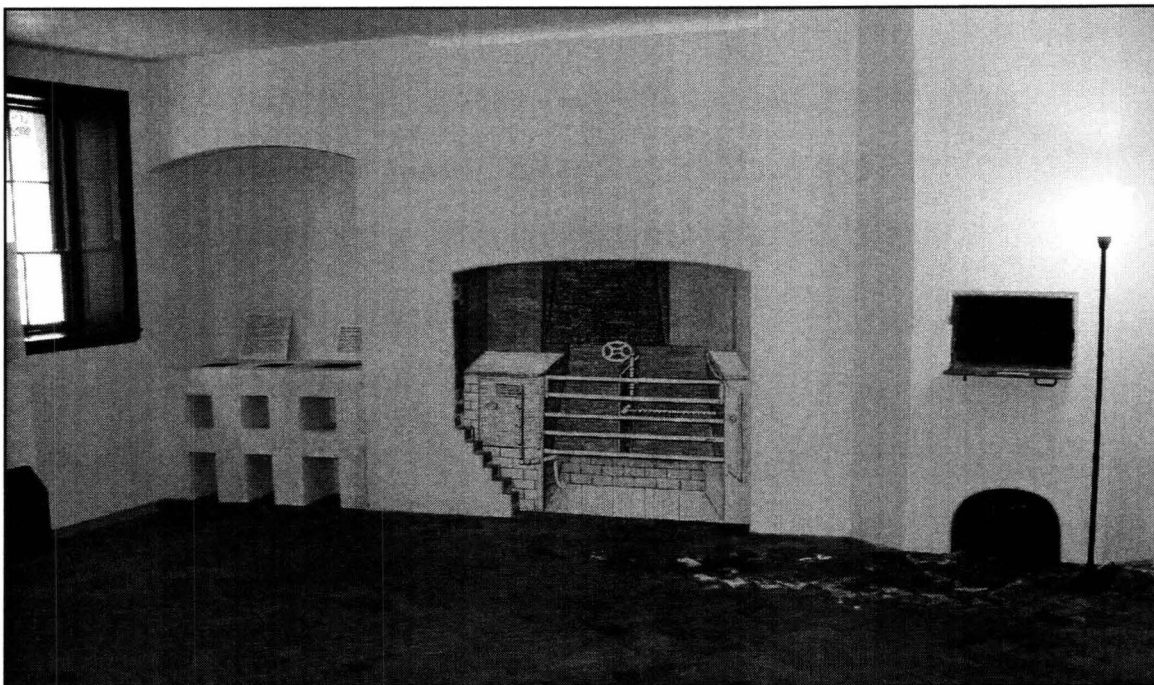


Figure 14: Restored fireplace wall at the Octagon (photograph by author).

Conclusion

In 1914, the AIA established its first restoration goals for the Octagon. The organization determined that all work to the house and grounds “should be of the character of restoration to the condition of a town house of a gentleman of 1800” and noted the preference for “keeping the house in service rather than make it a house museum.”²²⁹ All restoration campaigns, including the most recent, have focused on the significance of the architectural aspects of the building, the role of the building in the history of architecture as a profession in the United States, and the use of the building for office space and exhibition galleries. Neither the AIA nor the AAF has aimed to interpret

the lives of the Tayloes or the workings of their household as a primary element in the execution of its mission.

Consequently, in the restorations, the kitchen was a lower priority compared to other elements of the building, due to limited funding. As a result, until the recent campaign, the kitchen was restored based on generic historical models, scant physical investigation, and without the advantage of recent research in a variety of related disciplines. During these past campaigns, original historical fabric was destroyed, and a scene was created that never existed in history.

In a fortunate coincidence, preparation for a series of exhibitions at the Octagon resulted in important historical research relevant to the most recent restoration. The building itself became another element of that research. A more accurate picture of history was gained by attempting to reconcile unexplained elements of the building fabric, such as a soot-lined opening, with other research from the fields of culinary history, material culture, and social history. Similarly, a more accurate restoration of the building fabric of the kitchen was achieved when an objective analysis of the available historical evidence was incorporated into the decision.

In this case study, restorers made decisions by the process of induction, or reasoning from specific facts to a general conclusion. It is an important distinction when considering what constitutes conclusive evidence. “An inductive argument involves the claim, not that its premises give conclusive grounds for the truth of its conclusion, but only that they provide some support for it.”²³⁰ The particular historical and architectural evidence led to the conclusion that there was a high probability that the stew stove

existed originally, but it does not disprove every other option. Therefore, in this case, the evidence is not conclusive.

The interpretation of the kitchen remains a secondary goal for the AAF in the fulfillment of its mission. However, in the recent restoration of the kitchen at the Octagon, the remaining original fabric was protected, and the room was restored with a more comprehensive analysis of the historical record than previously. Based on this documentary and physical evidence, defensible decisions were made, according to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards, to restore the kitchen more accurately. The value of the re-restoration to the accurate historical interpretation of the kitchen outweighs remaining architectural detail questions.

CHAPTER V

THE PRESERVATION OF MONTICELLO AND RESTORATION OF ITS KITCHEN

Monticello presents possibly the most intriguing challenge a restorer will ever face. Jefferson left a massive amount of documentation to review, including copies of most of his correspondence and drawings. The building is complicated architecturally, underwent several building campaigns, and was subject to constant remodeling. Jefferson included elements in the design that were for his own convenience and that were unusual for the period. The design of the building is idiosyncratic and must be evaluated by its own standards; precedents are of little help.

Like the house, the kitchen was a product of Jefferson's fertile imagination and evolved to meet his changing needs. Recent evidence suggests that Jefferson remodeled his own kitchen after he left the Presidency. Specialists from a number of disciplines spent years researching aspects of the kitchen in order to come to an understanding of what meals were prepared, what equipment was used, and how the room was constructed. The current re-restoration of the kitchen provides the opportunity to examine the motivation for re-restoration, the process for making physical changes to the building, and how the resulting work achieves historical accuracy.

General History

In 1768, at the age of twenty-five, Thomas Jefferson began the construction of his beloved home, Monticello. In that year he began the preparations for construction by leveling an area two hundred fifty feet square on the top of his mountain south of Charlottesville, Virginia. From the beginning, Jefferson rejected Virginian precedents, not only in the design of his home but also in its location.²³¹ In 1769, he commenced what would become a forty-year process of “putting up and pulling down” that eventually transformed the building into his vision of perfection.²³²

The first design for Monticello consisted of six rooms including the parlor, dining room, and bedchamber on the first floor and two bedrooms and a study on the second floor. It was a fairly conventional design that many “gentlemen architects” of the time could have produced. The plan was derived from a plate in Robert Morris’s *Select Architecture*, and the elevation came from Andrea Palladio’s *Four Books of Architecture*.²³³ While initially adequate for his family, it is clear that Jefferson had grand plans for his mountain home.²³⁴ Shortly after beginning construction, the concept for the dependencies was developed. Although not constructed until after 1800, the dependencies were designed to be half-buried into the ground to depress their bulk and to use their roofs as terraces. The layout ingeniously connected the main house to the various service areas such as kitchen, dairy, wine cellar, smoke house, brewery, saddle room, and horse stalls, while concealing them from view.

The unifying architectural concept taken toward the service areas avoided a common characteristic of Virginian plantations. In a typical arrangement, outbuildings

such as barns, smoke houses, ash houses, and dairies were scattered around the main house “as a litter of pigs to their mother.”²³⁵ These service buildings were usually physically separated from the main house to reduce the risk of fire and to keep out unwanted pests such as rats and insects. The design of the dependencies at Monticello brilliantly provides for the proximity of these services to the main house while mitigating their impact on the landscape. Of course, not only were the services invisible, the people providing the services became invisible also. The concealment of the dependencies has been called “the most highly articulated example of how slavery affected the design of building.”²³⁶

In 1776, Jefferson enlarged the house by adding octagonal bays at each end of the first floor and extending a gabled portico, two stories high, toward the garden. By 1784, when Jefferson left on a five-year diplomatic mission to France, the shell of the basic building was complete. However, as late as 1794, the interior was not finished and may not even have been started.²³⁷

In 1789, Jefferson left France with both new furnishings and new architectural ideas to transform his home. Upon his return, President Washington asked him to serve as secretary of state, which delayed shipment of eighty-six crates of furnishings until 1790.²³⁸ While in Paris, Jefferson purchased armchairs, side chairs, easy chairs, a dining table, draperies, silver, china, place settings, carpets, stoves, kitchen utensils, and bedding among an assortment of other items. Due to the high cost of leasing furnishings for his Paris residence, it was less costly to purchase all that he needed and ship it home.²³⁹

In Paris, Jefferson found the inspiration for a new, post-colonial, American architecture that rejected the British tradition. He became engaged in French neoclassicism and discovered the pure forms of Roman Republic architecture firsthand. On his tour of southern France, he visited the Maison Carreé in Nîmes, a Roman temple that became the basis for his design of the Virginia State Capitol in 1785 to 1789.²⁴⁰ Jefferson embraced the Roman classical ideal for its purity of form and for its political associations.²⁴¹

Jefferson also made note of the spatial organization of then modern French mansions. He found the best houses appeared to be a single story of about nineteen feet in height. Within that shell, the primary rooms for entertaining used the entire height. Where service rooms or bedrooms occurred, they were built on top of each other. These secondary spaces were only eight or nine feet tall and created two stories within what appeared to be a single, nineteen-foot-tall story from the exterior. Access to the second story chambers was provided by narrow winding staircases.²⁴² Rooms were grouped according to use and private areas were organized into apartments. The Hotel de Salm was one such house being built while Jefferson was in Paris. It was crowned with a dome and certainly inspired Jefferson to undertake changes to his own home.²⁴³

In 1796, Jefferson set out to transform Monticello. The second story containing the study and the two bedrooms was removed, the entrance front was extended and a new second floor was built with bedrooms contained within the height of a single story. The central dome is based on a Palladian design. A continuous cornice and Chinese railing unify the entire composition.

After 1800, the dependencies were constructed. Located in the southeast dependency or “offices,” the kitchen was initially completed in 1802.²⁴⁴ The dependency was actually the second location for the kitchen, having been formerly situated in the cellar of what is now referred to as the south pavilion. In 1803, work was underway on the northwest dependency. Re-roofing of the southeast dependency began in December 1807, followed by remodeling of the kitchen in 1808.²⁴⁵ By 1809, at the conclusion of Jefferson’s second term as President, Monticello was essentially complete.

Jefferson happily anticipated leaving office and returning to life at Monticello. Duties in public office diverted his attention from his personal affairs and left him owing eleven thousand dollars. However, there was every reason to expect that the debt would be quickly satisfied. In addition to Monticello, Jefferson owned four other properties as well as the Natural Bridge in western Virginia. In all, he had close to ten thousand acres, several building lots in Richmond, and two gristmills on the Rivanna River.²⁴⁶

Unfortunately, by the time of his death on 4 July 1826, Jefferson’s debt had grown almost tenfold. Among the contributing factors were the steady stream of visitors to Monticello, severe drought in 1815, family members living with him, the lack of a Presidential pension, his willingness to make loans to prominent friends, and a lifestyle accustomed to fine things. After the British burned the congressional library in 1815, Jefferson sold his collection of sixty-five hundred books to Congress for twenty-four thousand dollars. The sale, along with financial assistance from admirers, did little to offset his enormous household expenses. At the time of his death, he was in the midst of a lottery to sell Monticello.²⁴⁷

Jefferson's grandson, Thomas Jefferson (Jeff) Randolph was named executor of the estate and spent the remainder of his life trying to satisfy the debt. The lottery had been a failure, so in January 1827, Jeff Randolph held an estate sale. Jefferson's lifetime collection of furnishings, paintings, and books were sold to the highest bidder. Slaves who had not been emancipated upon his death were sold to satisfy creditors. Other schemes were tried, and buyers were sought for the property. But it wasn't until 1831 that desperation forced the sale of Monticello and 522 acres to a Charlottesville pharmacist, James Turner Barclay, who wanted the land for his silkworm farm.²⁴⁸

In the later years of Jefferson's life and before Monticello was sold, the house had not been well cared for. The twenty-four-year-old Barclay was not financially prepared to own Monticello. By the time he sold the estate to Uriah Phillips Levy in 1836, the silkworm farm had destroyed the grounds and neglect had rendered the house almost uninhabitable. However, Lieutenant Levy, a rich bachelor from New York City and an admirer of Jefferson, was prepared both financially and patriotically to begin the restoration of Monticello.²⁴⁹

Levy set out to restore the house and grounds in phases. He exercised his real estate skills by acquiring parcels of land adjacent to Monticello. In 1837, he purchased 961 acres, and he added another 142 ½ acres in 1840. Never intending to live full-time at the estate, he named local attorney George Carr as his agent to administer repairs to the house and to make the estate available once a week to visitors.²⁵⁰ In 1853, Levy followed an obscure Jewish law and married his eighteen-year-old niece who was in poor financial condition.²⁵¹ Uriah Levy died in 1862 after twenty-five years of ownership of

Monticello. During that time he saved the house from years of decay and repaired abuse and vandalism to the grounds.

Since Levy was a resident of New York, the Confederate Congress seized Monticello upon his death. Levy's brother, Jonas, petitioned for his inheritance, claiming that as a resident of North Carolina, he was a loyal citizen of the Confederacy. His claim was rejected, and the estate was auctioned in 1864 and sold to Colonel Benjamin Franklin Ficklin, a blockade-runner for the South. Ficklin did not receive title to Monticello until shortly before Lee surrendered. Once again, the house had fallen into disrepair.

With the end of the Civil War, the actions of the Confederacy at Monticello were void. The inheritance of Monticello came into question among nearly fifty of Uriah Levy's survivors. Fourteen years passed before the case was settled. Meanwhile, first Jonas and then his son, Jefferson, sought and purchased the rights of half of the other heirs. Finally in 1879, Monticello went up for sale and Jefferson Levy was the only bidder, becoming the next owner.²⁵²

Like his Uncle Uriah, Jefferson Levy made his fortune in New York real estate. Also similar to his uncle, he continued to amass acreage adjacent to Monticello. Between 1890 and 1897, he added over four hundred acres. Starting in the 1880s, Jefferson Levy made needed repairs and took care not to make any changes to the architecture of the building, despite complaints by some guests that the house was stuffy and needed more windows. Visitors continued to seek out Thomas Jefferson's mountaintop in the late nineteenth century and had become almost unmanageable during this time of renewed interest in the founding fathers.

By 1897, The Mount Vernon Ladies Association had been operating Washington's home as a public shrine for almost fifty years. A movement began to secure public access to Jefferson's home as well. William Jennings Bryan was the first to use a public forum to ask Jefferson Levy to sell Monticello to the United States Government.²⁵³ That same year, a newspaper article stopped just short of accusing Uriah Levy of stealing Monticello and passing it on to his nephew illegally.²⁵⁴ When asked about these accusations and proposals, Jefferson Levy consistently refused to sell Monticello, where his grandmother had been buried.²⁵⁵

After a dinner at Monticello in 1909, Maud Littleton was the next to mount a public campaign to coerce Levy to sell Monticello. In 1911, under the pen name of Peggy O'Brien, she issued a pamphlet entitled "One Wish."²⁵⁶ In it she questioned the legality of Jefferson Levy's ownership of Monticello and called on the government to purchase the estate. In the years that followed, her rhetoric became increasingly vitriolic after her appeals to Levy's patriotism were ignored. First, she accused Levy of neglecting Jefferson's grave, followed by false statements about the denial of public access to the property. The assault hardened Levy against selling the property to the government or anyone else. Public debate over condemnation and seizure of private lands eventually took the form of resolutions on the floor of the Capitol.²⁵⁷

In the autumn of 1914, Levy was swayed by new arguments from William Jennings Bryan to sell Monticello to the United States Government.²⁵⁸ Levy's asking price of five hundred thousand dollars initiated a new debate over the value of the property and justification of using public funds for the purchase. Various schemes were

discussed, including the Daughters of the American Revolution managing Monticello, but the start of World War I in the spring of 1917 terminated any ideas of government ownership.

After the war, two groups modeled on the Mount Vernon Ladies Association were formed to purchase Monticello. Both the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association and the National Monticello Association fell short of raising the required half million dollars.²⁵⁹ A group of businessmen from New York City headed by Stuart Gibboney formed the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation in 1923. They made the initial payment of one hundred thousand dollars to Jefferson Levy near the end of 1923, largely through the guarantees of the members.²⁶⁰ Early in the following year, Jefferson Levy died after forty-four years of personal ownership and seventy years of ownership by the Levy family. The Foundation made the final payment on Monticello in 1940.

Restoration History

Jefferson Levy fell on hard times during the last years of his life. The proceeds from the sale of Monticello only covered half of his debt to his brokerage firm.²⁶¹ Consequently, though for most of his life he had maintained Monticello very well, repairs had been neglected in his last years. Much work was needed when the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation took possession of the house and grounds. Therefore the first projects undertaken were remedies for deferred maintenance.

At first, as the Foundation struggled to make its mortgage payments to Levy's sister Amelia Mayhoff, projects were completed in-house to keep costs low. In 1924,

Thomas Rhodes, the grounds superintendent under Levy, directed the urgently-needed roofing work.²⁶² In addition to replacing the roof that Levy had installed in 1879, Rhodes undertook exterior painting of the house and repair and painting of the terrace floors and woodwork. The nature of this work was to stabilize and preserve the building fabric rather than restore it to a specific period. No architectural investigation or other documentary research was undertaken; consequently, the accuracy of this work came into question during later campaigns.

The Foundation's board of directors recognized the need for expert guidance to restore Monticello and in 1924 voted unanimously to ask Jefferson scholar and architectural historian Fiske Kimball to chair the Restoration Committee. Kimball was then the head of New York University's fine arts department and had accepted the chairmanship of the American Institute of Architects' Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments and Scenic Beauties the previous year. Kimball accepted the Foundation's request without compensation. He continued to hold the position after being named director of the Pennsylvania Museum in 1925, eventually serving Monticello for thirty years until his death in 1955.²⁶³

Kimball's well-earned respect in the museum community was based in part on his insistence on historical accuracy. According to Kimball, installations of period rooms should be based on scientific research, not on a romanticized vision of the past that was typical of Colonial Revival rooms of the time. Restorations should be more than inspirational shrines according to Kimball. At Monticello especially, accuracy was necessary to distinguish its classically inspired forms from what Jefferson had considered

to be the derivative colonial. According to historian Kimball, the architecture of Monticello represented Jefferson's political ideas no less than his aesthetic judgment. Kimball's objective method of restoration was groundbreaking at the time and secured his position as the national authority on the subject.²⁶⁴

During the first five years of ownership, the cash-poor Foundation spent over two hundred thousand dollars for exterior and interior improvements to the house, as well as water system, roadways, and site repairs. Creative fund raising ideas were attempted, including asking schools to set aside one day each year for children to contribute to the preservation of Jefferson's home. By 1938, the Foundation was prepared to undertake its first scholarly restoration under the direction of Fiske Kimball.

From 1938 until 1955, Fiske Kimball executed the Foundation's restoration goal to "put the place back exactly in the form which it had in [Jefferson's] lifetime." Specifically, the period of restoration was determined to be the period following Jefferson's presidency, from 1809 to 1826, when the completed Monticello became Jefferson's primary residence. Kimball, who worked closely with Charlottesville architect Milton L. Grigg, made all decisions. Grigg, along with J. Everette Fauber and Thomas T. Waterman, had been a member of the energetic architectural staff of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn during the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg.²⁶⁵

One of the first tasks was to remove all evidence of the architectural changes made during the Levy occupancy and restore Jefferson's original design. This included removing bathrooms, a bathtub, a stairway, and dormers added by Jefferson Levy for his personal convenience.²⁶⁶ The 1938 restoration campaign conducted by Milton Grigg and

Fiske Kimball also included rebuilding the northwest dependencies and restoring the southeast dependencies including the South Pavilion.²⁶⁷ During this campaign the original kitchen, located in the southeast dependency, was restored.

