

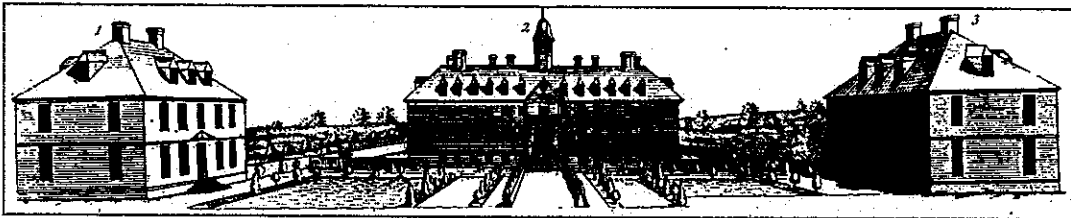
Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

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SUMMER/FALL 2008

Revolutionary Reflections: Voices from the War Years in Williamsburg



Detail of College of William and Mary from the Bodleian Plate.

From *Journal of Journeys to the South, 1777–1778* by Ebenezer Hazard. Hazard was a bookseller from New York who twice traveled south in 1777 as surveyor-general for the Post Office. Below is his description of midwar Williamsburg.

1777

At the Front of the College is a large Court Yard, ornamented with Gravel Walks, Trees cut into different Forms, & Grass [May] 31st. Breakfasted at Williamsburgh. The Road from Cartwright's [a house sixteen miles from Williamsburg] is very sandy & deep. Williamsburgh is the Capital of Virginia, situated partly in York & partly in James City Counties. It is but small; I think not larger than Wilmington in Pennsylvania. The Houses are chiefly framed; the Streets are straight. The Principal Buildings are the College, the Mad-House, the Palace & the Capitol, all of Brick. The first is badly contrived & the Inside of it is shabby; it is 2 1/2 Stories high, has Wings & dormer Windows. At each End of the East Front is a two Story brick House, one for the President, the other is for an Indian School. . . . At this Front of the College is a large Court Yard, ornamented with Gravel Walks, Trees cut into different Forms, & Grass . . . at the South end . . . is a small Chapel for the use of the Students; Sir John Randolph, Lord Botetourt, & Peyton Randolph Esqr. late President of the Congress, are buried here; at the North end is a Room allotted for a Divinity School, but there have been no Students in it for several Years; there are but 18 Students belonging to the College, & about 30 Grammar Scholars; the College has been on the Decline for some Years. The Top of this Building

affords a beautiful Prospect of the City & the adjacent Country; James River may be seen from it, as may York River in a clear Day.

The Mad-House

The Mad-House is a three Story Building, but as I did not choose to have my Humanity shocked by a Sight of its wretched Inhabitants, I did not go into it.

Forty Cherokee Indians in Town

There are 40 Cherokee Indians in Town, among which are Attakullakulla, Oucanestota or the Little Carpenter, & the Pidgeon. Went to see them, shook

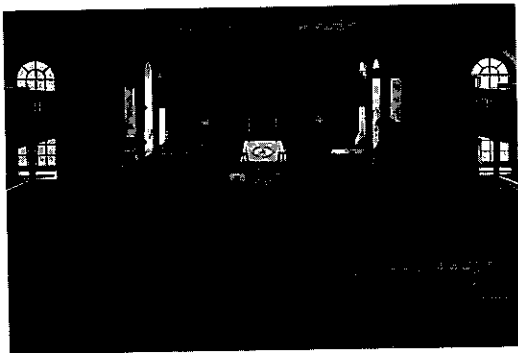
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Hands and smoked Part of a Pipe with them. They are painted, & ornamented with Feathers, & their Ears are cut. It is said their Business here is to clear the Path between their Country & this. . . . Lodged at Anderson's. A good House.

