Contextualizing Tucker's Garden: The Role of Text, Subtext, and Context in the Creation of Eighteenth-Century Landscapes

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CONTEXTUALIZING TUCKER'S GARDEN:
THE ROLE OF TEXT, SUBTEXT AND CONTEXT IN THE
CREATION OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LANDSCAPES

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Kathleen B. Meatyard
1995
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Approved, May 1995

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¹Generated by Gerald Kelso, 1995.
ABSTRACT

This thesis will examine the garden of Williamsburg's lawyer-poet, St. George Tucker, as a vehicle to better understand landscape modification for pleasure in the early Federalist years of Virginia. By viewing Tucker's pleasure garden as material culture in a time of political and economic flux, it is possible to relate the creation of a personal landscape to the creation of community and cultural construction in post-revolutionary Williamsburg. The role of corporate knowledge as gained through literary, philosophical and horticultural texts will be discussed as a catalyst for the creation of Tucker's personal writings or subtext. This subtext suggests a layering of contextual meaning both in the documentary and archaeological records, meanings which reflect individual innovation as manifested on the landscape.
CONTEXTUALIZING TUCKER'S GARDEN:
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INTRODUCTION

I argue that the material world can be seen as texts without words, and is therefore particularly powerful in its meanings. By finding the disjunctures in written accounts and setting these against archaeological evidence, it is possible to use the material world to interpret the verbal word and the verbal word to interpret the material world. Hall 1992:373

...men ought not to investigate things from words, but words from things: for that things are not made up for the sake of words, but words for things.

Diogenes Laeritus A.D. 200

The preceding quotations are centuries apart, and are further divided by cultural differences, paradigmatic changes and accumulated knowledge, but both exemplify the dichotomous nature of language and material objects when applied within a scholarly interpretive framework. In a culture which places great value on didactic discourse, it is impossible to ignore the historic relationship between words and things. This thesis examines the power of words and things, text and subtext and the influence of both on the historic landscape. More specifically, the
pleasure garden of St. George Tucker will be examined as a powerful symbol of 1) the relationship between literary text, subtext and context, and 2) the overarching relationship between knowledge and individual innovation.

The current interest in interpreting the material remains of the past as a readable text (Hall 1992, Hodder 1993) is an effort to give voice to the mute artifact and to develop a narrative between documentary sources and archaeological finds. Scholars have long recognized the ambiguities within the written record and material world and have used these ambiguities to illuminate the multiple meanings of material culture (Hall 1992). Multiplicity of meaning in the archaeological record is discussed in great detail by Anne Yentsch (1994), who acknowledges the broad reach of context which can be simultaneously localized in its stasis and far reaching in its dynamism. This interpretive method, formed within a structuralist framework, seeks "a reciprocal interchange between history and anthropology...integrating the new history and new ethnography into consideration of local context" (Yentsch 1994:324). This method affords archaeologists a
way to fit the individual into the larger realm of local community and beyond community to a realm of cultural identity—concentric circles of reflexive interaction, becoming more diffuse and ephemeral through time and space.

As archaeologists we tend to think of the written record as those documents that yield hard data relative to the site being excavated. Probate inventories, deeds and wills, for instance, recount numerical dispositions of material items belonging to people of the past. We also tend to think of the written record as documents of correspondence or self-recordation as in the case of journals and letters, personal accounts of days gone by. We acknowledge the traditions of folklore and oral history in our attempt to comprehend fully the material record left behind and to recover meanings of the mind. We do, as Yentsch and Hall suggest, blend the panoptic perspectives of anthropology and history, folklore and oral history, language and text to arrive at multiple discourses hidden within the archaeological record.

I suggest that a textual tripartite exists—an expression of text, subtext and context—in both the written and the wrought. Ultimately based on a filtering
system of corporate knowledge, the researcher must weave the threads of differences and similarities to arrive at a meaningful intent. If we think of concentric circles from the outside in, the text becomes the printed matter of the past or literature, which reflects the philosophies of the day. As the concentric circle tightens, we find a subtext: written records, prose, plays, essays and belle lettres produced by individuals influenced by the larger text. As the circle reaches its beginning [or end] we arrive at a layered context, the role of material objects in society, individual innovation and archaeology (Fig. 1.1). If we think of the circles as being permeable, external influences of politics, economics, technological innovation and the importation and exchange of knowledge directly affect exchange within the circles. These external influences are able to enter, and are thereby processed into the larger realm of knowledge through text. But they are not able to fully exit, becoming corporate knowledge defining a historical intellectual progress. It is the application of this corporate knowledge found in text that creates a locus for subtext, which in turn can be used to determine context.
Context is prismatic, perhaps requiring both object-centered and object-driven analyses to uncover the multiplicity of meaning (Herman 1992:3). Meaning is found within the social fabric of the past, and as "objects occupy multiple contexts through time and perception...meanings are always multifoliate and fluid" (Herman 1992:5). To understand the discourse of objects, it is necessary to recognize the diversity of meaning and intent within the larger realm of an expressive society. The ambiguities of context lie in form, function and typologies of similar material objects and the nature of material objects that suggest broader cultural meanings (Herman 1992, Hodder 1993).

If we think of context as multidimensional, a definition emerges that melds the influence of literary action and meaningful dispositions of events or situations. Conjoined by a cautious weaving of scheme and structure, context becomes a layered chimera that is constructed or reconstructed on a secondary level by the observer or analyst. The contrivance of contextuality is alluring to archaeologists, the stuff anthropology is made of, and one of the reasons for 'being' in archaeology. It is the link between humanism and science,
the abstract and the empirical, the written and the wrought, which allows archaeologists the opportunity to delve into the process of material demystification.

This acknowledgement of text, subtext and context is not an effort in literary criticism; rather, it is an effort to recognize knowledge in the role of the larger text. This knowledge could be considered a catalyst in the formation of subtext by individuals reading the text. If we consider the subtext as a discourse reflecting individual knowledge and education, the layering of context in the material record becomes personalized and recognizable. The personalization of context as reflected in commonly held thought and the influence of the role of the individual aids in the construction of social relations.

Godelier argues that the mental part [or thought] of a social relation exists in sets of representation, principles and rules that are consciously acted upon to engender the relationship between individuals and groups to provide organization (1986:170). He further argues that positive and negative values exist within the principles, rules and representation, based on attributes of attraction and repulsion as collectively held
realities or knowledge. Godelier's historical materialism is based on the hypothesis that humans have the unique ability to produce a society in which to exist through the transformation and appropriation of nature, resulting in the production of culture and creation of history (Godelier 1986:26). I agree that the transformation and appropriation of nature does result in the production of culture and the creation of history and I will use the example of the changing landscape in post-revolutionary Williamsburg as an example of emergent national identity and cultural construction.

Distilling corporate knowledge into a theory of text, subtext and context is not without its limitations. It is necessary to recognize that writing, reading and education in general imply privilege and that not all people of the eighteenth century were allowed this privilege. The very acts of writing and reading text and the creation of subtext can be construed as a barrier between those "with letters" and those "without letters" (Simpson 1980), allowing for an argument of dominant ideology and a concentrated power base predicated on the capability of written communication. By rights another layer or circle belongs in the model that reflects the
importance of vernacular or folk traditions which are not accessible through written documents, but which are based on oral communication, emulation and experimentation (Brown and Samford 1990). This layer relies not on text or subtext in sum but rather—as a mediator between parts—a shared grammar perhaps found in song or popular verse of the day, collectively known by members of a society. This ultimately leads to context and presumably is recoverable through archaeological investigation. Individual transformation of the landscape should become visible archaeologically at all levels of society and I will argue that understanding the importance of corporate knowledge as manifested in text and subtext is necessary to the construction of context at any level of a stratified society.

Linking historical documents to archaeological investigations is a hallmark of the discipline of historical archaeology. The analysis of probate inventories, diaries, wills, letters, trade lists, newspapers and catalogs, to name a few, aid in understanding the connection of 'world view' (Glassie 1975, Deetz 1977) and the use and manufacture of artifactual remains found on or in, the landscape through
archaeological investigation. The above-mentioned documentary sources reflect a binary of public/private: public sources in terms of advertisements, trade lists, probate inventories; and private sources of diaries, journals, letters of business and letters of correspondence. It could therefore be cautiously assumed that a relatively objective popular world view of the past would be accessible through public documents. It could also be assumed that insight into the more private, subjective mindset of past individuals is accessible through private documentary sources, even while acknowledging the biases that exist in recordation techniques and disclosure.

The life of St. George Tucker parallels the rise of the Third Realm (Simpson 1980) in the eighteenth century, which acknowledges the separation of sacred and secular, the resulting democratization of writing, increasing gentility and the creation of a lay intelligentsia. Mirrored in his own examples of poetic and literary subtext as influenced by the availability of the larger text of literature, gardening publications and communal knowledge, his landscape becomes clarified as a reflective context.
Through careful analysis of text and subtext, a supplement to the context of Tucker's landscape garden comes slowly into focus. Viewing Tucker's garden as a discourse to be interpreted within the larger realm of changing time, space and form suggests a profile of romantic individualism as fostered by the American Revolution, as well as the pursuit of happiness and individual liberty. This profile suggests a movement away from the restricted Baroque landscapes of the early and mid eighteenth century; and there is every reason to suggest that Tucker's thirty-year occupancy in Williamsburg will reflect the shift in horticultural trends that echo the intellectual trends in the world around him.

What follows is a discussion on the influence of knowledge in determining context through individual interpretation and innovation. Text and subtext will be used to arrive at an understanding of individual landscape modification at a time of flux in Federalist Virginia, in hopes of contextualizing Tucker's garden. Archaeological method and theory pertinent to garden archaeology and the preliminary archaeological results from Tucker's garden will be examined, as will gardens as
an example of eighteenth-century material culture. This paper will draw on ideas and research conducted by anthropologists, intellectual historians, garden historians, social historians, historical archaeologists, landscape historians and cultural geographers. When combined, the materials collected reflect the broad reach of the "cultural landscape" (Deetz 1990), acknowledging the importance of both the written and the wrought as manifested in documents and archaeology.
CHAPTER ONE

THE ROLE OF TEXT IN THE LANDSCAPE

Garden makers in history have been intent on creating earthly paradises. These forms have varied with time and place, wealth and intellect. In addition, the garden has been a place for symbolism and the representation of major philosophical questions.

Michael Laurie 1993

Human modification of the landscape has been an integral part of survival and evolution. The ability to manipulate, transform and generate life from the earth has manifested itself in the technologies of agriculture, botany, biology and horticulture for both subsistence and pleasure. Structuring the way humans settle and arrange their households and homelots, spatial landscape studies have been concerned primarily with production, resource management, social stratification and power, as demonstrated in the intangible realm of space (Paynter 1985, Beaudry and Mrozowski 1990, Leone 1984).

This spatial dimension, the altering of the natural surrounds to form boundaries for simple existence and the cultivation of ornamental plants and shrubs in a contrived setting, has given rise to an interest in the
recovery and reconstruction of pleasure gardens through
the scientific techniques of landscape archaeology. Far
from the confines of agriculture and subsistence-based
changes in the land that echo the research models of
settlement pattern archaeology and catchment analysis
(Deetz 1990, Kryder Reid 1991), current interest in
garden archaeology centers around alterations in the
natural environment by elites and non-elites for
pleasure, most notably in the seventeenth and eighteenth
centuries. Recent research designs have included studies
of power, alienation, resistance, dominance, knowledge
and wealth. They have been conducted for the most part to
determine a scale of human or social interaction--
interaction on the plantation level in the Tidewater area
and within eighteenth-century urban communities such as
Annapolis and Baltimore (Leone 1990, Kryder-Reid 1994,
saw the rise of urban areas, both static and dynamic,
providing a means to increase the wealth of inhabitants
by way of adjunct services to the elites and the sale of
necessities to all. The improved control of resources and
resulting surplus allowed for changing ownership trends
and increased leisure time (Carr and Walsh 1987).

Tucker's garden provides a vehicle to better
understand the role of the landscape in the
transformation of a culture, the reification of community
in Williamsburg (Martin 1983, 1991) and the melding of intellectual thought and environmental history. One scholar describes gardens as follows:

Gardens have special meaning. They are powerful settings for human life, transcending time, place and culture. Gardens are mirrors of ourselves, reflecting sensual and personal experience. By making gardens, using or admiring them, and dreaming of them, we create our own idealized order of nature and culture. Gardens connect us to our collective and primeval pasts. Since the beginning of human time, we have expressed ourselves through the gardens we have made. They live on as records of our private beliefs and public values.... (Francis 1993:2)

It is exactly this experiential transcendence that motivates and controls the link of the past to the future, a physical documentation of self-identity and self-reflection through the objectification of green bounded space. Neither disjunctive or fragmentary, the transcendence of nature and culture into a singular discourse of knowledge, sensation and experience through landscape modification when linked to political or economic variables invokes a sense of 'communitas' (Turner 1969), held in the minds of active and inactive participants.