During 1953 and 1954, Monticello was closed for structural renovations and the installation of modern heating and cooling systems.²⁶⁸ Floor joists supporting the first floor had deflected and were reinforced from below with steel beams. The joists supporting the second floor were badly deteriorated, having suffered from the leaky roof, and were entirely replaced with steel.²⁶⁹ The cost for this work was over one quarter million dollars.²⁷⁰

In 1955, James A. Bear Jr. was named Monticello's Director and Curator. In the following thirty years, the grounds were restored, including the grove, orchard, vineyard, and vegetable garden terraces.²⁷¹ Restoration of the building focused on discovering and reproducing the original paint colors and finishes during Jefferson's residency. Finishes were accurately determined through microscopical and chemical analysis. Work included reglazing interior doors, repainting interior walls and woodwork, and restoring the east front columns with their original sandy appearance.²⁷² In 1967, a modern brick floor was installed over a new concrete slab in the kitchen.²⁷³

A recent campaign, from 1991 to 1992, was aimed toward a long-lasting solution for Monticello's complicated and troublesome roof. Under guidance from the Director of Restoration, William L. Beiswanger, the restoration architects, Mesick, Cohen, Waite, conducted an architectural and historical investigation of the various component parts, including the dome, main roof, central "terras" roof, and Chinese railing. A new roof

was installed using tin-coated stainless steel shingles to replace the original chestnut and tinned-iron shingles.²⁷⁴

Kitchen Restoration History

For nearly a decade, research has been ongoing to restore the workspace, storage areas, and slave quarters contained within the dependencies. Directed by Monticello's curator, Susan Stein, the restoration work is motivated by the goals of giving visitors insight into how the house functioned on a daily basis and of providing them the opportunity to understand the role of slaves and other workers.²⁷⁵ Presently, four spaces have undergone restoration and refurnishing: the cook's room, north privy, beer cellar, and storage cellar. The kitchen fireplace wall and stew stove were reconstructed in the autumn of 2003. The room will be refurnished for reopening to the public in late 2004.

A comparison of the two major restorations of the Monticello kitchen reveals much about changes in restoration practice during the twentieth century. Both restorations employed the skills of restoration professionals, who were considered among, if not the best, in the country at the time. Restoring the room as accurately as possible was the primary motivation for both campaigns. Both restorations aimed to restore to the same period of Jefferson's residency, between 1809 and 1826. Yet in the current campaign, significant alterations are being made to the previous work. What evidence led today's restorers to these conclusions?

1938 to 1941

Correspondence between Fiske Kimball and Milton Grigg is a record of their investigating, theorizing, and deciding what to restore, particularly in cases where physical and documentary evidence was ambiguous. In other instances, there is no record; therefore, it is not known if alternatives were considered or if they agreed that some decisions were obvious. Grigg did the historical research and architectural investigation and also oversaw the fieldwork. An authority on Jefferson, Kimball provided historical perspective and made the final restoration decisions.

The kitchen restoration was extensive in this period. Grigg rebuilt the ceiling, which likely was not original and rebuilt the southeast and northeast partitions.²⁷⁶ As part of that work, new foundations were installed to support the covered walkway roof. He removed the brick facing on the southwest wall and rebuilt the fireplace and two ovens. The original brick floor was exposed after removing the floor installed by the Levys. Grigg finished all walls, ceiling, brickwork, windows, doors, and trim with whitewash, plaster, or an acid wash.

It is difficult to determine the impact of the restoration of 1938 to 1941 on original building fabric. Documentation of conditions before Grigg began the restoration is sketchy at best. It is known that he removed brickwork that he considered “modern” in order to determine what was original. Other evidence suggests that by the time Grigg began his work, the roof had already been rebuilt along with the southeast and northeast partitions. (Figure 15)



Figure 15: Photograph of Monticello kitchen before current restoration (photograph by Robert C. Lautman).

2000 to 2004

Since Jefferson's occupancy, Monticello's kitchen has been altered many times. In fact, evidence almost certainly proves that Jefferson himself altered the kitchen shortly after its completion in 1802.²⁷⁷ In 2002 to 2003, Mark Wenger, Willie Graham, and Alfredo Maul from the Architectural Research Department at Colonial Williamsburg investigated the physical and documentary evidence to substantiate a new restoration of the kitchen. With the help of the research staff at Monticello, they determined that much of the original fabric had been disturbed or removed. Nevertheless, a body of evidence was gathered to substantiate important changes that are being implemented in 2004 and

that affect the interpretation of Jefferson's kitchen. The primary physical changes are to the fireplace, ovens, and wood partitions. The single most important change to the building fabric is the installation of an elaborate stew stove. (Figure 16)

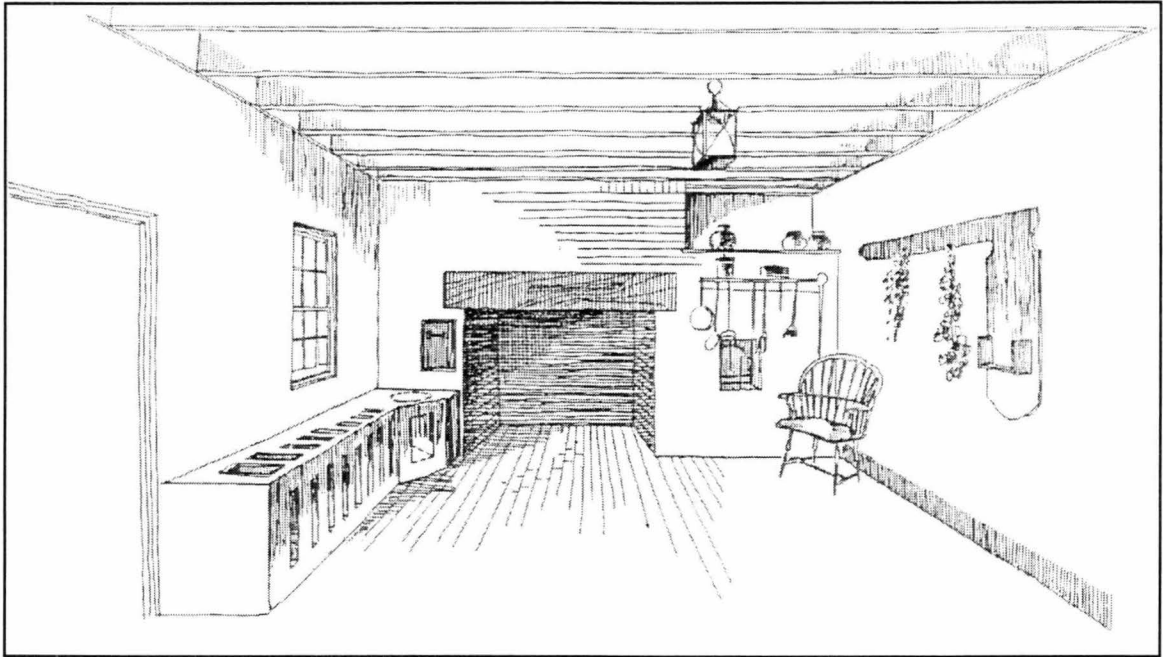


Figure 16: Proposal for stew stove for the kitchen at Monticello (illustration by Mesick, Cohen, Waite, 1992).

Evidence and Decisions

The following is a summary of the evidence for altering various elements of the building fabric during the most recent restoration of the kitchen at Monticello and the basis for those decisions.

Floor

Documentation suggests that Jefferson originally considered using slate for the kitchen floor as well as the covered walkway and other rooms in the dependency.²⁷⁸

Physical evidence does not verify this notion. The earliest known photograph of the interior of the kitchen, taken by Milton Grigg, shows what appears to be a dirt floor. However, Grigg's correspondence to Kimball in January 1941 confirms that a brick floor was discovered under a later floor, possibly a wood one installed by Levy.²⁷⁹ An exterior photograph, taken circa 1900, shows a step up into the kitchen at the doorway, leading to the conclusion that another floor was installed over the original.²⁸⁰

A photograph taken sometime between 1942 and 1967 shows a worn brick floor with obvious linear patches along the southeast and northwest walls. Physical evidence of this floor no longer exists. To prepare the room for use as the Foundation gift shop, the entire original floor from Jefferson's occupancy, was replaced in 1967. The bricks were removed, the dirt floor was excavated and new bricks were installed over a concrete slab.²⁸¹ Photographs of the floor after 1967 show a very regular, level floor, with bricks laid flat. Archaeological investigations undertaken in November 2000 determined that nothing remains of the original floor due to the eight-inch deep excavation necessary for the installation of the concrete subfloor.²⁸²

Archaeological investigation did not confirm or eliminate the possibility of a slate floor, as Jefferson suggested in a note from 1796. Without physical evidence to support this documentation, only the photographs taken before 1967 determined how the floor should be restored. The researchers from Colonial Williamsburg recommended replacing the existing floor. In 2003, the brick floor was taken up and new bricks were installed. They were laid on edge, to match the pattern shown in the photographs, over the existing concrete slab. The bricks were installed on a sand bed, without mortar, and with spaces

between each brick, according to the photographs. The wall sill at the door on the southeast side determined the level of the floor. Still, the question remains; did Jefferson originally install a slate floor and did he or someone else replace it with brick?

Ceiling

Documentation suggests that a two-tiered system of joists was used to frame the flat roof over the kitchen. Jefferson's drawings for the colonnade roof at the University of Virginia and the President's House in Washington, D. C., show details for a ridge and gutter system to collect water under the "terras." In an 1803 letter to James Dinsmore, his builder, Jefferson states, "I am so well satisfied of the efficacy of this covering that I think to adopt it for my offices, the roofs of which are so offensive to the eye." The original letter was owned by Jefferson Levy and was mentioned by Fiske Kimball in his 1916 book, *Thomas Jefferson Architect*.²⁸³ It is reasonable to assume that Kimball shared this information with Grigg during the 1938 to 1941 work.

In 1941, Milton Grigg reconstructed the ceiling of the kitchen. A photograph published in 1931 shows that the roof over the southeast passage had been previously rebuilt.²⁸⁴ If Grigg had found the original roof framing, surely he would have mentioned it in his correspondence with Kimball, but nothing has been found. Following Jefferson's plans, Grigg rebuilt the roof using pine and treated the members with muriatic acid and water to give them an appearance of age. This finish was removed in 1980.²⁸⁵

During investigation in 2000, Wenger, Graham, and other researchers from Colonial Williamsburg discovered joist fragments reused as headers in the southeast privy that may have been original roof joists over the kitchen. They are oak, not pine,

and have traces of whitewash. According to Jefferson's drawings, the spacing of the bottom tier of joists was thirty inches. At this spacing, lath and plaster would be unstable and thus was likely not installed. If the discovered joist fragments are indeed original to the roof over the kitchen, then this fact would verify that no finished ceiling was installed. At this time, the evidence does not justify changing the roof framing and the current unplastered open joist ceiling remains, as restored by Grigg.

Walls

Three types of walls enclose the kitchen: the stone wall on the northwest side that retains the soil of the west lawn, the fireplace wall on the southwest, and the two partitions next to the southeast walkway and to the all-weather passage on the northeast. Documentary evidence suggests that many rooms of the southeast dependency were finished with plaster.²⁸⁶ The kitchen is not specifically mentioned yet investigation confirmed the documentation in part.

On the northwest wall of the kitchen, Monticello architectural conservator Robert Self discovered physical evidence that confirmed this original stone wall was plastered to the floor and did not have a baseboard. Self determined that the plaster sample from behind the existing baseboard was from the Jefferson era, when compared to samples catalogued from prior restoration work. Material tests showed that original topcoats had been removed, possibly when Grigg replastered the wall in 1941, and that a new cementitious finish coat had been applied in the 1960s.²⁸⁷ Typically, if a baseboard was used, it was applied first and used as a ground for the plaster coats. In that case, no plaster would be found behind the baseboard. The presence of Jefferson-era plaster

behind the baseboard essentially eliminates the likelihood that a baseboard was originally installed.

Grigg and Kimball exchanged numerous letters concerning the framing of the southeast partition wall. An original drawing by Jefferson, circa 1796, shows two parallel lines with small circles scribbled between. (Figure 17) This delineation was variably interpreted by Grigg and Kimball to be vertical rods, brick nogging, or stone. The discovery of paint ghostings on the original stonework of the fireplace convinced Grigg that the partition was originally wood. Therefore, he constructed a wood stud partition flush with the exterior stone of the fireplace. The interior was plastered.

Eight years later, Grigg informed Kimball that based on newly discovered correspondence, Jefferson had specified a flush plank partition wall.²⁸⁸ Jefferson's letter from 1802 stated, "The kitchen partitions are to be of inch plank, planed on both sides, & square jointed. The front & partitions of the servants rooms and dairy to be bricknogged, with good lime mortar; or perhaps the front of the dairy had better be of inch plank, as proposed for the kitchen, as it will be stronger." Grigg felt they had made the correct decision.

In 2003, Wenger, Graham, and Maul reviewed the same evidence. They concluded that the two wood partitions were built of vertical planks, one inch thick, with no plaster finish. In addition to Jefferson's letter, a two-inch strip of unpainted masonry on the fireplace wall was decisive evidence.²⁸⁹ The two-inch strip could be explained if a one-inch sealing batten was installed behind the vertical plank. Certainly the paint evidence did not support a six-inch stud wall, as Grigg had concluded. Furthermore, if

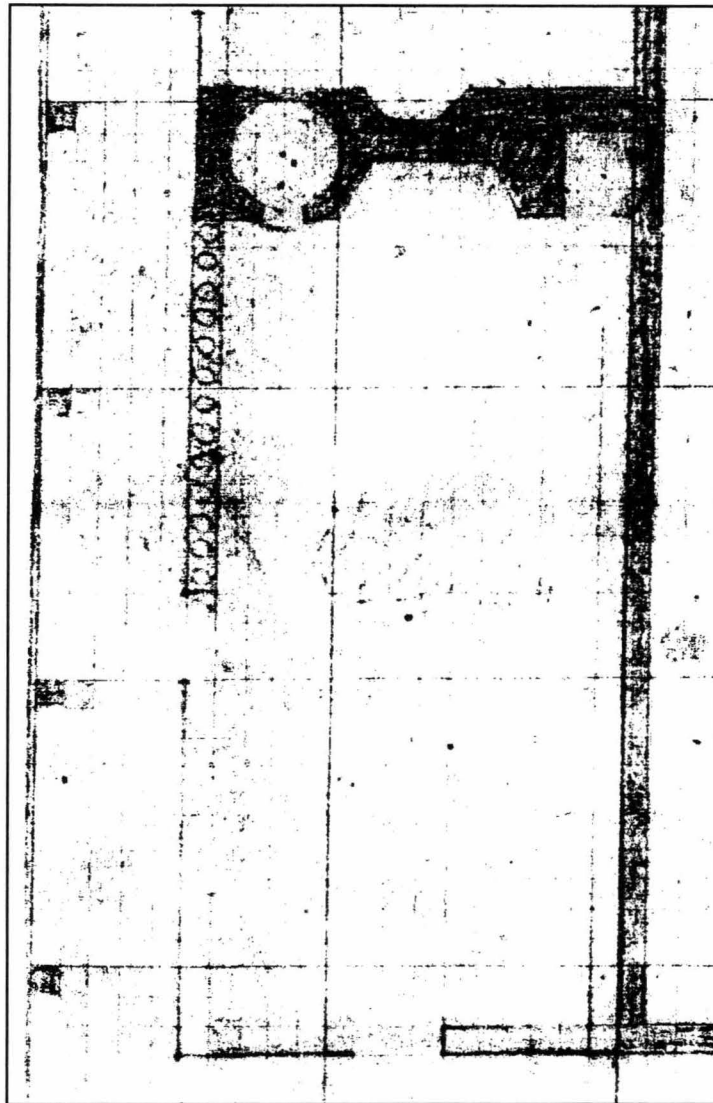


Figure 17: Jefferson's kitchen plan (Thomas Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society).

the partition had been a stud wall, as Grigg had installed, Jefferson would not have specified for the boards to be “planed on both sides.” Based on this documentation and a study of the use of plank walls in Virginia during Jefferson’s time, it was decided to reconstruct the partition walls with vertical, one-inch planks. The interior side was not plastered.

On the (southwest) fireplace wall of the kitchen, only a small section of original masonry exists. This original section, like the northwest wall, is built of stone. In 1941, Grigg reconstructed the remainder of the southwest wall, including the fireplace and oven, using brick. According to Grigg's instructions for painting, the fireplace wall received a single coat of whitewash over the brick.²⁹⁰ In 2003, the wall was rebuilt again and will be plastered. Documentary evidence to support the decision to plaster the brick comes from an 1808 letter from builder Dinsmore that states: "Mr. Chisholm has got most of the rooms plastered & bricks ready to raise the Chimneys."²⁹¹

Physical evidence also supports plastering the wall. A photograph taken in 1941, while the oven was being rebuilt, shows that only whitewash was applied to the (northwest) stone wall when the kitchen was built in 1802.²⁹² Yet, as described previously, it has been determined that the stone wall was plastered in Jefferson's time. The installation of plaster and other changes to the fireplace and stew stove confirm that Jefferson remodeled the kitchen in 1808. During this period of "updating" his kitchen, it stands to reason that he would have finished the kitchen completely, including the installation of plaster on the fireplace wall.²⁹³

Fireplace and Ovens

A thorough analysis of the original arrangement and construction of the fireplace and ovens, made in 2003 by Wenger, Graham, and Maul, leaves little doubt that Jefferson remodeled his kitchen beginning in 1808. Considering the documentary and physical evidence, this premise makes the most sense. It resolves a contradiction between a floor

plan of the kitchen, drawn by Jefferson, and the actual brickwork, which has been determined to be from Jefferson's lifetime.

A drawing from 1801 shows a beehive oven on the left side of the fireplace and a recess on the right side.²⁹⁴ As recently as 1992, the recess was considered to be the location of a set kettle even though Grigg had found an oven there.²⁹⁵ In 1941, Grigg removed the face of the fireplace wall, which was from the Levy period, and investigated the ovens. He was looking for the oven located on the left side of the fireplace, as Jefferson's plan showed, but he also found an oven on the right side. In a letter to Kimball, Grigg exclaimed, "Mr. Jefferson changed his mind sharply!" and theorized that the large oven shown on the left had actually been built on the right side.²⁹⁶ Although Grigg had reservations about the left oven being very close to the exterior wood partition, he restored it along with the oven on the right.

Physical evidence confirms that the left oven was originally built according to Jefferson's plan. Wear marks on the bricks at the opening prove the oven was actually used by Jefferson's cooks. The wear probably occurred after the kitchen was initially completed in 1802 but before 1808. The size of the left oven as restored by Grigg was atypically small for the period and its configuration posed structural problems for the fireplace.²⁹⁷ Although determined to be original, at least in part, the left oven as restored by Grigg was not functionally practical, especially if the possibility of a stew stove and set kettle on the left side is considered.

Physical investigation of the firebox supported the argument that the oven was moved to the right side. Mortar samples from the right oven and fireplace were

determined to be from Jefferson's lifetime but not original, when compared to other samples of the kitchen masonry.²⁹⁸ The brickwork inside the firebox showed that the throat to the flue had been modified. The left side of the throat had been chopped back while the right side was filled, apparently when the fireplace was shifted to the left. The fireplace would necessarily need to be moved to the left to make space for the oven on the right. The location of the flue slightly off-center is further evidence that the fireplace was moved.

In 2003, the southwest wall, including the firebox opening, was reconstructed. The firebox itself was completely rebuilt on the original first courses of brick as Grigg had done in 1941. The most dramatic change to the firebox is the removal of Grigg's wooden lintel and the installation of wrought-iron lintels and a rowlock arch. (Figure 18)

Documentation substantiates the brick arch. In 1941, Grigg wrote to Kimball, "The original fireplace and jack-arch [sic] were readily found." Despite this discovery, Grigg apparently installed the wooden lintel based on early Virginia precedents and made judgments shaped by Colonial Revival notions.²⁹⁹ Wenger, Graham, and Maul recommended an arched opening based on masonry work at Montpelier by Hugh Chisholm, who built Monticello's fireplace. They also cite the service wing at Farmington (ca. 1802) as a relevant precedent.³⁰⁰ The firebox opening was reconstructed in 2003 with an arched rowlock and iron lintels.

Stew Stove and Set Kettle

If the fireplace and oven were relocated in 1808, one must ask the question: why would Jefferson go to such trouble? Researchers of the current restoration all agree that



Figure 18: Brick arch installation (photograph by Justin Sarafin, 2003).

as Jefferson was preparing for retirement from public service, he updated his kitchen with the installation of a stew stove and set kettle. Documentary and physical evidence substantiates that a stew stove was installed, but design and configuration details of the stove remain somewhat conjectural.

In early drawings of the dependencies, Jefferson clearly planned for the installation of a stew stove. The earliest known design showed five holes, regularly spaced against a wall next to the all-weather passage.³⁰¹ In the final plan, roughly sketched circles depict thirteen stew holes on the southeast wall of the kitchen between the fireplace wall and the doorway. The plan, drawn between 1796 and 1801, shows the oven to the left of the fireplace. It has been theorized that the sketch of the stew stove

was added to the kitchen plan at a later date.³⁰² Whether added later or not, the plan is conclusive evidence that Jefferson did intend to build the appliance.

