

Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

VOL. 26, NO. 2

SUMMER/FALL 2005

The Treacherous Travails of Traversing Tidewater's Tributaries

(Excerpts from the Journal of
Robert Hunter Jr, a Young
Merchant of London)

Eighteenth-century travelers faced many challenges. The weather, method of transportation, and road conditions created obstacles on their journeys. Robert Hunter Jr. was the twenty-year-old son of a Scottish merchant living in London.

In May 1785, Robert set out on a journey combining business and adventure that took him to Canada, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. While in the United States, Robert was to collect overdue debts to his father's mercantile firm incurred before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The following describes his journey from Petersburg to Suffolk, Virginia in 1786.

Petersburg, Virginia, to Suffolk, Virginia:

[Petersburg], Thursday, June 8, [1786]

Before I have done with this town let me endeavor to give you some description of the place. Petersburg is situated upon the Appomatox, a branch of the James River, 25 miles to the southward of Richmond. The town is very unhealthy, being built in the middle of a swamp betwixt two hills. . . .

We were called up this morning at three o'clock and in the stage and off a half an hour after. I was extremely happy to find Mr. Storey was one of the passengers. He yesterday had no intention of going. Mr. Cuthbert was another. They both of them know several of my acquaintances. It was



This 1795 watercolor of a view near Portsmouth (CWF 1961-42) shows the appearance of the city's nearby environs less than ten years after Hunter's visit.

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pitch-dark when we first set out and Scotland, the drive[er], being extremely ill, was under the necessity of being replaced by another, who was not very well acquainted with the road. I confess I did not much relish our situation. However, thank God, we arrived safe at Cabin Point to breakfast. This is about 27 miles from Petersburg. The country is very poor. Great part of the way you ride through the woods. They allowed us half an hour to stop, and immediately set off again with four fresh horses to the Cross Roads, 16 miles farther, where they changed horses again and drove to Smithfield to dinner. You ferry Pegging [Pagan?] Creek to get it. In this last stage you have often a most delightful view of James River, which here is about five miles broad and empties itself into the Chesapeake [Bay] 35 miles off.

The road was fine and level this stage but for the last few miles extremely swampy. . . . Mr. Storey and Mr. Cuthbert part with us at Sleepy Hole to go to Portsmouth. Understanding from them that they would most probably there meet with vessels for England, I immediately sat down to write my dear father. They only give me time to let him know I was well.

We set off again with a fresh set of horses [at] a quarter after four and drove to Sleepy Hole. The road is so swampy and muddy in many places that I had very near fallen asleep in getting to it. Here we crossed the Nantzamum [Nansemond] River, which, as well as Pegging Creek, empties itself into the James River. We waited some time at Kammel's (on the

other side of the Nantzamum) for the Edenton stage. . . . Here Mr. Storey (to whom I gave my father's letter to forward) and Mr. Cuthbert got into the Portsmouth stage, and we in one of the Twining's new ones, for Suffolk. They are upon different construction from the northward stages, being much lighter, smaller, and upon excellent springs, which renders the traveling infinitely more agreeable. There are only three seats, which hold six people with the driver, two in each. The road was so extremely bad in many places that we twice were obliged to get out and clap our shoulders to the wheels, to assist a restive horse in drawing the stage up two hills; otherwise we must have remained there all night. Some of the bridges are exceedingly dangerous crossing them, many of them being loose and partly carried away with the late rains. Upon [my word], I think myself extremely fortunate if I get to Charlestown [South Carolina] without any broken bones.

We arrived at Suffolk about half past nine o'clock and put up at Tom Granby's Tavern. . . . After refreshing myself with some supper . . . I retired to my bed at 10, being much fatigued with jolting 91 miles today and almost constantly setting in the stage [for]. . . 18 hours.

Source: Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., *Quebec to Carolina in 1785-86, Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter, Jr., a Young Merchant of London* (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1943), 259-262.

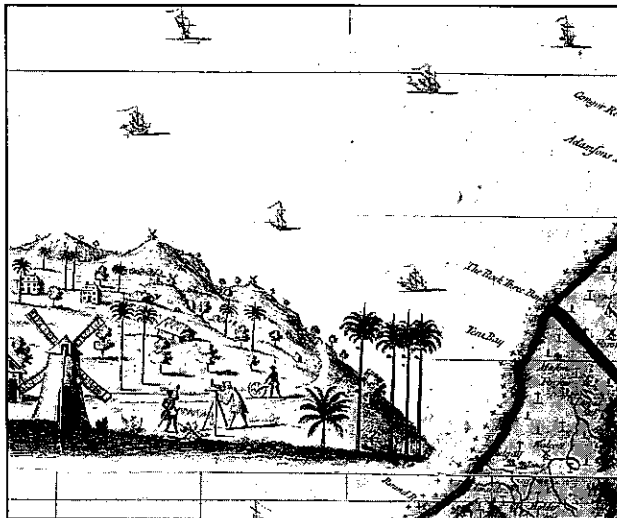
Christopher Colles's Survey of Roads: The Eighteenth-Century TripTik®

by Laura Pass Barry

Laura is associate curator of prints, maps, paintings, and sculpture in the Department of Museums.

Today, visitors have access to a wide variety of resources prior to traveling to an unknown place or unfamiliar destination. They can go to the local AAA office and pick-up a state or county map, guidebook, and TripTik, go online to MapQuest and print out driving directions, or simply turn on the Global Positioning Satellite (GPS) system in their cars to determine how to get to where they are going. But, in the eighteenth century, travelers had to rely on printed maps, most of which were fairly general in terms of the locations and geography they depicted.

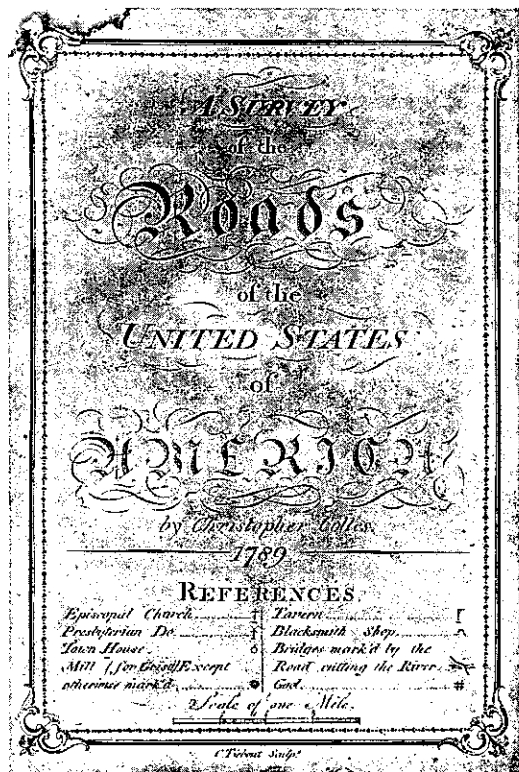
For instance, people traveling to Virginia in the third quarter of the eighteenth century had few choices for travel aids. Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson's *Map of the Most Inhabited Part of Virginia* was the most accurate survey of the colony at that time. It was the first map to render



Detail from *A New & Exact Map of the Island of Barbadoes* (CWF 1996-7) is a hand-colored line engraving done by John Senex in 1722. Note that a member of the team of surveyors is using a way-wiser.

the interior regions of the colony and show the entire Virginia river system, and therefore would have been a likely choice for navigation around the region. The Fry-Jefferson map provides specific names of planters' houses along the James River as well as a useful key with directional degrees and mileage between certain points of travel, e.g., Williamsburg to York is twelve miles east. But, as a general geographical survey, it does not include all of the necessary details required for an excursion around the colony such as the locations of local lodgings and the nearest accommodations, not to mention roads.

In 1789, Christopher Colles provided an answer to this need by producing the first American travel guide. Contained in eighty-three plates, Colles gathered together road surveys, many of which were based on his own observations, and titled the work *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America*. Comprised of several series, each map had two or three stretches of road and included detailed information about the resources a visitor would encounter when traveling along a major route on the east coast of the United States. Colles noted crossroads and waterways, and listed taverns, public buildings, churches, mills, blacksmith's shops, and "the names of the most noted inhabitants of the houses contiguous to or in view of the road."



The title page from Colles's *Survey of Roads* published in 1789 (CWF 1983 315,1) gives the symbols used to reference landmarks.

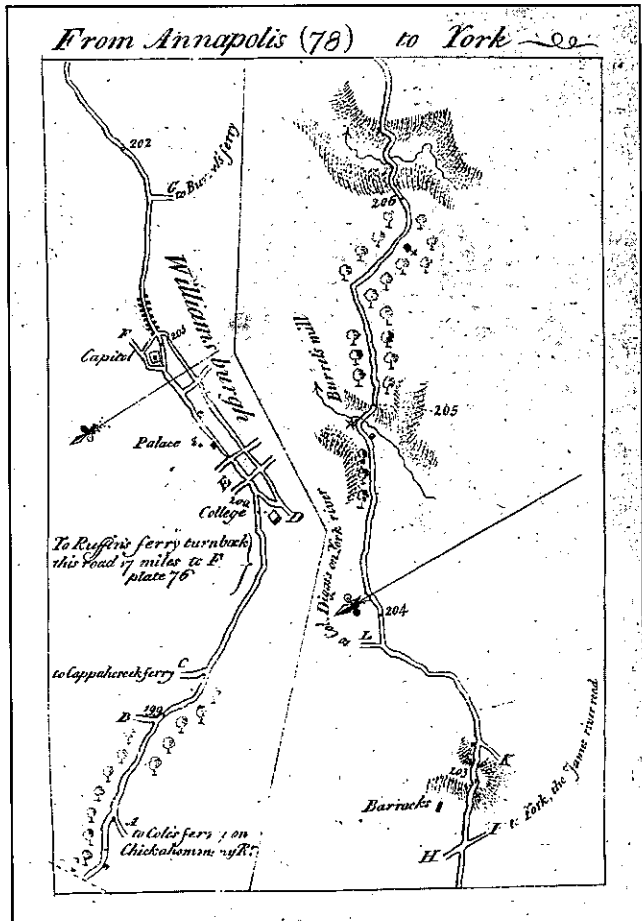
The maps were produced in long strips, a format derived from the British and Irish tradition of road surveys, first seen in the work of John Ogilby nearly a century earlier. Each page contained twelve miles of road and included directional arrows pointing north. The scale of the survey was one and three-quarter inches to the mile. The territory covered went as far north as Albany, New York, and as far south as Yorktown, Virginia, and illustrated urban areas such as New York, Philadelphia, and Alexandria. The information presented on the road maps was based on actual surveys conducted by Colles as well as military drafts produced by Robert Erskine and Simon DeWitt, military geographers and surveyors-general.

Colles's interest in mapmaking most likely stemmed from his work as the Director of Inland Navigation of the Shannon River in Ireland. Born in that country in 1738, Colles developed a road map for the nearby city of Limerick and its adjacent suburbs.² He immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1771 and maintained his interest in cartography. He conducted field surveys and devised a perambulator or way-wiser, an instrument used to measure distances by recording the revolution of its wheel (see map detail above).³ Colles used the tool to prepare road maps. Colles's frail health prevented his enlisting in the Continental Army during the Revolution. He found employment in the Artillery Department in 1777. Certain of his travels during the war as a civilian employee of the Army may have included some official surveying but it also allowed him to accumulate surveys of the roads for his own use.

Throughout his career before and after the Revolution, Colles advocated improvements in internal navigation in America. He lectured on the subjects of geography, natural philosophy, and transportation, and he is credited with building a steam engine for a distillery, proposing a reservoir for New York, and building a pumping station. He actually began laying water mains along New York City streets but was forced to stop construction at the start of the Revolution.⁴ After the war, Colles campaigned for a series of projects that would have enhanced transportation along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. He petitioned the

New York legislature to build a system of canals along the Mohawk River predicting improvement in both domestic and foreign trade if his plan were implemented. While his bid was unsuccessful, his efforts inspired others to bring the construction of the Erie and Champlain canals to reality years later. When the waters of the Erie joined the waters of the Atlantic Ocean in 1825, an effigy of Colles was carried in the celebratory parade.

Most likely, Colles's road surveys were created for personal benefit. For years, he struggled financially and made numerous attempts at addressing Congress and various local commissions for funding. His *Survey of the Roads of the United States of America* was no exception. Prior to undertaking the project, Colles petitioned local government for support of his work arguing that his efforts would aid in national transportation. While officials expressed interest, no money ever came his way. Colles sought subscribers to cover the cost of printing the maps and issued a broadside called *Proposals for Publishing a Survey of Roads* to further advertise his plans for the book. In it, Colles explained the benefit of using his surveys. He wrote, "A traveler will here find so plain and circumstantial a description of the road, that whilst he has the draft with him it will be impossible for him to miss his way: he



With a detail of the city of Williamsburg on the left, the right side of the page shows the continuation of the route from Williamsburg to Yorktown on the right (CWF 1983 315,4). The left side should be read top to bottom while the right side should be read bottom to top.

will have the satisfaction of knowing the names of many of the persons who reside on the road; if his horse should want a shoe, or his carriage be broke, he will by the bare inspection of the draft be able to determine whether he must go backward or forward to a blacksmith's shop."⁵

Working with booksellers and printers, Colles helped to market the book and advertised in his proposals, "If a foreigner arrives in any part of the Continent and is under the necessity to travel by land, he applies to a bookseller, who with the affluence of the index map chooses out the particular pages which are necessary for his direction."⁶ Purportedly, his campaign included sending unsolicited copies of the proposals directly to these businesses.

Despite being unable to secure many subscribers, Colles continued with the project on his own, but it never reached the scope that he had intended. Colles had hoped to cover more than 3,000 miles of road in his survey; in the end, he was forced to abandon his work after only 1,000 miles were compiled and published.⁷ Furthermore, he never was able to complete the alphabetical lists or index to accompany the road maps as initially proposed.⁸ Notwithstanding the lackluster response to his surveys from travelers during the period, Colles's foresight in creating a product that aided visitors in their travels around the

United States cannot be overstated. His efforts were nothing if not visionary, and they contribute to the understanding and documentation of transportation in late eighteenth-century America.

For more information on the Colles road maps, Fry-Jefferson, and/or other maps, charts, and surveys from the Colonial Williamsburg collection, visit the *Degrees of Latitude: Mapping Colonial America* exhibit at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum on view through October 9, 2005.