This notion of communitas is crucial to the understanding of Tucker’s garden. While diametrically opposed to individual innovation, the notion of communitas is linked to a three-part ritual process that moves from separation from the norm, to a marginal or
liminal state of flux, to the rejoining of a perceived sense of community (Turner 1969). Tucker's residency in Williamsburg encompasses the years leading up to, during, and after the American Revolution—years in some ways analogous to Turner's postulations, in which the colonists move from subjects of England, to war, and on to liberty as private citizens with individual rights, as guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence.

The role of the garden in eighteenth-century town planning and community has been examined by garden historians, landscape architects, anthropologists, horticulturalists and others (Archer 1983, Martin 1983, Sarudy 1989, Kryder-Reid 1991, Leighton 1976). These scholars have addressed the modified environment in numerous ways, from the melding of the urban and rural to the symbolic intent of garden creators. The marriage of the rusticity of the country with the urbanity of the city altered villages and towns in England and America (Archer 1983). Gardens had played a large role in the original construction of Williamsburg; the College of William and Mary, Governor's Palace, and general layout of the town were based on formulaic designs of controlled ornamental gardens and green vistas (Martin 1983). A village-like civility was sought as the ambience for the town of Williamsburg, which would allow: "the town's residents to assume a pose of an elegant living that they
thought they badly needed in the Tidewater wilderness" (Martin 1983:188).

The bare bones of public and private green space were already in place at the time of the capital's removal to Richmond. Unfortunately, time and the relocation of town residents to Richmond took a toll on the existing gardens and homes in Williamsburg and, as Tucker notes in 1795, "not a few private houses have tumbled down; others are daily crumbling into ruins" (Martin 1983:201).

Early descriptions of the landscape as we know it today stem from the Latin locus amoenus, or pleasant place, as recognized by Ernst Curtius in Virgil's Georgics and Aeneid, describing 'lovely places that are not cultivated for useful purposes, but only to give pleasure' (Myers 1993:64). Both rhetorical and geomorphological, locus amoenus described technically a specific physical environment from the sixth century to the sixteenth century (Myers 1993:64). According to historians of British landscape literature and painting, the term landscape was derived from the Dutch landchap sometime in the late sixteenth century. Once used to denote a self-conscious objectification of spatial representation in terms of art, it was not until the nineteenth century that landscape became a noun used synonymously for environment, terrain or land (Myers
John Dixon Hunt uses a quotation from Horace Walpole to clarify the relationship of landscape gardening to art and poetry:

"Poetry, Painting and Gardening, or the Science of Landscape, will forever by men of taste be deemed Three Sisters, or the Three New Graces who dress and adorn nature." (Hunt 1992:75)

Influenced by the rise of rationalism and changing moral and philosophical beliefs, literature, art and the landscape become fixed in a continuum of time, space and intellectual revolution.

The struggle between the sacred and the secular, first in early Greece and Rome, then later in the Middle Ages, and the invention of printing technology supported the creation of the dominion of humanism known as the "Third Realm" (Simpson 1980). This Third Realm or Republic of Letters eventually embraced the new science and classical humanism in the eighteenth century and gained power through the written word. The Third Realm gave rise to "a 'classless' and crucial group of world-historical men of letters: among them, Bacon, Newton, Milton, Locke, Pope, Voltaire, Diderot, Hume, Franklin, Jefferson and Adams" (Simpson 1980:7).

The Third Realm also gave rise to a distinction between men of letters (the writer) and men with letters (the reader) or degrees of literacy. In order for men of letters to reach men with letters, a democratization of
writing and reading was required (Simpson 1980:8,9,10). This democratization, the founding of institutions of higher learning such as Harvard College and the College of William and Mary in seventeenth-century America and increasing gentrification created a lay intelligentsia in New England and Virginia (Simpson 1980).

In October of 1771, a young St. George Tucker left Bermuda to study law under George Wythe at the College of William and Mary. Sidetracked by advice from his uncle in Norfolk, he enrolled in a liberal arts program at the College and studied science, mathematics, literature, natural philosophy and French with the Rev. Mr. Thomas Gwatkin (Scott 1991, Coleman 1938). At this time in history prior to the revolution, Williamsburg was the hub of Virginia political activity, for both the College of William and Mary, the only institution of higher education in the state of Virginia, and the House of Burgess were located there. Tucker found himself surrounded by the sons of Virginia planters; through his association with fellow students he became interested in the political arena (Scott 1991). His membership in the Flat Hat Club, a group that met to exchange viewpoints about colonial society, gave him entry into Virginia society where he became acquainted with the Jefferson, Randolph and Blair families, forging lifetime friendships and networks. These friendships and networks would
ultimately form the foundation for Tucker's political and legal career, and provide a nexus from which the cultural life of post-Revolutionary Virginia would develop (Scott 1991).

Letters between St. George and his father in Bermuda indicate the former's interest and concern with the acts of the British parliament as they affected Bermuda and the colonies.¹ It seems reasonable to assume, as Scott suggests, that Tucker and his fellow Flat Hat club members were actively discussing and aware of increasing political unrest prior to the Revolution. In 1772, Tucker left the College of William and Mary to begin reading law with George Wythe, perhaps then the best-known lawyer in Virginia. Active politically and former speaker of the House of Burgess for several terms, Wythe undoubtedly was instrumental in shaping Tucker's career and mindset in early adulthood (Scott 1991). Tucker shared Wythe's tutelage with another apprentice, Thomas Jefferson, and Wythe's influence can be found in the comparison of libraries of the two men (Coughlin 1973, Scott 1991). Wythe encouraged his apprentices to read not only the law, but also a classical blend of natural history, science, classical literature and history, believing that

¹ St. George Tucker to Colonel Henry Tucker, 1776. Tucker Coleman Collection, College of William and Mary and the Bermuda Historical Quarterly 1952, Collection of Tucker papers. See also Scott 1991.
a lawyer's education should include a social dimension (Scott 1991:56). Wythe's manner of teaching prepared the young men of Williamsburg to be representatives of the new republic, advocates of the republican ideal and conduits of the classical past for the uncertain and tumultuous revolutionary days ahead, thus shaping the intellectual present and future of Virginia (Scott 1991).

Revolution has been loosely described by H. Mumford Jones as "the emergence of a new phase of a continuing process" (Jones 1974:6), and arguably the next phase of any dynamic system requires an intellectual adjustment by participants that will link the past to the future. The American Revolution resulted in the transformation of subjects of the Crown into private citizens of the republic, providing a locus for the growth of the notion of romantic individualism, which postulates that it is "uniqueness, not generalization that is the key to humanity" (Jones 1974:232). Jones argues that the melding of the intellectual history of the classical past with the rationalism and sensibility of the Enlightenment and revolution in America legitimized romanticism, allowing for the first time an enlightened individualism. A fine-tuning of rationalism, romanticism sought to become a "sharper, more subtle instrument for the analysis of ideas, of the universe and humans (Jones 1974:22).

Romanticism is based on the interaction between
humans and nature, and nature becomes a boundary which humans attempt to transcend. The romantic's quest for the sublime, defined by James Beattie in his Dissertations Moral and Critical 1783 as "a derivation from super/limas: above the slime or mud of this world," seeks to overstep the boundaries of the immediate sense of nature that is, the sensory traces of earthiness and the "slush of matter" to capture the self-consciousness of humanity (Twitchell 1983:9). Twitchell suggests that what one sees in the landscape is divided into parts: "the landscape between the middle ground and background can be picturesque, but what one sees between the background and the beyond is the sublime" (Twitchell 1983:9); an acknowledgement of the informed mind and the limitlessness of the horizon as perspective collapses. (Twitchell 1983:9,10,11). To the romantics, the sublime was a way to reconcile the oppositions of subject/object and self/nature and to assert the controls of the informed mind over the boundlessness of nature (Twitchell 1983).

Enlightened self-interest and romantic individualism form the foundation for liberal political participation (Barnouw 1986). Based on a notion that denies opposition between individual interests and common good, liberal political participation posits that "the determination of what is good for the whole can only emerge from the
critical interaction of particular pursuits" (Barnouw 1986:33). Barnouw further suggests that the opening paragraph of the Declaration of Independence verifies and epitomizes the right to freedom and individual cause:

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

These intellectual trends directly affect the use of space and the manipulation of the eighteenth-century landscape. One of the hallmarks of the Enlightenment was an impetus toward learning and improving one's mind. Through skepticism, direct empirical observation and rationality, scholars sought to better understand the natural world around them, and in time their publications were circulating in the western world. The importation of these publications as franchised knowledge was crucial to the development of the new republic; a measure of the gentry class was the amount of education or reading knowledge of classical, renaissance and enlightenment writers (Bushman 1992). I argue that this knowledge is evident in the creation of historic gardens.

Historic gardens have been viewed as narratives to be read in much the same way Derrida would read a text. Gardens have been used to portray the development of
capitalism in England and the adaptation of the countryside to the power of progress and industrialization (Pugh 1988). The garden has been viewed as a signifier of the substitution of one form of dominance for another, a move away from corporate land holding to the institutional preservation of property in terms of the "Black Act of 1723," in England. The harnessing of the land from the natural state to a contrived natural state is the beginning, in the minds of some scholars, of the rise of modernity and the emphasis on the individual (Pugh 1988).

Attributes of modernity include, but are not limited to, the following:

(1) the self as social unit and as property and civil rights holder, (2) a secular mind/body separation, (3) an instrumental view of nature, (4) models of linear time and secular progress, and (5) the pursuit of a single truth. (Ingersoll 1993:2).

Land ownership and modification are closely tied into the notion of individuality and the Georgian order or mind-set (Glassie 1975, Deetz 1977). The emphasis on an instrumental view of nature suggests that the land-owner is now cognitively aware of the choices inherent in land management and the results of such management. The idea of controlling nature within the confines of a fixed time and space, coupled with an individualistic notion of self in the secular sense, gives rise to the use of land as a further extension of personal expression (Pugh
The late eighteenth century saw a shift in horticultural trends in England from the picturesque to the gardenesque, which championed the "practical over the theoretical," a style initiated by John Claudius Loudon, as influenced by Humphrey Repton, in reaction to the landscape design of Capability Brown in England (Plumptree 1993). The 'gardenesque' was a movement away from the formal designs and grassy areas of large-scale productions found in England in the mid to late eighteenth century. Loudon called for "a garden for displaying the art of the gardener" in his book The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion, published in 1836. Loudon's fame as a landscape designer and garden writer began about 1806 and continued until his death in 1843. His interest was in the rise of the upper middle class in England and away from the formal patrician gardens that required huge parcels of land to modify (Bermington 1986). Loudon's gardens reflect the Romantic period: his design called for separating plants so that each plant could be enjoyed on its own, and that a straight or winding path would pass scattered flower beds and end up at a focal point in the garden. He further advocated the use of existing trees and shrubs and visual controls within the garden (Martin 1991).

Repton participated in the development of the
"landscape school" in England, a school whose influence and principles still control the treatment of large areas in the informal or naturalistic style. Romanticism or the renaissance of wonder (Nolen 1907) resulted in a new power of appeal and wonder of the world and nature to humans. It was a development of "imaginative sensibility[,] and the center of the movement in England lay in its various, intimate and subtle interpretations of the world of nature" (Nolen 1907:9).

Nature thus became to humans an inexhaustible resource and horticultural trends reflected this new found awareness of the bounty of nature. The practicality of the Repton and Loudon style of landscaping was presumably attractive to landowners of small town lots like Tucker's and perhaps reflected the interest in botanticals, grafting and experimentation that was a hallmark of horticultural technology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Leighton 1976, Hindle 1956, Nolen 1907).

While there is some evidence that American gardeners of the eighteenth century were slow to adapt British influences in horticultural trends, it is apparent that the information gleaned through travel, reading and neighborly exchange of knowledge prompted American gardeners to adapt their own style of gardening, especially in urban areas of smaller town lots (Leighton
1976, Martin 1991, Brown and Samford 1990). This exchange of ideas coupled with the fact that America was unique in its climate, soils and indigenous plants, gave rise to a style of gardening that accommodated the resources available to gardeners in the new republic. Gardening kalendars, personal journals, almanacs and botanical reports by naturalists such as John Bartram also served to influence the urban gardener of the late eighteenth century (Leighton 1976, Sarudy 1989).

The most prolific book found in all horticultural listings is the garden kalendar. Garden kalendars came into existence in seventeenth-century England, prior to the 'Black Act of 1723," but became more readily available in the mid to late seventeenth century. The best known is Phillip Miller's Garden Dictionary, first published in London in 1731, and revised in many editions over the years (Sarudy 1989). The Dictionary was a precursor to Miller's Gardener's Kalendar, published in 1751. The Dictionary lists types of plants, blooming times, planting and harvesting techniques and a methodical explanation of cultivation. Miller's Kalendar is a compendium of monthly chores, planting charts, purchasing guide, construction information and general self-help tips for the garden (Sarudy 1989).