Correspondence in 1809 between Jefferson and an ironmonger in Georgetown verifies that castings for stew holes were ordered and sent to Monticello for use in the kitchen. Jefferson requested Henry Foxall to send “2. of the largest size & 3. of the middle & 3. of the smallest size...as they are indispensable in a kitchen.”³⁰³ An installation of eight stew holes is more than any other known American installation but not incongruous with Jefferson’s drawings.³⁰⁴ It has been suggested that Jefferson’s order anticipated the construction of a stew stove at Poplar Forest, his Bedford, Virginia retreat.³⁰⁵ A stew grate was found at Poplar Forest during archaeological investigation in 1991 and confirms a stew stove installation there.³⁰⁶ (Figure 19) However, no evidence suggests that Jefferson’s 1809 order for Monticello anticipated using part of the order for the 1814 wing at Poplar Forest.³⁰⁷

Circumstantial evidence adds to the likelihood of the stew stove. It is known that Jefferson’s French chef in Washington, Honoré Juilen, traveled to Monticello in March 1809, just at the time the stew holes were ordered. Perhaps he was sent to see to the final details of the kitchen, including the stew stove.³⁰⁸

The weight of documentary evidence for the existence of the stew stove is balanced by the lack of physical evidence. No known correspondence between Grigg and Kimball mentions the discovery or investigation of a stew stove. In fact, Grigg and Kimball misread the plan markings showing the stew holes, considering brick nogging or



Figure 19: Archaeological discovery of stew hole grate at Poplar Forest (photograph by Poplar Forest archaeology staff).

vertical dowels instead.³⁰⁹ Excavation of the floor in 1967 removed any existing archaeological evidence.

The primary physical evidence is a photograph taken before the floor removal that shows a patch in the brick floor along the southeast wall.³¹⁰ The undated photograph, taken between 1942 and 1967, shows an L-shaped patch that runs along the wall and jogs over to the fireplace wall. The patch consists of bricks laid on edge adjacent to a field of flat bricks. The patch has been interpreted as the former location of a bank of eight stew holes and a set kettle.³¹¹ The location makes sense for a number of reasons. A window above the stove and an adjacent door would have provided the necessary ventilation. The

location of the set kettle next to the fireplace wall meant that it could be vented into the chimney, using the flue of the original oven. Archaeological evidence also determined that Grigg installed a concrete footing under the southeast wall in 1941.³¹² While installation of this footing might be a possible explanation for part of the brick patch, the footing was quite narrow and does not explain a jog in the patch over to the fireplace opening.³¹³ Significantly, no evidence of a foundation for a stew stove was found.

Secondary physical evidence consists of a portion of original stonework with a whitewash treatment. Tests conducted on the whitewash show that it starts at approximately thirty inches above the floor or at roughly the height of the stew stove. Other reasons could explain the absence of the whitewash below that height, but the existence of the stew stove is strongly suggested.³¹⁴ The last piece of the puzzle consists of the stew hole grate that was recovered from the Poplar Forest excavation. The grate certainly confirms that Jefferson obtained the casting for his retreat. With the order to Foxall, it seems certain that Jefferson installed a stew stove at Monticello as well and likely used a casting such as the one recovered.

The premise that Jefferson remodeled his kitchen in 1808 to install the stew stove explains the reconfiguration of the fireplace and ovens. Otherwise, why would he relocate his oven to the right side of the fireplace and close up the left oven? Based on their investigations, Wenger, Graham, and Maul recommended that “an installation of eight stew holes remains the most straightforward, plausible, and defensible choice for Monticello’s recreated kitchen. There is much in the documentary and physical evidence to suggest it, and nothing in the data rules it out.”³¹⁵ In 2003, the stew stove and set kettle

were reconstructed and will be plastered in 2004. According to Mark R. Wenger, the installation of the stew stove at Monticello was a tough decision. The physical evidence of the floor patch and fireplace masonry pointed to it. Jefferson's own plan was convincing circumstantial evidence. It is known that he had them at Poplar Forest. "If he had them, is it acceptable not to reconstruct them?"³¹⁶ (Figure 20) In addition to the documentary evidence, the reconstructed stew stove at Monticello meets the requirement of physical evidence necessary for restoration.



Figure 20: The restored fireplace and reconstructed stew stove, January 2004 (photograph by author).

Conclusion

The motives, skills, and overall process of the two restoration campaigns at Monticello share similarities. The reason to restore has changed little since Fiske Kimball's restoration goal to "put the place back exactly in the form which it had in [Jefferson's] lifetime." At that time, no other person was more qualified to do so than Kimball. Arguably, for Thomas Jefferson's kitchen, no other group is more capable of accomplishing that task today than the consultants from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the staff of Monticello. To an extent, the process of each restoration campaign was identical. Both undertook a review of the historical documentation (correspondence, diaries, invoices, etc.), historical precedents, and physical evidence collected by conducting an architectural investigation.

However, significant differences in the process of restoration exist between the two campaigns. Contemporary practice has the advantage of material testing techniques that were not available in 1950. Today's practice also has the benefit of fifty years of additional historical research. In 1950, it is doubtful that Grigg or Kimball knew about the use of stew stoves or the significance of Chef Julien's visit to Monticello in 1809. But modern restorers must face the continuing loss of original building fabric through replacement or demolition. The floor of Monticello's kitchen is an example.

To overcome this drawback, the restoration process is more scientific, analytic, and deductive than before. In addition to the steps listed above, the consultants from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation developed a history of physical changes to each component of the kitchen, charted a chronology of construction work, and used historical

context to inform decisions. Evidence was compiled from a number of sources and each decision was based on a carefully drawn path of logic that eliminated other options. To reduce personal bias, each decision was debated among practitioners from a number of disciplines until an answer materialized that made the most sense overall and that was defensible. As we are now cognizant of the Colonial Revival's influence on previous restorations, the best contemporary practice seeks to understand how modern-day sensibilities prejudice restoration decisions. Finally, a record was kept documenting the evidence and the decision-making process for future restorers.

At Monticello, it was proven that Jefferson remodeled his own kitchen in 1809, based on mortar samples, documentary records, and other evidence. In the review of the evidence, restorers determined there was no reason why Jefferson would remodel except to install a stew stove. Based on these premises, it was concluded that a stew stove was installed at Monticello. Yet, in the execution of the restored stew stove, questions remained about the location and arrangement of the stew holes, despite the copious evidence.

In this case study, restorers made decisions by the process of deduction, or reasoning from general facts to specific truths. "Only a deductive argument involves the claim that its premises provide conclusive grounds. A deductive argument is valid when its premises, if true, do provide conclusive grounds for its conclusion, that is, when premises and conclusion are so related that it is absolutely impossible for the premises to be true unless the conclusion is true also."³¹⁷ The historical and architectural evidence

was used not only to prove one supposition but also to disprove all others. Therefore, in this case, the evidence is conclusive.

Restoration practiced in this manner tends to reduce reliance on a single expert or the “tact and judgment of the men in charge.”³¹⁸ It is a process that aims to be as objective as human decisions can be. It is a process that resulted in conclusive evidence for accurately restoring Thomas Jefferson’s kitchen at Monticello.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRESERVATION OF ADENA AND RESTORATION OF ITS KITCHEN

Adena, the home of the “Father of Ohio Statehood,” Thomas Worthington, is the crown jewel of the sixty-three historic sites managed by the Ohio Historical Society for the State of Ohio. The scene on the state seal of Ohio, of the sun rising over Mount Logan, was inspired by the view from the front steps at Adena. The preservation of Adena and its continued conservation is important for current and future generations in order to tell the story of national expansion into the Northwest Territory and Ohio’s entrance into the United States. Adena was donated to the State of Ohio in 1947, restored for the sesquicentennial of statehood in 1953, and renewed for Ohio’s bicentennial in 2003.

Initial investigation of Adena’s kitchen raised questions about the accuracy of the previous restoration. While a re-restored Mansion was the state’s goal for 2003, the Ohio Historical Society chose to delay restoring the kitchen until a thorough examination could be completed. Using the findings of the previous case studies, this chapter will present an analysis of the 1950s restoration, an evaluation of the historical accuracy of selected architectural elements, and recommendations for proceeding with a re-restoration of the kitchen.

General History

Adena, the home of Thomas Worthington, was named for the garden of “Eden, or Adan, signifying pleasure, that name was given to places remarkable for the delightfulness of their situation, considered either in themselves, or comparatively with the adjacent country.”³¹⁹ Worthington, considered the “Father of Ohio Statehood”, had read a world history that inspired the name. The setting for his home, atop a small hill overlooking the Scioto River, was a place apart, not unlike the garden of Eden or Monticello.

The location of the house is in Chillicothe, Ohio, about fifty miles south of Columbus. The rolling terrain reminded Worthington of his family home in what is now Charles Town, West Virginia, about seventy miles west of Baltimore, Maryland. Worthington first visited Ohio in 1796 to locate warrants for Virginia Military Lands in the Northwest Territory that he had purchased from Revolutionary War veterans. After the defeat of Ohio Valley Indians by “Mad” Anthony Wayne at Fallen Timbers in 1794, eleven tribes signed the Treaty of Greenville that placed much of the Ohio lands in American possession. Following this treaty, white settlers streamed into the territory and fueled land speculation. As a captain in the Third Regiment of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Worthington, like other military men, was in a position to secure these lands from the Indians and the British through settlement, as well as to profit from the venture.³²⁰

After his initial visit to the Ohio country, Worthington decided to sell his holdings in Virginia (now West Virginia) and relocate his family permanently. In 1798, he and his

wife, Eleanor, brought their entire household, including manumitted slaves, to the new territory. They traveled overland to Pittsburgh, then down the Ohio River aboard flatboats to the mouth of the Scioto, then by wagon north to Chillicothe. The family lived in town for the first five years before locating to their hilltop where Worthington built “Belle View,” a log house. The building served as the family home until their mansion was completed in 1807.

From 1799 until 1803, Worthington served in the territorial legislature. Politically aligned with Jefferson and the Democratic-Republican Party, he was wary of a strong federal government and favored states’ rights. This position put him at odds with territorial governor Arthur St. Clair, who wished to retain his authority and thus supported Hamilton and the Federalists. Under Thomas Worthington’s leadership, a political faction convinced President Thomas Jefferson to admit the State of Ohio into the Union, despite its lack of the required sixty thousand residents. Under the Enabling Act of 1802, Ohio was admitted based upon achieving the required population before adoption of its state constitution. St. Clair denounced the act and consequently was removed as territorial governor by Jefferson. Ohio became the seventeenth state on 19 February 1803 and Chillicothe became its first capital.³²¹

Worthington served as one of Ohio’s first United States Senators, then in the Ohio General Assembly, before returning to the U. S. Senate in 1810. His opposition to the War of 1812 cost him politically, yet he distinguished himself by providing supplies to American forces in the west and by negotiating with Shawnee tribe leaders Tecumseh and the Prophet. He became governor in 1814 and was reelected in 1816.³²²

In its design and use, Adena was intended to serve as the setting for Worthington to carry out his political and business ambitions. In 1805, he selected the only professional architect in the country, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, to design his country seat. Worthington and Latrobe probably met each other in Washington during Worthington's first term as Senator. Latrobe was working on alterations to the U. S. Capitol six months before Worthington came to Washington. If they had not met earlier, they certainly met in January 1805 while Worthington served on a committee to review work on the south wing of the Capitol.³²³ Furthermore, Thomas Jefferson's recommendation of Latrobe probably carried some weight with Worthington, in light of their political alliance.

Latrobe completed the plans in the spring of 1806. Worthington began construction on the tenth of June and completed the house in 1807. The building is composed of a single, two story, rectangular block containing the family and guest spaces, with flanking single story wings that hold services such as dwelling spaces for the cook and porter, the kitchen and pantry, and Worthington's library. (Figure 21) Rooms for entertaining, such as the Drawing and Dining Rooms, are arranged on the south side of the house and the entrance is from the north side. In the central block, the Worthington's private suite is on the east side of the first floor and the children's rooms are directly above, with access only from a back stair. This arrangement provides a family apartment of sorts. The remainder of the second floor is physically separated from the children's rooms and devoted to guests, accessible only from the main stair.

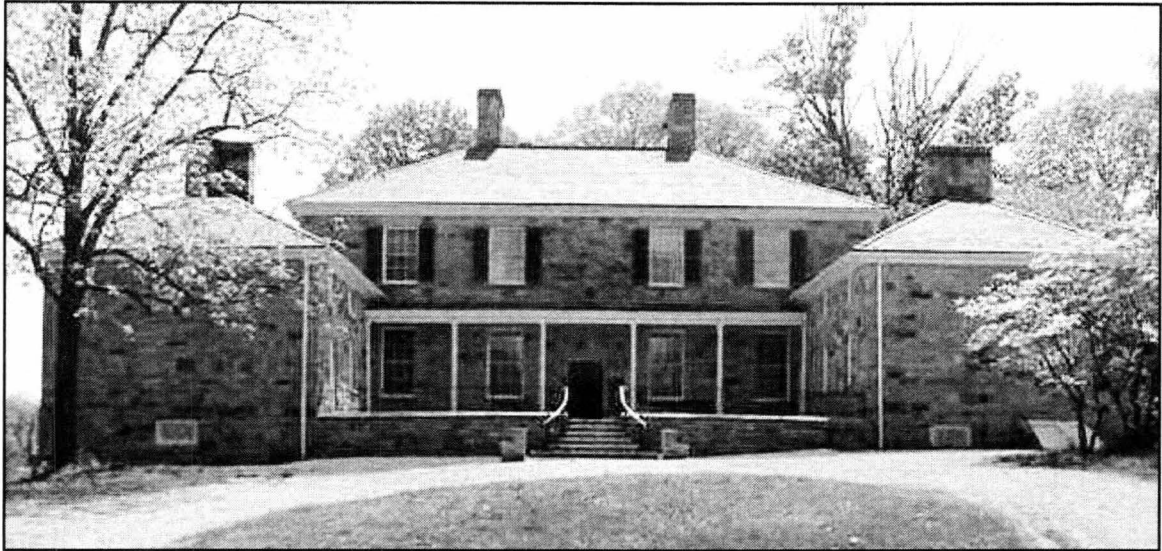


Figure 21: North elevation of Adena (photograph by author).

The segregation of spaces by function and their arrangement according to use and orientation are examples of Latrobe's rational planning.³²⁴ The family bedrooms are on the east side to capture the morning sun. The primary rooms for occupation are toward the south to take advantage of the sun's light and heat. The Formal Dining Room is on the west side to maximize day light in the evening. The porter's room on the east side has a window to the entrance lane and the cook's room and kitchen, on the west side next to the Dining Room, have direct access to various outbuildings such as the wash house, smoke house, and privy.

It is difficult to determine Worthington's influence on the architectural design of his home. The exterior design shares aspects of massing, materials, and details with the Shepherdstown, West Virginia, home of Van Swearingen, Worthington's father-in-law. (Figure 22) Nevertheless, the manner in which the rooms were finished confirms that Adena was designed with a specific purpose. Rooms for sleeping, especially rooms for

the family, were finished simply, some with unpainted plaster. However the rooms meant for entertaining and impressing guests were painted and wallpapered, the floors covered with Brussels carpet. There is no doubt that Adena made an impression on visitors. In 1807, one visitor wrote that Adena was “one of the best and most tasty houses not only of this state, but westward of the Allegheny Mountains.”³²⁵

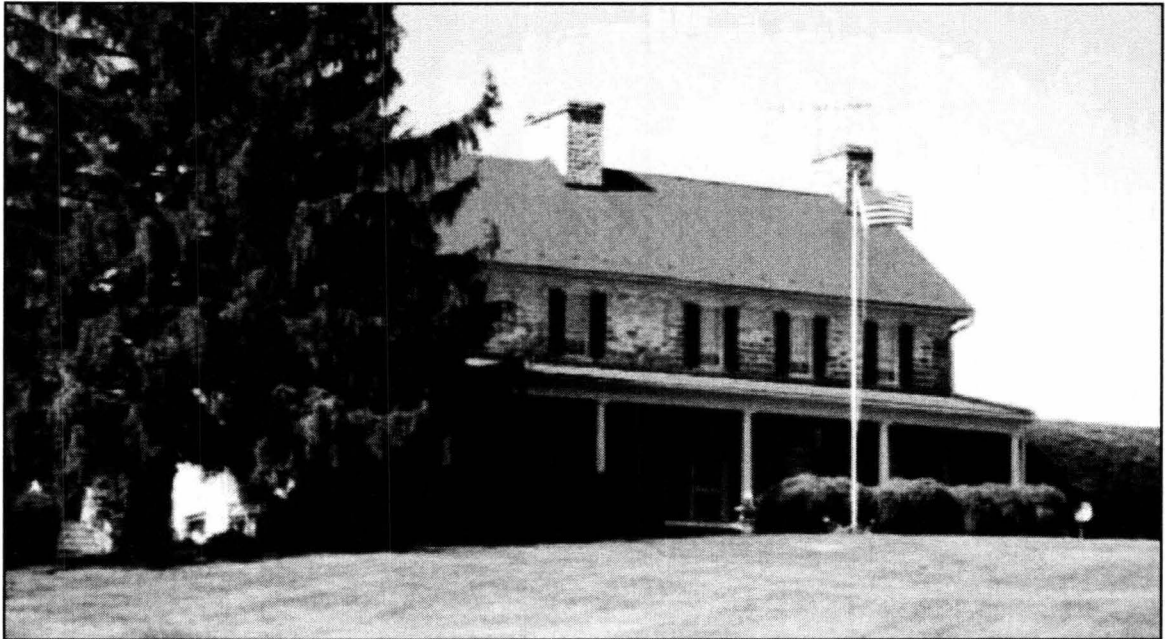


Figure 22: Van Swearingen House, Shepherdstown, West Virginia (photograph by Karel Whyte).

Worthington understood the role that hospitality played not only in negotiating political agreements, but also in establishing himself at least as an equal among like-minded power brokers. Over the years, a number of politically important visitors stayed at Adena. Shawnee leader Tecumseh was entertained during peace negotiations in 1807,³²⁶ and in 1817, President James Monroe visited during the first trip westward by a sitting President.³²⁷ Frequently, these visitors arrived en masse and stayed for days.

Worthington recorded numerous entries in his diary of groups of six to twelve legislators accompanying him home for dinner. In 1812, during discussions of possible war, William Henry Harrison arrived with his aides and dined with twenty others at Adena.³²⁸

In 1802, following his terms as senator and governor, Worthington continued to serve the State of Ohio, first as a state legislator then as canal commissioner. He was a proponent of the National Road. He understood the vast resources of Ohio and knew the key to exploiting these resources was developing transportation systems to get the goods to market. He believed that for the United States to be truly independent, it needed to build its own industries and reduce its reliance on primarily British imports. He experimented with industry in Chillicothe as the owner of a ropewalk, lumber mill, and cloth-weaving factory. His farming interests included raising corn, hogs, and cattle, as well as distilling whiskey. The Scioto River provided him with a water route to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and the trading port of New Orleans.