¹ Christopher Colles, *Proposals for Publishing a Survey of the Roads of the United States of America*, 1789. New York Historical Society, New York.

² Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America*, 1789, ed. Walter W. Ristow (Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press, 1961), 6.

³ Colles was not the first to invent this device; rather, he simply devised an instrument for his own use.

⁴ Lloyd W. Griffin, "Christopher Colles and his Two American Map Series," *The Papers of The Bibliographical Society of America* 48 (1954): 171.

⁵ Colles, *Proposals*.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Colles, *Survey of Roads*, 52.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 106; *Proposals*.

Virginia's Maritime Economy—Late Colonial Period

by Pete Wrike

Pete is an interpreter for Group Interpretation in the Department of Historic Site Interpretation. He is the author of numerous books and articles.

As we all know, colonial Virginia's maritime economy developed with and became crucial to the colony's economic success. In February 2000, Cathy Hellier, historian in the Research Division, sponsored a short enrichment session titled "Virginia's Marine Transportation Prior to the Revolution, 1769–1776." That material was expanded and presented as part of the Williamsburg Institute program *By Land and Sea, by Horse and Foot—Travel in Early Virginia* in March 2002.

This article includes information from those earlier presentations along with additional material to answer the following questions: What were the staples and volumes of the colony's waterborne commerce? What routes were used by this commerce? What were typical vessels seen in Virginia's waters? What was the appearance of these vessels? Who was involved directly with the maritime economy? What was a ship's captain's business? What characterized the lives of crews and officers of vessels? What were the conditions aboard vessels for passengers, indentured servants, and convict servants?

This article is designed to provide interpreters useful information and techniques for making the material relevant and meaningful for our guests. While none of the vessels discussed are on display in Williamsburg today, interpreters nonetheless can suggest the sounds, smells, tastes, textures (touch), sensations (balance and movement), feelings/emotions, and even the images associated with them.

* * * * *

One of the most iconic statements of Virginia's commerce is the cartouche in the lower right hand corner of the map by Peter Jefferson and Joshua Fry first published in 1751—"A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia." (See p. 7) The scene depicted ostensibly represents a Virginia port where tobacco is being discussed, inspected, weighed, and warehoused prior to being shipped to England or Scotland. The cartouche shows eight figures engaged in various activities on a wharf or quay (pronounced *key*). All their efforts involved the ownership, management, and shipment of the only commodity shown on the quay and in an adjacent warehouse—tobacco, packed in hogsheads as well as loose.

The Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730, championed by Gov. William Gooch, mandated inspection and bonding at public warehouses of all tobacco shipped abroad, required destruction of unacceptable tobacco, standardized hogshead size, provided for detailed record keeping to prevent smuggling, and legalized circulation of warehouse receipts as legal tender.

The six official Virginia port districts and their customhouse locations throughout the colonial period were the ports of York (Yorktown), Lower James River (Hampton), Upper James River (City Point), Rappahannock (Urbanna), South Potomac (Yeocomico, later known as Kinsale), and the Eastern Shore (Accomac).

Each district customhouse contained offices, instruments, and records for the port collector and his assistants—weighers, gaugers, and inspectors. The port collector and assistants reported to the district naval officer. The naval officer governed marine traffic in his district, which was the bounds of each port.

The scores of tobacco warehouses (manned by tobacco inspectors appointed by the county courts in which they were located) dotting the shores of Virginia's waterways fell under one of the six ports and its district naval officer. The port collector and his assistants regularly visited these tobacco warehouses to record, measure, and inspect the contents.

The Fry-Jefferson cartouche shows four free white and four enslaved black persons. One male slave, under the guidance of the white port weigher, manhandles a half-ton, 4-foot-high, 32-inch headed tobacco hogshead. The other slave seals a hogshead after its inspection for quality assurance, while the weigher records the hogshead's weight and marks it appropriately. A third slave man busies himself aboard a ship's boat used for the ferriage of the captain, crew, passengers, or sundry items. The fourth slave appears younger than the others and attends one of the three well-dressed white men—the port collector, a ship's captain, and a merchant.

The standing (and younger looking) figure is most likely the ship's captain, and the other figures are the tobacco factor or merchant, and the port collector. Documents issued at ports for any given vessel required a collector's and captain's (or their subordinates') endorsement; custom-



THOMAS JEFFREYS, the English engraver for the Fry-Jefferson map, used a stone quay (wharf), stone warehouse, and a huge multistory structure across the river to represent those in Virginia, a place he never visited. Research suggests that the buildings in the cartouche resemble ones that stood at Wapping on the Thames, where much of Virginia's tobacco was offloaded in the eighteenth century, including a multistory water tower.

The two colonial Virginia customhouses and one tobacco warehouse that survive today (Yorktown's customhouse and Urbana's customhouse and warehouse) are brick not stone.

British customs official John Williams's 1770 visit and subsequent report on Virginia's ports mentioned no stone structures. Little stone occurs naturally along tidewater shores. No multistoried building such as that shown in the cartouche existed in colonial Virginia. Marine archaeology (particularly that at Yorktown in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1980s) confirms that Virginia's colonial quays and wharves consisted largely of wood pilings with some discarded ballast stone at their bases. Moreover, most tobacco warehouses along Virginia rivers were wooden structures.

arily an owner or merchant provided the third required signature. The cartouche shows a ship in the background ready to transport Virginia's tobacco overseas.

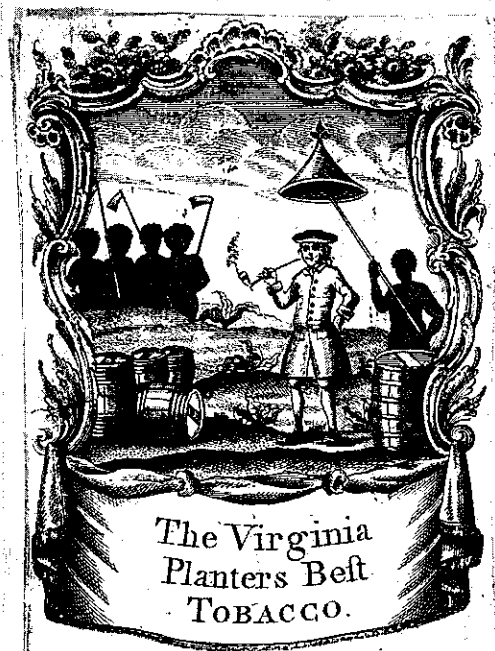
Eighteenth-century tobacco trade cards (see right) often show three figures—a planter, slave, and sailor. These are the key persons in Virginia's eighteenth-century economy. Thousands of Virginia planters bought and maintained hundreds of thousands of slaves to produce and package tobacco that was carried annually to markets by hundreds of ships and thousands of seamen.

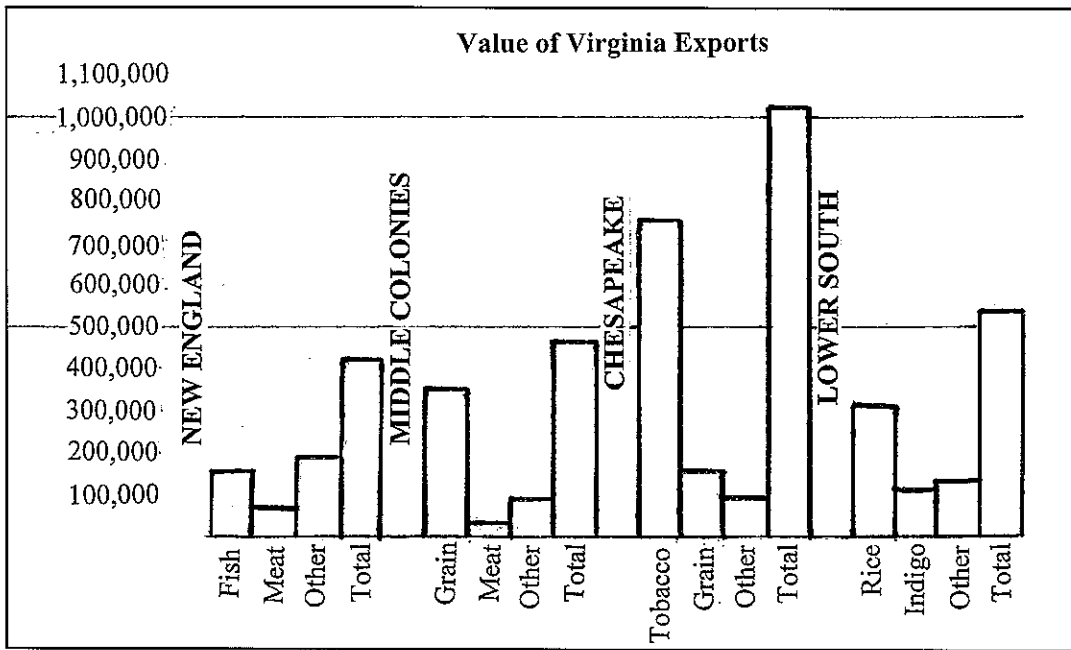
Some planters owned vessels (George Washington's ship *Martha* and later his brig *Farmer*), and many invested in shares in them.

The planters' capital and the skills and labor of slaves and seamen were the backbone of Virginia's economy. Tobacco dominated Chesapeake trade in the colonial period, but grains (wheat and corn) also were significant. Other Virginia exports of consequence were iron, wood (staves, frames, shingles), naval stores (pitch and turpentine), peas, hams, etc. Iron went overseas in large ingots (pigs), and wood was shipped in bundles. The rest traveled in dry measure round containers made of wood. Occasionally loose quantities of these commodities traveled in bushel baskets.

Human cargo represented a key aspect of the British export trade. Virginia and its vast labor-intensive agricultures became an employment (voluntary and involuntary) destination for free and unfree persons. Paid passengers, indentured servants, convict servants, and slaves came to Virginia by the shipload. Virginia's transatlantic commerce carried bulk commodities to Great Britain and manufactured and reexported goods back to the colony.

The return voyage from Great Britain seldom filled vessels to capacity; often passengers, particularly indentured servants, became a kind of cargo. Small numbers of slaves, perhaps up to a couple of dozen, were incidental cargo on sloops and schooners from the West Indies in shipments of rum, molasses, sugar, fruit, and spices. Much larger vessels carried hundreds of slaves from Africa over the traditional "triangular" route.





This graph combines both Maryland and Virginia. While both colonies generally reflect the same agricultural products in their exports, Virginia accounts for approximately 80 percent of the totals shown for the Chesapeake. The Chesapeake exports total almost 42 percent and tobacco more than 31 percent of all colonial exports.

Virginia sometimes reexported slaves to other colonies. NOTE: The topic of the slave trade and convict servants will be explored in greater depth in a future *Interpreter*.

Then as now, the largest bulk cargoes were transported by water. In the eighteenth-century there was no alternative. Mariners attempted as many voyages as possible, but frequency and duration were interrelated. Generally they avoided the North Atlantic in the winter and the West Indies in the hurricane season, but unexpected weather or other difficulties could add days or weeks to a voyage or cause disastrous shipwrecks.

Round voyages (i.e., "round trips") included port times that varied seasonally and by nature of the commodity sought and shipped. Often port times, particularly in Great Britain, consumed a third of the total voyage time. Average good round voyages from Virginia to points outside Virginia were:

- England, Scotland—five to six months
- West Indies—five weeks
- Bahamas, West Florida (Pensacola)—four weeks
- East Florida (St. Augustine)—three weeks
- Bermuda, South Carolina, North Carolina (below Albemarle Sound), Pennsylvania (Atlantic facing), New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island—two weeks
- North Carolina (Albemarle Sound), Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania (Bay accessed/Susquehanna River)—less than two weeks.

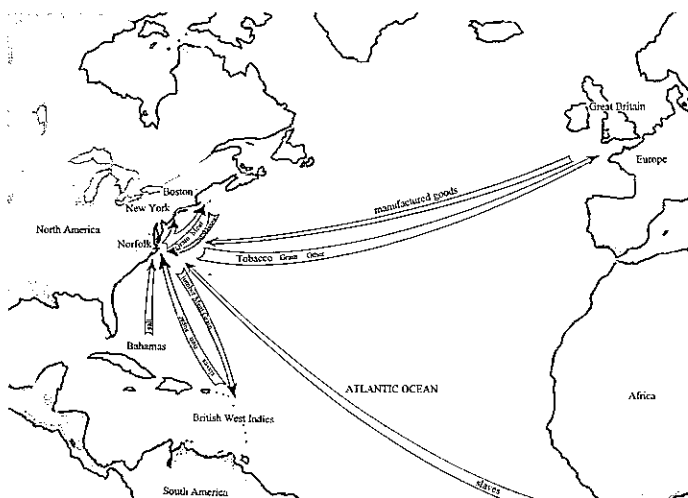
Typical good passages (one-way) from Virginia:

- London—six weeks
- Glasgow—five weeks
- Barbados—two weeks
- Boston—six days
- New York, Charleston (South Carolina)—four days
- Philadelphia, Edenton (North Carolina)—three days.

Round voyages and passages from Virginia used Yorktown, Hampton, Norfolk, Portsmouth, Burwell's Landing, and other York River, lower James River, and Hampton Roads sites as embarkation points. From those points it was less than two days to Annapolis and about two days to Richmond, Fredericksburg, or Alexandria.

Prevailing winds generally go from west to east, so fore- and aft-rigged vessels (sloops, schooners, etc.) made fast passages traveling north-south routes. Square-rigged vessels (brigs, snows, ships, etc.) made good passages sailing east but needed plenty of seaway to tack going west. Thus westerly passages from Great Britain and up Virginia's rivers took longer. The trade to the Mediterranean—commonly called the Levant—required (in peacetime) special licenses and took at least six months or more.

The East India Company controlled the lucrative trade of Great Britain with India and East Asia. The lengthy voyage through the North and South Atlantic, around the Cape of Good Hope, across the Indian Ocean through the Sunda Straits to Canton, China or one of the



The Atlantic trade routes map shows the many routes generally used in Virginia commerce.

nearby “outposts” required eight or nine months. Then these East Indiamen loaded cargo over another three to five months before returning to England. Typical East India Company voyages required two to two-and-a-half years.