His Excellency Patrick Henry Esqr. the Govr. was present

June 1st. Heard a Mr. Bracken preach. The Church [Bruton Parish Church] at Williamsburgh is a small neat Brick Building, with a Steeple: there is a very good Organ in it. The Assembly was large & plainly dressed; his Excellency Patrick Henry Esqr. the Govr. was present; he appears to be between 40 & 50 Years of Age, & is very swarthy. The Govrs. Pew is elegant, & elevated above the rest: a silk Curtain hangs on each Side & in the Front of it from a Canopy supported by two fluted, gilt Pillars. The Ladies here are not handsome. The Govrs. Salary is £1000.



The Governor's Pew in Bruton Parish Church

A Law for taxing Bachelors.

[June] 2nd. Presented a Memorial [suggesting that postmasters and post riders be exempted from military duties] to the Assembly who are now sitting in the Capitol. I understand they propose to pass a Law for taxing Bachelors [unclear what Hazard refers to here; perhaps recruitment, oaths of allegiance or tithables?]

A fine whole Length Picture of Queen Anne
The Capitol is a large two Story Brick Building in the form of an H: it is surrounded with a Brick Wall; . . . In the Front of the Building is a Portico & Balcony, each supported by four Pillars; above these the King's Arms (elegantly carved & gilt) were formerly placed, but upon Independence being declared they were taken down and burned. Upon entering the Capitol you get into a Room in which the Courts of Justice are held; it is large & convenient; here is a fine whole Length Picture of Queen Anne by Van Dyck. Opposite to the Door by which you enter this Room (in another Apartment, which is a Kind of Hall) is an elegant white marble pedestrian Statue of Lord Botetourt in his Robes. . . . From the Hall where this Statue is placed you go into

the Lobby of the House of Burgesses, & from thence into the Room where they sit; the latter is large, convenient, & plain; the Speaker's Chair & a large Iron Stove are at the upper End, on each Side the Seats for the Members, & at the lower End a Gallery for the use of Spectators.

On one side of this Room hangs a whole Length of King George the 2d. & on the other another of Queen Caroline. The other Rooms in the Capitol are large but contain nothing worthy of observation. On the top of the Capitol is a Cupola, & a Clock with four Dials.

A Musical Entertainment & Ball at the Capitol

[June] 4th. There is to be a musical Entertainment & Ball at the Capitol this Evening for the Benefit of Mr. Pelham, the Organist at the Church.

5th. The Entertainment last Night was very fine, the Music excellent, the Assembly large & polite, & the Ladies made a brilliant Appearance.

The Water at Williamsburg is very bad

6th. The Water at Williamsburg is very bad; no Beer or Cyder in Town—Grog or Toddy, or Sangaree, made with vile water is the only Drink to be had, which, with the Heat of the Weather is sufficient to keep a Man in a continual Fever. . . .

7th. Williamsburg is situated upon a Ridge between the Rivers York on the North & James on the South, about 3 Miles from each of them, & 60 from the Capes of Virginia, called Henry & Charles.

The late extraordinary Drought

A fine refreshing Rain, & a great Deal of it, fell today. It was much wanted as the Grain &c. have suffered greatly by the late extraordinary Drought.

Queen Anne's Port

8th. Went to what is called Queen Anne's Port [Capitol Landing]; it is a landing Place about a Mile from Williamsburgh, upon a Creek called Queen's Creek which empties itself into York River. A Mile on the other Side of the City is Archer's Hope, another Creek, which empties into James River [College Landing].

A small, regular, sandy, dusty, wooden, unpaved City

9th. More Rain today, with more severe Thunder & Lightning than yesterday. Williamsburgh, in a few Words, is a small, regular, sandy, dusty, wooden, unpaved City.

November 1777

Lodged at Mr. Purdie's

22d. Fine, clear, pleasant Weather. Got to Williamsburgh by Noon [from Fredericksburg]. Lodged at Mr. Purdie's.