Thomas Worthington remained active in politics and business despite failing health in his later years. In June 1827, he died at the age of fifty-four. His widow Eleanor and the younger of their ten children continued to live at Adena. Upon Eleanor's death in 1848, Adena passed into the hands of their eldest son, James T. Worthington.³²⁹

James raised his family at Adena and continued to live there until his death in 1881. Martha Piatt Reed Worthington, James's second wife and widow, remained at Adena until her death in 1896. In the intervening years, acreage was sold to pay debts. Eventually the estate was pared from over five thousand acres to the three hundred acres that surround the house today. Other changes occurred to the estate following Thomas

Worthington's death. James made a number of changes to the house. In 1829, he cut a doorway opening to connect the library and servant's room.³³⁰ After the death of his mother, he altered the use of rooms and used the first floor bedroom as his library. Interior décor was changed and the kitchen was remodeled at least once. In 1872, the wood roof was replaced by slate, and in 1877, the porch across the north side was reconstructed.³³¹

In 1896, no Worthington heirs either wanted or could afford to assume the estate. Between 1896 and 1903, the house remained vacant while it was for sale. In 1903, a Chillicothe businessman, George Hunter Smith, and his brother, Charles F. Smith, purchased Adena. Later, it was owned solely by George Hunter Smith for use as a summerhouse with his wife Clara Boggs Smith and their family.³³²

During their residency of forty-three years, the Smiths made several changes for their convenience. The window doors, in the Worthington bedroom and the drawing room, were converted to a casement window and French doors respectively. On the north side, a new, more elaborate porch was built. On the south side, a new porch was constructed across the face of the building. A large bay window was installed in the former servant's room on the north side. Other windows on the first floor were changed to casement windows. A railing was added to the roof terrace. On the interior, bathrooms were added to the large second floor bedrooms. Two openings were cut in a bearing wall to connect the two halves of the second floor. The three rooms that comprised the Worthington suite were divided into two rooms with a bath. Decorative details were installed including wainscoting in the drawing and dining rooms.³³³

George Hunter Smith died in 1939, and Clara Boggs Smith died in 1946. After her mother's death, the Smith's daughter, Elizabeth Smith Fetterolf donated Adena to the State of Ohio as a memorial to her parents. Since that time, the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society (OSAHS, now the Ohio Historical Society) has administered the property as an historical house museum.³³⁴

Restoration History

The first restoration period took place immediately after the property was transferred to the state. During the years 1946 to 1953, staff from OSAHS researched the house, grounds, and their precedents and undertook restoring the estate to the period of Worthington's occupancy, 1802 to 1827. Changes made by Worthington's son, James, and by the Smiths were documented and carefully removed. The windows were restored, bathrooms were removed, and partitions were replaced, based on architectural investigation.³³⁵ In the kitchen, the original fireplace was discovered behind plaster and revealed, and the hearth was recreated. A bake oven was reconstructed based on Virginia precedents.³³⁶ An insurance survey completed for Worthington in 1821 described the sizes and finishes of the primary rooms and served as a valuable document to restorers.³³⁷

On the interior, paint colors were determined by the "scratch and match" method.³³⁸ Reproduction wallpapers were chosen for rooms without evidence, but were selected from historic sources with the advice of wallpaper expert Nancy McClelland. The paper for the drawing room was reproduced based on the ghost pattern on original

plaster.³³⁹ The wainscoting was removed from the dining and drawing rooms, and new plaster was installed in those areas.

On the exterior, the porch on the south side was removed, and the porch on the north side was restored, based on paint evidence. The slate roof was replaced with cedar shingles and painted red, based on documentary evidence.³⁴⁰ The bay window was removed from the north wall. Archaeological investigation revealed the foundations of the Smoke House and Wash House, which were reconstructed based on a survey of similar Virginia buildings.

Archaeological investigation by staff member Ray Baby established the original garden paths, which were rebuilt.³⁴¹ Stones walls were exposed from under layers of silt to reveal the three stepped terraces of the flower garden, vegetable garden, and vineyard. Plants were installed in a style of the early nineteenth century. Work on the house and grounds was essentially completed for a grand opening during the state's sesquicentennial on 1 June 1953.

In 1999, the Ohio Historical Society undertook a second restoration of Adena in preparation for Ohio's bicentennial celebration in 2003. The principal objectives of this restoration were to undertake an analysis of the previously restored finishes and to install furnishings accurate to the Worthingtons and appropriate to the Federal Period.³⁴² Based on research performed by Society staff, historian William Seale prepared an historic furnishing plan in 2001. According to his plan, the 1950s restoration "symbolized Worthington's era more than it attempted to illustrate it. Today, half a century later, a new generation, with a more stringent viewpoint on re-creating the past has addressed

Adena in a different way and adjusts the interpretation of the 1950s—as any history is likely to be rethought—and approaches Adena with every effort to be as honest to the Worthington tenure there as possible. The interiors are to be an experience, more than a scene. The approach to this interior plan is accuracy to place and, when documentation fails, accuracy to period.”³⁴³

The most noticeable changes are to the paint colors and wallpapers. Samples of original material revealed the accurate paint colors under the microscope of Frank Welsh, the same investigator who had completed the Monticello investigation. Mr. Welsh also analyzed samples of original wallpaper, discovered under door casings, to determine original colors for the reproduction wallpaper. Due to oxidation of the pigments, the colors selected in the 1950s were more drab and yellowed than the present vibrant colors, which are considered more accurate to the Federal Period.³⁴⁴

Architectural changes were less dramatic but no less important historically. A deteriorated cedar roof installed in the 1970s was replaced with “beavertail” shingles based on the sample recovered in the 1950s.³⁴⁵ The doorway between the library and servant’s room was closed in after it was determined to be later than 1827.

The Restoration of 1946 to 1953

In October 1946, staff from the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society (OSAHS) convened to establish goals for the restoration. Led by James Rodebaugh, curator of history, the committee agreed that Adena should “illustrate the private life of Thomas Worthington and in addition, to depict and memorialize his influence on the

development of Ohio and the Nation.”³⁴⁶ The staff agreed that the restoration of Adena held the opportunity to explain and exhibit the history of early statehood through the life of an early proponent. They decided to restore the house and grounds to the period of Worthington’s occupancy, 1802 to 1826.

From 1946 until 1951, staff undertook research to understand Adena, its Virginia precedents, and methods of restoration. Staff landscape architect J. R. Lawwill and researcher Henry Caren visited Worthington’s first home in Berkeley County, West Virginia, to understand precedents for Adena. They also visited Mount Vernon, Monticello, and Colonial Williamsburg to consult with technical advisors. Like the first researchers at Colonial Williamsburg, they visited eighteenth and nineteenth century houses in the vicinity of Berkeley County and compiled architectural details such as mantels, stairways, baseboards, and fireplaces. They noted the locations and details of outbuildings and their relationship to the landscape. Garden layouts were recorded as were varieties and arrangements of plants.³⁴⁷

The findings of their investigation were compiled into a report entitled “The Tradition of Adena.” Since the purpose of their research was to restore the house and grounds physically, the report understandably emphasized those aspects. However no parallel report has been found that compiles the historical documentation for an interpretive program. Similar to early efforts at Colonial Williamsburg, the emphasis of the restoration of Adena was on the building and its furnishings.

It is clear that Society staff modeled their practice on the precedent of Colonial Williamsburg. During a staff meeting on 14 March 1947, J. R. Lawwill presented a

“Statement of Principles for Restoration” that was based directly on William Perry’s “Decalogue” for Williamsburg. (Appendix V) The first six principles repeat Perry’s standards almost verbatim.³⁴⁸ A noteworthy deviation is principle number ten that states, “Various media of orientation and interpretation will be given careful consideration in the over-all scheme of development.” Clearly historical interpretation of Worthington and early statehood was a goal at the outset of the project but as the restoration proceeded, similar to Williamsburg, the building and its furnishings became the focus.

A significant shift in interpretive theme, from historical museum to decorative arts museum, occurred in 1951 when site curator Dard Hunter Jr. was hired. After the Society sent him to study decorative arts at the Winterthur Museum in Delaware, he prepared a plan to furnish the Mansion. In his twenty-five years as site curator he acquired the furnishings according to the plan. Stuart Hobbs, who directed the restoration of Adena for OHS from 1999 to 2003 noted, “The decision that a specialist in decorative arts rather than Ohio history should staff the site indicated the changed focus society officials had for Adena. No well-developed body of historical literature on the social history of the republic then existed to guide an interpretation of daily life at Adena. The field of material culture had not yet developed. Instead, the scholarly and professional literature and practice that existed guided them to an aesthetic treatment of the house rather than a historical one. When the house opened, there were no history exhibits, and the Society defined the site largely in decorative arts terms.”³⁴⁹

Historical Setting for the Adena Kitchen

With little historical information on social life and material culture in the early republic, in 1951, the restorers at Adena used colonial precedents as the models for physical changes to the kitchen. Consequently, the restoration objective in 1951 was a generic “colonial kitchen.” The restorers undertook scholarly research and created a kitchen appropriate for the mid-eighteenth century, fifty years before Adena was built. (Figure 23) It is currently known that their restoration goal was flawed. Historical research has revealed the developments that took place in cuisine and food preparation from the Colonial to the Federal Periods. These developments extended to the physical elements of the kitchen as well and render the current restoration inaccurate. The initial objective to restore a “colonial period kitchen” resulted in changes to the building fabric that created a scene that never existed in history.

A new attempt toward an accurate restoration of the kitchen at Adena must necessarily consider all available resources. These resources include historical documentation, physical evidence, and “circumstantial” evidence, which develops and colors the context of a particular decision. Such evidence specific to Adena lends support to the argument that its kitchen was more refined and functional than the current restoration depicts.

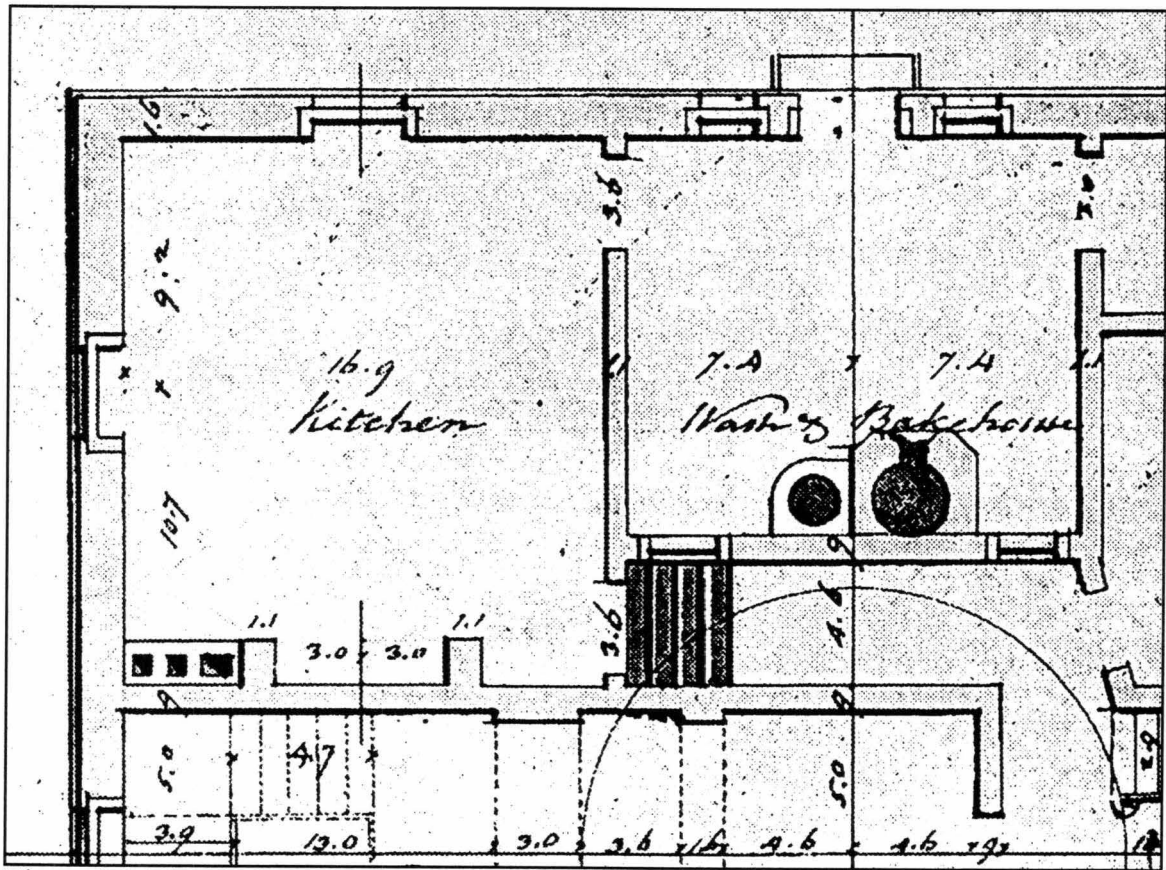
Unfortunately, no drawings of Adena have been found, but it has been verified that Benjamin Latrobe was the architect.³⁵⁰ Drawings for another residence of the period, the Pope House in Lexington, Kentucky, clearly show a stew stove located in the alcove to the right of the fireplace in the kitchen. (Figure 24) Drawn by Latrobe in 1811, the



Figure 23: The fireplace wall of the kitchen at Adena (photograph by Jack E. Boucher).

floor plan depicts a stew stove that is approximately five feet wide, with three holes, one of which is slightly larger. The fact that Benjamin Latrobe, the only professional architect of the Federal Period, designed Adena is persuasive evidence that the kitchen should be fitted with the most current conveniences of the time. The plan arrangement of the kitchen at Adena shares similarities with Latrobe's design for the kitchen at the Pope House. (Figure 25)

The workmen for the house were almost certainly aware of the purpose of stew stoves and how to construct them. George McCormick was the carpenter in charge of framing, interior trim, and other woodwork for Adena. He built many pieces of furniture



for the Worthingtons. McCormick was born in Clarke County, Virginia, in 1769. After the death of his mother, he lived with an uncle in Kentucky and was apprenticed to a carpenter. In 1802, he moved to Washington to work on the construction of the Capitol. Benjamin Latrobe recommended that McCormick move to Chillicothe to work on the Worthington house, which he did in 1806. After constructing Adena, he worked on the Ross County courthouse during 1811 to 1812. In 1813, he moved to Columbus to construct the new Statehouse. He remained in Columbus and later became the county treasurer. As an experienced carpenter, who had lived in Washington and knew Latrobe,

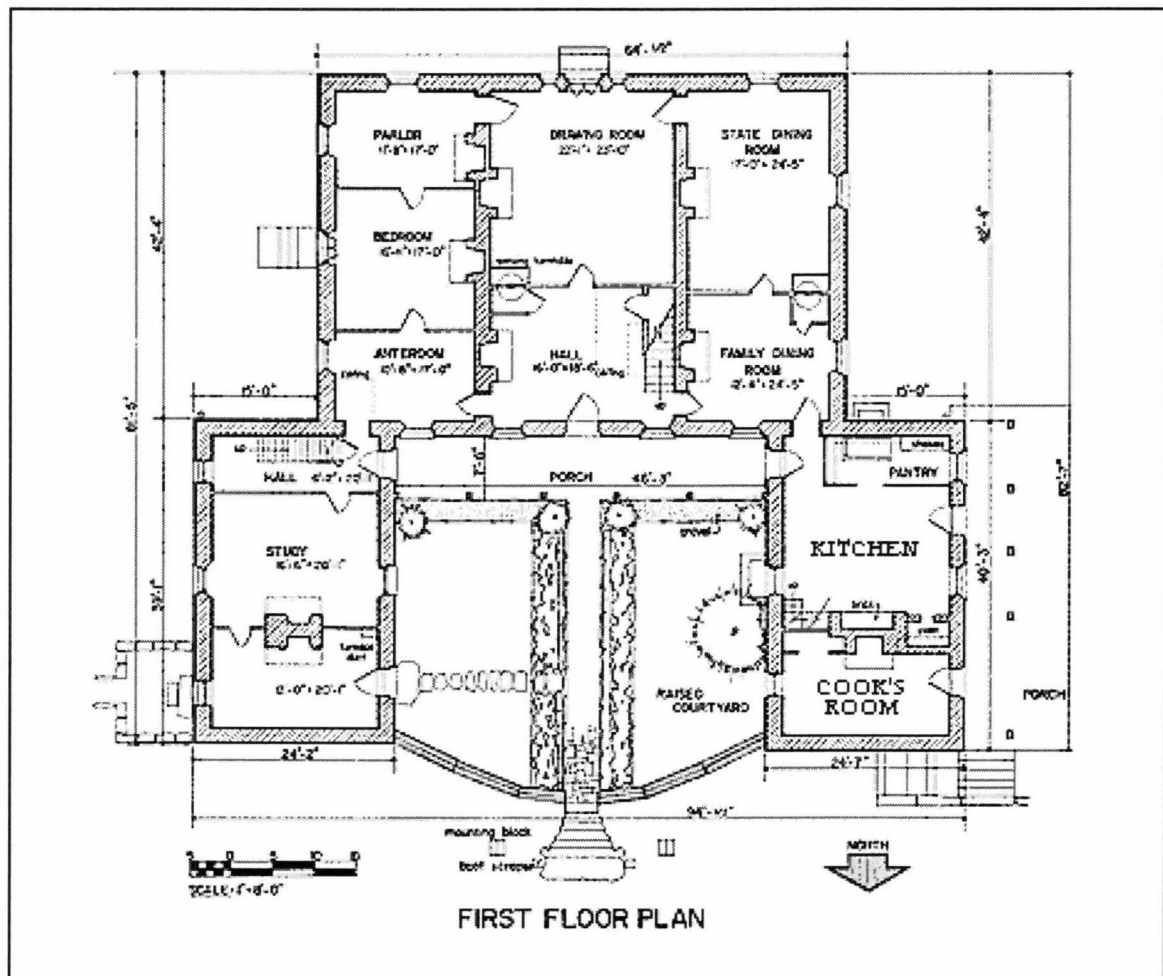


Figure 25: First floor plan of Adena (Historic American Buildings Survey).

McCormick must have been familiar with every modern convenience of the time, including stew stoves.

Conrad Christman was a local carpenter who worked with McCormick on the construction of Adena. Upon his death in 1824, an inventory was made of his carpenter's shop.³⁵¹ The extensive list includes a large number and variety of carpentry tools as well as a few reference books. In particular are Asher Benjamin's *The American Builder's Companion* and a listing for Abraham Swan's *Architecture*, which might have been a

reference to *The British Architect*, a standard reference. Both references are significant for they demonstrate that the builders at Adena had access to current information, technology, and methods. For instance, Plate 59 of Benjamin's book shows an arrangement for the construction of a stew stove and hood according to Count Rumford.³⁵²

When asked why he had built such a grand home, Worthington replied, "that Mrs. Worthington and I may be able to entertain our friends as we did in our old Virginia manor-house."³⁵³ The sentiment is proved in the frequency and number of guests that visited Adena. In addition to President Monroe, other politicians as well as military officers stayed and dined at Adena. Worthington's diary records few details of these encounters and nothing about what foods were served. However, one particular banquet was recorded which demonstrates the significance associated with entertainment and etiquette. In 1807, after diffusing tension in Greenville,³⁵⁴ Worthington invited Shawnee leaders Tecumseh, Blue Jacket, Roundhead, and the Panther to Adena. In Chillicothe, Tecumseh addressed the citizens and assured them an Indian war was not imminent. Later, Worthington invited the chiefs for dinner and hospitality to cement relations. As the story goes, Tecumseh was inadvertently slighted during the serving of coffee and became the source of amusement for the other chiefs. After this became known, Mrs. Worthington served him personally and frequently, and the evening proceeded cordially.³⁵⁵ With so much at stake, Worthington required, and must have installed, a kitchen equipped for such important political and business affairs.

For proof that Worthington appreciated the necessity of a well-run kitchen, one need only look as far as to whom he entrusted to manage it. Until 1814, evidence suggests that Worthington gave the responsibility to his trusted servant Hannah Ross. Known to family members as “Aunt Hannah,” she was the acknowledged queen, an “excellent cook and popular autocrat of the kitchen.”³⁵⁶ She remained Worthington’s cook until she married Ben Jonas, another servant at Adena. In 1814, Worthington brought Prince Williams to Chillicothe from Washington. He wrote in his diary, “negroe man named prince williams hires himself to me and is to go to Ohio [from Washington] and take charge of my kitchen.”³⁵⁷ Little is known about Williams and the circumstances that brought him to Ohio, yet one possibility is that Worthington wanted a cook with experience in preparing fashionable meals, the type that would be expected by visitors from Washington.

Research of the general historical context and specific circumstantial evidence is not a substitute for thorough review of documentary evidence and physical investigation. But an early understanding of the larger pattern of history and its relationship to the particular building in question is enormously useful to determine what investigations should be undertaken and what the results would mean. Restorers understood this during the 1950 restoration. In a 1953 article, the director of the original restoration of Adena, Dr. James H. Rodabaugh, wrote, “A search throughout the country from Washington, D. C., to Oregon produced a large quantity of documentary materials on the construction and furnishing of the house and the life of its occupants. ... After these had been examined in an effort to form a conception of Adena in the period of restoration

(1807-27), the physical examination of the architectural detail was made and the restoration work was begun.”³⁵⁸ Today, the advantage of fifty years of additional historical research yields a more accurate understanding of life in the Federal Period and of the activities of ordinary people.

Evidence and Decisions

The following is a summary of the evidence for altering various elements of the building fabric of the kitchen at Adena and suggestions for how to proceed.