Transatlantic Vessels

Ships, brigs, and snows were the largest commercial carriers suitable for bulk goods. At any given time, there could be four, five, six, or more of these large vessels in and around each of the major ports and rivers in Virginia. Approximately one out of three of these vessels was built in the colonies.

Masters or captains of more than half of these vessels were British, and British interests owned the majority of these ships. The remaining masters and owners were British Americans.

Owners took pride in their vessels and used colors to show prosperity and distinguish their vessels from others. Vessels’ topsides were usually finished with varnish and turpentine, a yellowish orange at first that blackened over time. Painted streaks sometimes adorned the length of larger ships and snows. On the quarters near a vessel’s stern (rear), ornate windows and decoration

(quarter galleries) were often painted and occasionally gilded. The stern had windows surrounded by painted trim or the entire stern was painted. Smaller snows and brigs usually had less ornamentation. Common finish colors were yellow and black; less commonly green, blue, and more rarely red were seen. Painted and gilded figureheads sat on the cutwater at the vessels’ bows.

Intercolonial Vessels

These vessels were employed primarily in Virginia, North Atlantic, and West Indian waters. The vessels frequently came from colonial shipyards and were numerous in Virginia’s ports and rivers. Most of the masters and owners were British Americans and, of these, the majority was Virginian. Many masters/captains owned their

Circa 1774 Transatlantic, Intercolonial, and Naval Vessels

Type	Tons	Length ¹	Draft	Power	Crew	If Armed/Largest
Ship	150-500	80'-130'	13'-18'	sail	15-30	6-20/9 pounder
Snow	80-90	60'-80'	10'-14'	sail	12-20	4-12/6 pounder
Brig	60-180	50'-80'	10'-13'	sail	10-18	2-12/4 pounder
Schooner/topsail	40-120	40'-70'	6'-10'	sail/row	4-8	2-10/4 pounder
Schooner	20-100	35'-65'	5'-9'	sail/row	3-7	2-8/3 pounder
Pilot Boat	10-60	30'-50'	5'-8'	sail	2-3	2-4/3 pounder
Sloop/topsail	15-100	35'-60'	5'-10'	sail/row	5-12	2-8/4 pounder
Sloop	10-60	30'-50'	5'-8'	sail/row	4-6	2-6/3 pounder
Warship—1st Rate	2,000	180	22	sail	850 ²	92-100/42 pounder
Warship—4th Rate	1,100	155	19	sail	420 ²	50-60/24 pounder
Warship—5th Rate	800	144	17	sail	280 ²	30-44/18 pounder
Warship—6th Rate	300	115	12	sail	200 ²	20-30/12 pounder
Warships—Unrated	52	52	8	sail/row	30 ²	2-18/9 pounder

Note: Values for naval vessels are minimums

¹ Length on main deck

² Peacetime complement

own vessels. Intercolonial trade vessels featured little ornamentation or paint above or below decks. As with larger vessels, varnish and turpentine finishes covered hulls, decks, and masts.

Local and Inland Vessels

Small vessels constituted the bulk of marine traffic in Virginia waters in the late eighteenth century. In a manner of speaking, they correspond to today's sedans, sport utility vehicles, vans, pickup trucks, and even larger vehicles. Small vessels that served personal and business needs were the most numerous and oft seen in Virginia waters. Not every Tidewater family owned a vessel, but virtually all had access to local and inland vessels. Virginia's broadest, longest, and most convenient colonial "highways" were her waterways not roads. Most small vessels needed no more than a foot to eighteen inches of water to move. Yet transatlantic and intercolonial trade was absolutely dependent on these small local vessels, which were not designed to be oceangoing.

For example, *utility vessels* were the most numerous in Virginia's waters, because they moved freight. Flats and barges hauled bulk commodities such as tobacco and grains packed in hogsheads along shores, from shore to oceangoing vessels and the reverse. Grains also could be transported in barrels and bushels. Flats and barges could carry between one and twelve hogsheads, each of which could weigh upward of 1,400 pounds. These vessels were moved along by long poles often manned by slaves. Flats and barges had flat bottoms and sides of two feet or less above

the waterline with blunt bows and sterns. Utility vessels were unadorned.

Ferries provided a way to cross creeks, rivers, and the bay when traveling in Virginia. Ferryman employed barges, flats, and pettiaugers. Barges and flats customarily transported coaches, carts, and horses. Ferries at the widest crossings were fitted with sails on one or two short masts. On shorter crossings in shallow water, ferryman poled across and used oars for the deeper parts of the passage. Ferries at the shortest crossings operated via cables stretched from one shore to the other, usually secured to a tree or post. Pettiaugers were sometimes used as ferries to carry people and small cargoes. They were equipped with sails and oars for power.

An unusual ferry type was the packet (meaning regularly scheduled) ferry owned by John Goodrich and operated by Daniel Hutchinson. This ferry used a small two-masted schooner of a type known as a pilot boat. The term *pilot boat* suggested a fast vessel. Hutchinson's packet ferry operated between Williamsburg (Burwell's Landing), Norfolk, Hampton, and Portsmouth on Thursdays and Mondays on a regular basis.

Ferry keepers were licensed by the county courts in the jurisdiction in which the ferry service operated. Captain Thomas Lilly of Yorktown operated the ferry between Yorktown and Gloucester Point. He used a combination of flats and rowboats and carried passengers on an "on demand" basis. In addition, numerous unlicensed ferries on plantations or at other convenient locations operated on a semiregular or seasonal basis.

CIRCA 1774 LOCAL AND INLAND VESSELS

Type	Tons	Length	Draft	Power	Crew
Flat	1-10	12'-36'	>2'	Row, pole	1-3
Ferry ¹	2-20	14'-36'	>2'	Sail, row, pole, cable	1-2
Yawj ^{2*} □	>1	14'-18'	>2'	Row, sail	3-4
Shallop*	1-2	16'-32'	>2'	Row, sail	5-9
Log Canoe	1-12	16'-32'	>2'	Row, sail	2-4
Cutter*	>1	24'-28'	>2'	Row	4-7
Long Boat ^{3*}	1-2	26'-36'	>2'	Row/sail	4-9
Pinnacle ^{4*}	>1	18'-26'	>2'	Row	4-7
Jolly Boat ^{2*} □	1-2	14'-18'	>1'	Row	3-5
Pettiauger	3-15	16'-32'	>2'	Row/sail	4-5
Batteaux	1-3	14'-28'	>2'	Row, pole, sail	3-6

¹ Can use flats, pettiaugers, shallops, etc.

² Also can be jolly boat (and vice versa) or a Moses boat, or a tender

³ Also includes barges (a large, rowed, often ornamented special boat used for carrying coffins, admirals, etc.)

⁴ Also includes gigs, skiffs, and launches

* Also generically called boats

□ These may be sculled or powered with only one stern oar and one person moving the oar from side to side

Batteaux are found in two types—flat bottom and multichine or V-bottom. Batteaux are essentially flats with conventional hulls, bows, and sterns, and many double ended. They were a common sight on rivers above the fall line on the Ohio River and Virginia rivers that enter into the Ohio carrying bulk cargoes, general cargoes, and passengers. Oars, poles, and sails powered batteaux depending on the nature of the river on which they were traveling.

Small Craft

The term *boat* always implied the primary transport of people, and it was sometimes incorporated into the name of a particular vessel type, such as a Moses boat. In the colonial period, *boat* was a generic term much like we use *car* today in the phrase, "I own three cars" to mean a compact sedan, an SUV, and a pickup truck. Ownership of three "boats" in colonial times could mask a similar variety. Boats often had decoration along the sides, on the stern, and sometimes inside. Their oars may have been painted and had their owner's initials carved into the blades. Log canoes originally developed by Native Americans were another frequently used vessel. They are expanded upon under "Pleasure Craft."

In addition to the word *boat*, other terms for small craft such as yawl and shallop tend to reference cargo transport for short distances between vessels at anchor and the shore. Yawls and shallows were usually rowed but occasionally sailed. They could be independently operated or belong to larger vessels (ships, brigantines, schooners, sloops).

Ship's Boats

Cutters, long boats, pinnaces, and jolly boats were small vessels usually rowed, sometimes sailed, and always on board larger seagoing vessels for service between ship and ship or ship and shore. Their use was identical to small craft. In wartime they carried military and naval personnel as well as armament and could undertake independent military or naval action under command of a commissioned officer, petty officers, or rated men. Any of these local and inland vessels could be used for fishing.

Pleasure Craft

Privileged gentlemen built and bought vessels principally for recreation and prestige. The royal governor, John Murray, fourth earl of Dunmore, brought his yacht *Lady Gower* to New York in 1770 and Virginia in 1771. During the governor's military campaign against his former subjects, the *Lady Gower*, armed with four brass

COLONIAL SHIPYARDS were found in rural areas along rivers and large creeks wherever necessary resources could be collected (Mathews and Accomac counties, for example) or in urban centers on or near the coast (Norfolk, Hampton, Portsmouth). Labor included slaves, apprentices, and skilled shipwrights. Materials consisted largely of timber, plank, and rope. Typically two-masted schooners and single-masted sloops dominated the intercolonial trade. Colonial vessels had remarkably little ironwork and generally no carving. Larger vessels, which required more iron work and complex ship machinery, often were constructed near centers of population where more of the skilled craftsmen needed for this work could be found. Vessels constructed in predominantly rural waterways usually voyaged first to places such as Norfolk, Gosport (Portsmouth), Hampton, Yorktown, Urbanna, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria. In addition to final work being performed, these ports could provide the necessary documentation for new vessels.

three-pound carriage guns, served in Dunmore's floating town (1775–1776).

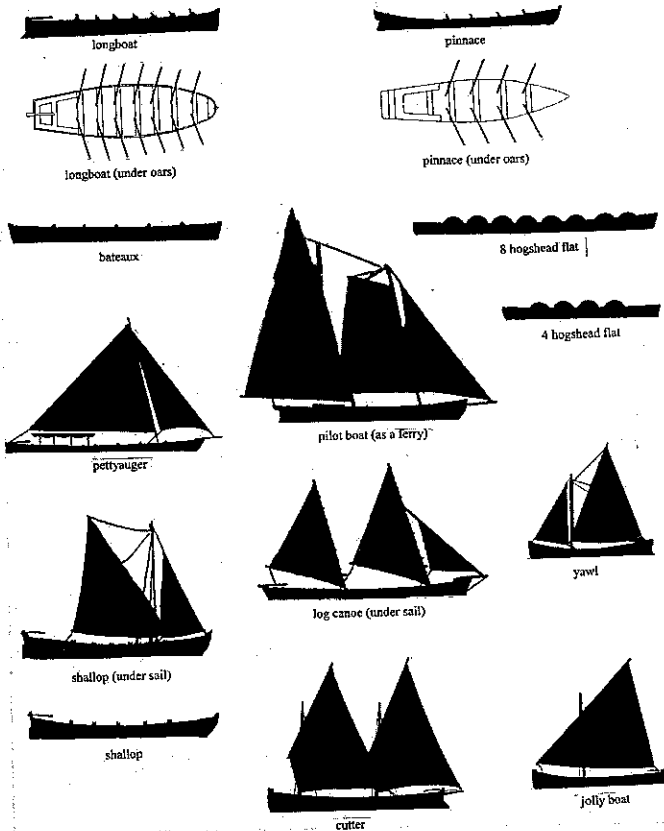
In 1779, "Old John" Goodrich's former yacht was advertised for sale. Both vessels had a single square-rigged mast, though the governor's initially was rigged in a British fashion (cutter), and Goodrich's was a typical American rig (sloop). Both expanded the traditional captain's cabin and the "great room" below decks and turned the hold (cargo area) to spacious personal accommodations. Vessels built as yachts of these sizes (80 and 60 tons respectively) were uncommon in colonial America though not in Great Britain.

A more common colonial pleasure craft on the bay was the pettiauger. Vessels called pettiauger (piragua, periauger, piriagua, pirogue) were known in the Tidewater region of southeastern America and the West Indies. The Chesapeake Bay pettiauger, however, was the only one that was adapted from the American Indian log canoe.

European colonists in the Chesapeake adopted and adapted the log canoe over the course of the colonial period for work and less frequently pleasure. Prior to European settlement, Native Americans carved out single-log canoes from the trunks of felled trees. They were designed to carry groups of two to two score. Colonists gradually adapted the canoe to oars rather than paddles, eventually rigged masts and sails, and raised the sides.

Comparative and illustrative views

Local and Inland (bays, sounds, rivers and creeks—relatively scaled)



Local and inland vessels compared.

By the time of the Revolution, log canoes reached ten tons and more in size. The log canoe's natural bulk and size made it long-lived; even as late as the Civil War it was frequently seen on the bay. (Several exist in museums today.)

While valuations for most pleasure vessels as well as local and inland vessels can be found in advertisements (lost and found), appraised inventories, ledgers, contracts, and other documents, often log canoes were not assigned a value. However, when converted to pleasure craft, log canoes could appreciate in value.

An ad for a pettiauger states,

Stolen from . . . Thomas Pinchard's landing [Indian Creek, Lancaster Co.] . . . 30 to 32 feet long . . . three or four feet wide . . . 8 seats . . . rows with four oars, a new rudder, tholes [oar locks] . . . of oak . . . well timbered . . . iron clamps . . . coated with turpentine . . . inside and out . . . gunwales and bends [top of hull] . . . painted black and between the two she is painted white with a black vine round her quarters [just before stern] 2 hearts (one black and one white) painted on her stern.

Another pettiauger had a red and chocolate-colored streak on her sides above water and white below. Another was painted red inside and had blue sides. Pettiaugers were commonly decked forward and had enclosed canvas awnings aft for the owner's comfort and protection.

* * * * *

Ships' Masters/Captains

While the Fry-Jefferson Map cartouche and tobacco trade cards feature a number of key figures in Virginia commerce, the master or captain of vessels had the pivotal role. Vessel masters had three primary responsibilities—the safety and success of the vessel (carrier), the crew, and the cargo. The vessel's master was addressed as *captain*. At sea he was the final authority over crew, passengers, and any other persons or living creatures aboard. He could jettison cargo for the safety of the vessel or crew.

On most voyages a master made a passage from point A to point B and a return passage to point A. On each passage, the owners determined what cargo the vessel would carry. The completed passages made a voyage. Masters and crews received compensation only for completed voyages.