The Town [York] has been much damaged

23d. Very pleasant Weather. Rode to York, a small Town agreeably situated on York River; there are some good Houses here but the Town has been much damaged by the Licentiousness of our Soldiers. It is defended by a Battery, & some armed Vessels at present.

Directly opposite to York is Gloucester, a small Town. York River here is about 3/4 of a Mile wide, & navigable by Ships of the greatest Burthen. Returned to Williamsburg. The Assembly is now sitting.

Fort Mifflin had been evacuated

27th. When we recd. Information per post that Fort Mifflin (on Delaware) had been evacuated. The Garrison of this Fort under the Command of Col. Green of Rhode Island have acquired immortal Honor by their spirited Defense of it.

A Bill . . . for impressing Necessaries for the Army

The Assembly of Virginia have voted that 5000 Volunteers be raised & equipped, & sent to join Genl. Washington. A Bill is pending & will probably pass for impressing Necessaries for the Army.

A large Fire from the Sky

At Night there was an extraordinary luminous Appearance in the northern sky; it was of a dusky red, much like the Reflection of a large Fire from the Sky; its Extent was great. I suspect it to have been an unusual Aurora Borealis, but many People are of a different Opinion.

Badness of the Road

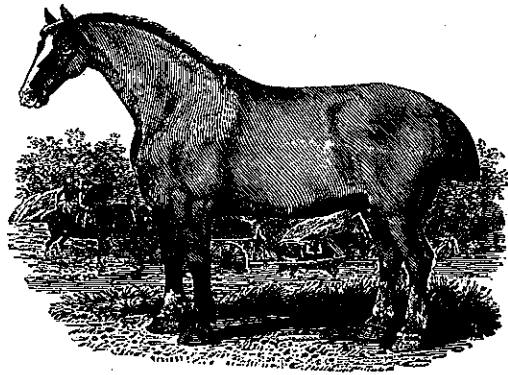
Decr. 1. Intended setting out for Edenton, [North Carolina,] but am told I cannot get to James Town on Accott. of the Badness of the Road. Fine clear weather, but streets very sloppy.

A Draft . . . confined to Bachelors, & Widowers

Decr. 2d. I find the Assembly have given up the Project of Volunteers mentioned Novr. 27th. & prefer a Draft which is to be confined to Bachelors, & Widowers who have no Children. The Law for impressing Necessaries for the Army was printed (very secretly) on Saturday Night, & some Goods were seized in Town (Wmsbg) today in Consequence of it. Only such Things are to be taken as People have for Sale, for which a reasonable Price is to be paid.

Not much entertained

4th. Went to hear the Debates in the House of Delegates (Assembly) but was not much entertained, having no Interest in the Subjects of them, which were rather local.

**I purchased a Black Horse**

8th. Set out for Edenton, but being unable to cross James River was obliged to return to Williamsburgh. In my way to James Town I purchased a Black Horse of Mr. Harrison Randolph for which I paid £65 Virginia Currency. Mr. Randolph says he is nine Years old.

Rain, Hail, & Snow

9th. Very disagreeable Weather: Rain, Hail, & Snow, the most of the Day.

Sold my Sorrel

11th. Sold my Sorrel Horse for £40 Virginia Currency.

College . . . Revenues much impaired by the Present Troubles

12th. The Governors of William & Mary College have advertised some of their Lands to be lett, & some of their Negroes & farming Utensils for Sale. Their Revenues are much impaired by the Present Troubles which prevent the Exportation of Tobacco, upon each [hogshead] of which they were formerly allowed a Duty by Act of Assembly.

Gaming is amazingly prevalent in Wmsburg

13th. There is a severe Act of Assembly against Gaming, but I observe the Members of that House are as much addicted to it as other Men, & as frequently transgress the Law. I have known one of them bett 30 Dollars upon an odd Trick at Whist. Gaming is amazingly prevalent in Wmsburg.