Ceiling

The only relevant reference to the kitchen ceiling from Worthington’s time comes from an 1821 insurance survey, “the Walls and ceiling plaistered.” The formal rooms are described with “walls and ceiling plaistered and painted” or “walls plaistered & paper’d and ceiling painted.”³⁵⁹ In the kitchen, an unpainted ceiling would be whitewashed regularly to cover smoke stains.³⁶⁰

A photograph from 1950 shows the ceiling of the kitchen completely removed except for a few sections of what may be original wood lath. All of the plaster is removed. A note on the back of the photo reads, in part, “the original ceiling joists are 3 by 12 and the floor upstairs is the original.” The photo shows plaster marks where the old lath had been on the bottom of the ceiling joists. In 1951, the ceiling was replaced with new wire lath and modern plaster. It has since been painted.

Since the floor above the kitchen may be original and the ceiling is not, any investigations such as locating openings to the second floor, may be made by cutting into

the ceiling without damage to original fabric. Samples of white wash should be prepared, tested, and applied to the ceiling to reproduce the finish.

Floor

In the insurance survey, none of the floors are mentioned. However, in the kitchen there is a “Hearth laid with flags...and projects 4 feet in front of the Jams.”³⁶¹ By the mention of the hearth stones, it can be assumed with some certainty that the remainder of the floor was wood as in the rest of the house.

In 1947, a work summary lists, “Floor: new.”³⁶² It is not known how restorers determined the floor was new. In January 1948, according to work orders, contractors were told to “remove and refloor with old flooring and joists.”³⁶³ But in January 1951, Cyrus Webster recommended that a “three-quarter-inch ash veneer be laid over the present floor—approved by Committee.”³⁶⁴

The existing floor is not original and it has been determined that the floor joists have been reused and relocated from their original positions.³⁶⁵ Consequently, it is difficult to make any conclusions about what did or did not exist in the kitchen based on floor markings or materials.

Walls

From the 1821 insurance survey, “Walls and ceiling plaistered and the wooden work painted.” This description applies to the kitchen proper; the pantry walls are described separately. Significantly, the fireplace wall is not differentiated from other walls, nor is it described as being exposed stone.

In 1947, the plaster was determined to “be original, but patched.” The work schedule from 1948 requires, “remove covering-plastered only.” The report does not describe the covering to be removed. A note on the back of a 1950 photograph describes the layers of plaster and shows that the original still existed on the walls. Work reports do not describe a separate treatment for the fireplace wall, yet it was left unplastered. The only reference to the fireplace finish simply says, “The old kitchen fireplace was found intact beneath the plaster.”³⁶⁶ If the fireplace had been exposed stone during Worthington’s residency, then it would have had multiple coats of white wash. But a 1951 photograph of the kitchen after the plaster was removed shows the exposed stones with no such coating.³⁶⁷ The evidence is consistent with the fireplace wall being plastered originally. If the fireplace was originally plastered, then the stones under the plaster would never have been given a coat of white wash.

Pantry

The only period description of this space comes from the insurance report: “The Pantry is divided from the kitchen by a wooden partition...The West Wing is divided into 2 rooms and a pantry of 6 feet wide across next the main building except a passage from the kitchen to the family room.”³⁶⁸ When restoration began, the wood partitions had been removed. In 1947, a plaster partition existed. After removal of that partition, an inspection of the plaster revealed one-inch grooves in the original plaster that corresponded with the dimensions from the insurance survey.³⁶⁹

Restoration notes concluded that the wood partition should be reconstructed, “restore wood partition—probably tongue and groove single board—boards vertical. Wood

partition between kitchen—probably painted; other walls probably plastered only.”³⁷⁰ The location of the partition seems to be accurate, but it is not known how the location of the pantry door was determined or how it was decided to install a bead on the vertical boards.

No documentation was found to determine how the pantry was outfitted. No record is available that describes who determined what to restore or who built the shelving as it is restored. The shelving is built from three-quarter-inch modern mill poplar boards and is painted.

Stairway

According to the insurance survey, “in the Pantry is a stair case descending to the cellar.” In 1947, this area had been completely remodeled and a new stair to the second floor had been built over the original stair. The absence of mention of the stair to the second floor in the insurance survey meant that restorers needed to find a new location for access to the second floor. In January 1948, they reported, “stairway up—new may have been original—have reference to stairway down in Insurance Report—may have been both similar to ones in East Wing.”³⁷¹ The work schedule of January 1948 lists stairways as a topic for further research. Apparently this research was conclusive for in May 1951, they concluded, “There will be no stairway in pantry, only a trapdoor and railing to indicate stairs. Stairway to second floor will be on east side of kitchen fireplace, rising through south opening in ceiling.”³⁷² While primary evidence did not confirm the location of a stair to the second floor from the pantry, the evidence for the final location in the alcove to the right of the fireplace is also suspect.

Hearth

The insurance survey described “the hearth laid with flags and brick under the fire, extends across the building and projects 4 feet in front of the Jams.”³⁷³ Restorers noticed the “hearth and hearth support removed, support indicated in construction beneath the floor.”³⁷⁴ The evidence of hearth support was mortise holes in the floor joist located at four feet in front of the fireplace. Rather than restore the hearth completely, including the structure below, restorers in 1951 constructed a concrete hearth support below the floor, which was supported by the fireplace foundation and floor joists. Flagging was laid in mortar on the concrete and flush with the wood floor.

Firebox

Aside from the description of “brick under the fire,” the insurance report mentions that “there are fenders to every fire place occupied except the kitchen.” A photograph from January 1951 shows the inside of the firebox and mounts for the crane. Based on that evidence, a new crane was installed. Meeting minutes from 1951 show that it was decided that the “Hearth inside fireplace will be 3 or 4 inches above the floor level.” The reasoning behind this decision is not known. Apparently, it was decided to replace the original hearth, possibly because it was deteriorated from use. New firebricks were laid inside above the level of the stone hearth. In addition to replacing the floor of the firebox, the fireback was also replaced, according to construction drawings prepared by Cy Webster on 17 July 1951. (Figure 26)

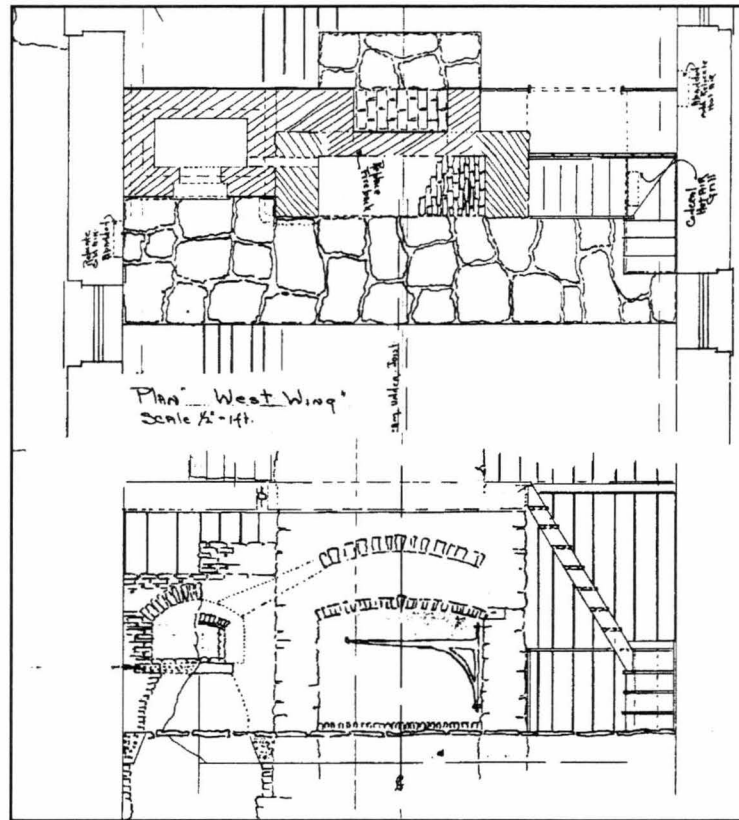


Figure 26: Fireplace wall drawing (illustration by Cyrus Webster).

The firebox opening itself is original. A brick relieving arch located six feet, six and one-half inches above the floor supports the stone work above. The box opening is a brick rowlock arch with a flat wrought iron bar lintel supporting the brick.

Oven

The insurance report makes brief mention of the oven, only to say that one is present in the kitchen. The present oven was reconstructed in 1951, based upon Virginia precedents. Research by John Still in 1950 was used to design the oven. He completed measured drawings of the ovens at Mount Vernon (ca. 1787) and Westover (ca. 1730).

The restoration committee notes state, “Kitchen oven was a compromise between Westover’s and Mount Vernon’s, i.e. door was square like Westover’s but oven had no ash pit.”³⁷⁵ The oven was reconstructed on the left side of the fireplace based on a four and one-half inch by eight and one-half inch opening discovered in the side of the fireplace that vented into the flue. The decision to place the oven on the left side was made despite the absence of a foundation in the cellar to support the weight of a brick oven. A brick arch was constructed between the fireplace foundation and the outer wall of the cellar and supports the oven. In 1951, the oven was planned to be used for cooking demonstrations, so rather than reuse the existing flue opening, the flue was extended up and toward the fireplace at a gradual angle and a new opening was made, higher up the chimney above the second floor line. The fireplace itself had clay flue liners installed in 1950.

Alcove

No documentation from the Worthington period has been found to describe what existed on the right side of the fireplace. Consequently, any proposal for restoration of this area is conjectural. In 1948, an opening in the second floor was discovered above the alcove and considered to be the location for a stairway. In 1951, the Restoration Meeting Minutes recorded, “Double opening in ceiling east of fireplace is original. Stairway will rise through south opening, [from the kitchen] the other will probably have a trap-door with possible ascent by a ladder (or perhaps it was used only for lifting large objects to second floor).” The committee cited a channel in the plaster as evidence for a partition that extended from the kitchen floor to the ceiling of the second floor. The partition

would have divided the kitchen from the servant's room to the north. It is not clear how they determined either opening to be original. A stair was built according to construction plans prepared 17 July 1951.

According to William Seale, who prepared the furnishing plan for the kitchen in 2001, "the little stair is not documented and seems to have been pure speculation."³⁷⁶ While the insurance survey mentions the stair from the pantry to the cellar, the stair to the second floor is obviously omitted, if it existed. With more than enough doubt about the accuracy of the current arrangement, the question becomes, "if not the little stair, then what?" (Figure 27) Seale provided a ready answer, "Evidence for the stew stove at Adena is this 1) the hood or vent's framework seems to exist. This would have been of plaster on lath; 2) the hearth makes a curious and odd path to the east wall, framing a wood floor in the fireplace reveal. This is where I think the range was set, a brick "box" simple as that. We have not found any flues, but flues, if found at all, are very casually built."³⁷⁷

More than enough contextual evidence exists to justify the construction of the stew stove. According to Betty Leviner, who has researched stew stoves for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, there is a three-part test for the likelihood of a stew range: 1) Did the owner know about them? 2) Could the owner afford one? 3) Did the owner have someone who knew how to cook meals on one?³⁷⁸ Applying this test to Adena: 1) Worthington must have known about these from his association with Latrobe and Jefferson. The workmen on his house had reference books with instructions on how to

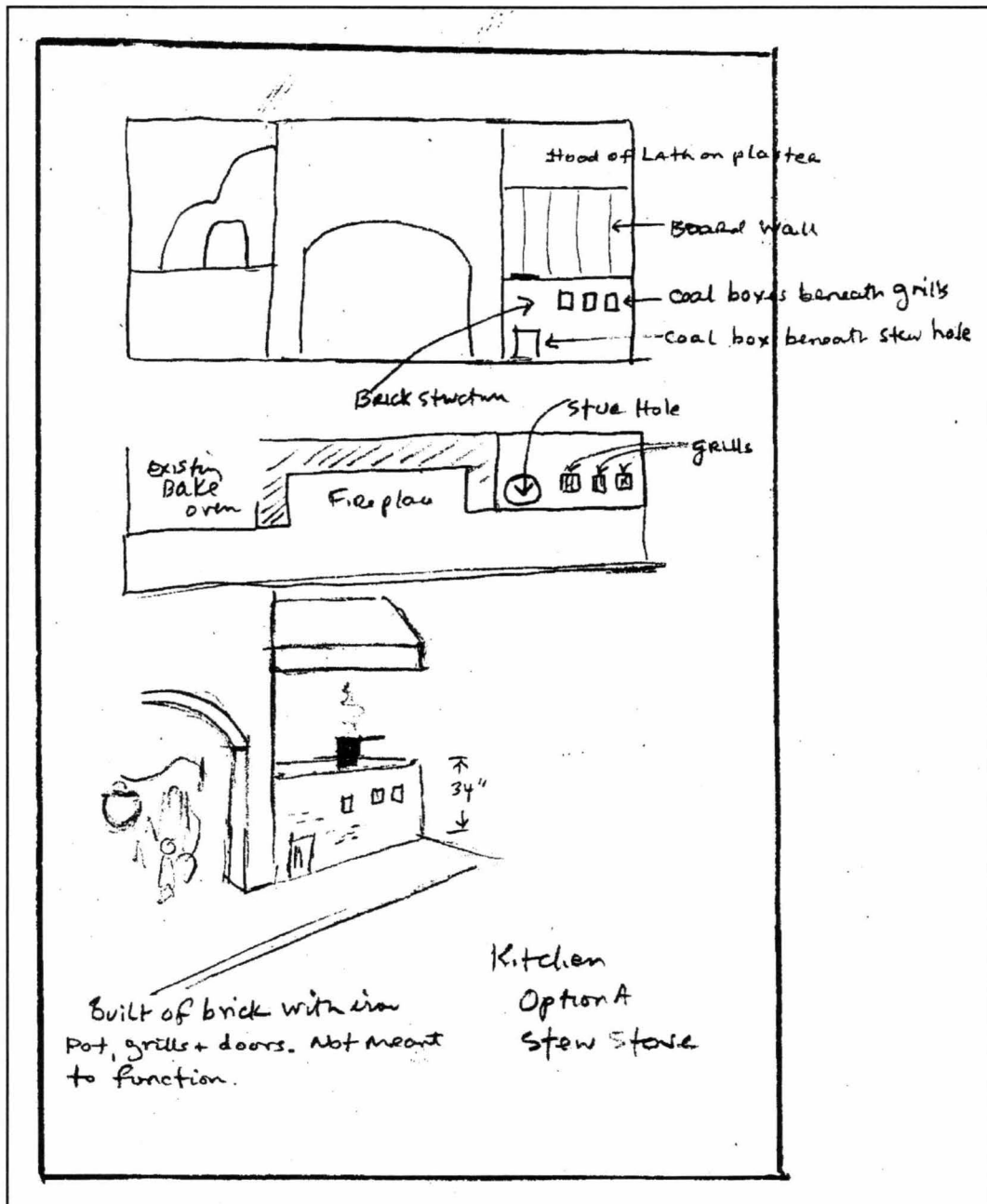


Figure 27: Idea for a stew stove at Adena (illustration by William Seale).

build the appliance. Worthington himself owned a copy of Willich's *Domestic Encyclopedia*, which explained Rumford's set kettle, roaster, and stew stove.

2) Worthington certainly could afford a stew stove and the meals that would be prepared

on one. He entertained frequently and built Adena to impress his visitors.

3) Worthington found Prince Williams in Washington and brought him to Ohio for the purpose of “taking charge of my kitchen.”

Further evidence is found in Worthington’s correspondence on the subject. In 1823, Lewis Peterson offered to make “a cooking machine” for Worthington on the same design as Worthington had seen while on board a Pennsylvania steamboat. Peterson had heard that Worthington inquired about the device and wrote to say he could build a smaller version, “plenty large for any family” for seventy-five dollars.³⁷⁹ Two observations can be made from this evidence. First, if Worthington already owned a cook stove, hob grate, or other fireplace insert, he probably would not be inquiring about such a device since he would have already updated his kitchen. Secondly, with knowledge of cast iron “cooking machines,” would Worthington still have had his meals prepared over an open fire? As he was looking into new cooking technology, wouldn’t he have already been using current technology—the stew stove?

An element of doubt about the existence of a stew stove at Adena is found in the historical record or, more accurately, its conspicuous absence. As Seale observed, “My hesitation on this is the failure of the insurance man to mention [stew] holes or grilles. That both involved fire would seem to almost require him to mention them.”³⁸⁰ Did the insurance man make a mistake or simply fail to mention the stew stove? The “little stair” in the alcove was removed in 2001 to allow investigation of the right side of the fireplace and the floor under the stair. To date, architectural evidence has not confirmed what is suspected to have occurred historically.

Problems, Questions, Recommendations

The following is a summary of the primary issues that affect the building fabric during a re-restoration of the kitchen at Adena.

Ceiling and Walls

The plaster walls of the kitchen are original. Paint analysis should be completed to search for evidence of white wash. If a sample is found, it should be formulated and applied to the plaster surfaces. As the walls are today, they are simply painted with flat wall paint. The appropriate white wash will provide the appropriate color, texture, and sheen.

Fireplace Wall

The installation of plaster on the fireplace wall is suggested by the insurance survey of 1821 that describes the kitchen walls and ceiling as plastered. Given that other stone walls in the room were plastered, the fireplace wall was likely plastered. Restoration photos from 1950 show bare stone after the plaster was removed to expose the fireplace. If the fireplace wall had not been plastered, multiple coats of white wash would have been noticed.

Perhaps the only other building in Chillicothe that is nearly as old as Adena is the Macomb House (ca. 1815). The same masons and carpenters that built Adena constructed it. The building is essentially original and unrestored. As a local precedent, the remaining fireplaces of the Macomb House are instructive for the restoration of Adena. The firebox openings are arched and have flat bar wrought iron lintels that are

identical to the firebox in the kitchen at Adena. The faces of these fireplaces are plastered.

However, the Macomb House is not entirely useful as a precedent for the restoration of Adena's kitchen. The service wing of the house, which held the kitchen, has been demolished, leaving only the drawing room, dining room, and two second-floor chambers. Unfortunately, the kitchen fireplace and possible oven and stew stove were demolished with the wing. Nevertheless, the house is an important historical resource that merits further study for its application to Adena and for the historical record in general.

Pantry and Stair to Cellar

While the channels in the plaster determined the location and thickness of the boards enclosing the pantry, the location of the door, shelving, and stair to the cellar are not documented and seem to have been speculation on the part of restorers in the 1950s. Even the pattern of the boards seems to have been based on aesthetics rather than documentation.

Firebox and Hearth

The hearth support is concrete, installed in 1950. The proper configuration of the hearth support exists at the Macomb House. The hearth support is constructed of planks that close in the joist space and provide a cavity filled with sand. The stones are laid in this sand bed and the joints are open. An accurate restoration would remove the concrete and install the hearth support as it is known to have been installed.

Oven

The oven is a composite design and is inaccurate. The oven should be rebuilt with the flue directed into the side of the chimney where the original flue opening was found. The upper flue should be removed and the chimney should be repaired where the new oven flue was connected. A survey of Latrobe designs should be completed to determine how he designed ovens. If this cannot be determined, the oven should be a “beehive” design typical of the Federal Period.

Alcove

Historical and contextual evidence is overwhelming for the installation of a stew stove. Yet does this constitute conclusive evidence? More investigation into the building fabric should take place, including a review of the photographs from the restoration of the 1950s. While the historical evidence suggests the installation of a stew stove, the architectural review should consider other options as well. These options should include at a minimum, a stairway such as was installed during the first restoration, an access ladder, or a built-in cabinet as suggested by local precedent at the Macomb House.

In the absence of sufficient documentary and physical evidence, a number of possibilities should be considered as alternatives to altering the historical building fabric. Presently, interpretive panels in the kitchen explain to visitors the possibility of a stew stove. Tour guides have found that visitors have difficulty visualizing how the stove may have appeared and how cooks might have used it. A mural or screen with a full-size illustration may help with this understanding. Perhaps even more so, a model of a stove, installed in the alcove, would be the best solution since interpreters could use it to

simulate cooking methods. Options exist that satisfy the interpretive agenda without resorting to a conjectural restoration of the stew stove.

Conclusion

It has been proven that, in the early 1950s, the restoration committee of the Ohio Historical Society determined their principles and methods of practice based on the model set at Colonial Williamsburg. Beyond that, particular decisions about changes to the building fabric were based on what was done at Williamsburg, Mount Vernon, and other early Virginia historical locations. Colonial not Federal Period precedents were incorrectly studied, not due to a lack of diligence, but due to a lack of available historical research.

Consequently, the kitchen was restored inaccurately, according to the current historical record. Like Monticello and the Octagon, Adena's kitchen was altered numerous times, during which significant evidence of the original building fabric was lost. In the absence of physical evidence, restorers made decisions based on their understanding of the historical period. The oven, fireplace wall, and alcove are the obvious examples of restored architectural elements that give a false portrayal of what is currently known about the period of Worthington's residency.