During the course of a voyage, the captain followed, as nearly as possible, the vessel owner's instructions. For every voyage under his command, the master loaded, transported, and delivered his assigned cargoes as well as governed the crew. He was responsible for the vessel's navigation, provisions, and condition. On some voyages the master also acted as the ship's husband. This expanded role required the master to negotiate, select, and purchase additional cargoes during the voyage.

Registrations and Licenses

In addition to myriad documents relating to vessel, crew, and cargo, the master always maintained two primary documents—a registration and a license. In colonial Virginia, the governor issued permanent vessel registrations (similar to a motor vehicle registration today). District naval officers issued a temporary registration at their ports until permanent ones were obtained at Williamsburg (from 1699 to 1780).

A registration listed vessel data such as type, size, owners, master, armament, construction date, place built, previous registration date and places, and other vessel particulars. New registrations were issued only when vessel data changed (e.g., new owner, new master, change of rig, etc.).

Licenses documented the particulars of a projected voyage principally regarding cargo and its ownership with general references to the vessel carrying the cargo. Naval officers in Virginia issued licenses at their ports for each voyage. The master surrendered the license at the voyage's conclusion. Thus a vessel's registration and license are remarkably similar to what motor vehicle drivers carry today and the served a similar purpose.

If stopped at sea by British naval vessels (or Algerian pirates), a vessel's master produced these documents for protection under the British flag. At each British or colonial port, these two documents had to be produced either to "enter" or to "clear" (leave).

Then, as now, there were masters and owners who neglected these legalities. Some became notorious, such as "Old John" Goodrich (1722-1785) and his seven sons of Gosport. Often colonial customs officials winked at discrepancies while some flagrantly acted in collusion with offending masters and owners. NOTE: The topic of smuggling will be elaborated in a future *Interpreter*.

Crews

Vessel crews grew in diversity as their numbers increased. Typical crews on intercolonial vessels were as small as two and generally never went to double digits. In the early eighteenth century, Britain passed laws that restricted crew size aboard British commercial vessels. Any additional crew members could be impressed into the Royal Navy.

Many Virginia crews included African Americans. Colonial ships masters cleverly augmented crews with African Americans or substituted them in the place of free crew members. As property, slaves could not be impressed. Faced with impressments, free blacks in Virginia crews passed themselves off as slaves. Hence, the maritime trade was a draw for African Americans (runaways and free blacks) in British America. Transatlantic crews, often a dozen to twenty members, included African Americans but in proportionately fewer numbers.

White crews were made up of as many colonists as Britons. Vessels registered in Great Britain generally used Britons in their crews and their origins ("British or foreign") had to be declared for a license. Numbers of foreigners as

crew members were restricted by English statute under the Navigation Acts. Most sailors ranged in age from the teens to the fifties, men in their twenties and thirties were most common.

Able-bodied British sailors served at sea for long periods, going ashore only when no work was available or they became infirm from injury, disease, or age. Sailors made money only while at sea.

Colonial sailors, on the other hand, left the sea earlier and more often than their British counterparts. Opportunities in the expanding colonial empire provided increased upward mobility. Colonial mariners could and did move to the quarterdeck (command) but also moved into a myriad of commercial roles in Virginia's vast colonial commodities trades. While Britain's commerce expanded in the eighteenth century, American colonial trade represented a large portion of that growth.

Crew members in the intercolonial trade usually hailed from the same colony and often the same locale as the vessel's owners and master in contrast to their transatlantic counterparts' diverse backgrounds.

Hardship and restrained freedom characterized life aboard vessels in the eighteenth century. The extent to which a person had the means and/or authority aboard a vessel then (and now) lessened that hardship. The freedom one had at sea in historic times is similar to that of an astronaut today: limitless horizons and vistas seen by few but at the same time restricted to the confines of their respective ships on the high seas (or in space) for safety.

Some mariners in the late eighteenth century encountered unusual (good and bad), enormously stimulating, and exotic experiences in their voyages. An example was Capt. R. N. James Cook's expedition to the Pacific. Even common sailors on his voyage after their return to Great Britain were feted for years with drinks, meals, and hospitality just to hear stories of their discoveries.

Ships captains/masters, particularly those on transatlantic voyages, often achieved minor celebrity status, enhanced or not by their own performance subsequently. They provided the latest foreign intelligence (news) firsthand; knew the successes (and failures) of commercial ventures as well as current prices and values of commodities; discerned likely future markets; and told stories of peril, heroism, and knavery. Letters of merchants, government officials, prominent landowners, and others in society often tell of entertaining visiting ships captains/masters.

Each voyage was a separate contract for crew members. The maritime trade was generally

competitive, so wise masters nurtured good seamen. By contract and custom, mariners obeyed their master's orders. However, the vessel master was absolutely dependent on his crew for success and survival.

On a short voyage from Yorktown, Virginia, to Annapolis, Maryland (and back—less than two weeks), seldom out of sight of land, the master had to exercise discipline carefully. A harsh master in friendly waters near convenient landfalls had to anticipate desertion. On a voyage from Virginia to Barbados (and back—four or five weeks out of sight of land), for example, the master encountered little threat of desertion.

On long, multipassage, and transatlantic voyages, discipline relied on the respective skills of all mariners aboard. It was a foolhardy master who abused his seamen when long at sea with landfall many weeks or months away. Among other roles, a master served as a navigator, but seamen made vessels sail. All understood the fact that captain and crew had a stake in survival as well as commercial profit.

In wartime, crew members were subject to press-gangs that indiscriminately seized very able seamen as well as landsmen and farmers. Other crew members were drawn to privateering for better wages than they could earn on commercial carriers and a share of potential prizes.

Beyond compensation, opportunities, and perhaps family relationships, mariners in part based their decisions about signing on for a voyage on the master's reputation for providing comfort and decent food for his crews. A father and master of a vessel often employed his sons as crew, some of whom survived to adulthood to command their own vessels. This was particularly common in the West Indies trade with smaller crews of four to seven persons often including several slaves.

Use of one's children on long voyages with large crews could engender mistrust and dissension among nonfamily crew. On short voyages in small vessels with one-fourth or one-third of the crew the master's slaves these feelings were less prevalent. Again, Old John Goodrich is a fine example of these practices. His eldest sons learned from him, rose to independent command, and in turn employed their younger brothers as crew. A Goodrich privateer captured during the Revolution had twenty-one crew aboard, nineteen of whom were Goodrich slaves.

Ship's Stores

Ships' captains (masters) ruled both crew and passengers. Daily to passengers and weekly to crew, he distributed food and water. However, the quality of both could be poor. No

refrigeration existed—either in warehouses or aboard ship. The time from food preparation to warehouse to vessel could be several months to as much as a year.

Since captains with passengers on board often had little regard for their human cargo—particularly indentured and convict servants and other deck passengers—quality in foodstuffs might not be a priority. Moreover, passengers on a one-way voyage had no rights or recourse on the high seas.

Beef was a staple that sometimes came from old, diseased, or dying animals. Butchers packed the portions (with extremely little waste) in salt and then stored them in barrels. Some went to warehouses. Barrels were removed in reverse order—"last in, first out." Everyone knew the barrels in the back contained "aged" meat and could be bought on the cheap. The same process of distribution was true for other staples such as bread, cheese, peas, wheat, and butter. Water and occasionally beer relieved passengers' thirst. When they got beer, it was usually of poorer quality than that shipped to taverns, due in part to the fact that brewers often stored beer for voyages in old barrels. To store water for a voyage, crew members cleaned old barrels with a coarse brush to scrape off impurities and rinsed them with vinegar. Then they filled the barrels from whatever source was available—pump, spring, or public supply—and sealed the barrels.

Smart masters ensured that their crews always had the best provisions in quality and quantity, and smart passengers, to the extent money and space would allow, brought their own provisions aboard.

But many circumstances beyond anyone's control put supplies on board at risk of spoilage. For example, once a voyage was scheduled, it could take weeks, even a month or more, to assemble passengers and load other cargo, and the voyage itself could last from two to three months. As the sail date approached, the crew stowed all food and beverages intended for consumption during the voyage in the hold, close to the vessel's bottom (which had the added benefit of creating a low center of gravity to help stabilize the vessel).

In the hold where the supplies were stored was bilge water, rotting contents from broken containers, human waste, rats, and vermin. Barrels of meat opened at sea often contained maggots. Ship's biscuits contained weevils. Butter spoiled. Beer went stale, and water grew black with algae often so thick that it needed to be scraped aside to get at the water.

Some passages offered predictable perquisites for sailors. Return passages from the West Indies sugar islands usually brought rum in large quanti-

ties. It was not unusual for some rum puncheons to break open at sea, to the benefit of sailors on board. On any voyage, the crew enjoyed sampling the loose tobacco that shipped along with sealed hogsheads.

Commonly, sailors carried "private adventures"—small quantities of goods on which profits could be made. Masters often invested in the vessel, or shipped their own investment cargo separately. Wise owners allowed and encouraged this private trade since crew and masters had a stake in the commercial success of the voyage. Today we refer to this type of business arrangement as "profit sharing."

Shipboard Accommodations

Sailors typically slept forward in the bow in the forecabin. The galley (stove) was there and crews' facilities were also located in that portion of the bow that projected over the water—the head. Sometimes crew slept on the cargo, and in hot weather on deck. Seamen generally had personal access to decks, aloft (in the rigging), and limited access aft in the captains', passengers', petty officers', and pursers' cabins and stores. Crews, even small ones, were divided into "watches." While on watch, crew members might be found in the places mentioned—on ship's business. When not on watch, crew members were in the forecabin or the area used for "mess" (meals).

Passengers' accommodations depended upon the amount of money they had and who they were. A convict servant perhaps in irons, common indentured servants, and deck passengers had space marked or chalked out on the deck, typically twenty-four inches by six feet for a man and sixteen to twenty inches wide for a woman. The typical deck passenger fee, one way from England, was £10. Fine shipboard accommodations cost three times that amount.

When John Murray, earl of Dunmore, his servants, and Captain Foy traveled to New York from England on H.M.S. *Tweed* (thirty-two guns) in 1770, Capt. George Collier, R. N., spent £757

to outfit his lordship's shipboard accommodations. Collier gave up his great cabin to Dunmore and his personal sleeping area to Captain Foy. Collier then took over his first lieutenant's cabin, and everyone moved down accordingly. On his return voyage, Collier took back to England the wife of (former) Governor Bernard of Massachusetts. She used the same accommodations that Dunmore had.

Income and Advancement (Royal Navy and Commercial)

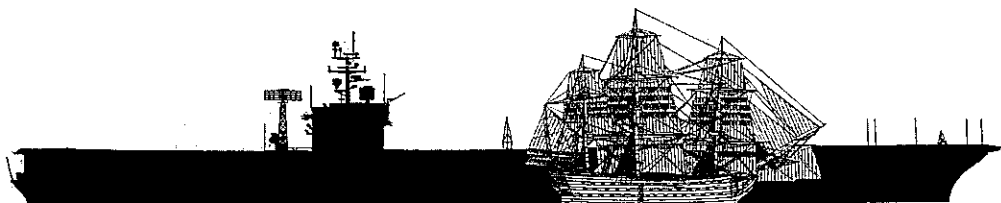
As a relative measure of vessel size Great Britain's H.M.S. *Victory*, 100 cannons, launched in 1765, and still surviving, is illustrated. Interestingly, a very visible Virginia figure from 1771 to 1775, Capt. (Lt.) Henry Colins commanded H.M.S. schooner *Magdalen*, 6 guns. After H.M.S. *Magdalen* delivered Lady Dunmore and her entourage to England in August 1775, Colins got a promotion to master and commander of a 16-gun sloop of war much larger than the *Magdalen* but not an officially rated Royal Navy vessel. In 1779, he was promoted to a post captain, and his first command was H.M.S. *Victory*, the flagship of Adm. Hon. Augustus Keppel (a first-rate line of battleship).

The first command of a new post captain was always a rated vessel, and its rate (first—highest—through sixth) determined one's future base pay regardless of any subsequent command. For as long as he was a captain of a rated warship until his death in 1791, Colins got the highest pay possible in his pay grade—£28 per month. As a post captain of a sixth rate warship, his monthly pay was £8.8.

Also the promotion to post captain meant one moved up in seniority and future rank (admiral—white, red, blue) as officers of higher rank were killed, died, or court martialed and dismissed from the navy. As a post captain, pay, rank, and promotions were assured; only an officer's death or disgrace ended the process.

Captains of commercial vessels in the transatlantic trade typically received approximately £20 a month, mates often as much or more, and com-

Then and Now. The Victory is shown alongside the aircraft carrier U.S.S. George Washington to compare the relative size of the largest warship in Great Britain's navy in 1775 and one of the largest warships in the U.S. Navy in 2005.



mon seamen perhaps 2 shillings per day. Captains and mates enjoyed many perquisites, particularly regarding personal consignments—referred to as “private adventures.” In some instances, mates could receive a larger salary than their captains, but on the voyages, the captains’ perks could very well yield profits much greater than any salary. Privileges of rank in both the navy and in commerce increased greatly as one rose in rank.

* * * * *

Suggestions for Interpretation

Sight. How big were vessels? The average 40- to 50-ton schooner or sloop’s hull would fit snugly in the Governor’s Palace ballroom. The mast height of the average vessel (height from keel or mast base to top) was about equal to the Palace or Capitol including cupola. A large ship’s mast towers 30-plus feet above the bell tower on Bruton Parish Church. A large ship’s hull is the same size as the east facade of the Wren Building.

Smell. The lower you went in the vessel the more pungent the “aromas.” Much of a vessel’s capacity lies below decks and below the waterline where little fresh air or sunlight exists. Imagine, or remember, the smells found in some basements or similar damp places. Sailors had no fresh water aboard ships for washing (except

rain), and therefore, washed their clothing in seawater. And remember, a ship at sea was continually in water and virtually never dry. How do damp towels smell after a week or two or six? Common smells were tar/pitch, foodstuffs, and humanity. Vinegar was a common cleanser for all surfaces.