Published in London for the English amateur gardener, these kalendars were specific to the climate
and nature of horticulture in England. Their importation to the colonies proved to be a starting point for the creation of pleasure gardens in America. Lent hand to hand, these books were valued for the background knowledge they provided the interested reader. By the end of the eighteenth century, these garden calendars were being translated from the English version to an American gardening calendar that dealt with the different climate and availability of indigenous plants, indicating that landscape modification for pleasurable purposes was indeed a pursuit of the times (Sarudy 1989, Leighton 1976, Brown and Samford 1990).

Seed catalogs of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century are invaluable for the translation of pollen analysis and the availability of plant types to local gardeners. These garden catalogs vary in their classification styles, the best of the lot offering distinctions between species, availability, color and resistance to weather, much in the same way that current garden catalogs do. The earliest English seed catalogs were influenced by Leonard Meager (1620-1700) whose book The English Gardener outlined specimen plants by usage; for example, "Trees fit to plant by Out-Walk sides" and "Herbs for setting Knots," for use in pleasure gardens
Meager's nomenclature and classification system of trade lists is still in use today and is quite valuable for the identification and use of particular types of plants, shrubs and trees in historic gardens. As a text, seed catalogs may have been used by serious gardeners as references, much in the way modern gardeners will consult a nursery catalog to determine planting schedules, plant requirements and optimum soil specifications.

The philosophical writings of Burke, Locke, Voltaire and Bacon served to influence the poetry of Milton, Pope, and Wordsworth (Martin 1984). This influence can be further linked to the 'technological' writings of Miller, Meager, Bartram, Repton and Loudon, who sought to define and discuss the interaction between humans and nature on the landscape. Thus, the larger text acts as a catalyst for change and innovative discourse within the subset of democratized writing and reading by the lay intelligentsia. The advent of lending libraries, exchange of books between those with like interests, the existence of institutions of higher learning and the quest for knowledge of the Enlightenment all serve to further the availability of text to those interested.

Directly influenced by the larger text, men like

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John Harvey's book *Early Gardening Catalogues* is an excellent reference on English trade lists and accounts from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.
Tucker created their own subtext--personal writing that ranged from treatises on the legal system to poetry and prose to describe daily life. The subtext reflects the larger text and provides an accounting of the individual's grasp on larger moral, philosophical and technological issues of the day. Subtext can be emulative of the larger text as seen in Tucker's poetry and plays, but the emulative properties of subtext are still determined by the process of education and creativity on the part of the writer and cannot be dismissed as secondary productions.

The ritual process of separation, war and liberation emerges in the analysis of text and subtext and through this analysis it is possible to uncover the layers of meaning and intent as they are translated from a global level to textual reactions on a national level. If the larger text is indicative of a community of men of letters reaching men with letters by global exchange, subtext can be thought of as the reaction to global exchange of knowledge on an emerging national scale, separate, but equal in its attempt to mediate and promulgate change.
CHAPTER TWO

SUBTEXT: ST. GEORGE TUCKER AND HIS LANDSCAPE

New discourses are created by individuals working within and frustrated by the limitations of existing structures of knowledge. Because they are necessarily constructed out of the cultural resources available, new discourses always incorporate elements of contemporary or older conceptual formations. (Myers 1993:68)

The life of St. George Tucker was rich in its diversity. Born into a well-known Bermudian family, Tucker was sent off at an early age across the island to receive his primary education and then onto Virginia to study law and the classics. Away from home, young Tucker developed admirable writing skills as encouraged by his father, and it is those skills that have allowed scholars access to events leading up to, during, and after the American Revolution in colonial Williamsburg.

The Tucker name has been traced to William Tucker of Devonshire, England. By the fourth generation, the Tucker family held residency in both England and Bermuda and in the fifth generation the name St. George was linked to Tucker when George Tucker of Milton, England, and Bermuda married Frances, daughter of Sir Henry St. George of Bermuda. Their son, St. George Tucker (1651-1710) was the
first "St. George," and the first Tucker to be born in Bermuda. He was the grandfather of St. George Tucker (1752-1827), born on June 29, 1752 at the family home known as "The Grove" in Southampton Parish on the southwestern coast of Bermuda in Port Royal (Scott 1991). Born the youngest of six children to Colonel Henry Tucker and Anne Butterfield Tucker, St. George Tucker was, by all indications, gently reared and lovingly cared for by his mother and firmly guided by his father1 (Scott 1991, Martin 1991).

It appears evident that Colonel Henry Tucker placed great value on the education, morality and intellectual growth of his children (Hamilton 1994). While a stern and apparently demanding father, Colonel Henry Tucker's parental concern and affection is consistently clear through the decades of letters written to his son in Bermuda and in Virginia, often reflecting cultural values granted to members of the eighteenth-century planter class and gentry (Bushman 1992, Hamilton 1994, Scott 1991). Well-educated and a prosperous merchant with connections throughout the Atlantic, Colonel Henry Tucker

1 Letter from Anne Butterfield Tucker to St. George Tucker, 1770. Bermuda Historical Quarterly 1948 and Tucker-Coleman Collection, College of William and Mary. The biographical information in this chapter comes from several sources, for the most in-depth discussion of Tucker's documentary contributions to cultural life in Virginia, see Scott, 1991.
also served as the speaker of the Bermuda assembly and had resided in London for several years as the assembly's agent (Scott 1991). The elder Tucker's wisdom is evident in his letters. These words were written to a young St. George in Williamsburg, "It is therefore Necessary in a strange place & especially for a young person to be on his guard so as never to break the Rules of Decency and Decorum." This somewhat informal course of social instruction paralleled his son's formal academic training and provided the foundation for St. George Tucker's moral and philosophical outlook as an adult. Perhaps this training stemmed from Colonel Henry Tucker's wish that his son would be able to easily move about in the stratified societies of England and the colonies as much as from a concern for his moral character and judgement. These actions perhaps indicate he was a provincial father hoping to inspire a young son, and was striving to ensure his son's future success among the elites he would eventually encounter abroad (Hamilton 1994).

Tucker's place in Virginia society was firmly established when he married Frances Bland Randolph in September of 1778. The widow of John Randolph, Frances provided Tucker with a ready-made family of three sons and large landholdings that required constant attention.

2 Colonel Henry Tucker to St. George Tucker 1771, Tucker-Coleman Collection, College of William and Mary, see also Bermuda Historical Quarterly 3(2), 1946. See also Scott, 1991.
Tucker settled into family life, and with his wife took great interest in the education and upbringing of the three boys, hastening the learning process with fanciful verse designed to alleviate some of the demands of scholarship. One son in particular had difficulty learning lessons in a timely fashion and Tucker composed a riddle meant to be humorous and alluring in order to pique the interest of the young scholar. Beginning the verse with a description of three young lads declaring their courage late at night while laid together in a bed, one of the lads remarks to the other:

There is a monster which I dread,
Two backs it has, without a head!
Without a finger, arm or hand,
Without a leg on which to stand,
A thousand feet it can command.
Without a tongue a word to say,
It seems to speak ten times a day;
But not unless you lend a tongue
To utter sounds, or right or wrong:
No food whatever he receives,
And yet his belly's filled with Leaves,
It makes me sick on it to look!
"I vow," says Dick, "you mean a book!"²

² Recounted in a letter to Tucker's grand daughter Elizabeth Coulter in a letter written fifty years after the verse was composed. Found in St. George Tucker: Citizen of No
The challenged son recognized the characters as himself and his brothers; and Tucker avows in the letter in which he recounts the learning process that the boy never failed to get his lessons straight afterwards and "always minded his Book" (Coleman 1938). This example of Tucker's verse was chosen to depict him as a man aware of the importance of learning and paternal responsibility, a man with a keen sense of wit, as well as a man who delighted in writing verse with a message (Scott 1991, Prince 1977). The ten years of marriage to Frances are not well documented. The main sources of documentation are the extant poems Tucker wrote to "Stella" [Frances] -- a poetic correspondence that spans the years, one that clearly indicates his devotion and affection through times of war, separation, childbirth and grief at the time of her death in 1788 (Prince 1977).

These poems provide a chronicle of cultural treasures. Tucker's accounting of daily life are remarkable in their recollection of detail. Tucker was not considered a great poet and one scholar has noted that Tucker was "an imitator, not an experimenter" (Prince 1977:8). His poetry is not from the Romantic tradition of Keats, Shelley or Byron, but rather from neo-classic tradition as influenced by his classical

Mean City, Mary Haldane Coleman, 1938. Also discussed in Scott, 1991.
training, yet the romantic interest in nature and the sublime is evident (Prince 1977).

His participation in the war resulted in many poems and personal letters that not only account for events under siege, but also clearly demarcate the life of the elite soldier under the command of George Washington. The premature death of Frances in 1788 resulted in Tucker's move from the plantation at Matoax back to Williamsburg. Moving a bereft family of young children to Nicholson Street perhaps provided Tucker some solace. After purchasing the property on the corner of Nicholson Street and Palace Street from Edmund Randolph in 1788, he proceeded to renovate, retrofit and reconstruct a semblance of normalcy for his family in terms of creating a planned environment in which to nurture and sustain his large family. Aside from the three Randolph sons, Frances had bore Tucker three daughters and three sons. Two of these daughters died in infancy; the third died at the age of thirty four. One son died at the age of twelve and the other two, Nathaniel Beverly Tucker and Henry St. George, lived long and successful lives in Virginia, eventually becoming famous lawyers in their own right (Prince 1977). In 1791 Tucker married Lelia Carter, the daughter of Sir Peyton Skipwith, hired to assist in the education of Tucker's eldest daughter. The new Mrs. Tucker had two children of her own and Tucker's household
increased yet again. Educating and caring for his extended family was quite a challenge to Tucker and the house was run in a fitting military style, earning the name of 'Fort St. George,' by its inhabitants (Hamilton 1994). Tucker found time to devote to the law and was eventually voted into the Virginia Court of Appeals in April of 1804. In ten short years Tucker had moved from law student to a member of the upper echelon of legal society in Virginia, teaching at the College of William and Mary and beginning a serious foray into the political arena (Scott 1991, Prince 1977). Tucker's interest in the legal culture of Virginia and the culture of the new republic are documented in his Blackstone Commentaries and his collections of essays, verse, plays and letters. Through his writing he was able to define and hone his feelings of social responsibility and publicly claim his role of scholar, lawyer, patriot and politician. This role has been described by Scott as "a deep involvement in a tumultuous movement from one world view to another," Scott further asserts that while Tucker "could not have been aware that he was between historical periods, he was certainly aware he was taking part in a process designed to transform society" (Scott 1991:3).

In his later years Tucker semi-retired from the law, only to be called upon by President Monroe in 1812 to replace William Tyler as Judge of the Federal District
Court. He eventually resigned due to failing health in 1825. Tucker died and was buried at Warminster, Virginia in 1827. His widow Leila survived him and died in Williamsburg in 1837 (Prince 1977).

The strength of Tucker's writing survives today and allows for a close look at Virginia culture. Through his legal writings a codified legal profession grew and prospered; through his patriotic verse and plays the public was privy to one educated man's view on the new republic; through the medium of newspapers and books, and through his poetry, a wealth of cultural and humanistic information is garnered to provide a window through which to view and reconstruct the past.

Tucker's penchant for documentation and recordation has served scholars well. His participation in the transformation of Virginia's cultural, political and legal arenas reflects the strong influence of Colonel Henry Tucker, George Wythe, Reverend Mr. Gwatkin and his association with the Virginia gentry of the eighteenth century (Scott 1991, Hamilton 1994). Firmly rooted in the classical tradition, Tucker is an exemplar of provincial gentrification as noted by Richard Bushman (1992).

Always consistent, Tucker never quenched his thirst for knowledge. He managed to meld the 'rational' scientific sensational thought of the eighteenth century with an abstracted interest in the humanities,
literature, classicism and philosophy that reflects the conflicting dichotomy between "ascendant empiricists and Cartesian rationalists" (Davis 1993:147). This dichotomy represents the divisiveness within the intelligentsia which called for all things physical to be surrendered to the realm of analytical method, while morals, the law, politics and human society lay within the realm of theology and philosophy (Davis 1993).

The extant remains of Tucker's productive career suggests this dichotomy was an intrinsic part of Tucker's intellectual mindset. A cursory acknowledgement of the diverse reading material in Tucker's library indicates his eclecticism and a study of his inventions and idealism is reminiscent of a Jeffersonian bent toward creativity and diversity.3

Tucker's dichotomous mindset presupposes a strong individualistic nature that is well rounded educationally and suggests a profound sense of self. This sense of self manifested through experience and sensation, is perhaps the driving force in Tucker's decisions to settle, renovate and manipulate his landscape in a private statement of knowledge, choice and humanistic will.