The desire to correct this portrayal is the motive for re-restoration. The question remains; what constitutes conclusive evidence for restoration decisions? At Adena, circumstantial evidence is not enough to alter the architectural fabric. Without positive physical evidence of the existence of a stew stove, any decision to depict one is

conjectural. While a more accurate representation of the Federal Period is warranted in the case of Adena, under the standards of contemporary restoration practice, as demonstrated at the Octagon and Monticello, physical alteration cannot proceed at this time.

First, an exhaustive research phase must be completed followed by an equally thorough architectural investigation. Then, if possible, a deductive reasoning process should be used to reach a restoration conclusion. Using the evidence, all other possibilities should be eliminated and the reasoning process should be documented. If conclusive evidence is not available, then based on both historical and physical evidence, decisions can be made through induction, depending on the strength of the evidence. If physical evidence is not discovered, then alteration of the building fabric should not take place and alternatives to re-restoration should be examined. In all three cases, a summary of the evidence and the chain of logic leading to decisions should be documented, according to responsible contemporary practice.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Historic house museums are at the foundation of the historic preservation movement and continue to be the way most Americans come into contact with historic preservation. The power of house museums to engage visitors stems from the perceived authenticity of what is displayed. As the integrity of the historic preservation movement is on display at restored house museums, what constitutes conclusive evidence for restoration decisions, under contemporary practice?

Contemporary Practice

A portion of this thesis examined the elements and influences of contemporary restoration practice in the United States. While the philosophy towards the treatment of building fabric, standards of practice, and definitions of professionalism has evolved, the motive for restoring buildings continues to be to interpret historical themes for the present. The restoration of Medieval churches in England, and of national monuments in France, serve as nineteenth-century European precedents for twentieth-century practice in the United States. Today, as before, restoration necessitates the removal of later elements and the reconstruction of original features to convey historical, religious, or commemorative messages.

From the nineteenth century, attitudes towards the preservation of original building fabric have been polarized in “scrape” vs. “anti-scrape” debates. Just as Viollet-le-Duc restored “to a completed state which may have never existed at any particular time,” the architects at Colonial Williamsburg restored buildings for their “educational and inspirational value...that was more significant than the architecture itself.” Increasingly, from the writings of John Ruskin through the practice of William Sumner Appleton, a conservative ethic was established and is now the prevalent philosophy of contemporary practice.

The first standards for restoration prescribed how the conservative treatment of building fabric was to be conducted in practice. These were implemented first at Williamsburg through the “Decalogue,” then adopted by the National Park Service through its management policies, and now are in place nationally through the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Restoration. Each of these sets of principles places a high priority on retaining, protecting, conserving, and repairing original fabric. Furthermore, they called for documenting the work for future research, substantiating decisions with evidence, and refraining from adding conjectural features.

Once strictly the realm of architects, restoration practice evolved to become multidisciplinary and increasingly scientific throughout the twentieth century. Professionals contribute from fields such as history, archaeology, material culture, and social history. Today, restoration is a “process of reason and logic, not feeling or taste.” The principle objectives of contemporary restoration are both preserving the original

building fabric and interpreting the historical message. Standards, combined with a professional, interdisciplinary approach are the tools.

The study of the re-restoration of Federal Period kitchens presented an opportunity to analyze the process of contemporary restoration and the tension between building restoration and historical interpretation. The recent re-restorations of the kitchens at the Octagon and Monticello provided high-profile, contemporary case studies.

Kitchens are difficult rooms to restore since they frequently are remodeled with changes in technology and ownership. Federal Period kitchens are particularly difficult, since new historical research shows that many were restored incorrectly, under false assumptions and different interpretive agendas. Consequently, features of these kitchens, such as stew stoves, were not previously restored.

New interpretive motives and scholarship mean that historic house museums need to interpret and display the latest research to remain relevant and viable. Federal Period kitchens should be re-restored to be historically accurate. The thesis concludes that even with the obstacles posed by re-restoration of Federal Period kitchens, a process exists that protects original building fabric and results in greater historical accuracy.

Conclusive Evidence

This thesis asked, what constitutes conclusive evidence for restoration decisions, under contemporary practice? I originally sought to establish a benchmark for evidence that was quantifiable in order to substantiate decisions to physically alter historical buildings in general, and Adena specifically. I wanted to understand how decisions were

made, and on what basis. In that regard, I have satisfied my research goal. However, my perception of the restoration process and even my definition of conclusive evidence have changed.

A supposition of this thesis was that the requirements of interpretive programs initiate campaigns to re-restore and that evidence is used to justify restoring the structure to portray what is suspected to have existed historically. Under this supposition, conclusive evidence is assumed to be the physical evidence that confirms the suspicions of the interpretive program and satisfies the requirements for restoration to proceed, under the Secretary of the Interior's Standards. While the findings of the thesis confirm that the goals of interpretive programs initiate re-restoration, the supposed definition of conclusive evidence is proven to be incorrect. The means by which evidence is analyzed and methods by which it is used to formulate conclusions determine if it is conclusive, not the evidence itself. Comparing the logical processes used in the case studies makes this clear.

At the Octagon, restoration decisions were based on probabilities. Individual historical and physical evidence was used to support a general conclusion, in this case, the prior existence of a stew stove. Physical evidence was discovered that supported the claim, thus following the guidelines of responsible practice and meeting the requirements of the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for restoration. The method that was used to formulate the conclusion was an inductive process, in which the body of evidence contributed to the probability of the conclusion. Since the evidence can only contribute

to a probability, it is not conclusive. To say that a stew stove, without a doubt, existed at the Octagon is therefore untrue.

On the other hand, at Monticello, restoration decisions were based on facts. The evidence was used not only to prove one conclusion, but also to disprove every other possibility. As at the Octagon, the requirement for physical evidence was met, according to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards. The method that was used to formulate the conclusion to install a stew stove was a deductive process, which resulted in proven facts. The evidence was used to prove a valid conclusion, in other words, the truth. Therefore, the evidence is conclusive in the case of Monticello.

Every restoration is different and each has its own limitations. As the re-restoration proceeds at Adena, the evidence can be analyzed in three ways, depending on what is discovered. The evidence should be analyzed in a deductive process to prove facts, if the evidence even exists. If not, then decisions can be based on probability, but physical evidence must be found. If confirming physical evidence is not found, alternatives to physical restoration should be explored to meet the needs of the interpretive program. In all cases, the measure of professionalism lies in documenting the chain of logic leading to decisions, as a record for future research.

Restorers work within the realms of what is known and unknown. The compiled evidence usually amounts to only a small number of really defensible details. But when a building is restored, gaps in the evidence must be filled. Facts that are deduced from evidence are less prone to revision than informed probabilities. At some point, especially with questions concerning detail, decisions must be made with a lack of conclusive

evidence. At that point, personal bias and modern sensibilities influence decisions. Documentation of the evolving interpretation of the evidence and the basis for decisions, whether on fact, probability, or intuition is a necessary component of responsible restoration practice.³⁸¹ As found in the case studies, the best contemporary practice requires careful record keeping, thoughtful use of all sources of evidence, and acknowledgment of the reasoning that leads to decisions.

Limitations and Further Research

The limitation of this study to only two cases is hardly a comprehensive review of the re-restoration of Federal Period kitchens. With additional time, the Decatur House would have made an excellent addition to the research. The National Trust for Historic Preservation is currently in the process of restoring the kitchen as designed by Benjamin Latrobe.³⁸² A study of the evidence for the restoration would have had direct applicability to Adena, also designed by Latrobe.

The limitation to two, high-profile case studies does not adequately address the impact of the findings to restoration practice in general. Are the decision processes outlined in these findings followed at other restoration projects? Are restorers familiar with this process and philosophy? Are additional guidelines needed for restorers?

The subject of alternatives to re-restoration was not adequately addressed in this study. Offering a greater range of options to satisfy the needs of interpretive programs would reduce the motivation to alter the building fabric. A study of contemporary solutions is needed.

The study did not address the impact of funding on restoration practice and historical accuracy. With pressure to use funds for the physical restoration, what justification is there for basic research and documentation? A topic for investigation is how economic resources are allocated to interpretive and restoration programs, and the relationship of these programs to the mission statement of the organization.

The accuracy of Federal Period kitchens remains a broad topic. Time constraints limited research for this study to simply compiling the work of others. Additional basic research of this subject should be done. For instance, the definitive work on stew stoves has yet to be published. The body of knowledge on this topic is growing and will become a greater resource as other historic house museums undertake new research.

Summary

Restoration must be practiced using scholarship and stewardship. Gathering evidence and subjecting it to a rigorous logical process determines if our decisions are based on fact or likelihood. Only a deductive process determines conclusive evidence. Only conclusive evidence results in the truth. We must not let ourselves believe that suppositions are truths without conclusive evidence. It is our responsibility to guard the historic artifact and pass on a record of our reasoning to the future. Finally, as we weigh the evidence, we must remember, “what we present to the public is accepted as truth.”

APPENDIX I THE DECALOGUE

The Decalogue formed the guiding principles for restoration at Colonial Williamsburg. The Advisory Committee of Architects, established by John D. Rockefeller Jr., drafted twenty resolutions during their annual meeting on 25-26 November 1928. Later these were consolidated into ten points by William Perry:

1. All buildings or parts of buildings in which the colonial tradition persists should be retained irrespective of their actual date.
2. Where the classical tradition persists in buildings or parts of buildings, great discretion should be exercised before destroying them.
3. Within the "restoration area" all work which no longer represents the colonial or classical tradition should be demolished or removed.
4. Old buildings in Williamsburg outside the "restoration area" wherever possible should be left and if possible preserved on their original sites and restored rather than moved within the "area".
5. No surviving old work should be rebuilt for structural reasons if any reasonable additional trouble or expense would suffice to preserve it.
6. There should be in the minds of the architects in the treatment of buildings the distinction between Preservation where the object is a scrupulous retention of the surviving work by ordinary repair, and restoration where the object is the recovery of the old form by new work; the largest practicable number of buildings should be preserved rather than restored.
7. Such preservation and restoration work requires a slower pace than ordinary modern construction work, and a superior result should be preferred to more rapid progress.
8. In restoration, the use of old materials and details of the period and character, properly recorded, is commendable when they can be secured.

9. When securing old materials there should be no demolition or removal of buildings where there seems to be a fair reasonable prospect that they will persist on their original sites.
10. Where new material must be used, they should be of a character approximating the old as closely as possible, but no attempt shall be made to antique them by theatrical means.

APPENDIX II

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE RESTORATION POLICY

The restoration policy was adopted by the National Park Service in 1937, upon the recommendation of its Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments:

The motives governing these activities are several, often conflicting: aesthetic, archaeological and scientific, and educational. Each has its values and disadvantages.

Educational motives often suggest complete reconstitution, as in their heyday, of vanished, ruinous or remodelled buildings and remains. This has often been regarded as requiring removal of subsequent additions, and has involved incidental destruction of much archaeological and historical evidence, as well as of aesthetic values arising from age and picturesqueness. The demands of scholarship for the preservation of every vestige of architectural and archaeological evidence – desirable in itself – might, if rigidly satisfied, leave the monument in conditions which give the public little idea of its major historical aspect or importance. In aesthetic regards, the claims of unity or original form or intention, of variety of style in successive periods of building and remodelling, and of present beauty of texture and weathering may not always be wholly compatible.

In attempting to reconcile these claims and motives, the ultimate guide must be the tact and judgment of the men in charge. Certain observations may, however, be of assistance to them:

(1) No final decision should be taken as to a course of action before reasonable efforts to exhaust the archaeological and documentary evidence as to the form and successive transformations of the monument.

(2) Complete record of such evidence, by drawings, notes and transcripts should be kept, and in no case should evidence offered by the monument itself be destroyed or covered up before it has been fully recorded.

(3) It is well to bear in mind the saying: “Better preserve than repair, better repair than restore, better restore than reconstruct.”

(4) It is ordinarily better to retain genuine old work of several periods, rather than arbitrarily to “restore” the whole, by new work, to its aspect at a single period.

(5) This applies even to work of periods later than those now admired, provided their work represents a genuine creative effort.

(6) In no case should our own artistic preferences or prejudices lead us to modify, on aesthetic grounds, work of a bygone period representing other artistic tastes. Truth is not only stranger than fiction, but more varied and more interesting, as well as more honest.

(7) Where missing features are to be replaced without sufficient evidence as to their own original form, due regard should be paid to the factors of period and region in other surviving examples of the same time and locality.

(8) Every reasonable additional care and expense are justified to approximate in new work the materials, methods and quality of old construction, but new work should not be artificially “antiqued” by theatrical means.

(9) Work on the preservation and restoration of old buildings requires a slower pace than would be expected in new construction.

Albert H. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures* (Boulder, CO: Graybooks, 1990, a reprint of the 1938 Edition published by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service), 187.

APPENDIX III

FIVE STEPS TO INSURE AUTHENTIC RESTORATION

Five steps to insure authentic restoration, in a letter from Charles Porter of the National Park Service to the state archivist of Colorado, dated 8 March 1945, concerning the restoration of Fort Garland:

1. The preparation of an orientation report, which should contain all basic historical data available, such as descriptions, photographs, and plans, placed in chronological order so that structural changes made at various times can be detected.
2. A careful archaeological investigation of each building site and area immediately around it, to determine the original outline of each structure and to uncover artifacts useful for museum purposes.
3. The study of the above data (1. and 2.) jointly by an historian, archaeologist, and an architect to bring together all the data relative to this particular site.
4. Collection of data on related structures of the same historical period and type. At this point, a decision should be reached as to whether the evidence is sufficiently complete to make an accurate restoration possible. If the decision is in the affirmative, the next step is:
5. Preparation of restoration plans, each detail of which should be carefully documented against historical and archaeological evidence. The documentation of the plans may disclose gaps in the evidence which will have further direct bearing on the decision to restore or not to restore.

Charles B. Hosmer Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1981), 1013.

APPENDIX IV

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR'S STANDARDS FOR RESTORATION

The following is taken from The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, codified as 36 CFR 68 in the 12 July 1995 Federal Register, and replaces both the 1978 and 1983 versions:

Restoration is defined as the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of the removal of features from other periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period. The limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-related work to make properties functional is appropriate within a restoration project.

Standards for Restoration

1. A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use which reflects the property's restoration period.
2. Materials and features from the restoration period will be retained and preserved. The removal of materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize the period will not be undertaken.
3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Work needed to stabilize, consolidate and conserve materials and features from the restoration period will be physically and visually compatible, identifiable upon close inspection, and properly documented for future research.
4. Materials, features, spaces, and finishes that characterize other historical periods will be documented prior to their alteration or removal.
5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize the restoration period will be preserved.

6. Deteriorated features from the restoration period will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials.
7. Replacement of missing features from the restoration period will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence. A false sense of history will not be created by adding conjectural features from other properties, or by combining features that never existed together historically.
8. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.
9. Archaeological resources affected by a project will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.
10. Designs that were never executed historically will not be constructed.

Restoration as a Treatment

When the property's design, architectural, or historical significance during a particular period of time outweighs the potential loss of extant materials, features, spaces, and finishes that characterize other historical periods; when there is substantial physical and documentary evidence for the work; and when contemporary alterations and additions are not planned, Restoration may be considered as a treatment. Prior to undertaking the work, a particular period of time, i.e., the restoration period, should be selected and justified, and a documentation plan for Restoration developed.

APPENDIX V

RESTORATION PRINCIPLES FOR ADENA

The Adena Restoration Committee of the Ohio Historical Society adopted these restoration principles in 1947 upon commencing the restoration project. According to meeting minutes, J. R. Lawwill described these as the “Williamsburg decalog [sic] of restoration principles revised to apply to Adena.”³⁸³ For comparison, refer to Appendix I.

A D E N A

A Statement of Principles for Restoration

1. Where tradition of the period of restoration persists in buildings or parts of buildings, discretion will be exercised before destroying or altering them.
2. Within the restoration area, all work which does not represent tradition of the period of restoration will be removed.
3. No surviving old work will be rebuilt for structural reasons if any reasonable additional trouble and expense will suffice to preserve it. State code requirements for safety will be rigidly adhered to, however.
4. There should be held in mind the distinction between preservation where the object is a scrupulous retention of the surviving work by ordinary repair and restoration where the object is the recovery of the old form by new work.
5. In restoration work, the use of old materials of the design and character of the period of restoration is mandatory when they can be secured.
6. Where new materials must be used, they should be of character approximating the old as closely as possible, but no attempt will be made to “antique” them by theatrical means.
7. In restoration work, materials, tools, and techniques used in the period of restoration will be utilized to reproduce the old forms.

8. Modern equipment, materials and construction methods will be employed only when it is necessary to meet state safety code requirements for the protection of the public and the memorial development.
9. Facilities provided for the visiting public and for administrative purposes will be subdued or completely concealed in order to preserve the atmosphere of the period of restoration.
10. Various media of orientation and interpretation will be given careful consideration in the over-all scheme of development.

OHS Adena Archive, Box 525, file "Principles and Purposes," "Adena: A Statement of Principles for Restoration."

ENDNOTES

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2. David Lowenthal, "Authenticity: Rock of Faith or Quicksand Quagmire?" *Conservation, The Getty Conservation Institute Newsletter*, vol. 14, no. 3 (fall 1999). Available at <http://www.getty.edu>, accessed 3 September 2003.
3. Barbara Carson and Cary Carson, "Things Unspoken: Learning Social History from Artifacts," in *Ordinary People and Everyday Life: Perspectives on the New Social History*, ed. James B. Gardner and George Rollie Adams (Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History, 1983), 188. Believability as a definition for authenticity came from the late James Short of Colonial Williamsburg.
4. Travis C. McDonald Jr., "Restoration, Re-restoration, and Real History: Trends and Issues in Historic House Museums," *Historic Preservation Forum, The Journal of the National Trust for Historic Preservation*, vol. 7, no. 6 (November/December 1993): 25.
5. Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, 2nd College ed., 10.
6. Kay D. Weeks and Anne E. Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties: with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring & Reconstructing Historic Buildings* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, Heritage Preservation Services, 1995). Available at <http://www2.cr.nps.gov>, accessed 26 April 2004.
7. Jacques Dupont, "Viollet-le-Duc and Restoration in France," in *Historic Preservation Today: Essays Presented to the Seminar on Preservation and Restoration, Williamsburg, Virginia, September 8-11, 1963* (Charlottesville, VA: The University of Virginia Press, 1966), 14.
8. Janet L. Null, "Restorers, Villains, and Vandals" *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, vol. XVII, no. 3 & 4 (1985): 28.

9. Stephan Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration and Anti-Restoration: A Study in English Restoration Philosophy* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1976), 23.
10. William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997), 18.
11. Dupont, "Viollet," 15.
12. Ibid., 17.
13. Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration*, 7.
14. Dupont, "Viollet," 17.
15. Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration*, 15.
16. Nikolaus Pevsner, "Scrape and Anti-Scrape," in *The Future of the Past*, ed. Jane Fawcett (New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 1976), 40.
17. Ibid., 42.
18. Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration*, 33.
19. Ibid., 33.
20. Null, "Restorers," 30.
21. Ibid., 30.
22. Pevsner, "Scrape," 44.
23. Null, "Restorers," 30.
24. Ibid., 30.
25. Ibid., 19.
26. John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1989), 194-196.
27. Ibid., 196.
28. Tschudi-Madsen, *Restoration*, 51.

29. Ibid., 70.
30. Edward P. Alexander, *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Function of Museums* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1996), 88.
31. Ibid., 89.
32. Harvey Green, "Looking Backward to the Future: The Colonial Revival and American Culture," in *Creating a Dignified Past: Museums and the Colonial Revival*, ed. Geoffrey L. Rossano (Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1991), 2.
33. Ibid., 11.
34. Ellen M. Rosenthal, "The Colonial Revival: New Words for an Old Book," in *Creating a Dignified Past: Museums and the Colonial Revival*, ed. Geoffrey L. Rossano (Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1991), 75.
35. Ibid., 75. Rosenthal reviews Margaretta Sander's example of Pennypacker Mills and Samuel Pennypacker's conversion of his simple Pennsylvania German farmhouse into a Georgian-styled colonial revival house.
36. Charles B. Hosmer Jr., *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States before Williamsburg* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), 198.
37. Ibid., 274.
38. Ibid., 204.
39. Ibid., 207.
40. Ibid., 280.
41. Ibid., 255.
42. Ibid., 258.
43. Ibid., 13.
44. Ibid., 285.
45. Ibid., 287.