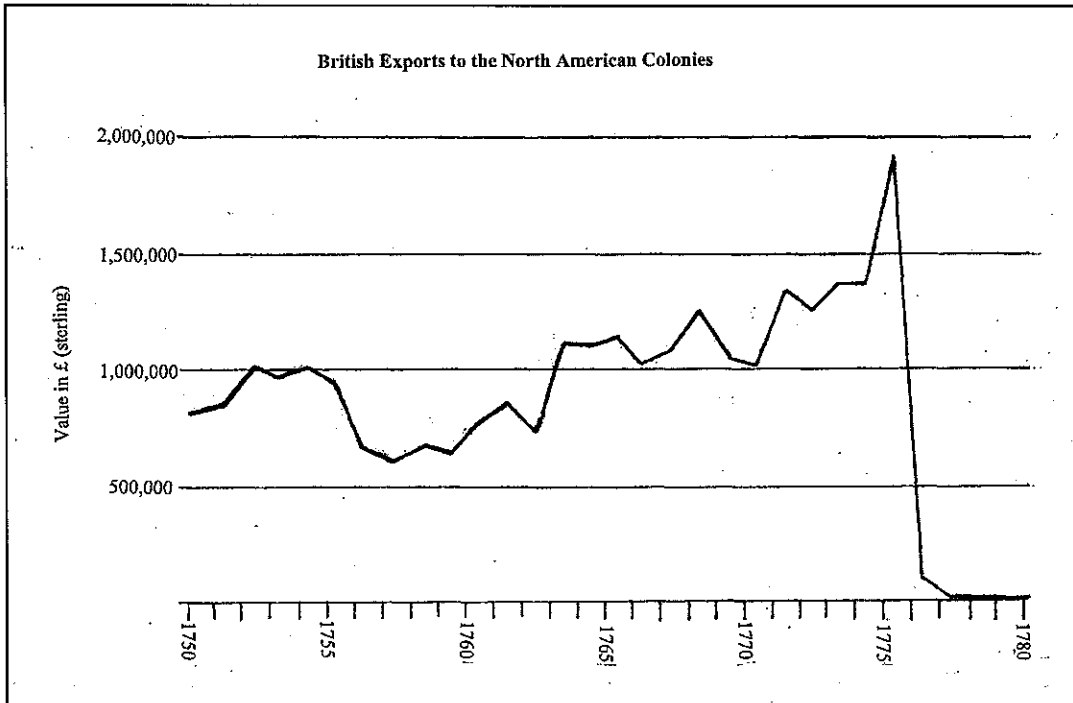
Taste. Salt was the primary preservative for shipboard foods. Salt from the sea also covered a vessel’s exposed surfaces. How many people today eat salt cod, salted meat, and other coarsely preserved foods?

Ship’s biscuits can be simulated today. Fill a wooden container with rolls (fresh or otherwise), seal it, and set it aside in a dark, damp place, and give no consideration for insects or vermin. After three, four, or more months, open the container and enjoy!

Water was essential to life on any vessel. Leave a small sealed wooden container of untreated water for a month or so—perhaps next to the biscuit container. Then enjoy it with your biscuits. For a more realistic taste, first clean the container with vinegar; then fill with water and store.

Sound. A vessel was never silent, even in a dead calm. Wooden timbers in a vessel’s hull are like a person’s ribs. Even standing still, activities were taking place on board, and humans on vessels

Note the favorable balance of trade held by the colonies until the Revolution, the effect of the French and Indian War, tobacco price fluctuations, and various merchant associations between 1769 and 1774; the very favorable export situation enjoyed by Great Britain on the eve of the Revolution, and the effect of the outbreak of hostilities in 1775. The goods in this trade are English manufactures and imported items through Great Britain (tea, spices, etc.).



created and made noises. Watches (shifts of seamen) periodically changed duty stations—even on the smallest vessels. On larger vessels the ship's bell marked time. Close to land the leadsmen, who was stationed forward to sound the depth of the water, shouted his readings. Aft, a seaman used a chip log to measure speed in knots and called out his readings.

Gulls, terns, and other birds flew overhead and in the wakes of vessels. Waves lapped or battered ships as weather changed. At mess times on vessels, particularly warships, messmates frequently began the meal by tapping the hardened, usually weevil-infested biscuits on the tables. The sound carried far.

Touch. All surfaces were rough—ropes, bulkheads (walls), decks (floors), and they were usually moist with salt water. Clothing and bedding were always damp; after being on deck in storms they were soaking wet.

Balance and comfort. Vessels, even in calm weather, pitch, yaw, and roll. In a storm, a vessel could roll 120 or more degrees from one side to another in the space of a minute or less. The most common malady for new (and old) mariners was "mal-de-mer" (sea sickness). Gentle and certainly violent movements of the surface upon which the feet are planted confuse the sense of balance then and now.

Mariners (crew and passengers) felt and

feared giant waves that battered vessels on the North Atlantic. Three days of those waves, unsure whether the vessel would right itself again, no hot food for days, no fresh water, the cold, and bruising from being thrown around below decks caused individuals both great physical and emotional distress. Heat and cold combined with the damp made for conditions hard to comprehend in our time.

Suggested Reading

In the Rockefeller Library some good further reading includes: Arthur Middleton's *Tobacco Coast*, Ernest Eller's *The Chesapeake Bay in the American Revolution*, Peter Earle's *English Merchant Seamen 1650–1775*, Walter Minchinton's *Virginia's Slave Trade Statistics*, Jay Coughry's *Notorious Triangle*, Bill Kelso's M.S. thesis, "Shipbuilding in Virginia, 1763–1774," N. A. M. Rodger's *The Command of the Ocean*, the well-edited work by Larabee, Fowler, Hatterdorf, Safford, Sloan, and German *America and the Sea: A Maritime History*, Ralph Davis's *The Rise of the English Shipping Industry*, John Sheffield's *Observations on the Commerce of the United States*, among others such as Lloyd's 1776. One work in progress on the topic of this article is Still, Leshner, and Wrike, *Southern Shipbuilding 1607–1789*.



Q & A

Question: *How long did it take to cross the Atlantic in the eighteenth century? What route did ships take to Virginia?*

Answer: In the seventeenth century, ships sailed from England down the Portuguese coast, west to the Canary Islands, and across the Atlantic to the West Indies. Then they journeyed up the east coast of North America to Cape Hatteras (North Carolina), and waited for an easterly wind to carry them into the Chesapeake Bay.

By the eighteenth century, ships followed a more direct route across the northern Atlantic. From Scotland, ships headed north above Ireland, then turned west. The voyage from Liverpool and Bristol to New York, Philadelphia, Yorktown, Norfolk, or Charleston took an average of six to eight weeks, if all went well. Weather conditions at sea made progress unpredictable. A transatlantic voyage could be as short as twenty-eight days or as long as five months. (Answer to this is from the teacher's guide to the electronic field trip *Crossroads*. Also see Pete Wrike's article, "Virginia's Maritime Economy—Late Colonial Period" in this issue for more information.)

Question: *How many miles could a traveler cover in a day during the colonial period?*

Answer: The distances covered in a day by eighteenth-century travelers varied considerably depending on the weather, the travelers' intentions, road conditions, rivers to be crossed, and so on. One person mentioned that he went fifteen miles in a [riding] chair in two-and-a-half hours while his servant, in a chair with luggage and "the old horse," traveled forty-five miles in a day. The same man rode the stage in 1786 from Petersburg to Suffolk (ninety-one miles) in eighteen hours.

William Byrd frequently came to Williamsburg from Westover Plantation in Charles City County,

located about twenty-five miles up Route 5 today. From his diary entries we know that it usually took him five hours to make the trip on horseback, unless he stopped to visit along the way. George Washington could make the trip between Mount Vernon and Williamsburg in three days if he made very few stops, but he often took six or seven days for the journey, pausing to conduct business or to visit en route.

The post rider, who around 1738 rode horseback from New Post (the general post office three miles below Fredericksburg on the south side of the Rappahannock River) to Williamsburg each week, left New Post on Thursday morning and arrived in Williamsburg on Saturday. He allowed between two and two-and-a-half days for the trip, stopping to rest and refresh himself and his horse at necessary intervals.

Andrew Burnaby traveled through Virginia in 1759 and 1760, moving around at a rather leisurely pace. Most days he made between twenty-five and thirty-five miles. On one occasion, he commented that he arrived at Winchester "after a long day's journey of above 50 miles."

Robert Hunter Jr., a London merchant, thought that the road between Williamsburg and Chickahominy Ferry was "exceedingly pleasant." One traveler observed in 1746 that the Virginia roads were "some of the best I ever saw, and infinitely superior to most in England." Other reports bemoan the condition of colonial roads.

Question: *How much did a ferry ride cost in the eighteenth century?*

Answer: The charges for ferriage in the eighteenth century were set by law and ferry keepers were licensed by the county courts. Prices varied somewhat from place to place, but these for Norfolk in 1747 are typical: four pence for a man; four pence for a horse; two shillings for a coach, chariot, or wagon with driver; one shilling four pence for a cart or four-wheeled chaise with its driver; eight pence for a two-wheeled chair or chaise; four pence for a hogshead of tobacco or a head of cattle; one penny for a hog; and each sheep, goat, or lamb was charged one-fifth of the fare of a horse.

Question: *A teacher asked me whether a person convicted and punished for a moral offense in a Virginia county court was then in good standing with the church, or did the individual have to perform some sort of act of penance? (Submitted by Bunny Rich, interpreter, Group Interpretation.)*

Answer: If you are talking about seventeenth-century Virginia up to about 1662, county justices also occasionally employed ecclesiastical sanc-

tions—such as penance—against the offenders. Court-ordered penance in seventeenth-century Virginia consisted of a formal public apology that functioned as a ritual purification. Dressed in a white sheet and carrying a white wand, the sinner was forced to confess his or her fault on several successive Sundays in front of the parish congregation during Church of England services. Such a punishment was intended to both shame the offender and formally gain reacceptance for the guilty man or woman into the community of the God-fearing. Public penance in punishment of sexual misconduct fell into disuse in England and Virginia after about 1662.

We know of no instances of any convicted persons having to do any sort of public penance in the church in eighteenth-century Virginia. Virginia county court justices imposed a combination of fining, corporal punishment, and extended terms of service for sexual offenders. The churchwardens (two in each parish elected annually from among sitting parish vestrymen) acted, in effect, as assistants to the county courts, bringing court actions against parishioners for moral offenses. (Many county justices were themselves church vestrymen.) There is no evidence of an expectation to “get right” with the church, once the court executed sentence of a fine, whipping, or extension of service on an individual. The court's action seems to have been the end of it.

(Answer submitted by Linda Rowe, historian, Department of Historical Research, and John Turner, program planner, Department of Public History Development.)

Question: *Were above stairs (for upstairs) and below stairs (for downstairs) really eighteenth-century expressions?*

Answer: In 1758, Samuel Johnson stated, “I can not be above stairs and below at the same time.” So the terms were used, but we suspect in different ways. Roger North, a late seventeenth-century writer on architecture, used the term *above stairs* in a passive or static sense as did Dr. Johnson. William Byrd II did not use the term *below stairs* when talking about the process in an active sense. Byrd wrote on June 5, 1709, “He began to come down stairs;” on August 6, “Old Ben began to come down stairs;” July 15, 1711, “I . . . went down stairs.” In December 1723 Robert “King” Carter used it in a passive sense when he referred in his diary to “Coll Page fast kept above stairs.” So in interpreting the Palace, for example, you could say “Lord and Lady Dunmore are above stairs,” but not “We’re going above stairs now.” Instead, “we’re going upstairs now.”

(Answer submitted by Betty Leviner, Department of Historical Research, and Phil Shultz, training specialist, Department of Interpretive Training)

Question: *How about at rest, when used to describe a room where furniture is not in use?*

Answer: To date no one has found an eighteenth-century reference to a room's being “at rest,” though the expression was used in the nineteenth century. Years ago Colonial Williamsburg curators used it as a shorthand term for a room not in use. Unfortunately, it was picked up and absorbed into our vocabulary as a period term.

(Answer submitted by Betty Leviner, Department of Historical Research, and Phil Shultz, training specialist, Department of Interpretive Training)

Question: *When were the first coins minted by the U.S. government?*

Answer: The U.S. Mint was established in Philadelphia by a resolution of Congress on April 2, 1792. This act also provided for the coinage of gold eagles (\$10), half-eagles and quarter-eagles, the silver dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, dime (originally spelled *disme*) and the half-disme or half-dime, and the copper cent and half-cent.

Most numismatic authorities consider the half-disme of 1792 as the first U.S. coinage, quoting the words of George Washington as their authority. Washington, in his annual address, November 6, 1792, said, “There has been a small beginning in the coining of the Half-Dimes, the want of small coins in circulation calling the first attention to them.” Furthermore, it is possible that some of the silver bullion for these coins came from Washington himself, but this has yet to be proven or disproven.

The first circulating coins produced by the U.S. Mint were the one-cent and half-cent pieces, struck in 1793 on a hand-operated screw press. The next year saw the striking of the silver dollar, half-dollar, dime, and half-dime. Following that, the year 1795 saw the first gold coins produced, including the eagle and half-eagles. Finally, the quarter-dollar and quarter-eagle appeared in 1796.

(Answer submitted by Bob Doares, training specialist, Department of Interpretive Training, and Erik Goldstein, curator of mechanical arts and numismatics, Department of Collections and Conservation.)

(Q & A was compiled by Bob Doares, training specialist, Department of Interpretive Training.)



Bothy's Mould

Presenting the latest dirt (mould) from the gardener's hut (bothy).

John Banister: A Botanist's Sojourn in Seventeenth-Century Virginia

by Wesley Greene

Wesley is a garden historian in the Landscape Department. You can often find him in costume in the Colonial Garden across the street from Bruton Parish Church.

When the first colonists arrived in the New World they were greeted with a nearly unbroken expanse of forest that stretched along the East Coast from Florida to Maine. It was at once a formidable barrier to carving out a living and a seemingly inexhaustible resource. It was also a great scientific curiosity to the burgeoning society of naturalists back in England. As early as 1617 John Tradescant the Elder was receiving seeds from the Jamestown settlement for inclusion in his botanic garden at Lambeth. His son, John the Younger, first traveled to Virginia to collect plants in 1637, and returned in 1642 and 1654.