3 Tucker's library inventory lists an assortment of books, from natural history, science and technology volumes to works by Voltaire, Rousseau, Locke and Montesquieu. For a complete accounting of Tucker's library holdings see The Library of St. George Tucker, Jill Coughlin, 1973. College of William and Mary M.A. Thesis. See also Scott 1991.
Tucker's landscape ultimately affects not only himself and his immediate family, but also sets a standard of lifestyle in the formative years of the new republic.

To better understand Tucker's garden as a vehicle for personal innovation in the landscape, it is necessary to fully investigate the garden as an example of material culture in a time of economic, political and technological flux. St. George Tucker purchased colonial lots 163, 164, and 169 from Edmund Randolph in 1788, following the death of his first wife, Frances (Dearstyne 1953). These lots are located in Block 29 of the restored area of Colonial Williamsburg, encompassing an area of almost two acres at the intersection of Palace Street and Nicholson Street (Fig. 2.1). A scant twelve years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the city of Williamsburg was in a state of decline. The capital had moved to Richmond, urbanization was increasing, residents were seeking new avenues of employment and economic woes were prevalent.

The slow dissolution of Williamsburg directly affected the use of space and manipulation of the landscape. Tucker was perhaps practicing perspectival management in his pleasure garden and creating his own personal landscape that reflected his knowledge, his self-conscious romantic individualism and control of nature (Martin 1983, 1991). Tucker's control of the landscape on
FIGURE 2.1

Nicholson Street begins at the conveyance of the property. The initial control may have stemmed from more utilitarian than esoteric needs; by this time, the Palace of the Governor had fallen into disrepair and was described by some as a pile of ruins at the end of Palace Street. Furthermore, the property that Tucker purchased reportedly included three homes, all of which were too small to comfortably house the large Tucker family (Dearstyne 1953). In a concerted effort to provide for his family, Tucker moved the largest of the three houses away from its location on the Palace Green to front on Nicholson Street, changing the axial boundary to a north/south exposure and gaining a village-like view of the Market Square from the front of the house (Dearstyne 1953, Martin 1991).

In the next six months, Tucker purchased 1400 garden pales, 126 cedar posts and 132 garden rails to enclose his garden (Martin 1991, Dearstyne 1953). The relocation of architecture, act of enclosure and eventual construction of service structures such as a dairy, well house and stable allowed the garden to be shielded from the public eye of the market place, while still taking visual and perspectival advantage of the verdant lawn of

For a complete discussion on Block 29 and the architecture of the Tucker-Coleman House see Henry Dearstyne's Architectural Report on Tucker-Coleman House, 1953. This is an unpublished manuscript in the collections of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
the Palace Green to the west of the house.

Extant letters, poems and journal entries provided the clues as to the location and types of plants in Tucker's garden. These documents along with a working knowledge of romantic individualism and gardening trends offer compelling evidence that Tucker's garden could conceivably demonstrate the change from formal geometric beds so common in the mid eighteenth century, to the more curvilinear and asymmetrical planting practiced by Jefferson at Monticello and others on large plantation properties (Martin 1991).

There is reference to the inclusion of a kitchen garden, orchard and pleasure garden, indicating that land management was in full use. That Tucker would apportion his land to accommodate not only subsistence level gardening in terms of vegetables, fruits and herbs for the table, but also areas for experimental and pleasure gardens, implies knowledge and interest in land management and control of his personal landscape. In fact, this apportionment is reminiscent of the trends in New England to accommodate shifting land use and management patterns in agriculture and industry, as noted by Garrison (1993) and others, on a more personal level as limited by space and form.

Not engaging in the scientific experimentation of hybridization and grafting to the extent of Jefferson and
other contemporary gardeners of the same geographic location, Tucker's library inventory lists several volumes that speak of his fascination with science and technology (Coughlin 1983). His correspondence includes reference to the planting of his orchard and his delight in the fruits of his labor, as well as mention of the purchase of plants that were non-indigenous to the area. This perhaps indicates a particular attention to the publications of such naturalists as John Bartram and others, which arose from an intense European interest in indigenous plants as discovered by antiquarians in their travels abroad. The Linnaean system of binomial classification was also instrumental in bringing the genre of horticultural science to the plantation owners and urban gardeners of Virginia. Horticulture thus became an avenue through which one demonstrated one's knowledge of science, technology and an interest in taming the apparent boundlessness of nature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Leighton 1976, Hindle 1956).

This demonstration of knowledge in terms of landscape management is indicative of the rationality and sensibility of the Enlightenment. Tucker's garden and

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5 Tucker's library inventory lists several volumes on science and technology. These range from treatises on astronomy, to lectures on hydrostatics, optics and mechanics. See Coughlin, 1973
architectural renovations seem to suggest a very strong sense of personal involvement in the landscape, an involvement that sought to display and document empirically the knowledge accumulated in a quest for keeping in stride with technological advancements in the horticultural world. Understood and appreciated by Tucker's contemporaries, these technological advancements were filtered through the city of Williamsburg by way of plant vendors, exchange of communications and trading of root stock known to be productive in the garden. As Tucker lived and gardened on the same lot of land for just short of three decades, it should be possible to trace some of these innovations archaeologically and through the use of such current scientific methods as pollen and phytolith analysis.

The rise of urbanization and restructuring of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Williamsburg after the move of the capital to Richmond may have been the incentive for gentlemen gardeners of the city to personalize their landscapes in a manner that recalled a more peaceful and settled village life. Creating a new frontier that at once acknowledged the past, but also allowed for a positive link to the future, men like Tucker were responsible for forging a new Williamsburg that would ultimately come to terms with the changes in post-revolutionary America (Martin 1991, 1983).
Considered a staunch defender of the republic and well versed in political and legal realms, Tucker was perhaps unknowingly participating in the transformation of his Virginia as Scott suggests, through his definition of the landscape and architectural surrounds. Individual choice thus becomes the motivation for change: the choice to stay on in a city that offered no visible remnants of the powerful past, the choice to carve out a new niche within the social and political flux of Federalist Virginia, the choice to personally modify and manipulate his landholdings in such a way that the pride and patriotism of the past mingled with the heady promises of the future.

By making these choices Tucker was able to retain his sense of belonging to a gentrified and enlightened cadre of gentlemen of the plantation system and political world, while simultaneously promoting the newness of the republic and displaying his personal intentions to transform and reify Williamsburg. While Tucker's garden is identifiable as a part of a horizon in the Amesian sense (Ames 1982), in terms of horticultural and landscape change, it is also part of a larger horizon that witnessed the gathering of the old and new in a fixed time and place.

Entangled in a web of change, Tucker demonstrates a classical tradition that is adapted to romantic
individualism through the freedom of his choice and the liberation of his country. His cultural landscape can be read in the axioms of Pierce Lewis's landscapes, most notably the historic and geographic axioms that allow for changes in technology and the advent of historic events (Lewis 1982). His personal landscape can be read in his poetry, and the writings of Milton, Wordsworth and Freneau, those poets of the sublime, in the landscape (Martin 1991). Taming America's bounty for purely pleasurable reasons was a hallmark of the eighteenth century and as Peter Martin suggests, Tucker was able to convey his own impressions of a Paradise Found through his management of the landscape on Nicholson Street without domination, alienation or resistance, but with a simpler wish for privacy and tranquility in a changing world.
CHAPTER THREE
GARDENS AS CONTEXT AND MATERIAL CULTURE

There is no ancient gentlemen but gardeners...they hold up Adam's profession.

William Shakespeare
Hamlet Act V, Scene I

For the purpose of this discussion, the pleasure garden of the eighteenth century will be considered a physical manifestation of innovation in the landscape. The notion of pleasure gardens as material culture is not without precedent. Scholars have long recognized the intrinsic value of studying personal manipulation of the landscape to better understand cultural patterns of behavior (Deetz 1990, Kryder-Reid 1991, 1994). While historic pleasure gardens are subject to the same parameters of style, form and function as furniture, architecture and decorative arts, they are unique in that they require specific scientific and archaeological methods to reconstruct the past. Conforming to the notion of object-centered and object-driven analyses of material culture, it is understood that object-centered studies use the documentary and material records to recover the
meaning of the object in and of itself; object-driven studies seek to explain the object within the larger realm of society and culture (Herman 1992:11). I suggest that object-driven studies of gardens have predominated analyses of the landscape, acknowledging the melding of history, cultural geography, anthropology, folklore and historical archaeology that Herman discusses.

Individual perceptions and innovations in the landscape have often been ignored, or at best used as a determinate on which to base struggles of domination, alienation and resistance to the status quo (Leone et al. 1989). This is especially true of many garden studies, analyses which, on the one hand acknowledge the very personal visions of individual gardeners, but on the other, see them as efforts to mystify or naturalize the real economic circumstances and social inequalities that bound these individuals with their contemporaries (Brown and Meatyard 1994). To argue against the "inherent political statements" found in the construction of gardens in the late eighteenth century is moot; gardens have long been accepted as metaphors for political power and control. In the case of Tucker's garden one can make the argument of degrees of political influence. As pointed out earlier, the political climate was quite influential in the overall transformation of Tucker's landscape; however politics may also be considered as an
external variable which serves to influence the text and subtext and, eventually, the context.

To begin the exploration of the topic of gardens as material culture, it should be made clear that the subject is pleasure gardens, not vegetable, kitchen or herb gardens that could be construed as subsistence level productions. A pleasure garden may be defined as a "relatively small area of land in which a variety of plants, trees and shrubs are deliberately arranged and managed to create contrived patterns of shape and color" (Taylor 1983:9). Such a garden is a visual manifestation of the desire and goals of the owner or creator and while the first aim may be that of satisfaction to the creator, it may also be construed as an avenue to indicate status, knowledge or social achievement (Taylor 1983). Taylor notes that these gardens are attempts to order the natural world, to provide their creators with aesthetic or material pleasure, hence the name, pleasure garden (Taylor 1983). These pleasure gardens, like the houses they often surrounded, were subject to changes in style, fashions and attitudes. While it is enlightening to note these changes regarding architecture and the surrounding landscape, it is necessary to look at the original, abandoned gardens to achieve a sense of the original processes that allowed them to reach fruition. Taylor discusses four types of gardens that existed from the
fourteenth century onward in England, and these garden types enable the researcher to classify and control excavation techniques and material culture studies (Taylor 1983).

The first type of garden belongs to the original architecture, contemporary with its setting; perhaps it was planted by the builder of the home and then deserted before any alterations to the garden could be carried out. Although this would seem unusual, often the reconstruction of architecture on previously built upon land was carried out away from the original source, leaving the ruins of building and garden alike in the ground. A second garden type deals with the changing trends in gardening style. The movement from formal gardens to landscape parks that occurred in mid-eighteenth-century England and slowly came to America, can be traced archaeologically by following the footprints of the original garden, left behind structurally in terms of walkways, paths and planting beds. The old gardens were often allowed to grass over to become large, pastured parks that Capability Brown and others popularized. Taylor's third garden type allows for the survival of earlier formal gardens that were never completed by the creator and slowly reverted back to the natural landscape. These garden types are often found in conjunction with architectural projects that
never reached completion. The fourth and final garden type is of particular interest for the purpose of this chapter-- a garden found in conjunction with a house that is being preserved for historical purposes. These old gardens are often in the process of returning to the natural landscape until such time that revival of the property for historic preservation, family reconstruction or resale enters the picture. At this time the garden is resurrected, providing a good look at the original bones of the intended plan of the past and resulting in a timepiece in which to view previous landscape modification. These identified garden types, styles and attributes often found in England and America, are useful in determining research designs for landscape archaeology (Taylor 1983).

The process of landscape archaeology is specific to the research design, funding and overall goals of the project. Although this is true of any archaeological investigation, landscape archaeology is unique because it is ephemeral. Disturbed soils and stratigraphy from constant plowing and tilling, a general reduction of artifacts due to the nature of a specified land use, a virtual lack of features other than paths, boundary paling, terrace remains or other garden associated features, all indicate the abstraction of landscape excavation. The following discussion will attempt to
outline the methods archaeologists employ to locate, recover and reconstruct historic gardens. Some of these methods are specific to Tucker's garden and some are available for use depending on funding and time available for the project at hand.

The earliest landscape archaeology comes from classical and antiquarian traditions, though it is not until the 1930s that Dorothy Burr Thompson published the first British reports of classical garden sites (Kryder-Reid 1991). More recently in the Tidewater and Piedmont areas of Virginia and Maryland, historical archaeologists at Monticello, Williamsburg, Bacon's Castle, and Annapolis have investigated gardens and incorporated such scientific techniques as root casting, macro- and microfloral and faunal identification, pollen and phytolith analyses, and aerial photography into their research designs (Kelso and Most 1990). Settlement pattern study, catchment analysis and the applied studies of spacial arrangement upon the landscape are indicative of the pioneer research in landscape archaeology (Willey 1953). James Deetz (1990) acknowledges that the term "landscape" is vague in its connotation and that the term "cultural landscape" can be used to denote "that part of the terrain which is modified according to a set of cultural plans...that bear the imprint of a shared set of values" (Deetz 1990:2). Coupled with the advent of particular
research on the ideological ramifications of spacial arrangement on the landscape and the use of critical and contextual archaeology by Leone, Hodder, and Kryder-Reid, the field continues to grow and become more focused in its examination of cultural behavior.