46. Charles B. Hosmer Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust 1926-1949*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia for the Preservation Press, 1981), 11.

47. Mark Gelernter, *A History of American Architecture: Buildings in Their Cultural and Technological Context* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999), 180.

48. Hosmer, *Preservation*, 961.

49. Ibid., 898.

50. Ibid., 962.

51. Ibid., 961.

52. Ibid., 883.

53. Ibid., 885.

54. Ibid., 49.

55. Ibid., 889.

56. Ibid., 891.

57. Ibid., 982.

58. Ibid., 34.

59. Ibid., 962.

60. Ibid., 964.

61. Ibid., 874.

62. Ibid., 884.

63. Melissa Houghton, *Architects in Historic Preservation: The Formal Role of the AIA, 1890-1990* (Washington, DC: The American Institute of Architects, 1990), 29.

64. Ibid., 879. During the Depression, membership in the AIA declined and practicing architects were intent on surviving. Consequently, the Preservation Committee lacked resources to undertake advocacy campaigns. In the thirties, the primary activity of the committee was tabulating the results of the Historic American Buildings Survey.

65. Ibid., 881.

66. Ibid., 46.

67. Ibid., 46.

68. Ibid., 884.

69. Ibid., 63.

70. It will be shown that the research, programs, and execution of historic preservation and interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg not only shaped practice a generation ago but continue to define the standards of professional practice and influence restoration projects today.

71. Ibid., 871.

72. Ibid., 1005.

73. Ibid., 1007.

74. Ibid., 1009.

75. Ibid., 1008. Charles Porter III, an historian with the National Park Service Branch of History, in the 1930s told Charles Hosmer, "I think he is the man mainly responsible for the original Advisory Board restoration policy. He almost certainly was, because he was the only man competent in that group to speak on the subject, and he had done a great deal of restoration work himself.... I'm sure when our restoration policy came up, it was basically his work and that he put it over almost single-handedly."

76. Albert Good, *Park and Recreation Structures* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1928; reprint, Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1999), 187.

77. According to the National Park Service, *NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline* (effective: 11 June 1998), "In reaching decisions about resource treatment, moreover, preservation should always receive first consideration. Data recovery, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction may sometimes serve legitimate management purposes. However, these treatments cannot add to and will likely subtract from the finite material, and sometimes even data sources, remaining from the past. Decisions about them should be based on awareness of long-range preservation goals and the interests and concerns of traditionally associated groups."

78. Hosmer, *Preservation*, 1011.

79. Ibid., 821.

80. *Historic Preservation Today: Essays Presented to the Seminar on Preservation and Restoration, Williamsburg, Virginia, September 8-11, 1963* (Charlottesville, VA: The University of Virginia Press, 1966), 231.

81. Norman Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000, 1994), 44.

82. Ibid., 51.

83. W. Brown Morton III, "The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Preservation Projects: Ethics in Action," in *Ethics in Preservation: Lectures Presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Council for Preservation Education, Indianapolis, Indiana, October 23, 1993* (National Council for Preservation Education, 1995), 18.

84. Kay D. Weeks, "Historic Preservation Treatment: Toward a Common Language," *CRM Bulletin*, vol. 19, no. 1, (1996): 24.

85. Morton, "Secretary," 16.

86. Morton, "Secretary," 19. For instance, compare these articles of the Venice Charter related to restoration with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Restoration, Appendix IV.

Article 9. The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument.

Article 10. Where traditional techniques prove inadequate, the consolidation of a monument can be achieved by the use of any modern technique for conservation and construction, the efficacy of which has been shown by scientific data and proved by experience.

Article 11. The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration. When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought to light is of great historical, archaeological or aesthetic value, and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action. Evaluation

of the importance of the elements involved and the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work.

Article 12. Replacement of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence.

Article 13. Additions cannot be allowed except in so far as they do not detract from the interesting parts of the building, its traditional setting, the balance of its composition and its relation with its surroundings.

87. Douglas A. Johnston, "Why Almost Everything Is Wrong about the Place of Historic Restorations and House Museums in Modern Historic Preservation Efforts," *Carolina Comments*, vol. XXX, no. 4, (July 1982): 93.

88. William Seale, *Recreating the Historic House Interior* (Nashville, TN: The American Association for State and Local History, 1979), 215.

89. Graham Hood, "Palace Days: Recollections of Dismantling the Most Beautiful Rooms in America," *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (winter 2000-2001). Available at http://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Winter00_01/palace.cfm, accessed 17 April 2004.

90. Ibid.

91. B. Carson and C. Carson, "Things Unspoken," 185.

92. McDonald, "Restoration," 22.

93. Ibid., 22.

94. Ibid., 22.

95. Betty Crowe Leviner, "A New Look at Colonial Williamsburg," in *Creating a Dignified Past: Museums and the Colonial Revival*, ed. Geoffrey L. Rossano. (Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1991), 56.

96. Karen Zukowski, "The Importance of Context," in *Conservation in Context: Finding a Balance for the Historic House Museum, Proceedings from the Symposium, March 7-8, 1994*, ed. Wendy Claire Jessup (Washington, DC: The National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1995), 8.

97. Seale, *Recreating*, 26.

98. Ibid., 26.
99. McDonald, "Restoration," 24.
100. Ibid., 25.
101. Zukowski, "Importance," 14.
102. Weeks, "Historic," 24.
103. Hosmer, *Preservation*, 955.
104. Ibid., 899. Taken from the minutes of a conference held at Williamsburg, 2-5 October 1928, Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, Reports of Meetings Monthly, 1928-29, Archives, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
105. McDonald, "Restoration," 26.
106. Herb Stovel. "Notes on Aspects of Authenticity, Reflections from the Bergen Meeting." Available at http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/archives/herb_stovel.doc, accessed 15 December 2003. Herb Stovel is the Director of Heritage Settlements for ICCROM, The International Center of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property.
107. Barbara G. Carson, *Ambitious Appetites: Dining, Behavior, and Patterns of Consumption in Federal Washington* (Washington, DC: The American Institute of Architects Press, 1990), ix.
108. Gelernter, *American Architecture*, 107.
109. Ibid., 108.
110. Karen Hess, transcribed by, *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery and Booke of Sweetmeats: being a Family Manuscript, curiously copied by an unknown Hand sometime in the seventeenth century, which was in her Keeping from 1749, the time of her Marriage to David Custis, to 1799, at which time she gave it to Eleanor Parke Custis, her granddaughter, on the occasion of her Marriage to Lawrence Lewis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 8.
111. Esther B. Aresty, *The Delectable Past: The Joys of the Table—from Rome to the Renaissance, from Queen Elizabeth I to Mrs. Beeton. The Menus, the Manners—and the Most Delectable Recipes of the Past, Masterfully Re-created for Cooking and Enjoying Today* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964), 183.

112. Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari, *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 416.
113. Aresty, *Delectable*, 125.
114. B. Carson, *Ambitious*, 112.
115. Ibid., 115.
116. Ibid., 116.
117. Aresty, *Delectable*, 183.
118. Ibid., 183. Rundell's book was the best-selling English cookbook in the United States. It was later renamed *The Experienced American Housekeeper*, but contained typically English recipes.
119. Ibid., 189.
120. Barbara L. Feret, *Gastronomical and Culinary Literature: A Survey and Analysis of Historically-Oriented Collections in the U.S.A.* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1979), 45.
121. Mary Randolph, *The Virginia House-wife: A facsimile of the first edition, 1824, along with additional material from editions of 1825 and 1828, thus presenting a complete text* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), 93.
122. Ellen M. Plante, *The American Kitchen 1700 to the Present: From Hearth to Highrise* (New York: Facts on File, 1995), 25.
123. For a discussion of typical Virginia cuisine and cooking equipment refer to "One Pot and a Parcel of Pork: Cooking Equipment and Diet in Fairfax County, Virginia 1800 to 1826," by Nancy Nelson Brown (MA Thesis, George Washington University, 1983).
124. Plante, *American Kitchen*, 7.
125. For a discussion of open hearth cooking refer to Nancy Carter Crump, *Hearthside Cooking: an introduction to Virginia plantation cuisine, including bills of fare and techniques, and original recipes with adaptations for modern fireplaces and kitchens*, (McLean, VA: EPM Publications, Inc., 1986); and William Rubel, *The Magic of Fire, Cooking on the Open Hearth, One Hundred Recipes for the Fireplace or Campfire*, (Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 2002).

126. Jane Carson, "Colonial Virginia Cookery," in Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report Series (Williamsburg VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, 1968), 18.
127. Ibid., 18.
128. Ibid., 19.
129. Ibid., 20. Hannah Glasse is quoted from *The Art of Cookery*, 1760, p. 300.
130. Ibid., 25.
131. Hyla O'Connor, *The Early American Cookbook* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 14.
132. Betty Crowe Leviner, "Stew Stove Report," typescript (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Files, 1994). Memorandum to Ed Chappell, 19 April 1994. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century, designs for stew stoves appeared in British pattern books. The most famous being Colin Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The first volume appeared in 1715 and contained one example. By the fifth volume in 1771, stew stoves appeared in seven kitchens.
133. Ibid. Quoted from William Verral, *The Cook's Paradise* (1759; reprint, London: Sylvan Press, 1948), 21-22.
134. Molly Harrison, *The Kitchen in History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 76.
135. John Ferry, "Food for Thought: A View Toward a Richer Interpretation of the House Museum Kitchen," *CRM*, no. 4 (2001): 12.
136. John U. Rees, "'As many fireplaces as you have tents...': Earthen Camp Kitchens," *Food History News*, vol. IX, no. 2 & 3, (winter 1997 & spring 1998).
137. Barbara Ketcham Wheaton, *Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 101-109.
138. Sanborn Connor Brown, ed. *Collected Works of Count Rumford, Volume III: Devices and Techniques* (Cambridge, MA: The Bellknap Press of Harvard University, 1969), 80.
139. Ibid., 175.
140. Harrison, *Kitchen in History*, 77.

141. Ferry, "Food," 12.
142. Plante, *American Kitchen*, 37.
143. McDonald, "Restoration," 23.
144. Shari Goldberg, "The Colonial Revival Style," *Common Bond*, vol. 16, no. 1 (summer 2000): 2.
145. Green, "Looking Backward," 11.
146. Kenneth L. Ames, "Introduction," in *The Colonial Revival in America*, ed. Alan Alexrod (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1985), 1.
147. Rodris Roth, "The New England, or 'Olde Tyme,' Kitchen Exhibit at Nineteenth-Century Fairs," in *The Colonial Revival in America*, ed. Alan Axelrod (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1985), 162. The committee for the kitchen issued a circular, which stated: "The idea is to present a faithful picture of New-England farm-house life of the last century. The grand old fire-place shall glow again-the spinning wheel shall whirl as of old-the walls shall be garnished with the products of the forest and the field-the quilting, the donation, and the wedding party shall assemble once more, while the appleparing shall not be forgotten-and the dinner table, always set, shall be loaded with substantial New England cheer. We shall try to reproduce the manners, customs, dress, and if possible, the idiom of the time; in short, to illustrate the domestic life and habits of the people, to whose determined courage, sustained by their faith in God, we owe that government, so dear to every loyal heart. The period fixed upon is just prior to the throwing overboard of the tea in Boston Harbor."
148. *Ibid.*, 164.
149. *Ibid.*, 175.
150. *Ibid.*, 179.
151. Ames, "Introduction," 3.
152. Melinda Young Frye, "The Beginnings of the Period Room in American Museums: Charles P. Wilcomb's Colonial Kitchens, 1896, 1906, 1910," in *The Colonial Revival in America*, ed. Alan Alexrod (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1985), 233.
153. *Ibid.*, 231.
154. *Ibid.*, 238.

155. Ibid., 236.

156. Ames, "Introduction," 14.

157. Cary Carson, "Forward," in *Common People and Their Material World: Free Men and Women in the Chesapeake, 1700-1830: proceedings of the March 13, 1992 conference sponsored by the Research Division, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*, ed. David Harvey and Gregory Brown (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1995), 5.

158. Available at <http://www.history.org/history/argy/research.craa.cfm>, accessed 27 January 2004.

159. Ibid.

160. Cary Carson, "Material Culture History: The Scholarship Nobody Knows," in *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*, ed. Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 402.

161. Information concerning a review of the inventory was mentioned in Hood, "Palace Days."

162. Desiree B. Caldwell, "Palace Kitchen Report," memorandum to John Davis, 2 July 1979, in Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series-341 (Williamsburg VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, 1994).

163. Beatrix T. Rumford, "Re: Thoughts on Improving Kitchen Complexes in Restoration Area," memorandum to Graham Hood, 9 March 1973. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Files.

164. Rosemary Brandau, "Pan to Palate," Learning Weekend 1990, videocassette on file, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library.

165. Ibid.

166. Sherry Butcher-Youngmans, *Historic House Museums: A Practical Guidebook for Their Care, Preservation and Management* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 6.

167. Rumford, "Re: Kitchen Complexes."

168. Caldwell, "Palace Kitchen."

169. For example, see: Donna Hole, "Bake Ovens in Williamsburg," prepared 23 December 1980 (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series, 1990).
170. Brandau, "Pan to Palate."
171. Betty Leviner, interview by author, 5 January 2004.
172. Leviner, "Stew Stove."
173. According to Weeks and Grimmer, *Standards for Treatment*, "Reconstruction will be based on the accurate duplication of historic features and elements substantiated by documentary *or* physical evidence...." (Italics added). Whereas for restoration, "Replacement of missing features from the restoration period will be substantiated by documentary *and* physical evidence." (Italics added). While these standards originally applied to all Federal preservation projects and private projects receiving tax credits, many states and localities have also adopted them. Due to this growing acceptance, the Standards for Treatment have become the minimum standard of professional preservation practice.
174. Patrick H. Butler III, "Past, Present, and Future: The Place of the House Museum in the Museum Community," in *Interpreting Historic House Museums*, ed. Jessica Foy Donnelly (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 41.
175. John G. Waite, AIA, "The Approach to Restoration at The Octagon," in *Evolution of the Restoration Process: New Directions Symposium, May 15, 1992*, comp. Lonnie J. Hovey (Washington, DC: The American Architectural Foundation, 1993), 21.
176. Gelernter, *American Architecture*, 92.
177. Orlando V. Ridout, *Building the Octagon* (Washington, DC: The American Institute of Architects Press, 1989), 37.
178. Ibid., 48.
179. Hosmer, *Presence*, 200.
180. Ibid., 201.
181. Waite, "Approach," 22.
182. Ibid., 202.
183. Ibid., 203.

184. Available at <http://www.archfoundation.org>, the website of the American Architectural Foundation, accessed 15 March 2003.

185. A new administration building was completed in 1940, but leased to the Federal Government until 1949. At that time, administrative offices for the AIA relocated from the Octagon. The AIA continued to rent the Octagon and use part of the building for its own offices until the AIA sold the building in 1968.

186. Waite, "Approach," 23.

187. George McCue, *The Octagon: Being an Account of a Famous Washington Residence: Its Great Years, Decline and Restoration* (Washington, DC: The American Institute of Architects Foundation, 1976), 80.

188. Waite, "Approach," 23. John Waite reports that the AIA acted in a "Do as I say, not as I do" manner. Drawings and specifications were not prepared and workmanship suffered. Waite mentions six to eight generations of repointing with hard portland cement mortar.

189. Waite, "Approach," 23. When concern was raised over the stability of the floor framing, Kimball hired engineer Bernard Locraft. He reported that the building was sound for residential purposes and that he was impressed with the craftsmanship of the framing system.

190. McCue, *Octagon*, 81.

191. *Ibid.*, 85.

192. Waite, "Approach," 23.

193. Houghton, *Architects*, 61.

194. *Ibid.*, 61.

195. McCue, *Octagon*, 86. Members of the Octagon House Committee included Mrs. Victorine Dupont Homsey, FAIA, Charles R. Strickland, FAIA, Walter F. Petty, FAIA, A. Edwin Kendrew, FAIA, and Charles M. Nes Jr., FAIA. Corresponding members of the committee included Bryden B. Hyde, AIA, Milton L. Grigg, FAIA, John M. Dickey, Kenneth E. Coombs, and Norman J. Schlossmann, FAIA. Representing the Octagon staff was George E. Pettengill, Hon, FAIA, librarian.

196. *Ibid.*, 86.

197. Neblett, interview. Nathaniel Neblett completed the construction documents and specifications for the Octagon restoration while an employee of Everette Fauber at his Lynchburg, Virginia, office. He said that Fauber was eager to cooperate with the members of the Octagon House Committee, who were some of the most respected members of the profession at that time.
198. McCue, *Octagon*, 80.
199. McCue, *Octagon*, 84.
200. Waite, "Approach," 25.
201. Ibid., 25.
202. Available at <http://www.trane.com/commercial/library/octagon.asp>, the website of American Standard Companies, accessed 2 March 2004.
203. J. Everette Fauber Jr., "A Comprehensive Report Leading to the Restoration of the Octagon in Washington, D.C.," unpublished report to the Octagon Committee and the Executive Board of the American Institute of Architects, with a comprehensive bibliography of Octagon and Tayloe family materials (Washington DC: The American Institute of Architects Library, 1968).
204. Lonnie Hovey, Restoration Coordinator, interview by author, 28 March 2003.
205. McCue, *Octagon*, 85.
206. Waite, "Approach," 24.
207. McCue, *Octagon*, 84.
208. Henry H. Saylor, "The Octagon: Restoration of 1947-1956," unpublished summary of the official discussions, sketches, working drawings, correspondence and other material relating to the restoration (Washington, DC: American Institute of Architects Library, 1963), 20.
209. McCue, *Octagon*, 84.
210. James L. Cogar, "Proposed Furnishing Plan," unpublished furnishing plan for the furniture and kitchen equipment at the Octagon including drawings and descriptions (Washington DC: The American Institute of Architects Library, 1956).
211. McCue, *Octagon*, 81.

212. Fauber, "Comprehensive Report." The entry from 30 July 1968 states, "Generally speaking, the removal of more finish in the Old Kitchen area and closer study in the area by Mr. Perry, our Paint Consultant, has revealed that the rubble stone and brick walls were, in fact, whitewashed, prior to the first and present plaster applications."

213. J. Everette Fauber Jr., "A Comprehensive Report Leading to the Restoration of the Octagon in Washington, D.C.," unpublished report to the Octagon Committee and the Executive Board of the American Institute of Architects, with a comprehensive bibliography of Octagon and Tayloe family materials, rev. 30 June 1976 (Washington, DC: The American Institute of Architects Foundation, 1976). The entry from 27 June 1969 states, "It is regrettable that neither funds nor time permit a thorough study of the bell system."

214. Fauber, "Comprehensive Report," B10.

215. Fauber, "Comprehensive Report," B11.

216. Fauber, "Comprehensive Report, rev.," Entry from 8 April 1969.

217. Mesick, Cohen, Waite, "The Octagon: Historic Structure Report & Master Plan," unpublished report prepared for the American Architectural Foundation, 25 February 1994, A39.

218. Nancy Davis, "A Research Plan and the Interpretation it Provides," in *Evolution of the Restoration Process: New Directions Symposium, May 15, 1992*, comp. Lonnie J. Hovey (Washington, DC: The American Architectural Foundation, 1993), 56.

219. Ibid.

220. Mesick, Cohen, Waite, "Octagon HSR," A39.

221. Katherine G. Revell, "Research Report with Recommendations for Reinterpreting and Refurnishing Monticello's Kitchen and Related Dependencies, Volume 1: The Kitchen," unpublished research report (Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, summer 1996), 62. Footnote 143 refers to: Tayloe Papers, Virginia Historical Society, MSS 1 T2118d 360-537. "1801 Col Tayloe in Acct. with H J. Foxall." "Oct. 13 For 4 Stew Holes @56/- --- -- --3 22 7 Dolls. 07 Cents."

222. Hovey, interview.

223. According to the Webster Dictionary of 1913, Pugging is defined as: "Mortar or the like, laid between joists under the boards of a floor, or within a partition, to deaden sound; -- in the United States usually called deafening."

224. Revell, "Research," 62.

225. E-mail from Lonnie Hovey to Justin Sarafin, 22 October 2002:

"It is possible that thin quarry tiles or brick masonry was used for the top surface for durability (think of it in terms of ease of cleaning like in today's kitchens). It is possible that the few fragments of thin quarry tiles found in the Octagon's basement archaeological excavations were discarded from the demolished stew stove, but the tile fragments were not found "in situ" because the fragments were found mixed within later builder trenches when later plumbing pipes were installed."