The first university-trained naturalist in Virginia and America's first resident naturalist was John Banister. Banister was born of modest

means in Twigworth, Gloucestershire, England, in 1650. He entered Magdalen College of Oxford University in 1667, his keen intellect having gained him admittance. He received his bachelor of arts in 1671 and his master of arts in 1674. His ordination as a minister of the Church of England (date unknown) probably followed shortly thereafter. During his years at Oxford, Banister cultivated an interest in the natural sciences and had the opportunity to study the American plants brought back by Thomas Hariot and John Tradescant that were preserved in the Oxford Physick Garden. The Natural History Museum in London has a collection of 374 meticulously mounted and labeled herbarium specimens prepared by Banister while he was at Oxford. It was this work that caught the eye of some of the leading botanists of the day, including Henry Compton, Bishop of London. Compton sent Bannister to Virginia to be a parish minister but also to collect specimens and information about the natural world of Virginia. (It was a pattern repeated more than once by Bishop Compton.)

Banister arrived in Virginia in 1678, shortly after the conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion. He was to report to Col. Herbert Jefferys, deputy governor of Virginia while Gov. Berkeley was in England, but finding that Jefferys had been killed, Banister made his way to a trading post owned by William Byrd I at the falls of the James River. This began a long and close relationship with Byrd, whom he apparently accompanied on many of his trading excursions into the backcountry. In Banister's first letter from the falls, written April 6, 1679, he recorded "This is a Country excellently well watered & so fertile that it does or might be made [to] yield anything that might conduce to the pleasure or necessity



This 1720 French view of Oxford shows the town as it looked in the century following Bannister's attendance at university there.

of life. But want of Peace, too much land & ye great cropps of Tobacco men strive to make hinders Virginia from improving." Bannister probably did not take up his duties as minister until the 1680s.

He had firsthand experience with the "want of Peace." In the same letter he recorded "this country that little time I have been [in] it has been much infe[s]ted by its barbarous Enemies the Natives. We lost another stout man at the same time, one Major Harris, who rashly pursuing the flying Enemy with a Pistol only in his hand & that too discharged was shot & died a Martyr to his foolhardiness."

In addition to the danger posed by the native tribes, Banister struggled under all the hardships that anyone venturing into the wilderness faced. He wrote of "the Violent & suddain thunder & lightening we have here," the difficulty fording rivers, danger from snakes and wild beasts as well as the more mundane concerns of a botanist in an unexplored world with few references. He lamented that "I have met with a great Number of Trees, Shrubs and herbs that I know not what to make of for want of Books and other helps."

Bannister suffered illness as he related to Bishop Compton in an April 19, 1689, letter. "This comes to beg your Lordship pardon that I have not sent the Sassaphras berries according to my promise: it pleas'd God to visit me with a fit of sickness just at their time of ripening which kept me from going abroad." Traveling by horse had its own perils as is evident in an undated letter to James Petiver. "I should have sent more, & writt longer both to his Lordship & you but that I am now & then indisposed by a fall from a horse."

Both Banister and Byrd relied on Indian guides to help them navigate the backcountry. This presented its own problems as we can see from a letter written by Banister in 1685 or 1686. "In September last we occasionally took a journey towards, I might have said, to the mountains, had not the Indians which were our guides, been afraid as they pretended, but I am apt to think it was policy not fear retarded them, and that they were unwilling to let us be acquainted with their recesses so far up in the country."

Along with the hardships of travel in seventeenth-century Virginia, there were joys as well. On one journey inland along the James River, Banister records:

This rock is crowned with not very large but well spreading trees of Cypress-leaved Savin [Eastern Red Cedar] under whose shade on beds of matted moss, we eat our dinner, & wish'd we might meet with a place as pleasant & commodious for our repose at night.

On the return trip he writes: "In our way home the rich low grounds abounded with a kind of wild Baulm, which being trampled by our horses as we rode thro it mightily refreshed us with its fragrant scent." This plant, *Monarda punctata*, is known today as horsemint.

On an expedition with William Byrd I to survey a tract of land along the lower Roanoke River in 1692, Banister was accidentally shot and killed by a woodsman named Jacob Colson. Colson was jailed "for the death per misadventure of Mr. John Banister" but was granted bail and then acquitted. Perhaps in consideration of Banister's immediate family about whom little is known other than he married a "young widow" in 1687, the nature of his accidental death was concealed for decades.

For example, much of Banister's work was included in John Ray's mammoth work, *Historia plantarum*, the most comprehensive English plant taxonomic work of the seventeenth century. In the third volume of the *Historia*, Ray records this misleading tribute. "D. John Banister, botanist of the first order . . . with admirable industry studied and described the plants of Virginia, where he resided for a number of years . . . unfortunate then the deplorable disaster . . . while he was incautiously climbing the rocks, from human affairs he was taken away."

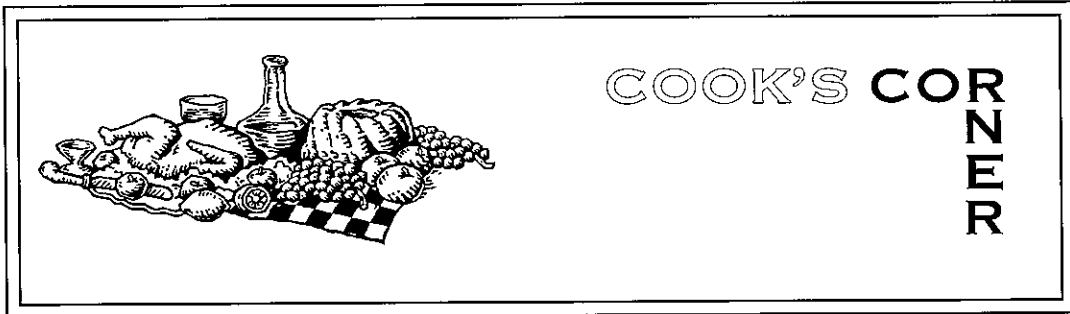
As late as 1806, Benjamin Smith Barton, author of the first American textbook on botany, visited Virginia and was told by the descendents of John Banister that their illustrious ancestor was killed by a falling tree while collecting plants.

Banister quickly slipped into obscurity and is probably best remembered today as a trustee and a founder of the College of William and Mary, an honor he was granted shortly before his death. His work has been adapted by many authors over time, generally without credit.

Much of Robert Beverly's *History and Present State of Virginia* comes directly from Banister's writings. Beverly credited Banister in the 1705 edition of the *History*, but dropped the credit in the 1720 edition.

Almost all of the Virginia plants included in Leonard Plukentet's *Phytographia* (1692), which was heavily relied on by Linnaeus for classing New World plants, are reproductions of Banister's own *Phytographia*, and Martin Lister used Banister's illustrations of mollusks in his *Historia conchyliorum* (1697), again without crediting Banister.

The greatest legacy any scientist can leave the world, however, is not his name but his work, and Bannister's endured as the foundation for the study of the natural world in colonial Virginia.



Why We Do What We Do

by Jim Gay

Jim is an apprentice in Historic Foodways in the Department of Historic Trades.

If you visited the Palace or Randolph Kitchen, it wouldn't take long to hear a guest ask the following questions: "Is it real?" "Who eats it?" "Why not?" "Where can we buy it?" If he is persistent in trying to find out what the food tastes like, we normally recommend a few period cookbooks available in our bookstore. Since we use these cookbooks every day, we are comfortable recommending them: Mary Randolph's *Virginia Housewife* and Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. Cookbooks from any era are a snapshot of the food fashions of the day and close reading can illuminate a culture. Here I address the philosophy we use in the Palace and Randolph kitchens and why we cook what we cook.

The Governor's Palace

Since a professional French-trained cook was on staff at the Palace during the terms of the last two royal governors (Botetourt and Dunmore) before the Revolution, we use whatever cookbooks we can find that show a British nobleman's preferences, particularly if they had a French influence. When cooking at the Palace for the governor's needs, we like to use cookbooks written by a monarch's or aristocrat's cook. However, we also show foods that the governor might have served his guests . . . and those guests were Virginians, who thought they were British. Even though the cook might have been French trained, his prep cooks were likely to be slave women, probably born in Virginia or the West Indies. Each person in that kitchen likely added his or her own flair to whatever they were cooking. Hence, a French dish cooked in Virginia could have tasted quite different from the same dish prepared in Europe.

Looking out of the kitchen window, the cook might have wished to see vineyards and cheese

mongers, but alas, Williamsburg is not France. He also would have been mindful of the governor's guests and their individual preferences, which would have represented the full spectrum of food from both sides of the Atlantic: duck prepared the French way with subtle flavors, roasted beef with potatoes and onions (about as British as it gets), along with Virginia ham, and James River oysters the size of dinner plates. Just as modern-day cooks feel the push and pull of what they want to cook versus what they think their guests might enjoy, so the Palace cooks had to consider all the variables and options, including what the governor himself wanted and wanted for his guests—not all French, not all British, not all local, but some of each.

So what do we do? It's a safe bet that on any given day at the Palace, we will cook something out of Hannah Glasse's *Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. Although written for housekeepers, not professional cooks, Glasse's was the most popular cookbook of its day. The best modern day analogy to it is *The Joy of Cooking*. While warning her readers to beware of "French tricks," she nevertheless provides many recipes for "ragoos," fricassees, and things done the French way. While arguing against French extravagance, her recipes are neither plain nor easy. However, they do represent a wide range of cooking methods and the emerging worldwide perspective of the British Empire. Besides British and French recipes, Glasse's cookbook includes uses for macaroni, curries, and rice, along with Spanish, Portuguese, German, Dutch, and Middle Eastern dishes. It's not at all out of the question that the governor might have served carrot pudding, Virginia ham, chicken done the East Indian way, and Jamaican rum punch. All would, in one way or another, represent the scope of the British Empire . . . a not-too-subtle point made to the likes of a Thomas Jefferson or Patrick Henry.

While the governor's table represents what a fashionable aristocrat *might* have served, we don't have any recipes that were directly associated with Botetourt, Dunmore, or their families. We do have the William Sparrow purchasing accounts, which tell us what was purchased

day by day; that, by and large, determines our menus. But at the Palace, we are doing informed guessing about how the food was cooked. We use Hannah Glasse's text along with seventy-five others, so we have a lot of choices. Not true for the Randolph House. There, we use only Mary.

The Randolph Kitchen

Mary Randolph was first cousin to Peyton Randolph. Born in 1762, she was married and running a household in 1780. One can make a case that Mary Randolph is more *Randolph* than Peyton was. Both her parents were Randolphs and she married a Randolph. Her brother married Thomas Jefferson's daughter Martha.

Mary Randolph's heyday was the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. However, her 1824 cookbook, *The Virginia House-wife*, was the first ever published by a Virginian. According to food historian Karen Hess, Mary Randolph's cookbook is "the finest book to come out of an American kitchen." She was as influential in the nineteenth century as Julia Child was in the twentieth century. Both changed the way people cooked.

For that reason, Mary Randolph's cookbook is the one we use at the Randolph Kitchen. However, we have to be conscious of what would have been on Peyton Randolph's eighteenth-century table, because we have no local documentation for some ingredients such as okra, used by Mary Randolph.

One food a guest might have seen at the Randolph House that they wouldn't see at the Palace is Indian corn. The general assumption is that the royal governor wouldn't have served corn, considering it to be food for pigs. (This argument breaks down slightly when you consider everything is food for pigs. Yet, somehow Indian corn would not have been appropriate at the Palace.)

Not so at the Randolph House, we suggest. There Indian cornmeal pudding and cornbread à la Mary Randolph occasionally could have been cooked and served to Mr. Speaker and his guests. One food that you won't find at either the Randolph House or the Palace is peanuts, called "ground nuts" in the eighteenth century. That was pig food. Modern day guests are surprised that the peanut soup served in our Historic Area taverns today was not served in eighteenth-century Virginia.

Another notable difference between the Palace and the Randolph House kitchens concerned who was doing the cooking. Slaves ran the Randolph Kitchen whereas a professional white male cook was in charge at the Palace Kitchen. However, the quality of the cookery on both sites would have had to be superb because Mr. Speaker's and His Lordship's dining guests would have been familiar with both. Based on Mary Randolph's recipes, guests would not have been disappointed.

So to answer our modern-day guests' questions, the conversation normally goes something like this: "Is it real?" ("Yes.") "Who eats it?" ("No one.") "Why not?" ("Because it's been sneezed on by thousands.") "Where can we buy it?" ("You can't. But we can suggest where you can buy the cookbooks, and they are . . .")

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Arts & Mysteries

Today's Journeyman, Tomorrow's Journeyman: Colonial America's Wage Earners

by Noel B. Poirier

Noel, formerly a journeyman carpenter/joiner in Colonial Williamsburg's Department of Historic Trades, is now museum director for the Quiet Valley Farm Museum near Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania.

Master carpenters Philip Moody and John Lamb surveyed the tiny rented room where journeyman carpenter John Drewry recently had been living. The room was filled with Drewry's tools, a few items of clothing, and drawers filled with sundry items.¹ Drewry, the son of Peter Drewry of York County, was only twenty-five years old when he died in 1779. Orphaned at sixteen, he was apprenticed by his guardian John Chisman to Yorktown carpenter Nathan Stroud. For the next five years, Drewry worked and lived with Stroud. In return for providing room, board, and clothing, Stroud received regular payments from Peter Drewry's estate via John Chisman.²

John Drewry could not have turned twenty-one at a better time for an aspiring tradesperson. The year 1776 found Williamsburg bursting with soldiers, artisans, and public servants. Tradespeople were desperately needed to provide Virginia with vital war material. Drewry, like many others including Lamb and Moody, took advantage of the opportunity and offered goods and services to the state.

It is even possible that Drewry had been hired to work in the public carpenter shop, managed at the time by Philip Moody.³ John Drewry is a rarity, for journeymen trades people are "historic ghosts" who, if they worked their entire life as wage earners, may never have purchased real property and, if they lived within the law, rarely appeared in the historic record. He is just one illustration of the countless journeymen whom history has all but forgotten.

The tradesperson of colonial America, male or female, was the product of a long-standing system for the training and education of the colonies' youth. The absence of public education in most of the colonies and the need for skilled artisans demanded the establishment of a structure for the education of young people.