The restoration of Colonial Williamsburg was perhaps responsible for some of the earliest garden archaeology in the United States. In the 1930s the Governor's Palace and surrounding landscape were excavated, revealing the remains of brick walls and brick steps to the "Falling Garden" built for Governor Spotswood in the early eighteenth century (Noel Hume 1974). Later in the 1960s the garden of John Custis was partially excavated, revealing information on the detail of the garden and plant material and information supplemented by the wealth of documentary evidence that Custis left behind. A garden well shaft which was documented in the correspondence between Custis and Peter Collinson and contained preserved plant material yielded information and confirmation of plant types in the garden (Noel Hume 1974). Garden archaeology has been continuously practiced in Colonial Williamsburg over the decades, most notably at the Prentis garden, the Peyton Randolph garden (Brown and Samford 1990), and now at Tucker garden. The formal gardens at Carter's Grove were excavated in the 1970s by William Kelso to determine land use patterns. Kelso also
conducted excavations at Monticello to document and reconstruct Jefferson's garden and landscape design (Kelso 1990) These excavations have yielded information regarding planting practices and the utilization of controlled space in terms of form, function and style, as well as contributing to overall advances in technological methodology employed by historical archaeologists conducting landscape studies.

As mentioned earlier, the use of critical and contextual archaeology has played a large role in the development of garden archaeology. Acknowledging the external variables of economics and politics, archaeologists such as Mark Leone, Elizabeth Kryder-Reid and Anne Yentsch have assigned ideological intent to the creators of pleasure gardens in Annapolis, Maryland (1989, 1991, 1994). This intent pays homage to the fact that the Enlightenment resulted in increased awareness of science, mathematics and nature and bases the creation and design of pleasure gardens on issues of hegemony, power, dominance and economic wealth. Extremely important to the evolution of garden archeology, the theory of dominant ideology has become the standard by which most pleasure gardens of the past are measured and explained. Such a theory disallows external variables other than politics and economics, largely ignoring the impact of individual innovation, technology and corporate knowledge
as the democratization of writing increased.

The study of eighteenth-century gardens in Maryland and Virginia has had a large impact on garden archaeology in general. However, the fact remains that it is a relatively new field, one that has evolved out of traditional landscape studies of the past, conducted by archaeologists interested in cultural land use patterns of groups of people through time. Very few pleasure gardens have actually been excavated thoroughly; those gardens excavated have belonged primarily to the elite.

For the last fifty years, pollen analysis has been employed to reconstruct changes in vegetation patterns and ecology to infer climatic transformations and agricultural patterns (Schoenwetter 1990). Landscape reconstruction is at issue in the collection and analyses of pollen. Arriving at the layers of temporal change through the manipulation of the landscape allows for a scientific explanation of contextual change over time. Gerald Kelso (1993) discusses the concepts of N-transforms, C-transforms and culture correlates, drawing on the site formation processes as postulated by Michael Schiffer (1988) in terms of pollen deposition and acknowledges the reorganization of the pollen spectrum into recognizable and replicable patterns by natural deposition processes. Kelso further argues that "once the pattern (of N-transforms) is understood, any
variation of it can be recognized as C-transforms and cultural correlates (unmodified records of cultural behaviors), and the cultural activities that created these variations can be identified" (Kelso 1993:70).

Garden archaeology offers a unique opportunity to develop the notion of culture correlates and transforms in terms of the pollen spectrum. Acknowledging not only the natural formation process in the sense of deposition of pollen and indigenous flora, gardens supply a record of imported plants that do not echo agricultural trends or settlement patterns. The planting and cultivation of plants for decorative purposes or pleasure suggest cultural correlates and C-transforms that mirror the intent of the creator to control and transform the natural surroundings organically. Pollen concentrations in the Chesapeake area are smaller and generally found protected under buildings, small flat objects and in deep, rapidly filled features (Kelso 1995:2). In the case of Tucker's garden, eight pollen samples were taken from under brick fragments, mortar, and a shell used in constructing the eighteenth-century rubble path along the colonial boundary line (Kelso 1995).

Preliminary results from the Tucker garden indicate the existence of cranesbill, from the geranium family, and also pinks, located in the dianthus family. Both plant families are found in the wild and in cultivated
gardens, confusing the evidence, somewhat. Given the location of the samples however, it is possible that these plants are remnants of the cultivated pleasure garden of St. George Tucker (Fig.3.1). Evidence of corn, rye and oats were also found through pollen analysis, perhaps documenting the existence of dairy cows on the property as alluded to in a family letter and land use patterns. This evidence suggests intense land management and serves to qualify the use of space within the homelot (Kelso 1995).

Opal phytoliths or plant stones are mineral particles of different shapes and sizes that are produced biologically by plants. The major component of these phytoliths is silica, dissolved in the groundwater and carried into the plant by its root system. Eventually the silica is deposited in a mineral form identical to an opal, where the water is lost through transpiration. When the plant material decays, the opal phytolith falls to the ground and can be preserved in the soil for millions of years (Rovner 1990).

Not all plants are silica absorbing; the main family for study appears to be grasses and cereals which dovetails nicely with the fact that most pollen analysis is done for trees and shrubs, a good complementary source for landscape reconstruction. It should be noted that this process is particularly useful in determining the
### Tucker Garden, Williamsburg, Virginia

#### Single Pollen Grains

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<th>Path Profile</th>
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**Figure Pollen percentages, Tucker Garden, Williamsburg, Virginia.**

GERALD KELSO 1995
grasses present on sites. In the case of garden reconstruction of the mid eighteenth century with the use of terraced lawns and multi-perspectival views shaped by long expanses of lawn, phytolithic analysis may help reconstruct the missing boundaries of the eighteenth-century gardens (Kelso 1995). Phytolith samples from Tucker's garden are presently being analyzed.

To date, a large amount of garden research has been conducted on properties of the gentry, known to have had parterres, terraces, or areas modified by the creator in terms of perspectival management. Not all gardens manifest themselves in this manner; arguably, the formal landscapes of Capability Brown and Repton are rare in the Tidewater area. Perhaps more common are gardens similar to Tucker's--those on a level plane without massive earthmoving involved.

Yentsch and Kratzer (1994) discuss the difficulties in locating buried gardens and are particularly concerned with excavation. Examples used in the article are gardens that include elaborate terracing and formality, from such sites as Morven, the William Paca House, Grumblethorpe and Cliveden. They identify various methods for the identification of buried gardens, ranging from measuring and identifying garden space through the use of eighteenth-century measurement and spatial techniques, to locating linear boundary lines of the garden and tying in
the garden boundaries to the existing architecture. Most of these techniques require the presence of terracing or some slight change in elevation that can be noted by using a EDM or electronic distance measuring device and electronic theodolite, and use of remote sensing is advocated, as well (Yentsch and Kratzer 1994). Auguring, coring, trenching and a checkerboard excavation technique are discussed as possible sampling methods to determine stratigraphic changes.

Yentsch and Kratzer use mathematical theories on which to base their assumptions that presuppose formal, rectilinear planting beds and garden design. They also consider the use of social space in the garden in an effort to delineate the areas within the garden that are accessed by walkways and paths, thus arriving at some semblance of the big picture to facilitate costly excavation.

In looking to culture as a system of applying meaning to the manipulation of the landscape and the organization of space, archaeologists focus on the patterning of spatial dimension within the garden. Kryder Reid (1991) distinguishes three themes of contextual values. The first relates to the cognitive production of structure, the second deals with the attempts to relate patterns to historical context, including race, social standing and power, with the main
focus being the maintenance of such indicators, and the third relates to particular historical conditions such as style, innovation and individualism.

These approaches to gardens archaeologically attempt to deal with the larger perspective of landscape change, and I would argue that understanding the motivating factors behind the creation of a pleasure garden is necessary to the overall research design. Some methods employed by archaeologists engaged in landscape studies have not been mentioned in this paper simply because they are assumed to be used in routine fashion as in the case of soil screening, trenching, the creation of plan maps, test pits and grid systems.

Christopher Taylor notes that abandoned garden sites constitute "one of the most common upstanding archaeological remains in Britain" and further, that archaeologists only see what they want to see. He fears that the majority of abandoned garden sites are often destroyed by excavations dealing with architectural remains and the study of economics, settlement, burial places and religious sites (Taylor 1983).

One can assume given the large expanse of land and the hardships the early settlers endured in the colonial area that pleasure gardens were not foremost on their minds. However, the settlement of cities and the accumulation of wealth by the mid eighteenth century,
coupled with the advent of the importation of garden books and catalogs, indicate that gardening became a passion to some and a pleasant hobby to others. Gardening eventually becomes an endeavor which reaches across barriers of wealth and status to become a national pastime in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Stilgoe 1988). American archaeologists may heed the warning of Taylor while excavating areas known to have been inhabited over a long period of time in relatively urban sites and look beyond the obvious for explanations of boundary walls and unusual structures in the landscape (Taylor 1983).
CHAPTER FOUR

CONJECTURE:
PRELIMINARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS
AT TUCKER’S GARDEN

No glory I covet, no riches I want,
Ambition is nothing to me.
The one thing I ask of kind heaven
to grand is a mind independent and
free.

St. George Tucker
Patriot Rous’d
1819

Tucker’s garden is an enigma; it is buried below a
colonial revival garden planted in the 1930s that will
only come to light through archaeological investigation.
There are conflicting theories of layout and design that
are predicated for the most part on intuitive reasoning
and little physical evidence. Past archaeological
excavations of late eighteenth-century gardens in the
Chesapeake region have for the most part yielded very
formal and geometric gardens that have been analyzed as
reflective of power structures and self-aggrandizement
often these gardens are topographically resurfaced
through the introduction on the landscape of terraces and
falls in an attempt by their creators to visually control
nature and perspective. There are references to "flat gardens", or "four bed gardens," symmetrical and ordered gardens which included utilitarian and ornamental plants (Kryder-Reid 1994:135). This geometric spatial organization has become more or less anticipated in the recovery of landscape gardens, perhaps due to the acknowledgement among scholars of the emulative practices of the colonial elites.

In terms of garden history, the documentary data base available to researchers is somewhat constrained unless the creator of the particular garden under investigation kept very specific journals or almanacks which spell out planting times, construction and location of planting beds, design or cultivation schedules. The larger text of garden kalendars are invaluable for information on the creation of gardens; in Tucker's case, Miller's Garden Dictionary explained the variance in path construction found while excavating.

Tucker possessed copies of Miller's publications, and archaeology alludes to Tucker's adherence to Miller's postulations. In a discussion relating to the construction of walkways in woodland or plantation gardens, Miller specifies depth, width, construction materials and alternative materials to be used in lieu of sand. Archaeology at Tucker's garden reveals the use of
such alternative materials and may explain an unusual occurrence of debris or "rubbish" found adjacent to the axial path.¹ Thus, the value of such publications cannot be overemphasized in terms of explanation and interpretation of archaeological sites.

Newspapers also provide a wealth of information. Several advertisements are available that readily impart data on the types of plants sold, purchased, imported and traded by avid gardeners. There is documentary evidence of an "innovator," one Peter Bellet, a nurseryman from the late eighteenth century who operated an import company in Annapolis and Baltimore, before moving to the more static community of Williamsburg in 1790 to set up shop (Sarudy 1989, Martin 1991). Bellet is responsible for the advent of new plants and garden design in both colonial towns, spreading a garden culture on an individual level, before moving on to the New York area at the turn of the century. References to plant purchases are rare in Tucker's correspondence. There is, however, mention of the removal of trees and shrubs from Tucker's plantation at Matoax for the express purpose of replanting in Williamsburg (Martin 1991).

While a map of the layout and design of Tucker's garden is non-existent, his letters and almanacks supply

¹ See appendix for Miller's detailed description of walkway construction.
vicariously a fairly detailed list of ornamental trees, fruit trees and shrubs. His pleasure garden remains under-represented in terms of plant detail with the exception of a yellow flower (Martin 1991) that may represent one of the most popular mainstays of the Tidewater garden, that of the yellow daylily, as mentioned in Leighton's book American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century, and roses. There is a fine list of fruit and ornamental trees and shrubs that echo the plant lists of William Prince (1790), a vendor in New York (Leighton 1976). Tucker and his wife Fanny visited the Prince nurseries on a trip to New York and ordered fruit trees to be sent to Matoax, clippings of which eventually found their way to Tucker's garden in Williamsburg (Martin 1991).² These include Bergamont Pears, Bury de Roi Pears, Newton Pippin, Esopus Spitzemburg and Bow apples. Some of these trees may be found in Prince's inventory and also in the orchards of Thomas Jefferson and George Washington³ (Leighton 1976).