"When we completed our restoration of the stew stove, I discovered too late that we left something out, mostly because we did not know about it. The front edge of the stew stove would have had a metal bar or strip along its front edge. Such a feature was often installed to minimize the damage to the stew stove's plaster front edge. The metal edge would have taken the brunt of the force when the cook was lifting a heavy pot of water (or stew) from the floor onto the top surface. Think of the metal edge surrounding Formica table tops from the 1940s and you have a picture of what I'm talking about. I learned of this feature by seeing photos of another stew stove in England or France that had the metal edge in place. Once I saw the metal bar, it made all the sense in the world."

The original stew stove at Hampton Mansion in Towson, Maryland has such a metal bar.

226. Fauber, "Comprehensive Report," B10.

227. Mesick, Cohen, Waite, "Octagon HSR," A-40. A reference is made to an 1801 payment to James Worell for "2 Cranes + 4 eyes to a kitchen fireplace." The report mentions that the evidence that a crane was installed in the fireplace does not preclude the installation of a cooking range. The crane was used to swing heavy pots over the range, or "hob grate."

228. Fauber, "Comprehensive Report," B-11. This entry also mentions that the workmanship of the oven "does not seem to be up to Colonial standards." The brickwork of the oven was determined to be original by Mesick, Cohen, Waite. ("Octagon HSR," p. A-40.) The attribution of superior masonry skills to "Colonial craftsmen" by Fauber can be interpreted as the residual influence of the Colonial Revival. The same "Colonial craftsmen" for instance, laid large sections of the brick coursing out of level at Jefferson's Poplar Forest. A decline in craft skills was occurring at the end of the eighteenth century. In his book, *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), William J. Rorabaugh argues that the revolutionary period in the United States was responsible for the decline of the apprentice system. During a period when popular rhetoric centered on independence and equality, servants and apprentices challenged the authority of their masters. In the Federal Period, apprenticeship relationships became less common. Consequently the availability of skilled workers declined and the general quality of work suffered.

229. McCue, *Octagon*, 80.
230. Irving M. Copi, *Introduction to Logic*, 5th ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1978), 32.
231. Gelernter, *American Architecture*, 114.
232. Margaret Bayard Smith, *A Winter in Washington, or Memoirs of the Seymour Family* (New York: E. Bliss & E. White, 1824), vol. 2, 261.
233. Gelernter, *American Architecture*, 114.
234. William L. Beiswanger, "Thomas Jefferson's Essay in Architecture," in *Thomas Jefferson's Monticello*, ed. Beth L. Cheuk (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 39.
235. John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 77.
236. Architectural Historian Camille Wells quoted by Monticello's Curator, Susan R. Stein in "Restoration Focuses on 'Working' Monticello," *Monticello Newsletter*, vol. 14, no. 2 (winter 2003).
237. Beiswanger, "Essay," 5.
238. Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, in association with the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1993), 24.
239. Ibid., 23.
240. Gelernter, *American Architecture*, 115.
241. Ibid., 114.
242. Beiswanger, "Essay," 10.
243. Frederick D. Nichols and James A. Bear Jr., *Monticello* (Monticello, VA: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1982), 12.
244. Mark R. Wenger, Willie Graham, and Alfredo Maul, "Monticello Kitchen: Fireplace Restoration; Stew-Stove and Set-Kettle Reconstruction," unpublished research report. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Architectural Research Department for the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, August 2003, p. 1.

245. Mark R. Wenger et al., "Analysis of the Cellars and South Offices at Monticello," unpublished research report. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation for the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 2000, p. 60.
246. Marc Leepson, *Saving Monticello: The Levy Family's Quest to Rescue the House that Jefferson Built* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 11.
247. Ibid., 13.
248. Ibid., 27.
249. Ibid., 32.
250. Ibid., 69-73.
251. Ibid., 76.
252. Hosmer, *Presence*, 157.
253. Ibid., 160.
254. Leepson, *Saving*, 33.
255. Ibid., 71.
256. Ibid., 147.
257. Ibid., passim. For instance, on 19 March 1912, Senator James Martine introduced legislation calling upon Congress to provide for the purchase of Monticello, without Levy even offering it for sale. (p. 149) Apparently due to patriotic fervor, Rep. Richard Austin was permitted to enter Maud Littleton's "One Wish" into the Congressional Record on Jefferson's birthday, 13 April 1912. On 15 June 1912, Rep. Austin introduced an identical resolution into the House. (p. 152) Senator Albert Cummings stated that if the Congress wants Monticello, they should take it through condemnation proceedings, much like they take lands for railroads. (p. 159) Opposing viewpoints called the House resolution "a disgrace to any civilized body... to compel a private citizen against his will to part with his property by means of legislation." (p. 169) The resolution was defeated.
258. Ibid., 192.
259. Ibid., 216.
260. Ibid., 227.

261. Ibid., 233.
262. Ibid., 236.
263. Ibid., 237.
264. Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 124.
265. Hosmer, *Preservation*, 188 and 872.
266. Leepson, *Saving*, 238.
267. Beiswanger, "Essay," 38.
268. Leepson, *Saving*, 242.
269. Beiswanger, "Essay," 39.
270. Nichols and Bear, *Monticello*, 70.
271. Beiswanger, "Essay," 38.
272. Nichols and Bear, *Monticello*, 70.
273. John Metz, "Archaeological Investigation of the Garden Terrace, Kitchen Dependency and Corner Terraces," unpublished research report for Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation (Monticello Department of Archaeology Technical Report Series, Number 1, November 2000), 63.
274. Beiswanger, "Essay," 38.
275. Stein, "Restoration Focuses."
276. Wenger et al., "South Offices," 8.
277. Refer to the discussion of the fireplace, ovens, stew stove and set kettle below. Until recently, it was believed that the construction of the kitchen took many years, beginning in 1801 and ending in 1809. In the interim it was thought that the south pavilion served as the kitchen as it had from the earliest construction. (See Mesick, Cohen, Waite, "Monticello Historic Structure Report," Volume IV, "Kitchen, Room 128," prepared for the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, February 1992.) Wenger, Graham, and Maul argue that based on the wear around the opening of the south oven, the kitchen was in use by 1802. The south oven was later decommissioned and altered per Wenger, Graham, and

Maul, "Monticello Kitchen," 12. The idea contrasts with that devised by Mesick et al. per a sketch that shows the stew stove in place with a functional south oven.

278. Revell, "Research," 92.

279. Milton Grigg Papers, Thomas Jefferson Foundation Research Center, personal correspondence to Fiske Kimball, dated 7 January 1941. In this letter, Grigg reports, "The lifting of the floors is now in progress, and we have already been able to verify the existence of brick floors and fortunately the line of the exterior frame wall along the passageway."

280. Wenger, Graham, and Maul, "Monticello Kitchen," 6.

281. Metz, "Investigation," 19.

282. Ibid.

283. Wenger et al., "South Offices," 74, n. 63.

284. Ihna T. Frary, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect and Builder* (Richmond: Garret & Massie, 1931), plate XXIV. The introduction is by Fiske Kimball, who mentions that the real value of the volume is the collection of photographs that present a comprehensive illustration of the buildings designed by Jefferson.

285. Revell, "Research," 94.

286. Thomas Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Jefferson's builder, James Dinsmore, reported to him in a letter dated 21 April 1808 that "Mr. Chisholm has got most of the rooms plaistered & bricks ready to raise the Chimneys."

287. Wenger et al., "South Offices," 66. On 8 August 2000, Monticello architectural conservator Robert Self removed the baseboard and analyzed a plaster sample. He compared it to other samples on file that have been collected and analyzed over the years.

288. Grigg Papers, personal correspondence to Fiske Kimball, dated 26 March 1947. In this letter, Grigg states, "Eight years ago this would have been of inestimable value and would have saved considerable exploratory work, to say nothing of the trepidation incident to conjectural restoration."

289. Wenger, Graham, and Maul, "Monticello Kitchen," 2. The report goes into some descriptive detail about the Virginia precedent of plank walls and examines other possibilities before coming to this conclusion.

290. Grigg Papers, "Paint Schedule for the South East Terrace, Monticello," 2.

291. Wenger et al., "South Offices," 66.
292. Wenger, Graham, and Maul, "Monticello Kitchen," 18.
293. Ibid., 18; and Wenger et al., "South Offices," 67. Wenger suggests this treatment is similar to the fine coating of the cook's room and would also have been used in the other main spaces occupied by the cook, the kitchen.
294. Thomas Jefferson Papers, Drawing N150, floor plan of dependency, ca. 1796.
295. Mesick, Cohen, Waite, "Monticello HSR."
296. Grigg Papers, correspondence from Milton Grigg to Fiske Kimball on 18 March 1941, "You will see that this wall [outer, south wall] is very close to the open fireplace. This theory of mine is somewhat borne out by our latest discovery that the oven shown on the drawings to the left of the fireplace was actually placed on the right hand side adjacent to the stone wall and so far as we can now tell the fire was deliberately kept away from the outside partition. The possibility of the walls having been made of stone is ruled out since the marks of the old partition (approximately 6") clearly show on the original stonework on the fireplace breast."
297. Wenger, Graham, and Maul, "Monticello Kitchen," 13.
298. Ibid., 12.
299. William Beiswanger, interview by author, 7-8 January 2004.
300. Wenger, Graham, and Maul, "Monticello Kitchen," 27.
301. Thomas Jefferson Papers, Drawing N-59, floor plan of dependency, annotated, 2 August 1771.
302. Wenger, Graham, and Maul, "Monticello Kitchen," 1.
303. Thomas Jefferson Papers. Jefferson to Henry J. Foxall, 24 March 1809.
304. Revell, "Research," Appendix 6, "Comparison of stewhole features at selected sites." The mansion at The Woodlands, in Philadelphia (1787-92) has five stew holes.
305. Wenger, Graham, and Maul, "Monticello Kitchen," 17.
306. Revell, "Research," 61.
307. Wenger, Graham, and Maul, "Monticello Kitchen," 17.

308. Revell, "Research," 86.

309. Grigg Papers, correspondence from Fiske Kimball to Milton Grigg on 25 March 1941, "I have now had time to consider further that part of your letter of March 18th regarding partitions with little circles. I am convinced of two things: 1) The dots there surely represent something vertical and round. 2) It couldn't be anything like brick nogging, to render the wall more fire resistant: You will note that, in Figure 1, it occurs in the summer dairy, pantry and dry well, all of which were to be cool, not hot, and had no fireplaces."

Also refer to Revell, "Research," footnote 136: "Milton Grigg's excavations of the South Pavilion in the 1940s did not uncover evidence that these stew-holes were actually constructed; they may not have been looking for stew-holes, however. The northwest wall where the stew-holes might have been located was not excavated. In their correspondence concerning the stew-holes in the second kitchen, neither Grigg nor Kimball seem able to decipher Jefferson's notation for stew-holes on N-150. The concept of "stew holes" was perhaps unknown to them."

310. Wenger et al., "South Offices," 72; also Wenger, Graham, and Maul, "Monticello Kitchen," 15; Mesick, "Monticello HSR;" and Revell, "Research," 67 all mention that the location of the patch is in the area shown on Jefferson's plan for a stew stove. Furthermore all agree the size and shape of the brick patch is consistent with the subsequent removal of the stew stove.

311. Wenger et al., "South Offices," 72.

312. Metz, "Investigation," 19.

313. Personal communication with William Beiswanger, 18 March 2004. Grigg installed a narrow builder's trench directly under the wall. If Grigg had disturbed the brick floor, he likely would have carefully repaired the original floor instead of leaving an obvious patch.

314. Wenger, Graham, and Maul, "Monticello Kitchen," 18.

315. Ibid., 18.

316. Mark R. Wenger, interview by author, 6 April 2004. In this conversation, Wenger stated that at some point you hit a wall with evidence. But when you put back a building, you have to fill in the blanks. He said there is a difference between informed guesses and deductions. Deductions, he said, are facts deduced from evidence. They are less susceptible to revisionism. They are based on a chain of logic that excludes other options, an almost archaeological logic. He stated that every generation sees its issues as important and has a different way of dealing with it. These issues shape the way evidence

is viewed. But he warned that informed guesses swayed by the issues of the day show the restorer's bias and will be swept away in the next pedagogical wave.

317. Copi, *Logic*, 32.

318. Refer to Appendix II, the restoration policy adopted by the National Park Service in 1937.

319. Thomas Worthington Papers in the Library of Congress, Diaries and Letterbooks, citations from microfilm ed., Ohio Historical Society Archives/Library MIC 35. Undated entry after 18 September 1811.

320. Alfred Byron Sears, *Thomas Worthington: Father of Ohio Statehood* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society, 1958; reprint, Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 13.

321. Available at <http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org>, accessed 28 February 2004.

322. Ibid.

323. *Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, 8th Congress, 17 October 1803 to 3 March 1805, second session, column 35-36.

324. Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 193.

325. Fortescue Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country* (Pittsburgh, 1810), republished in *Early Western travels, 1748-1846*, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites, 36 vols. (Cleveland, 1904-07), vol. 4, 219.

326. William Albert Galloway, *Old Chillicothe: Shawnee and Pioneer History, Conflicts and Romances in the Northwest Territory* (Xenia, OH: The Buckeye Press, 1934), 214.

327. Sears, *Worthington*, 205.

328. Worthington Diary, 18 October 1812.

329. Stuart D. Hobbs, "National Historic Landmark Nomination, Adena (Thomas Worthington House)," prepared 30 November 2001, p. 8.

330. Neal Hitch, Cheryl Lugg, and Stuart Hobbs, "Historic Structure Report: Adena, The Thomas Worthington Home, Chillicothe, Ohio" (Columbus, OH: Ohio Historical Society Facilities Planning Division, 2002), 24.

331. Ibid., 144.

332. “Adena, The Historic Worthington Home, Now the Country Seat of Messrs. G. H. Smith and C. F. Smith...,” *The Scioto Gazette*, 9 July 1904.

333. The Smith changes are documented in Hitch, Lugg, and Hobbs, “Historic Structure Report: Adena,” passim.

334. “‘Adena,’ Famed Chillicothe Showplace and Cradle of Statehood, Given to Ohio,” *Columbus Dispatch*, 31 March 1946; and “As State Accepted ‘Adena’ for Memorial,” *Columbus Dispatch*, 14 July 1946.

335. Changes made during the 1946-1953 restoration period are documented in Hitch, Lugg, and Hobbs, “Historic Structure Report: Adena,” passim.

336. Ohio Historical Society Archive, History Department, Curator’s Files, Adena, Box 525, State Archives, Ohio Historical Society, Folder: “Restoration Committee Notes beginning 24 October 1950.” The entry for 13 November 1950 explains that the bake oven was a compromise between Westover’s and Mount Vernon’s. The door at Adena is square like the bake oven at Westover, but has no ash pit.

337. Thomas Worthington Papers, Early Ohio Political Leaders, Ohio Historical Society Microfilm files. “Survey of a Stone building about one and half-miles north west of Chillicothe...,” [Insurance Survey]. Roll 14. Box 11. File 2.

338. Cheryl J. Lugg, “Interpretation and Explanation of Adena Furnishings Installed and Implemented for the Ohio Bicentennial March 2003,” draft report, 21 February 2003, p. 3.

339. Ibid., 4.

340. Hitch, Lugg, and Hobbs, “Historic Structure Report: Adena,” 144.

341. Hobbs, “National Historic Landmark,” 11.

342. Lugg. “Interpretation,” 1.

343. William Seale, *Historic Furnishing Plan: Adena, Ohio Historical Society*, unpublished manuscript, December 2001, p. 2.

344. Lugg. “Interpretation,” 2.

345. Hitch, Lugg, and Hobbs, “Historic Structure Report: Adena,” 144.

346. Stuart D. Hobbs, "Exhibiting Antimodernism: History, Memory and the Aestheticized Past in Mid-Twentieth Century America," *The Public Historian*, vol. 23 (summer 2001): 39-61.

347. Ibid., 53.

348. Ibid., 53.

349. Ibid., 53-59.

350. Benjamin Henry Latrobe, *The Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, series IV, Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, vol. 2*, ed. John C. Van Horne and Lee W. Formwalt (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Maryland Historical Society and the American Philosophical Society, 1984), 138. Latrobe to Worthington, 24 March 1806, "I sat down this morning with the intention of devoting a few hours entirely to the subject of your house, and to put the working drawings into such order as to enable a clerk to go regularly through with them. However, I was stopped on the threshold by the clear recollection of alterations agreed on between us, of which drawing in my hands (made prior to my last conversations with you) contains no marks. I must therefore once beg you...to forward to me the drawings you have. I have now the means of completely furnishing you with the information you want by detailed drawings, having a clerk who will for sometime to come be at leisure to attend to it, and soon duplicate the drawings."

351. OHS Archive, Box 525, File: "Tenant House." Christman was a tenant of Worthington's during the construction of the house and later while building various pieces of furniture.

352. Asher Benjamin, *The American Builder's Companion; or, A New System of Architecture, Particularly Adapted To The Present Style of Buildings, in the United States of America: Containing Forty-Four Engravings*, 6th ed. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1827), 111-112.

353. Galloway, *Old Chillicothe*, 210.

354. Ibid., 213. The Treaty of Greenville brought peace to western Ohio on 3 August 1795. Eleven tribes agreed not to fight white settlers in exchange for their continued ownership of land. In the following years each side was wary of the other breaking the treat. In 1807, after Governor Kirker mobilized several companies of Ohio Militia to the western part of the state, Worthington and Duncan MacArthur entered Greenville. Settlers in the area had become alarmed at the congregation of Indians who had come to hear the words of "the Prophet," Tenskawatawa, who was Tecumseh's brother. Worthington and MacArthur spoke of peace to the Prophet and diffused the anxiety of the Indians. Tecumseh's words to the white settlers had a similar effect.

355. Ibid., 214.

356. Sarah Anne Worthington Peter, *Private Memoir of Thomas Worthington, Esq. Of Adena, Ross County, Ohio, by His Daughter* (Cincinnati, OH: Press of Robert Clarke & Co., 1882), 51.

357. Worthington Diary, 5 November 1814.

358. James H. Rodabaugh, "Adena Restored," *Journal of The Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. XII, no. 2 (May 1953): 25. Rodabaugh lists essential documents that were obtained such as the 1821 Insurance Survey, carpenter's estimates and bills, bills for glass, hardware, diaries, wills, and other records. These documents apply directly to the physical elements of the restoration. Significantly, Rodabaugh does not describe any research into the Federal Period or elements of everyday life as part of an historical survey.

359. Worthington Papers, Insurance Survey. A representative of the Insurance Company of North America undertook the survey for Worthington in 1821. Worthington had considered purchasing fire insurance.

360. J. Carson, "Virginia Cookery," 10.

361. Worthington Papers, Insurance Survey, "Kitchen."

362. OHS Archive, Box 525, Folder: "Restoration Committee Notes."

363. Ibid.

364. Ibid.

365. When the new concrete base was poured for the stone hearth, the floor joists were relocated.

366. Rodabaugh, "Adena Restored," 25.

367. Ohio Historical Society Archive, History Department, Curator's Files, Adena, Box 529, State Archives, Ohio Historical Society, pouch dated 11-19-51.

368. Worthington Papers, Insurance Survey, "Pantry."

369. OHS Archive, Box 529. The back of a photograph from September 1950 reads, "Channels at the right of the dining room door and at the right of the west window in the first coat of plaster indicate that a 1" full partition existed enclosing the area. Nails on the side of the original ceiling joist give clear evidence of wide poplar boards being used."

370. OHS Archive, Box 525, Restoration Committee Notes, January 1948.
371. Ibid.
372. OHS Archive, Box 525, Restoration Committee Notes, 13 May 1951.
373. Worthington Papers, Insurance Survey.
374. OHS Archive, Box 525, Conclusions, January 1948.
375. OHS Archive, Box 525, Restoration Notes, 13 November 1950.
376. William Seale correspondence to Cheryl J. Lugg, 24 May 2000.
377. William Seale, *Historic Furnishing Plan: Adena*, 52.
378. Leviner, interview.
379. Lewis Peterson to Worthington, 23 July 1823. Worthington Papers, Box 10, Doc 1208.
380. Seale to Lugg, 24 May 2000.
381. The primary ideas in this discussion were formed from conversations with Edward Chappell on 6 January 2004 and with Mark R. Wenger on 6 April 2004.
382. Research of the kitchen at Decatur House resulted in physical restoration that began in spring 2004.
383. OHS Adena Archive, Box 525, File: "Notes on Meetings of Staff," 14 March 1947.

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