**The Legislature . . . by no Means as respectable as the former ones**

The Legislature are at present engaged upon the Subject of Taxation; I find their Conduct gives great Uneasiness. I am told their present House is by no Means as respectable as the former ones.

Nine french Soldiers deserted

14th. A Methodist of the name of Hill preached in the Capitol; he appears to be an honest Man, but does not shine as a Preacher. Nine french Soldiers deserted last night.

Safe over Sandy Bay

15th. Set out for Edenton. Got safe over Sandy Bay (a narrow, deep Gut, washed through the Sand near James Town, by the Tide, which is very dangerous at high water) & James River, & rode to Nelson's where I lodged.

The Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution, 1780-1783. This gives an account of Blanchard's experiences as chief commissary to Rochambeau's army when he was headquartered in Williamsburg in the fall of 1781.

September/October 1781

He [Washington] had not been in his own country since the beginning of the war

At last, after having wandered for a long time in an unknown river, we landed two leagues from Williamsburg, where M. de la Fayette was posted; at least that is what a woman told us whom we met. There was no house or place where we landed, and we were compelled to go a long way on foot. At length we arrived at a deserted house where were two persons who let us in, but neither furniture nor provisions. We lay upon the floor. The next day, having hired horses, we proceeded to Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia. It consists of only a single street, but very broad and very handsome. Two or three public buildings, pretty large, are also to be seen there. We got in at the quarters of M. de la Fayette, where I found M. Chastellux, who had arrived the evening before, with M. de Rochambeau and M. de Washington. They had got in advance by making forced marches across Maryland and Virginia. This latter province is General Washington's birthplace; he has there a very handsome dwelling-house, where he received our two generals; he had not been in his own country since the beginning of the war. A body of Americans under the command of M. de la Fayette were encamped near Williamsburg.

Revolutionary Journal: 1780-1783 of Baron Von Clozen, a captain in the Deux-Ponts Regiment.

November 1781

Many of its [Williamsburg's] inhabitants have been ruined by the frequent visits from enemies and friends

On November 19th. The order was given for duty in Williamsburg. The first hours in our winter quarters

were spent in familiarizing ourselves with Williamsburg (the capital of Virginia) and with its surroundings. . . . Many of its inhabitants have been ruined by the frequent visits from enemies and friends. After the arrival of Arnold in Portsmouth, the Assembly, which used to meet in Williamsburg, withdrew to Richmond, sixty miles inland on the left bank of the James River (towards the West), where they were better protected from the incidents of war than in Williamsburg.

We found very few horses . . . Cornwallis and Tarleton having found them very much to their liking

This city consists of two large, parallel streets and of three or four lesser ones that bisect them perpendicularly. Not all the streets are paved, but there are some sidewalks (kept in good repair) along the main ones. There are three, large, very well constructed buildings: the College, the Capitol, and the Governor's Palace. The first two are at the extremities of the main street, facing each other and a mile apart. The third is in very bad condition, but the great hall and other rooms, although damaged, still show that Lord Dunmore (the last English governor) must have lived there in great style. The Capitol is now without magistrates and law courts and the College without professors and students. Instead, these buildings, as well as two churches, are about to be used for the establishment of hospitals and for the army depot. The population of the city is very large at this time, but the war has caused much suffering, as I have already observed. We found very few horses, since all the wealthy citizens have sent theirs into the interior, Cornwallis and Tarleton having found them very much to their liking.

One of the wings of the College . . . was reduced to ashes

In spite of the warnings issued to prevent fire, one of the wings of the College, which was used as an army hospital, was reduced to ashes on November 23; fortunately, the fire did not reach the main part of the building, and all the wounded officers who were in this wing were removed in time. The [French] King got off for £12,000 in damages, in a settlement that M. de Rochambeau negotiated with the President [of the college], Mr. Madison, who had lost a large part of his library and several very fine physics instruments.