A compiled list of plants (Fig.4.1) indicates the diversity of Tucker's garden. The inclusion of orchard

² Letter found in the Bermuda Historical Quarterly 6(2) 1949. Also in Tucker Coleman Collection, College of William and Mary and Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Collections.

³ See American Gardening in the Eighteenth Century for a discussion on the trees found in the orchards of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, as well as reference to the plant vendor William Prince.
FIGURE 4.1
PLANTS, TREES AND SHRUBS
TUCKER'S GARDEN

ORCHARD SPECIMENS
PLANTED FEBRUARY 1790

NEWTOWN PIPPIN APPLES  BURY DE ROI PEAR
ESOPUS SPITZEMBURG    RE REGALIEU PEAR
LARGE EARLY APPLE      LARGE FINE APPLE
DOCTOR APPLE           CLING PEACH
EARLY BOW APPLE        SEEDLING CHERRY
BERGAMOT PEAR          GREEN NECTARINE
DOUBLE BLOSSOM PEACH

TREES, SHRUBS AND VINES

WILLOW*                 POPLAR
ELM                     LOCUST
CATALPA                 YELLOW WILLOW
LOMBARDY POPLAR         WEEPING WILLOW
FLOWERING ALMOND        GREEN WILLOW
LILAC                   ASPEN
ROSES                   GRAPES

MISCELLANEOUS KITCHEN GARDEN PLANTS

TOMATO                  MUSKMELON
CUCUMBER

* Willow trees planted south and east of stable. Peach trees near the stable (Martin 1991 and Tucker-Coleman Collection)
specimens suggests Tucker's interest in horticultural science (Leighton 1976) and the planting of fruit trees for harvest and subsistence. The trees, plants and flowering shrubs may have been planted for purely ornamental reasons or perhaps to soften the landscape visually as in the case of willow trees. Poplars are often grown today for living borders and wind breaks (Wayside Gardens 1995), and elm, locust and catalpa trees are grown for shade and decorative purposes. Flowering shrubs are generally grown as specimen plants on their own or included in the ornamental garden to provide spring color after a long cold winter. Batty Langley's New Principles of Gardening (1696-1751) contains specific planting guidelines for the succession of flowering ornamental shrubs and trees to provide color and fragrance throughout the growing season. Langley describes the lilac and flowering almond as between mid to highest height in stature and blooming time to be in early to late spring. Lilacs and flowering almond are described as needing light soil and sandy loam (Langley 1751).

Further descriptions of plant habits are discussed in Langley's treatise on gardens. The poplar is divided into four types and is discussed as a tree to be used as a wind break:

The best use these trees can be applied to is for the breaking of westerly and notherly
winds, and to be planted in dry or wet lands, where no other tree will thrive: for the advantage as will arise from its timber, etc., for fuel, posts, rails, stiles, etc., is many times better than that from the willow. (Langley 1751:140)

The aspen tree is considered one of the four types of poplar by Langley, suggesting that perhaps Tucker was using several types of poplar in his garden for either pleasure or as windbreaks along the parameters of the property. The willow and poplar are described as "trees rais'd by cuttings" (Langley 1751:113), perhaps once occupying a space in Tucker's nursery for cultivation and later transplanted to other sites on the property.

Directions for planting place the poplars in "dry, barren, chalky, dry and poor lands" and the willow in "boggy, drain'd, moist clayey, and moist gravelly lands" (Langley 1751:113), suggesting that Tucker's back garden was diverse in terms of soils type.

Pinks or dianthus as found in the pollen diagram generated by Gerald Kelso (1995) are described by Langley as being used for planting near walkways, and blooming time is given as June and July (1751:184). Pinks are also discussed as plants used for planting at the base of trees on shady walks, placed in a small circle beneath a middling layer of honey-suckle, jessamine and sweet-brier (Langley 1751:196).

Conjecture abounds in the case of Tucker's garden. It is perhaps easiest to think of the layout as geometric
and regular in terms of symmetrical spatial use. The lot is clearly rectangular, and service structures were located along the southwest quadrant of the property, leaving the northwest quadrant open to the Palace Green (Dearstyne 1953). The amount and diversity of land management within the garden due to the inclusion of nursery plants, orchard, pleasure and kitchen gardens, service or utility structures, and perhaps even an area for milking cows, suggests a well-thought-out and efficient design.

Documents speak of the Palace Green being labeled "Tucker's Green" and of the cooling effects of Tucker's garden during a warm spell in 1800 (Martin 1991:179). We can also gather from the documentary record that Tucker's garden was lush in its plantings: "I am now beholding the Lawn from your door, so beautifully green and so richly bespangled with the yellow Flower - it is beautiful and serene" (Martin 1991:179). Documents also indicate that Tucker's wife was mainly in charge of the flowers and the dairying, while Tucker tended to the orchard and nurseries (Martin 1991). It would appear that in 1807, Tucker's slaves were for the most part in charge of the kitchen garden. One apparently dictated letter written during Tucker's absence from home from Tucker's 'dutiful

Letter from Dr. Barraud to Tucker, a constant visitor to the Tucker household before his move to Norfolk, Virginia in 1799.
servant Phil' states, "Robin will have tomuttus [sic] but the weather has been so unfavorable that his muskmelons have failed. The old woman has pickled what cucumbers she could get" (Coleman 1934:15).

Clearly quite alot was going on in Tucker's back garden, yet there is constant reference to the wealth of flowering shrubs, trees and plants suggesting that a large and central part of the landscape was given over to ornamental plants, shrubs and lawns. I argue for a garden layout that acknowledges the proportions of diversity in land management as well as the profusion of ornamental [flowering] plants and shrubs. Perhaps one way to cope with such diversity is through plant boundaries rather than internal man-made constructs that would allow the opportunity for a separation of plants as called for by Loudon (Plumptree 1993). These plants would soften the harshness of geometric design while allowing for the display of singular species.

Such a high activity area would require access and delineation, through the construction of brick paths or lawns, yet documents suggest the presence of many trees giving shade which implies some natural obstructions in Tucker's garden that might prohibit complete adherence to geometry. The presence of indigenous trees may have created a need for more curvilinear or asymmetrical beds in the pleasure garden, while the orchard area arranged
along the west boundary could have been planted in a more symmetrical manner. I argue that Tucker's garden will display both symmetry and asymmetry; some areas of the garden, particularly those along boundary lines will be laid out in a geometric form, while the internal parts of the pleasure garden may possibly be more rounded and softened by the choice of plants. I suggest that the central part of Tucker's garden will include both lawns as well as asymmetrical beds, perhaps conforming to the presence of indigenous trees in the natural landscape. The softening of the internal landscape would allow for a romantic's acknowledgement of the bounty of nature, the practical over the theoretical, and perspectival management within the central part of the garden. Obviously the importance of plant type is of the utmost concern. Different plants have different habits in terms of growing patterns; some are quite manageable and others are territorial, claiming garden space with alarming results. Some are grown as specimen plants and others are grown to provide a wash of color on the landscape, providing visual interest and perspective (Wayside Gardens 1995).

Only through intensive excavation will the totality and diversity of Tucker's garden come to light. Preliminary investigations have uncovered the axial path of the garden and a boundary line, providing a starting
point for future archaeology, as suggested by Yentch and Kratzer (1994). If the garden is to be historically correct in its reconstruction, the archaeology must be painstakingly specific in the collection of pollen and phytolith samples for analysis to determine plant types and locations. What follows is an accounting of the preliminary archaeological investigation at Tucker's garden and a plan for future excavation.

In the 1930s, the Tucker-Coleman house was restored by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Foundation landscape architect, Arthur Shurcliff, a disciple of Frederick Olmstead Sr., designed a "colonial revival garden north of the house, a boxwood and bulb garden located west of the house and a large bowling green sited northwest of the house" (Brinkley and Chappell 1993:6). Prior to this reconstruction, Shurcliff surveyed the Tucker property in order to document existing conditions. This plan (Fig. 4.2) indicates extant beds, bushes and paths presumably from the original Tucker garden. A second map (Fig. 4.3) from 1932, shows Shurcliff's "as built" conditions, providing clues for excavation in 1994 (Garden and Meatyard 1994). A particularly dry summer in 1993 allowed the footprints of the previous gardens to come to light (Brinkley 1993) and at that time it was determined to undertake preliminary archaeological excavation to investigate the possibility of
ST. GEORGE TUCKER PROPERTY

Plan #3 - As-Built Conditions at the End of 1932
(Original drawn at 1"=20' - reduced format)
reconstructing the original Tucker garden. Previous archaeology on the Tucker property had been limited to cross trenching around the foundations of the restored kitchen, the southwest corner of the house, and adjacent to the Levingston House and Play Booth Theatre (Brown, et al. 1994). The bulk of the Tucker property remained untouched archaeologically until the summer of 1994. At this time it was determined to open two units for excavation, the first being a six-by-six meter unit located at the colonial property line to the rear of the lot and a four-by-two meter unit located across the colonial revival central path (Garden and Meatyard 1994).

Prior to excavation a survey was made of the land behind the house. Using a Leitz "total station" combination laser theodolite/electronic distance measurer, a large portion of the back yard was surveyed. Elevations were taken at one meter intervals over an area of thirty-by-thirty-five meters from the boxwood hedge in the east (the present property line) to the east of the central bed, and at fifty centimeter intervals within the six-by-six meter area ultimately chosen for the first excavation unit. The resulting topographic map (Fig.4.4) shows two linear ridges running north-south, a third, smaller ridge running along the boxwood hedges and a raised area where the two main ridges appear to intersect. The area to the north of the intersection may
be associated with earlier subfeatures, although it is likely that it is related to the small garden and/or utility area located along there (Garden 1994).

Two units were placed in the back garden of the Tucker House. The first, a six-by-six meter area was located along the eighteenth-century property line, north of the garage. This unit was situated to the west of a twentieth-century utility trench and centered over a ridge which was visible on the surface. The second unit, a two-by-two meter square, later expanded to four-by-two meters, was directly north of the back door in the area of the colonial revival central path. The units were excavated stratigraphically by natural levels. The sod and upper topsoil levels were removed by shovel and screened through quarter-inch mesh. Layers below the topsoil were excavated by trowel and also screened. Pollen and phytolith samples were taken from significant features (Garden 1994).

The purpose for the six-by-six meter unit was twofold. First, it allowed for working within known landscape features, offering the opportunity to investigate and identify the ridges visible on the surface. Second, by identifying the eighteenth-century property line, it was possible to locate the colonial boundary of the garden, yielding a known and definite Tucker period boundary. This unit revealed a number of
late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century landscaping features, some of which relate to Tucker's garden. Of particular note in this area are three features: the colonial fence/property line (Fig.4.5), a brick rubble path and a ditch tentatively identified as a drainage ditch (Garden and Meatyard 1994). These three features are each considered to be contemporaneous with Tucker's garden, and Garden notes that the features run north/south and each lies equidistant to the other, all located two meters apart east/west of the rubble and brick pathway. The linear regularity of the features suggest an interest in the symmetrical lines of a geometric garden design at the parameters of the property. It would appear that there is only one single intact eighteenth-century layer, despite the several features that can be confidently assigned to the dates of Tucker's gardening (Garden 1994).

A second excavation unit was squarely placed off the back entrance to the house, in the central part of the garden and in the area of the colonial revival garden. Obliquely referenced in Tucker's poem "Riddle" and in a letter from Dr. Barraud to Tucker, a constant visitor to the Tucker household, was the axial path of the garden (Martin 1991). The purpose of this unit was to identify and locate the axial colonial revival path and the older, original Tucker path below it. The original
FIGURE 4.5

Tucker Garden --- Fence Line
two-by-two meter unit was expanded to the west when it became evident that a series of paths had been uncovered and that the edge of a larger feature had also been found (Fig.4.6). Four path features were found. The final and oldest is a thin, flat line of marl and brick fragments which extends from the east wall, westward two meters. Unlike the lowest path, which is flat, the three above are rounded and crowned at the center and the size of the three upper paths range from a minimum width of eighty to one hundred twenty centimeters, while the lowest path is in excess of two meters wide (Garden 1994). As mentioned earlier, the lowest path conforms to the construction details found in Phillip Miller's gardening book. The two paths between Shurcliff's colonial revival path and Tucker's path may be evidence of the continued interest in gardening by Tucker's descendants over the next century.

During the 1994 field season, the focus of excavation was in the large six-by-six meter unit. While important for evidence of colonial boundaries, narrow path and drainage ditch, it would appear that this was a low activity area; perhaps it was one of utility or storage, meant to be accessed by way of the brick walkway, but not highly utilized (Garden and Meatyard 1994).