In England, that structure prior to the mid-1500s was controlled principally by trade guilds

Plate 4 of Hogarth's apprentice series, published in 1747, shows the "industrious 'prentice" who works hard and diligently and earns the trust and favor of his master (CWF 1947 481).



or municipal organizations until the establishment of the Statute of Artificers in 1562. This act provided that all apprenticeships be documented through the recording of an article of indenture, be contracted for a minimum of seven years and not expire until the apprentice reached the age of twenty-one or twenty-four. Under this legally binding agreement, the apprentice's master was to serve as his or her legal guardian and endeavor to educate the apprentice in his trade.⁴

Subsequently, the Poor Law of 1601 amended the British apprenticeship system by allowing churchwardens to apprentice children of poor families. These children, referred to as "pauper apprentices," were to serve terms ending at age twenty-four for men and twenty-one (or marriage) for women. Both of these laws gave communities the means to control their youth populations, supply the trades with inexpensive labor, provide for the support of poor children and indigent orphans, and give children a skill with which to earn a living as adults, making them less likely to need public assistance. Each colony in America adapted these provisions to their own situations and enacted laws that were relevant to their own economies and populations.⁵

While each colony adapted the traditional apprenticeship to its own environment, the fundamental apprenticeship was the same. Apprentices in the free population, be they in South Carolina or Massachusetts, served for an agreed upon period of time with a master, were educated in the hand skills necessary to the master's trade, and received as much schooling as necessary to be effective in the practice of that trade. (See below for variations in the training process by which an enslaved person became a skilled tradesperson.) Surrounded by journeymen of varying skills and demeanors and beholden to the shop's master, all apprentices received instruction in the skills necessary to make their way in colonial America.⁶

While the apprenticeship experience for most young people was similar, their opportunities for making a living afterward were considerably more diverse. There were many factors at play when newly liberated journeymen contemplated their futures. Geography, economy, population, and politics all played a part in shaping the opportunities available to journeyman trades people, as were personal situations of individual journeymen.

Whether a journeyman was just beginning to earn wages or had been working in the trade for years, or whether he was married or single, each person's definition of success affected the decision. Newly minted, free journeymen essentially

had to decide to do one of three things: attempt to become a master, leave the trade altogether, or work for a master for wages.

The common perception of tradespeople from the colonial period is that all journeymen aspired to, and achieved, their economic independence. In many ways, the notion of the "American dream" has its roots in this perception. Unfortunately, the door to economic opportunity, as expressed in the movement from wage earner to shop master, often was closed to many journeymen.

Being highly skilled in a trade was not enough. Journeymen about to venture out on their own also needed to be strongly motivated, have sufficient capital, and know how to run a successful business. Good business practice included everything from keeping accurate accounts to setting up shop in a location that provided a ready market for their work, as well as what we might call public relations know-how.

Often the decisive factor in determining journeymen's abilities to establish economic independence was inherent in the very trades they practiced. If a journeyman was a barber or bookbinder, for example, he required little in the way of tool and overhead investment, making the road from journeyman to master easier—provided always that sound business sense and perseverance were present. For them, freedom dues were sometimes sufficient to provide an economic leg up.⁷

Trades that required considerable capital investment in materials, tools, and workspace—a goldsmith or cabinetmaker, for example—made it difficult for the average journeyman to free himself from the yoke of the master tradesman for whom he worked. Aid from a patron or family resources was often the only way to make the move from journeyman to master early in one's career.⁸

Philip Moody, son of local cabinetmaker/carpenter/taverner Matthew Moody Sr., was apprenticed in 1753 to Williamsburg master carpenter Christopher Ford. Philip Moody was in business for himself shortly after completing his apprenticeship, undertaking work for prominent Williamsburg resident John Prentis and joining the Masonic lodge.⁹ Moody's rapid entry into the competitive Williamsburg building market implies assistance, both monetary and social, from his father, Mathew, who was a member of the local Masonic lodge.

Another tradesperson who used patronage to establish himself in Williamsburg was joiner Joshua Kendall. In late July 1768, King George III appointed Lord Botetourt governor of the colony of Virginia. Shortly afterward, Bote-

court began to contract with various tradesmen, including Kendall, to travel with him to Virginia. On August 14, 1768, Botetourt contracted Joshua Kendall to serve as his joiner-in-residence in Virginia. Kendall was paid £30 for the one-year contract.¹⁰

One of the first Virginia references to Kendall appears in the *Virginia Gazette* in May of 1769. At the time, Joshua Kendall was in partnership with another Botetourt transplant, Joseph Kidd. The two men advertised that they had "engaged a person from England, well acquainted with the useful branches of plumbing, glazing and painting."¹¹

Four months later the men advertised they had acquired a "choice collection of the most fashionable paper hangings" and that they offered lead products for sale at their shop "behind the church." This advertisement led to a public chastisement of the partners in the competing *Virginia Gazette* printed by William Rind. The complaint accused the partners of violating the recently passed Association, which prohibited the importation of paper, paint, and glass from Great Britain. Shortly after this reproach the partnership of Kendall and Kidd dissolved, and Kendall went into business on his own.¹²

It is doubtful that Joshua Kendall, without the assistance of his patron, could have established himself in a community abundantly supplied with joiners. Evidence of Kendall's reliance on patronage is best illustrated by his departure from the Williamsburg scene shortly after the death of Botetourt.

One of the themes running through the study of artisans is that journeymen sometimes eschewed their trades for other economic pursuits, notably farming. The evidence for this is often anecdotal or based on evidence from the seventeenth century when land could be more cheaply acquired. In the eighteenth century, the pens of individuals such as Benjamin Franklin, who were courting prospective European settlers, perpetuated this idea.¹³

The fact is, the cost of obtaining a significant amount of land in older, established areas of the colonies was, like that of establishing one's own shop, often beyond the reach of many journeymen tradespeople. Even land in frontier areas could be beyond the reach of the most frugal artisan. A wage-earning tradesperson who wanted to buy land in frontier Amelia County between 1742 and 1758, for example, would have paid anywhere from £1 for 30 acres to £180 for 400 acres. Wages for a journeyman artisan in Virginia about the same time averaged around £30 per year.¹⁴

Labor to work the land presented another often-insurmountable problem for the journeyman who hoped to switch to farming. The cost

of enslaved male farm hands rose gradually throughout the eighteenth century. The Virginia wage earner of the latter half of the eighteenth century would have paid at least £30 for one male slave capable of fieldwork.¹⁵ Once again, even if wage-earning artisans were interested in becoming planters, the economic costs of land and labor made it virtually impossible. A careful study of tradespeople offered as examples of artisan turned planter shows that many of them, such as James Geddy Jr. in Williamsburg, were people who had already achieved levels of success in their trades high enough to provide them the income necessary to purchase land and the labor to work it.¹⁶

The concept of movement from skilled laborer to independent planter is further undermined by the question of expertise in running a farm. A skilled journeyman silversmith, who knew nothing but the study and practice of silversmithing from the age of fourteen, was ill equipped to grow crops or raise livestock. Eighteenth-century farming was not so uncomplicated that anyone could do it without any specialized knowledge or training.

The fact that there were identifiable skills required to undertake agriculture as distinct from an artisan's skills is clearly illustrated in demands from the colonies for indentured servants who were either "tradesmen" or "farmers."¹⁷ Wage-earning artisans were often creatures of, and at home in, an urban setting. Their exposure to agricultural practices was limited and certainly not significant enough to place them in a position to establish themselves as independent planters.

Like their free counterparts, enslaved artisans acquired their skills through the same, though modified, apprenticeship process. Enslaved persons sometimes were sent to urban centers where they could serve a more formal apprenticeship under a master tradesperson. The handful of slaves known to have served formal apprenticeships did not always serve as long as their free counterparts and often did not receive formal schooling outside the workshop.¹⁸

Training could be supervised by a free skilled tradesperson by arrangement with the slave's owner or by another skilled member of a plantation's enslaved community. There was value in a wealthy plantation owner apprenticing his enslaved labor to trades because the apprenticeship of one slave made it possible for that enslaved artisan to train others when needed, limiting the need to hire more expensive free artisans. While there were growing numbers of skilled enslaved artisans throughout the eighteenth century, most enslaved individuals continued to labor in the fields of their masters.¹⁹

If the situation for the free skilled wage earner was often bleak, it was nothing when compared to the circumstances of America's enslaved skilled workforce. Skilled slaves sometimes hired themselves out for their own benefit or earned extra money in other ways, but their unfree status dictated that these benefits in many cases accrued to their masters rather than to enslaved artisans themselves.

There were other advantages, within the confines of their unfree status, to the enslaved person who had learned a skill. The environment in which enslaved artisans worked was far different from their unskilled counterparts. They were often exempt from having to work in the fields, continued to learn new skills, and occasionally were hired out to work on neighboring plantations and in town. Skilled slaves also intermittently worked without any direct supervision from masters or overseers, and were sporadically permitted to hire themselves out for wages.²⁰

The learning of a skilled trade also placed the enslaved artisan in a better position to undermine the authority of the slave owner by running away. This act of resistance was more common among skilled slaves than the unskilled due to the opportunities for skilled persons to practice their marketable skills and pass themselves off as free persons.²¹ Nonetheless, opportunities for enslaved individuals to use their skills to free themselves from bondage were few. Enslaved artisans were similar to free wage-earning journeymen in that both groups were for the most part locked into positions under their masters' thumbs in colonial society.

There are countless references to colonial Americans who were property owners, shop masters, or otherwise mentioned in public records. These records, however, recounted little about the lives and work of those colonists who labored in the workshops of urban masters or on rural plantations. The legend of "today's journeyman, tomorrow's master" morphed over time into the concept of "the American Dream." The historical reality of the wage-earning or enslaved skilled artisan of colonial America falls far short of accepted lore.

Journeymen tradespeople were, principally for reasons of economy, constrained from establishing themselves as independent shop masters. Even those capable of acquiring the necessary capital from family or patrons found it difficult to breach markets in which established shop masters held sway. Enslaved artisans, while enjoying more freedom of movement than their field-working counterparts, could not gain legal freedom from slavery simply through learning a trade. Enslaved artisans sometimes decided that their best hope

was to run away to a place where the value of their skill would encourage others to accept them as free. The full story of wage-earning artisans and their enslaved counterparts is one that has yet to be completely written. Only when it is done will the contributions to colonial American history of men such as John Drewry truly be understood.

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¹ Inventory of John Drewry, York County Records, Wills and Inventories 22 (1771-1783): 431-432 (microfilm, John D. Rockefeller Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

² Peter Drewry Estate Settlement, York County Records, Wills, and Inventories 22 (1771-1783): 41; York County Records, Guardian Accounts (1736-1780): 462-463, 482, 499-500, 510-511 (microfilm, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg).

³ Deputy Quarter Master General, Accounts, 1776-1780, Virginia State Library (microfilm, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg).

⁴ Raymond R. Townsend, Study Manual #2, Part 2, *Apprenticeship in Colonial Virginia* (The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series, 1960), 1.

⁵ Townsend, Study Manual #2, Part 2, *Apprenticeship in Colonial Virginia*, 1-2; James M. Gaynor and Nancy Hagedorn, *Tools, Working Wood in Eighteenth-Century America* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1993), 35-39.

⁶ Gaynor and Hagedorn, *Tools*, 35-39; Vanessa E. Patrick, "as good a joiner as any in Virginia:" *African-Americans in Eighteenth-Century Building Trades* (The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series, 1995), in *Enslaving Virginia Resource Book* (Williamsburg, VA: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1998), 281-285; Mary Allison Carll-White, *The Role of the Black Artisan in the Building Trades and the Decorative Arts in South Carolina's Charleston District, 1760-1800* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1982), 37-52.

⁷ Christine Daniels, "From Father to Son: Economic Roots of Craft Dynasties in Eighteenth-Century Maryland," Howard B. Rock, et al., eds., *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750-1850* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 8.

⁸ Billy G. Smith, *The "Lower Sort" Philadelphia's Laboring People, 1750-1800* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), 138-144.

⁹ Estate of Mr. John Prentis to Phil Moody, Joseph Prentis Papers, photocopy (PH29), John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; "Williamsburg Ma-

sonic Lodge," *William and Mary Quarterly* 1st ser. (1892): 14-15.

¹⁰ Felix Farley's *Bristol Journal*, August 6, 1768; Patricia A. Gibbs, "The Governor's Household and Its Operations: A Thematic Paper Prepared for the Department of Interpretive Education," Colonial Williamsburg Research Report, 1981.

¹¹ Gibbs, "Governor's Household and Its Operations," 11, 20; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), May 4, 1769.

¹² *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), September 28, 1769; *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), November 2, 1769; Gibbs, "Governor's Household and Its Operations," 20.

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¹⁴ Michael L. Nicholls, "Origins of the Virginia Southside, 1703-1753: A Social and Economic Study" (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1972), 93; Harold B. Gill, "Prices and Wages in 1750" (September 29, 1977).

¹⁵ Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 133-134.

¹⁶ Gill, *Artisans of Williamsburg*, 28-30.

¹⁷ Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1986), 264-270.

¹⁸ Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 373; Patrick, "as good a joiner as any in Virginia," 281-285; Gaynor and Hagedorn, *Tools*, 35-39; Mary Allison Carll-White, *The Role of the Black Artisan in the Building Trades and the Decorative Arts in South Carolina's Charleston District, 1760-1800* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1982), 37-52.

¹⁹ Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 403-405; Carll-White, *Role of the Black Artisan in the Building Trades*, 37-52; Patrick, "as good a joiner as any in Virginia," 283.

²⁰ Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves*, 413.

²¹ Patrick, "as good a joiner as any in Virginia," 285-286.

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: New at the Rock



Becoming Americans Story Lines: New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

Freeing Religion

Church, Forrest, ed. *The Separation of Church and State: Writings on a Fundamental Freedom by America's Founders*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 2004. (BR516.S46 2004)

What did the founders think? The issue of separation of church and state were as important then as it is now. The ideas of Patrick Henry, George Mason, and Thomas Jefferson are among those whose writings on religion and government are included in this slim volume. The editor, a Unitarian minister, provides background information and context for the writings. A basic collection, this book provides a look at the founders' beliefs.

Bond, Edward L. *Spreading the Gospel in Colonial Virginia: Sermons and Devotional Writings*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books: Williamsburg, Va.; Published in association with The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2004. (BR555.V8.S67 2004) Abridged paperback edition, 2005 (BR555.V8.S667 2005)

While the author provides a history of religion in Virginia from 1607 to Revolutionary times, he also supplies the original documents to illustrate and enhance this history. The themes include family religion and private piety, the church and slavery, the Baptist perspective, and the call to the moral life. Robert Paxton, James Blair, James Maury, and John Carter are among those whose devotional writings and sermons are found in this volume. For those interested in religion in colonial Virginia, this is a significant resource.