Hospitable . . . to all the army officers

One could not be more hospitable than are the inhabitants of Williamsburg to all the army officers; they receiving them very cordially in their homes and do all in their power to provide entertainment for them (according to the custom of the country, however). In this city, the fair sex, although they are not the prettiest I have seen, form a very agreeable and, in general, very well bred society.

Who's Who in the Publick Gaol, 1776–1777

by Linda Rowe

Linda is a historian in the Department of Historical Research and assistant editor of this publication.



There were several persons charged with felonies confined in the Publick Gaol as of June 11, 1776. Their names appear in a report of a committee appointed by the Fifth Virginia Convention to verify prisoners' names and offenses. Edmund Randolph, a member of the committee, reported out the following information to the convention on June 11, 1776, based on a certificate from the keeper of the public jail:

- Scheduled for trial at a Court of Oyer and Terminer in December 1775 (court did not meet) or at a General Court in April 1776 (court did not meet) were
Thomas McCluskey and Elizabeth his Wife—burglary
Manasses (or Manasseh) McGahey—murder
Benjamin Higgins—robbery
Thomas Potter—horse stealing
Habakuk Pride—murder
Samuel Flanagin—horse stealing
- On her way to Williamsburg from Berkeley County for trial in June 1776 was
Mary Howell—murder

Randolph's report also stated that

- The McCluskeys and Higginses had a right "according to antient practice to demand a discharge from their Confinement" because they had been ready for trial since December 1775 and "no prosecution having been carried on against them." Moreover, Elizabeth McCluskey "acting in the presence of and under the coercion of her said Husband is by Law absolved from all guilt and Criminality in that Respect."
- The proceedings of the "County Court of Loudoun in the examination of the said Manasses McGahey" charged with murder made "no mention of any Evidence deposed against him."

- In the cases of Benjamin Higgins, Habakuk Pride, and Samuel Flanagin "no proceedings have been transmitted from the Courts of the Counties where they were respectively examined."
- Thomas Potter "appears by the Depositions of several Witnesses who were sworn upon his examination to be innocent thereof."
- Mary Howell "who is charged with murder and now on her way from the County of Berkeley is guilty" based on the deposition of one Elizabeth Hultz.

Thomas and Elizabeth McCluskey, Thomas Potter, and Benjamin Higgins were not tried or otherwise examined by a tribunal or court. Rather, the Convention entertained a resolution that the McCluskey husband-and-wife team, Potter, and Higgins "be forthwith discharged out of Custody." After a second reading, the resolution was agreed to by the Convention, and these four went free immediately on the strength of the Convention's adoption of this resolution.

A second resolution that "some mode of trial be adopted for the delivery of Samuel Flanagin, Manasses McGahey, Habakuk Pride and Mary Howell" was put to the convention. After a second reading, the convention ordered this resolution "to lie on the Table" to be taken up the next day. Accordingly, on June 12, 1776, this second resolution received a second reading after which it was adopted by the convention with an amendment that "some mode of Trial be adopted for the delivery of Habakuk Pride and Mary Howell."

Only Samuel Flanagin and Manasses McGahey received pardons, again on the strength of a resolution adopted by the convention not a hearing or trial before a tribunal or court:

Whereas Samuel Flanagin and Manasses McGahey have been severally committed to the publick Gaol in the city of Williamsburg charged with Capital Offences for which they ought in the regular course to have been brought to trial at a Court off Oyer and Terminer and Gaol delivery on the second Tuesday in this Month which could not be held by reason of the present convulsions and for want of a Commission from the late executive power And whereas no method is yet adopted for the trial of Criminals and

it might be thought inconsistent with the liberty which we are endeavouring to secure in the most permanent manner to keep men charged with Criminal Offences in long confinement without bringing them to their Trials the convention think it best to grant a pardon to the said Criminals respectively hoping that this lenity together with the imprisonment they have undergone will produce a sincere contrition and reformation of their manners and that they may hereafter prove useful Members of Society.¹