Excavations in the two-by-four meter unit indicate
that land use patterns are quite different and constant through time in terms of consistent use of space for pathways and access to the rear of the property (Garden 1994). The location of the path in the central part of the garden and the width of the path suggest that this was the main access into the garden from the house and one that was constructed to accommodate more than one person at a time. It is possible that there will be cross paths that intersect at some place in the garden to allow access to the east and west. The six-by-six meter unit revealed no evidence of the intersection of a cross path that would allow access from the central part of the garden to the presumed utility area, suggesting that the path leading to the utility area is either non-existent, is grass or is perhaps located more to the north or south, above or below the six-by-six meter unit. It should be stressed that while preliminary investigations at Tucker were successful in terms of defining property boundaries and several Tucker period features, no definite planting beds were uncovered. The layout and design of the bulk of Tucker's garden, are to date, still unknown. There remains an area of over fifteen meters between the two paths which require excavation, as well as other parts of the back garden. These areas are critical to the analysis of Tucker's landscape design (Garden and Meatyard 1994), and should reveal the
structure of the garden in terms of planting beds, paths and existing trees.

Archaeological evidence supports a garden design that is linear and symmetrical within the fringes of the boundary lines. The existence of the colonial boundary line and the linearity of the features found equidistant to the boundary line such as the pathway and ditch, suggest the geometry of earlier gardens. The reduced width of the brick and rubble path suggests only one person would be using it at a time or that it was not an area of great use by many. The ditch found adjacent to the brick and rubble path suggests a more utilitarian need for drainage in relation to other parts of the garden, perhaps designed to drain standing water off and away from the main part of the garden. In addition, the pollen samples taken from the one intact eighteenth-century layer next to the path contained corn and oat remains, perhaps indicating the storage of manure for fertilizing purposes (Kelso 1995). This archaeological evidence strongly supports the hypothesis that the area of the six-by-six meter unit was used primarily for utilitarian purposes of storage or maintenance. It further suggests a rectilinear design which follows the linearity of the paling, supporting the theory of exterior symmetry within the property line. The importance of the placement of paths or access to various
parts of the property cannot be ignored, not only for information on spatial use within the garden, but also for construction and design. There is a chance that the paths may have been constructed to curve through the garden, winding past trees and planting beds giving credence to asymmetrical design.

Future archaeology at Tucker Garden is scheduled to begin this spring (Fig. 4.7). The work plan includes a total close interval survey of the back garden using a combination laser theodolite/electronic distance measurer (EDM) to trace garden features, aerial photography, geophysical prospecting, the use of ground penetrating radar and traditional archaeological excavation. A large scale investigation will be conducted using standard techniques which include stratigraphic excavation, computer based recording, mapping, and collection of samples for paleobotanical analysis (Brown et al. 1994).

This investigation will study the formal and public area of Tucker's garden, in hopes of yielding information on functional areas, such as the orchard, as well as parts of the kitchen garden. Only through such large scale investigation will the landscape of St. George Tucker come to light. The Tucker garden affords a unique opportunity to not only recover and reconstruct an enclosed landscape that was designed and worked continuously by St. George Tucker, but also a garden that
FIGURE 4.7

St. George Tucker Garden
Plan of Proposed Excavations

KEY

- Hypothetical boundary
- Hypothetical building
- Existing walkways
- Colonial lot line
- Proposed excavation areas
- 1894 excavation areas

Legend:

- Smokehouse
- Wells
- Kitchen
- Proposed 163
- Site 164

Scale: 100 feet

North
evolved over time with each succeeding family member residing at Tucker House. Documentary sources strongly support the participation and interest in the back garden of Tucker house by later family members, offering a chance to trace horticultural practices over time in a fixed and bounded area.

It is this long occupation of the property by a single family that makes the Tucker property so intriguing. One can assume that as family members made changes in the architecture of the main house, the garden would be considered in the overall arrangements. The Tucker garden should be considered a timepiece by which to view the continuing evolution of horticultural trends and personal innovation through generations.

5 A letter written by Nathaniel Beverly Tucker who moved into the house after the death of Leila Tucker discusses the garden in reference to the placement of his office.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

An object out of context is unreadable.

Hodder 1986:141

The preceding pages have discussed intellectual theory, American history, literary and political history, archaeological field and research methods and specific material culture in terms of the development of the landscape and the new republic. The introduction of this paper called for the recognition of text, subtext and context in the interpretation of landscape modification and the pursuit of community by an individual. These are hardly new considerations and they are considerations which change over time in academe in reaction to paradigmatic nuances within disciplines. What makes this particular case unique is the fact that the subject is an individual of middling wealth, and the power projected is neither predicated on noblesse oblige, nor self-imposed, but is rather a franchised power of judicial privilege as
granted by representatives of the state.

Tucker's greatest strength is his wealth of knowledge and his individualism; through his verse and letters his personal character becomes clear.

It is impossible not to grant the mute artifact a voice in the process of culture construction. As Jules Prown suggests,

The underlying premise of material culture study is that objects made or modified by man reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of the individuals who made, commissioned, purchased, or used them and, by extension, the beliefs of the larger society to which they belonged. (1988:19)

Within this vocality comes a responsibility to acknowledge the individual and ultimately the society in which the individual exists (Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski 1991).

Communication therefore provides the nexus for signs and signifiers to be recognized and acted upon (Leach 1983). Creating an unspoken, but read text, subtext and context, authors of the eighteenth century were unconsciously constructing a narrative framework in which to create material objects. The garden thus becomes a sign, signifying knowledge and individual interpretation of that knowledge. If we think of the garden as a sign or symbol of knowledge, as the catalyst for personal expression in reaction to text and subtext, then the context of the material remains directly reflect
innovation and cultural change.

I argue for a theory of circumstance, one that allows for textual interaction reflected in a created subtext, which results in a layering of context that can be traced through individual choice and actions. It is clear that Tucker was devoted to intellectual stimulation and mental exercise: his library and letters reveal his personality and mindset two hundred years after his death. The reflection of the larger philosophical, scientific and technological text filters down into Tucker's subtext of plays, essays, poems and legal writings. We begin to see what makes Tucker tick; his patriotism, intellect, humanism, humor and appreciation for nature are evident in his subtext.

It has been argued that symbolic and structuralist analyses are riddled with pitfalls which serve to undermine the significance of meaning and intent (Leone and Potter 1989). According to Leone and Potter (1989), chronology, causality and context become the mediated concerns of the archaeologist employing a structuralist method of analysis. A narrative must be sought that simultaneously identifies the locus for change through time and the causal relationship between that locus and the resultant material culture, one that transcends the limits of time and space.

Leone's elegant analysis of eighteenth-century
gardens employs the works of twentieth-century garden historians such as Martin and Maccubbin and eighteenth-century gardening books by Miller and Langley. Rethinking archaeological evidence and documentary sources, Leone is able to move beyond two-dimensional expectations in garden design and realize a third dimension in geometric perspective used by creators of pleasure gardens. He further turns to organizational behavior and eighteenth-century context of garden use to determine why the garden in question was diverse in style and expected design. Leone argues that gardens were used as symbols to establish and maintain social relations and position through optical illusion, mastering nature through geometry (Leone and Potter 1989).

Corporate knowledge is a factor in Leone's argument as is the larger text of garden literature of the eighteenth century. There is an implicit assumption that all parties viewing the garden in question would recognize these optical illusions as a statement of social position or knowledge, thereby creating a sense of acknowledged control or power that is directly linked to status, economic wealth or politics. To dispute the fact that landscape modification in the eighteenth century was a symbol of knowledge would be unreasonable. One can dispute the fact that this knowledge was used as a form of hegemony over those without economic resources or
those without political power. Linking the symbolism of gardens to dominant ideology or economic wealth disallows individual innovation and choice, factors perhaps reached through subtext, formally or in the vernacular. If we situate ourselves as analysts within our own culture as Leone and Potter suggest (1989:7) we realize that there are many different factors that play into emulation, hegemony and domination in the twentieth century and that economics and political power are often far removed from consideration. One can reasonably assume that not all residents of a city or town were directly controlled or held in thrall by dominant ideology, just as one can assume that not all residents of a town or city were willingly or knowingly participating in the creation of community. Placing the impetus for change and the reification of community within a framework of liberal participation, romantic individualism and pursuit of individual liberties allows for an overthrow of dominance that would have been construed as a remnant of early colonization.

Paul Shackel argues that the rise of eighteenth-century personal discipline as manifested in 'things' was influenced by pattern books, courtesy books, personal communication and philosophical writings of the day (Shackel 1994). He sees this manifestation as a validation of increasing gentility, mechanism,
individualism through segmentation, increased leisure time and wealth, creating a continuum of consumption, production, technological innovation and emulation.

Tucker fits this pattern to some extent. What differs is his attitude toward consumption, production and emulation. Documents verify his disinterest in positions that would have surely increased his wealth and social status: he preferred to stay in Williamsburg to enjoy his garden (Martin 1991). Emulation is not based on the hegemonic forces of dominant ideology in Tucker's case. Any emulative practice appears to stem from a culturally shared passion for interaction with the landscape. Thus emulation in the case of Tucker can be reduced to a corporate memory of landscapes witnessed and a common grammar between others with the same interest in horticultural trends.

If we think of concentric circularity from the outside inwards, it is possible to answer the challenge of Leone and Potter and to account for causality, chronology and context. Chronology can be firmly placed in eighteenth-century literature, technology and historic events, as reactions to the past. Ideas spring from the awareness in the eighteenth century of the nature/culture dichotomy as recognized by the rationalist thinkers of the Enlightenment and influenced by the Third Realm. The lay intelligentsia becomes the native voice that is
speaking, a layering of self and other that floats through time and space, manifesting itself in literary text and the personal subtext of participants. The native voice as described by Leone and Potter is "one that represents people who have been disfranchised, destroyed, encompassed, colonized or silenced in some way" (Leone and Potter 1989:7) In the case of Tucker's garden, the native voice is that of the revolutionary attempting to settle in to a national identity after a time of conflict and colonization. This native voice is processing the literature and written thought of philosophers in Europe and the new republic and coming to terms with the construction of the new republic.

The impetus for change is found in the tumultuous years before, during, and after the Revolution--a historic event unprecedented in colonial history. The transformation of subject to citizen, the separation of oppressor and oppressed, symbolically, geographically and politically created a cultural vacuum. The void created by the Revolution allowed for the growth of romantic individualism, liberal political participation and the individual pursuit of happiness as mandated by the Declaration of Independence (Jones 1974, Barnouw 1983). Simultaneously acknowledging the past and present, colonists in universal terms faced the realities of liberation and freedom of choice within collective
franchised states. On a personal level, colonists such as Tucker drew upon the corporate memory of their personal histories to create a future for themselves, their families and their community. The ritual process of liberation through war and separation enabled and empowered colonists to construct a new cultural identity that acknowledged the past as a link to the future.

Nowhere is this causal relationship more evident than in Tucker's personal choices in the modification and transformation of his landscape. Only by choice does Tucker stay on in Williamsburg, eschewing the lure of political power and increased wealth offered to him. Preferring the quiet community of Williamsburg and time available to indulge his interest in nature, Tucker becomes an apologist for the community, quick to point out the village-like peacefulness to visiting strangers (Martin 1983,1991).

Arguably, this causality crosses geographic, ethnic and religious boundaries and can be traced through the subtext of other writers of verse, song or plays. The democratization of writing, reading and education would conceivably have a ripple effect, filtering down through systems of communities, plantations and households, manifesting itself through degrees of education and emulation. If individuals belonging to a collective social group give voice to their thoughts and beliefs
through myth, oral history and folklore, writing provides the nexus for personal expression of cultural beliefs through song, verse, essays and plays. This results in degrees of literacy, subtext and causality, dependent on the group studied and the individuals participating. Each represented group thus shares a commonly held ideology; and it is the individual who transforms that ideology into prose of a commonly held grammar, providing a subtext that echoes a larger text. Thus, the meanings reflected in the material culture ascribed to the society in question are subtly and ephemerally found in layered complex contexts.

Context is the result of text and subtext; a rendering of similarities and differences, by studying and identifying context we can uncover meaning within the material record (Hodder 1993). Using Hodder's second type of contextual meaning which contends that networks of relationships can be read to reach interpretation of meaning content, we place the material object in a framework of time, space and form which allows for social and systemic relationships (Hodder 1993:153).

The inclusion of chronology and causality in a structural textual analysis allows for contextual interpretation writ large. By linking the chain of historical progress to literature and the resulting written communication on a personal level, it is possible
to arrive at an educated contextual framework in which to analyze fully material remains.

The ephemeral qualities of a changing landscape result in a contextual enigma which requires a concession to social thought and intellectualism. Without this concession, context and the reading of landscape as environmental history becomes lost in traces of power, domination and hegemony in the collective sense. Tucker's landscape is unique in its essence of innovation, diversity and knowledge. Tucker's choice of staying in Williamsburg, his relocation of architecture and planting of his garden strongly suggest a movement toward community and the emergence of a form of cultural identity in post-revolutionary Virginia. The motivating forces of literary and philosophical text and the resulting reflexive personal verse of Tucker form the structure for analysis. Fully contextualized, Tucker's garden should provide a physical metaphor for communitas and unity in the eighteenth century in light of the rise of the new republic and in relation to intellectualism, literacy and a shared grammar of horticulture.