Choosing Revolution

Cox, Caroline. *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. (E259.C695 2004)

In this book, Cox examines the status and social and cultural differences between enlisted

men and officers in Washington's Continental Army during the Revolution. There were great differences in how people lived, how they were punished, what medical services they received, how they were buried, and how they were treated as prisoners of war. While there were wide variations between the treatment of officers and enlisted men, they did find a common purpose, and there were instances of enlisted men advancing in the army. Using contemporary correspondence, memoirs, and pension records, the author examines the living conditions, social interactions, and relationships of gentlemen officers, soldiers, and servants during the Revolution.

Ellis, Joseph J. *His Excellency George Washington*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004. (E312.E245 2004)

In this well-written biography, Ellis focuses on the life of the most famous Founding Father. Using principally the George Washington Papers at the University of Virginia, the author has written an intimate portrait of a complex and powerful man. Ellis examines his military and presidential years as well as his personal life and retirement years. This follow-up to Ellis's *Founding Brothers* provides a chronicle that makes Washington both human and interesting, not just a monument or the picture on the dollar bill.

Ketchum, Richard M. *Victory at Yorktown: The Campaign that Won the Revolution*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2004. (E241.Y6.K48 2004)

The events that led to and culminated in the final victory of the Revolution are well described in *Victory at Yorktown*. The author has used diaries and personal letters to make this event very real. We see people as they were and experience how they felt. The war had not gone well for the Americans. There were problems getting food, money, and supplies for the troops, and the French were proving to be a problem. But, in this time of great need, the forces rallied, military events coalesced, and the victory was achieved. The author has provided a fascinating look at the battle of Yorktown and the events that led

up to it as well as a captivating look at the people involved.

Taking Possession

Heidler, David S., and Jeanne T. Heidler. *Daily Life in the Early American Republic, 1790–1820: Creating a New Nation*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004. (E164.H45 2004)

The new political ideals fought for in the Revolution were very important to Americans and permeated their daily life. The years from 1790 to 1820 saw less reliance on agriculture, the growth of cities, more religious diversity, and efforts by all classes to become more responsible and educated citizens. These themes are developed in this book on daily life during the years after the Revolution. There are chapters on various aspects of life and death, agricultural life, the changing economy, leisure, and military life. Also included is a month-by-month chronology for the time period.

Philyaw, L. Scott. *Virginia's Western Visions: Political and Cultural Expansion on an Early American Frontier*. Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 2004. (F229.P56 2004)

This book covers the westward expansion of Virginia and its subsequent loss of lands. To the west lay economic expansion, settlement, tobacco plantations, and the use of slaves to help settle this area. But the attitude of Virginians toward the people who lived and settled the frontier was ambivalent. The author contends that this influenced the assumptions of the architects of the new republic. The great unrest of Native Americans, French settlers, and the German and Scots immigration did not encourage the Virginia colonists to venture westward. Instead, they turned toward the south thus providing for the migration of northerners to the western lands of Virginia. This set the stage for a reduction of the borders of what had been Virginia to its current size.

Ogasapian, John. *Music of the Colonial and Revolutionary Era*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004. (ML3917.U6.O43 2004)

With the settling of a new country, came new social and cultural changes. The author explores the contributions of the British, Spanish, German, Scots-Irish, African Americans, and Native

Americans to the music developed during the colonial and Revolutionary times. He examines the music of regions such as New England and the Middle Colonies. The section on music in the Southern Colonies is particularly relevant. There is a useful chapter at the end providing information about early American musical figures. Appendices include a timeline, selected concert programs, selected discography, and music samples of the period.

Citizenship

Ravitch, Diane, and Joseph P. Viteritti, eds. *Making Good Citizens: Education and Civil Society*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001. (LC1091.M28 2001)

This collection of essays on the connection between education and citizenship examines the status of the civic mindedness of Americans in the beginning of the twenty-first century. With citizen participation at a low, cynicism on the part of Americans, and a poor understanding of the constitutional system by students, the matter of citizenship has become an important topic for discussion. These essays cover such diverse topics as the relationship between a strong democracy and education, and the place of religion, diversity, and political conflict. An especially relevant chapter concerns the ideas of Jefferson and Madison on religion. This is a provocative book reflecting the concerns and ideas on citizenship in our times.

Insin, Engin F., and Bryan S. Turner. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2002. (LC1091.H36 2002)

This is a textbook lesson in citizenship. The essays collected here are a discussion of contemporary citizenship and its many components. The topics covered deal with the economic, political, and social aspects as well as two histories of citizenship, ancient and modern. Other topics relate to multicultural, religious, and ecological aspects. This is a useful book that deals with what is fast becoming a crucial topic in education and social sciences.

Submitted by Mary Haskell, former associate librarian, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library. See Editor's Notes.

New Items in the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library's Special Collection

Johnston, Elizabeth Bryant. *Original Portraits of Washington* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1882).

This work includes all images known at the time of publication. They range from the well-known representations by Trumbull, Peale, and Stuart to the "grotesque in composition and expression." Each is said to have a unique and individual contribution to make in understanding the sitter. Statues, monuments, and medals commemorating Washington also are included.

Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly, vol. 19, no. 6 (June 1885).

Published in New York, this issue of the magazine contains articles of general interest, including current events and people in the news. This number includes, among other articles, an illustrated sketch of the Bank of New York, which opened in 1784.

Manuscript Amulet or "Precept" containing a prayer for deliverance from witchcraft, circa 1700.

This unique item, quoting Matthew XVII concerning faith moving mountains, declaims that "if there be any manner of Witchcraft or Evle Spirit in habit or disturbe the wearer of this precept I do hereby charge thee in the name of the Living God . . . to leave this place." The ten-line prayer concludes "O Lord Jesus Christ deliver this woman from the evel that is upon her."

Monuments of Washington's Patriotism (Washington, D.C.: P. Force, 1838).

This volume contains a facsimile of Washington's public accounts kept during the Revolutionary War, together with some of the more interesting documents connected with his military command and civil administration. Also included is a eulogy, especially extolling Washington's character, by Maj. William Jackson. The work is inscribed to James C. Jones, a Kentucky governor and senator. Tipped in is an 1835 invoice of supplies on account for Winnebago Indians.

Moss, Thomas. *Treatise of Gauging: or, the Modern Practical Gauger* (London: printed for Z. Stuart and J. Johnson, 1768). This work compiles the necessary mathematical information to measure and determine the volumes of liquids and sol-

ids—important to determine pricing of products for shippers and craftsmen. It also explains use of the diagonal rod to measure contents of both standing barrels and those lying on their side. The title page includes the signature of Nathaniel Burwell of Carter's Grove. Copies were advertised in the *Virginia Gazette*, and Thomas Jefferson is known to have owned a copy of the work.

Plowden Papers, Addition 1.

These materials comprise 14 items, including eighteenth-century letters, indentures, deeds, and other legal documents connected to the Plowden/Clifford Lewis III Papers concerning Edward Plowden and his colony of New Albion. Also included is a photocopied extract from the *New York Herald*, May 17, 1872, describing the early settlement of Monmouth County, New Jersey.

Songs from a Colonial Tavern (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1978).

This copy includes a preface by Taylor Vrooman and contains music and lyrics for twenty-four songs from the eighteenth century. Chord diagrams explaining fingering of the pieces for the guitar also are included.

Stevens, John (Capt.). *New Dictionary, Spanish and English, and English and Spanish* (London: printed for J. Darby, 1726).

This work lays claim to being more copious than hitherto existing examples. It contains geographical terms relating to the West Indies, as well as literal explanations of proverbs and expressions.

Williamsburg Songbook (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964).

This collection of convivial, sporting, and amorous songs was selected by John Edmunds from eighteenth-century works known to have been in the collections of colonial Virginians. Fifty-four titles, including music and lyrics, are included.

Washington Family Archives, 1840s–1870s.

This collection of approximately 140 manuscript letters contains correspondence written by John Augustine Washington Jr. and other family members. John Augustine was a grand-nephew of George Washington and the last family member to own Mount Vernon. There are references to events at Mount Vernon, Abraham Lincoln, and the Civil War. Also included are locks of hair and dried flowers from the estate.

Wyatt, Thomas. *Memoirs of the Generals, Commodores, and other Commanders . . . during the Wars of the Revolution* (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1843). This work compiles brief sketches of the lives and careers of American military figures, who were presented medals by Congress for their gallant services. Forty-one individuals are included, along with eighty-two steel engravings depicting the original medals.

Submitted by George Yetter, associate curator for the architectural drawings and research collection, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library.

New Titles in the Janice McCoy Memorial Collection for Youth

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library

- Brenner, Barbara. *The Boy Who Loved to Draw: Benjamin West*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999. Recounts the life story of the Pennsylvania artist who began drawing as a boy and eventually became well known on both sides of the Atlantic.
- Broida, Marian. *Projects about Colonial Life*. Tarrytown, N.Y.: Benchmark Books, 2004. Presents information and activity programs relating to Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia.
- . *Projects about Plantation Life*. Tarrytown, N.Y.: Benchmark Books, 2004. Presents information about life in Virginia, South Carolina, and Mississippi between 1770 and 1860 and provides instructions for making a commonplace book, a folk remedy for colds, a recipe for hop-pin' John, and a girls' game called graces.
- Burgan, Michael. *Monticello*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Compass Point Books, 2004. Relates the history of Thomas Jefferson's home in central Virginia, including what life was like there for him and his family, their slaves, visitors, descendants, and how Monticello became a museum.
- Burt, Barbara. *The Eve of the Revolution: The Colonial Adventures of Benjamin Wilcox*. Washington, D.C.: The National Geographic Society, 2002. Presents information relating to pre-Revolutionary events in Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston.
- Butler, Amy. *Virginia Bound*. New York: Clarion Books, 2003. Thirteen-year-old orphaned beggar Rob Brackett is kidnapped from the streets of London and taken to the New World to work for a cruel tobacco farmer master, who also owns a Pamunkey Indian girl named Martoume.
- Chibbaro, Julie. *Redemption*. New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers, 2004. Chronicles the arduous journey of a twelve-year-old English girl and her mother as they flee with other religious protestors to the New World in the early 1500s, and the heartbreak and hope they find when they arrive.
- Fritz, Jean. *The Lost Colony of Roanoke*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2004. Describes the English colony of Roanoke that was founded in 1585 and discusses the mystery of its disappearance.
- Haskins, Jim. *Black Stars of Colonial and Revolutionary Times*. Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2002. Part of the *Black Stars* series presents capsule biographies of eighteen familiar and little-known African American heroes.
- Kalman, Bobbie. *A Slave Family*. New York: Crabtree Publishing Company, 2003. Introduces the personal relationships and daily activities that were part of the family life of slaves in colonial America.
- Kirkpatrick, Katherine. *Redcoats and Petticoats*. New York: Holiday House, 1999. Members of a family in the village of Setauket on Long Island are displaced by the redcoats and serve as spies for the Revolutionary Army of George Washington.
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth. *The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere*. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Handprint Books, 2001. Illustrations by Christopher Bing illuminate this edition of Longfellow's classic poem about Revere's historic ride.
- Miller, Brandon Marie. *Good Women of a Well-Blessed Land: Women's Lives in Colonial America*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Lerner Publications Company, 2003. A social history of the American colonial period with a focus on the daily lives of women, including European immigrants, Native Americans, and slaves.
- Murphy, Jim. *An American Plague: The True and Terrifying Story of the Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1793*. New York: Clarion Books, 2003.

- Rinaldi, Ann. *Cast Two Shadows: The American Revolution in the South*. New York: Gulliver Books, 1998. In South Carolina in 1780, fourteen-year-old Caroline sees the Revolutionary War take a terrible toll among her family and friends and, along with a startling revelation about her own background, comes to understand the true nature of war.
- Smith, Roland. *The Captain's Dog: My Journey with the Lewis and Clark Tribe*. New York: Gulliver Books, 1999. Capt. Meriwether Lewis's dog Seaman describes his experiences as he accompanies his master on the Lewis and Clark expedition to explore the uncharted western wilderness.
- Sterling, Dorothy. *Freedom Train*. New York: Scholastic, Inc., 1991. The exciting true story of Harriet Tubman's daring life.
- Tamarin, Alfred. *Voyaging to Cathay: Americans in the China Trade*. New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1976. Traces the earliest contacts between the United States and China from the years following the American Revolution until the advent of the steamship.
- Tunis, Edwin. *The Young United States, 1783–1830*. New York: The World Publishing Company, 1969. Chronicles a time of change and growth, a time of learning democracy, and a time of new ways of living, thinking, and doing.
- Umhau, Jan Fleet. *Potomac Captive: The Adventures of Henry Fleete*. Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1998. Early seventeenth-century Chesapeake frontier is depicted through the true story of Henry Fleete's survival of the massacre that took the lives of his twenty companions.
- Walker, Niki. *Colonial Women*. New York: Crabtree Publishing Company, 2003. Introduces the different skills and often difficult lives of women on the farm, in business, and on the plantation as the owner's wife or as a slave in colonial America.
- Witteman, Barbara. *Zebulon Pike: Soldier and Explorer*. Mankato, Minn.: Bridgestone Books, 2003. An account of Zebulon Pike and his explorations in the Northwest and West, including his activities in Mexico on behalf of Gen. James Wilkinson and his role in the War of 1812.

Editor's Notes

We bid farewell to Noel Poirier, journeyman carpenter/joiner in Colonial Williamsburg's Department of Historic Trades and member of the *Interpreter* Planning Board. Noel has accepted a position as museum director for the Quiet Valley Farm Museum near Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania. We would like to thank him for the many contributions he made to Colonial Williamsburg and this publication. We send Noel, his wife Jennifer (a site supervisor at the Geddy and Powell Houses), and their daughter our very best wishes as they begin their new adventure. You all will be missed.

We also say goodbye to Mary Haskell, associate librarian at the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library. Mary retired in April. The *Interpreter* staff thanks her for her many contributions to our "New at the Rock" segment and wishes her a happy retirement!



*Publication of
 this issue of the Interpreter
 was made possible
 by a gift from
 James H. and Sherry P. Hubbard
 of Severna Park, Maryland*



The Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter is published three times a year by the Historic Area Division.

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