Ultimately, the cases of Habakuk Pride, Mary Howell, and other accused felons required legislative action after the new government got under way in the fall of 1776. The General Assembly convened in Williamsburg on October 7, 1776, for its first meeting under the June 29, 1776, constitution of the independent state/commonwealth of Virginia. On November 4, the House of Delegates received

a petition of sundry prisoners confined in the publick jail, setting forth, that several of them, who have wives and families, have been for a long time imprisoned, and finding no method has been yet adopted for their trial, are under great apprehensions of suffering for want of necessary clothes during the inclemency of the approaching season, and praying such relief as this House shall judge reasonable.

The House gave the jailer [Peter Pelham] leave to buy food and clothes at public expense until means could be found for disposing of the prisoners' cases. To that end, the House passed a bill after three readings, and then it went to the Senate, where it was approved without amendment in November 1776:

An Act for appointing commissioners of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of Criminals now in the publick jail.

WHEREAS, by the dissolution of the government exercised by the king of Great Britain, courts of oyer and terminer cannot now be held for the trial of criminals committed to the publick jail, and their being sundry persons confined in the said jail on suspicion of felony, it is necessary that some temporary mode should be directed for bringing them to a speedy trial:

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of the commonwealth of Virginia, That five commissioners, to be chosen by joint ballot of both houses of assembly, or any three of them be, and they are hereby empowered and required to meet at the Capitol, in the city of Williamsburg, on the third Thursday in January next [1777],



then and there to hold a court of Oyer and Terminer, for the trial of the criminals in the publick jail; and the said commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, having taken the following oath, to wit, I A. B. do solemnly promise and swear that I will be faithful and true to the commonwealth of Virginia, and that I will well and truly execute the office of commissioner of Oyer and Terminer, to which I have been appointed by the general assembly, without favour, affection, or partiality. So help you God. To be administered to the commissioner first name[d] and present by any of the others, and by him to the others, shall then and there proceed to the trial of all the said criminals, in like manner as is directed for courts of Oyer and Terminer, in and by an act intituled An act directing the method of trial of criminals for capital offences, and for to her purposes therein mentioned, and may adjourn from day to day until all the said criminals are tried. And the Sheriff of York county shall summon grand and petit juries for such trials, and attend the said commissioners according to the directions of the said act; and against such criminals as shall be found guilty, by verdict of the petit jury, the said commissioners shall proceed to judgment according to law, and award execution thereupon, saving to the governour his right of granting pardons to all capital offenders, according to the constitution of government.

And be it farther enacted, That the clerk of the secretary's office shall immediately issue writs of venire facias for the summoning a venire from the county, in the case of each criminal who, according to the

said act, hath a right to be tried by a jury of the vicinage, and shall also issue summons for the witnesses against each criminal, and those he or she may desire to be summoned in his or her behalf, to attend at the time foresaid.

This statute specifies that five commissioners be chosen by "joint ballot of both houses of assembly." On Tuesday, December 17, 1776, the House of Delegates nominated five persons for the five positions. The Senate was satisfied with those nominations and was willing for the five to be appointed without taking a vote. They were all members of the Privy Council (Council of State):

John Page
Dudley Digges
John Blair
Bartholomew Dandridge
Thomas Walker²

The *Virginia Gazette* reported that on Thursday and Friday [January 16 and 17, 1777], the criminals were brought before the "commissioners of Oyer and Terminer at the Capitol to take their trials." Sentencing took place on Saturday:

Zachariah Jones, from Albemarle, for manslaughter: guilty. Burnt in the hand.
John Emmet, from Berkeley, for bestiality: acquitted.
Mary Howell from Berkeley, for child murder: guilty. Death.
Charles Tompkins, from Hanover, for theft: guilty. Burnt in the hand.
Charles Beeler, from Frederick, for passing counterfeit money: acquitted.
George Gray, from Brunswick, for horse-stealing. Guilty. Death.
William Jones, from Hampshire, for horse-stealing: Guilty. Death.
John Mecum, from Southampton for murder: Guilty. Death.
William and Charles Gunter, from Hanover, for horsestealing: Acquitted.³