The archaeological findings to date indicate adherence to a larger text; the paths, pollen diagrams and colonial boundary line echo the text of Phillip Miller and other writers of the eighteenth century. Tucker's verse and letters are indicative of the larger
intellectual shifts in America—philosophical movements away from the neoclassical to the romantic notions of the nineteenth century that are tied to westward expansion and the realization of the sublime in nature. The pursuit of science and the Great Awakening in the mid eighteenth century created a commonality in America which would become more fixed through time. Brooke Hindle argues that while the colonies were modeled after European conceptions, no institution in America was an exact model of European influence; in fact, "Divergence had begun as soon as the first colonist stepped ashore to discover that the American environment required adaptation on his part" (Hindle 1956:3). This diversity and adaptation is indicative of what becoming American was about.

Gardens such as Tucker's were perhaps a sign of the times, a movement away from elite plantation gardens to small town lots that would continue into the nineteenth century, in towns, in the borderlands and beyond (Stilgoe 1988). The romantic sensibilities attributed to the nineteenth century landscape stem from the awareness of the expansive nature of America as colonists moved west (Martin 1991). Already firmly established by the men of letters and men with letters, westward expansion amplified romanticism and the sublime in a uniquely American fashion, allowing for the rise of American art, literature and poetry that had in common the vast
resources of American landscape.
ODÉ V
TO A TRULY GREAT MAN
JUNE 22, 1793

George— on thy virtues often have I dwelt,
And still the scheme is grateful to mine ear,
Thy gold let chemists ten times over melt,
From dross and base alloy they’l find it clear.

Yet, thou’rt a man— although perhaps the first;
But man, at best, is but a being frail;
And since with error human nature’s curst,
I marvel not that thou should’st sometimes fail.

That thou hast long, and nobly served the State,
The nation owns, and freely gives thee thanks:
But, sir! whatever speculators prate,
She gave thee not the power t’establish banks.

No doubt, thou thought’st it was a phoenix nest,
Which Congress were so busy to build up,
But there a crocodile had fixed his rest,
And snapped the nations bowels at a sup.

The greedy monster is not yet half cloyed,
Nor will he, whilst a leg or arm remains;
These parts the last of all should be destroyed;
The delicious morsel is her brains.

I trust thou’st seen the monster by this time;
And hast prepared the knife to cut his throat;
His scales are so damned hard, that in my prime,
’Twould take thee twenty years to make it out.

God grant thee life to do it! Fare thee well!
Another time examine well the nest,
Though of Arabia’s spices it should smell,
It may produce some foul, infernal pest.¹

¹ "To a truly great man": George Washington. "morsel is her brain": The American character for industry and sobriety begins to be lost in the age of speculation. "twenty years": The period for which the National Bank was established. The sums of money borrowed of it by the
A FABLE
DECEMBER 25, 1812

I dreamed last night, the debt of nature paid,
I, cheek by jowl, was by a Negro laid;
Provoked at such a neighborhood, I cried,
"Rascal! begone. Rot further from my side."
"Rascal!" said he, with arrogance extreme,
"Thou are the only rascal here, I deem;
Know fallen tyrant, I am no more thy slave!
Quaco's a monarch's equal, in the grave."2

ODE TO PEACE
1787-1788

Come, sweet peace, and with thee bring
All the odors of the spring;
Summer's golden harvests, too,
Autumn's fruits of various hue,
Winter's health, and cheerful fires,
Joys, which competence inspires.

Leave to war the vernal blights,
Scorching Summer's sultry nights,
Autumn's fogs and sickly dew,
Rugged winter's blustering crew.
Slavery, famine, and despair,
Leave behind to cruel war.

All the good that freedom brings,
Mirth from innocence that springs,
Temperance, the foe to strife,
Friendship, sweetest balm of life,

2 In 1796, A Dissertation on Slavery, With a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of it in the State of Virginia, was published. Tucker's plan for the manumission of slavery was based on a premise that if all slaves were deprived of civil rights, they would naturally emigrate to unsettled areas where they would be free to set up their own society. When the Louisiana Territory was acquired, Tucker suggested it as an area for freed slaves (Prince 1977:119).
BACCHANALIAN

APRIL 1, 1817

I have heard from my youth,
That in wine there is truth:
and let him who the maxim disputes
Just put by his glass,
And go feed upon grass,
And drink puddle water with the brutes.

Wine renders the sage
Blithe as youth, just of age,
And as wise as the sage makes the youth,
Whist together they reel,
And in unison feel,
That wine is the essence of truth.

Twas by nectar the gods
Held o'er mortals their rods,
Much more than the thunder of Jove;
Twas Falerian wine
Did fair Venus enshrine,
And proclaim her the goddess of love.

With imperial tokay,
An empire I'd sway,
Far better with sweet jack and sherry,
Like Falstaff make merry,
And Pegasus mount like a pony.

Wine shows in the glass,
All the charms of the lass
That the love-smitten shepherd adores;
and each drop that he sips,
Like the dew on her lips,
In his heart a new ecstasy pours.

In sparkling champagne
He encounters again
The sparkles that beam from her eyes;
Like her breath the old hock
From true convent stock,
An ambrosial odor supplies.
In Maderia he'll find
The attractions that bind
His heart, to the heart of the fair;
And in Burgundy trace
The sweet blush of her face,
When his passion she heard him declare.

A bumper then fill,
But a drop do not spill,
To the lass that each heart can beguile;
Who, like wine, inspires,
Gay hope, love and fires,
And banishes care with a smile.

ANACREONTIC
JANUARY 4, 1818

Come fill your glass! to Chloe's eyes,
This bumper is addressed;
Another to her lips we'll fill
And two more, to her breast.

Two more we'll fill up to her heart
They're not enough! two more!!
And if she has a sweeter part,
To that we'll fill a score!

THE FAITHFUL MASTIFF
A TRUE STORY
DECEMBER 24, 1789

At lukewarm, or at faithless friends
I've no design to rail:
An honest, but mistaken zeal,
The subject of my tale.

Yet, think not, with a cynic's eye
That I regard mankind
Because in men and brutes alike,
Some qualities I find.

To err is human - and that dogs
Can be mistaken too,
Most clearly follows from a tale
Which I can vouch is true.......'

One evening in the month of June,
When sultry was the day
To Waller's Grove our youngest wag
Directs his lonely way.

That Grove where old Dodona's pride
Spread far and wide its shade
Till war and avarice allied
A cruel havoc made.

His steps the faithful Towser marked
As on he saw him pass,
and followed lest perchance there lurked
Some snake beneath the grass.

When night her sable mantle spread
The youth a cottage spied,
Where to solace earth-born care,
With nimble pace he hied.

There, lived a nymph whose tender breast
Was ne'er assailed in vain;
Delighting pleasure to impart
To all who felt a pain.

Our weary pilgrim in the bed
Now sought a soft repose,
When Towser straight crept underneath,
and fell into a doze.

The creaking bedstead roused him soon;
A rustling noise he hears
Of conflict fierce above his head,
and for his master fears.

He bounces up and seized the foe,
Beyond the bended knee,
Nor, heeds that in the conflict, low,
And panting, laid was she.

"Why, how now, Towser!" cried the wag.
"Pray let us both alone:
"Your aid just now I do not want,
My adversary's down."

THE VIRGINIA PATRIOT'S INVITATION
TO HIS CUSTOMERS

APRIL 1810

Come all who love a savory dish,
Here's codfish, cheese and liver!
there's no such liver, cheese or fish,
South of Potomac river.

'Tis wholesome food for every day
And for a feast on Sunday
It is superior in every way,
To New York salmagundi.

Whoever tastes this wholesome dish,
Shall strait grow wonderous wise;
For like the gall of Tobit's fish,
It opens blindmen's eyes.
Some Yankee cheese, as story tells,
Killed all the Havana rats;
Our dish, that famous cheese excells,
Destroying Democrats.

All ye who now refuse to store
Yourselves with such a hoard,
Nor codfish, cheese nor Livermore,
Shall ever grace your board.3

The preceding poems were chosen for their diverse nature. Tucker wrote verses and essays throughout his lifetime. Considered patriotic, humorous, metaphoric and symbolic, Tucker's prose stands as a legacy to social and political life in Virginia. Tucker's poems describe family gatherings, weddings, youth and old age. His patriotic poems range in style from Pindaric Odes concerning political events with thinly disguised characters depicting Adams, Washington, Arnold and others. There are over forty of these patriotic poems and one scholar describes them as "products of the Age of Reason...personifications of abstract qualities, latinisms and classical allusions are used to present Judge Tucker's case for his country" (Prince 1977:28). Tucker's tales and satires are indicative of an earthy sense of humor; he wrote

3 "Virginia Patriot": "This was the title assumed for Davis's Virginia Gazetter, by one Livermore, a bitter Yankee printer from Boston, by whom that paper was conducted for some time" (Tucker).
"Salmagundi": "the title of a periodical paper in great repute in New York" (Tucker). The paper, whose name is from a New England hash, was really a series of pamphlets written by Washington Irving, William Irving and J.K. Paulding, all Federalists, in 1807" (Prince 1977:118).
anecdotal qualities and full of veiled references to people and places in Virginia. Written in the style of English ballads, these compositions were greeted with great appreciation and are thought to be "rarities" (Prince 1977:31). Eight of these tales bear the label of a "true story," others could be completely contrived by Tucker (Prince 1977).

Unfortunately, the length of these tales, poems and essays prohibit duplication here. They are well worth reading and can be found in Prince's The Poems of St. George Tucker of Williamsburg, Virginia - 1752-1827. All poems and interpretation come from Prince 1977. A collection of Tucker's poem can be found in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library and the Tucker-Coleman Collection, College of William and Mary.
### APPENDIX B

**POLLEN AND PHYTOLITH SAMPLES RECOVERED FROM TUCKER'S GARDEN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTEXT #</th>
<th>FEATURE/LAYER</th>
<th>SAMPLE TYPE</th>
<th>TAKEN BY¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29BB-44</td>
<td>Rubble and shell walkway</td>
<td>pollen column</td>
<td>GK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29BB-44</td>
<td>Rubble and shell walkway</td>
<td>pollen sample</td>
<td>GK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29BB-121a</td>
<td>Eighteenth century loam</td>
<td>pollen column</td>
<td>MCG/KBM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29BB-121b</td>
<td>Eighteenth century loam</td>
<td>pollen column</td>
<td>MCG/KBM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29BB-133</td>
<td>Ditch/planting bed</td>
<td>pollen column</td>
<td>MCG/KBM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29BB-134²</td>
<td>Possible planting hole</td>
<td>pollen column</td>
<td>MCG/KBM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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¹ GK = Gerald Kelso, MCG = Mary Catherine Garden, KBM = Kathleen B. Meatyard.

² Originally listed as context 29BB-121c, later changed to 29BB-134.
APPENDIX C
TUCKER LIBRARY HOLDINGS
BY PERCENTAGE OF SUBJECT MATTER

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LEGAL VOLUMES.........................43% OF COLLECTION
POLITICAL VOLUMES......................9% OF COLLECTION
NATIONAL AND LOCAL HISTORY VOLUMES.....15% OF COLLECTION
GEOGRAPHY AND TRAVEL VOLUMES..........6% OF COLLECTION
POETRY, PROSE AND CLASSICS............15% OF COLLECTION
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY...............6% OF COLLECTION
THEOLOGY................................3% OF COLLECTION
MISCELLANEOUS.........................3% OF COLLECTION

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Jill Coghlin, 1973
M.A. Thesis
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia
"Walks for wandering through woods and plantations..."

"After the Earth is taken out to the intended depth, the bottom of the Walks should be laid with rubbish, coarse gravel or whatever in the like of Nature can be most readily procured. This should be laid down four to five Inches thick and beaten as close as possible to prevent the worms from working through it; then sand should be laid upon this about three Inches thick and after treading it down as close as possible it should be raked over to level and smooth the surface. In doing of this, the whole should be laid a little rounding to throw off the Wet, but there will be no necessity of observing any exactness therein; for as the whole ground is to have as little Appearance of Art as possible, the rounding of these walks should be as natural and only so contrived, as that the Water may have free passage from them...."

"... in countries where sand cannot be easily procured these walks may be laid down with seashells...with a greater share of rubbish laid in their bottom...."¹

"... It is proper to line the sides of these [woodland or plantation] walks with Honeysuckle, Sweetbriar and Roses..and other sweet smelling shrubs...."

¹ These walkway specifications are in direct opposition to the specifications allocated to formal gravel walkways, which were far more geometric and explicit in proportions.
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VITA

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