The Oyer and Terminer court met again on April 8, 9, and 10, 1777, at the Capitol for the trials of the following criminals who received sentence accordingly:

Habakkuk Pride, from Princess Anne, for manslaughter: Burnt in the hand.
Allen Ridley Young, from Pittsylvania, for burglary: Acquitted.
David Chapel, from Princess Anne, for manslaughter: Burnt in the hand.
Sarah Martin, from Princess Anne, for manslaughter: Acquitted.

Peggy Shreeves, from Accomack, for grand larceny: Acquitted.

William Wallace, from Berkeley, for murder: Guilty. Death.

Jeremiah Thomas, from Berkeley, for murder. Acquitted.

Thomas Morgan, from Berkeley, for murder: Acquitted.

John Cassedy, from Berkeley, for murder: Acquitted.

Richard Thompson, from Berkeley, for burglary: Acquitted.

Benjamin Hope, from Williamsburg, for horsestealing: Acquitted.

John Smith, from Augusta, for larceny: Acquitted.

Margaret Masters, from Augusta, for larceny: Acquitted.

Thomas Clark, from Westmoreland, for larceny: Acquitted.

Jabez Deaton, from Chesterfield, for murder: Acquitted.

Dudley Brown, from Dinwiddie, for deceit: Acquitted.

Thomas Green, from Mecklenburg, for murder: guilty. Death.

Benjamin Branson, from Williamsburg, for forgery: guilty. Death.

James Parker, from Williamsburg, for deceit: Acquitted.

Hugh Cassedy, from Elizabeth City, for larceny: Burnt in the hand.

Michael Newman, from Henrico, for manslaughter: Acquitted.

James Sorrel, from Westmoreland, for sheep-stealing: Acquitted.

John Sharp, from Henrico, for manslaughter: Acquitted.⁴

¹ The preceding information is found in Brent Tartar, *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. 7 (Part Two), pp. 431, 451, 458.

² William Waller Hening, *Statutes at Large* 9:172-173. The Oyer and Terminer law appears under the date October 1776 in Hening, but the *Journal of the House of Delegates* for the session 7 October 1776-20 December 1776 shows that it did not become law until November; *Journal of the House of Delegates* for the session 7 October 1776-20 December 1776 (Williamsburg, Va.: Alexander Purdie, 1776). Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

³ *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), January 24, 1777, p. 2, col. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, April 18, 1777, supp., p. 1, col. 1-2.

As the Dust Settles: An Update on the Archaeological Excavations at the James Wray Site

by Mark Kostro and Andrew Edwards

Mark is a project archaeologist and
Andy is a staff archaeologist in the Department of Archaeological Research.

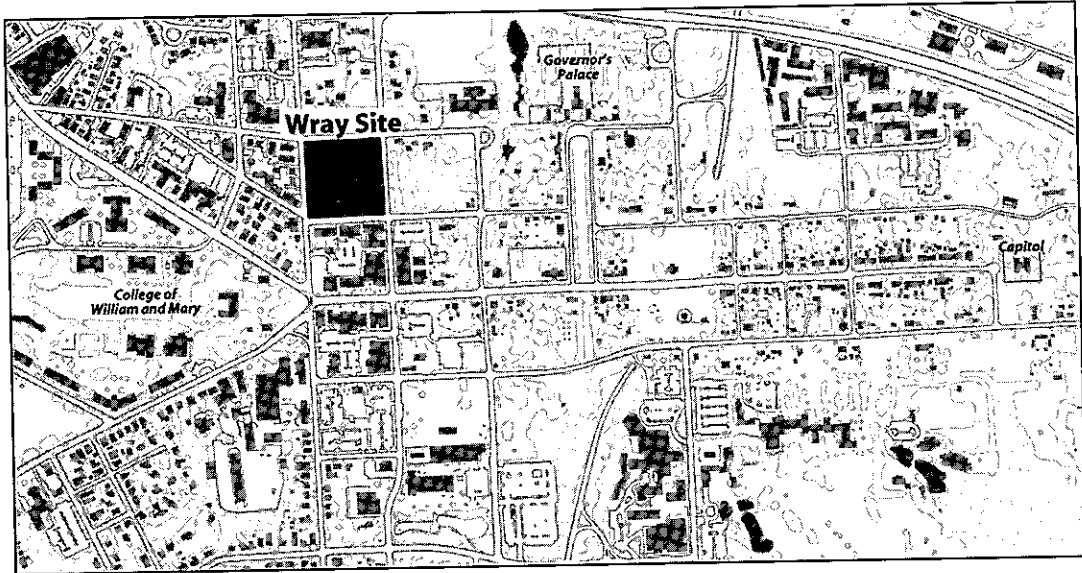


Figure 1

In the late summer and early fall of 2007, Colonial Williamsburg's archaeologists were back on Block 31 exploring a portion of the Wray site, this time prompted by SunTrust's plan to construct a new bank on the corner of Prince George and North Henry streets (Figure 1).

Because Block 31 is located within the City of Williamsburg's archaeological preservation district, a full-scale archaeological effort was carried out to document and excavate any and all threatened archaeological resources within the project boundaries prior to the start of demolition, construction, or landscaping. Funded by SunTrust, the three-month excavation revealed a surprising number of well-preserved features relating not only to eighteenth-century Williamsburg, but also to the seventeenth-century community of Middle Plantation that preceded Williamsburg's founding in 1699. These discoveries complement our previous investigations of the Menetree/Wray building trades complex, excavated in 2002 before construction of the Prince George Street parking garage. A summary of that work, authored by archaeologist Jameson Harwood and historians Julie Richter and Tom Goyens, previously appeared in the Winter 2003 edition of the *Interpreter* (pp. 1-13).

Historical Background

In the seventeenth century, the parcel of land that was eventually designated as Block 31 was originally part of Middle Plantation, a small community founded in 1633 along a wooden palisade erected between College Creek and Queen's Creek. Block 31 was part of a sixty-eight-acre grant given to John White in 1674. He sold it that same year to John Page, and it remained in the Page family until taken over by the trustees of Williamsburg in 1699. The trustees sold the land to Thomas Jones in 1719, but Jones failed to build on the lots within the two years required by city ordinance, so it reverted back to the trustees in 1721. Henry Clay Jr.

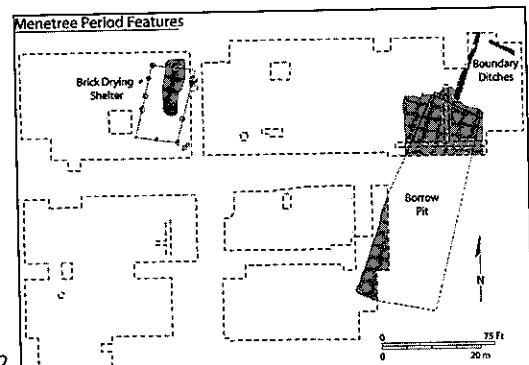


Figure 2

bought the property in 1722 and subsequently sold it to David Menetree, who operated a brick-making business on the lot (Figure 2).

In 2002, archaeological evidence of Menetree's brickyard was discovered, including a brick-drying shed and a large borrow pit from which he dug clay to make bricks. He probably had a pug mill for mixing the clay and, of course, a kiln or stove to fire the bricks, but no evidence of either was found. The discovery of a huge quantity of discarded bricks and kiln fragments from the borrow pit fill suggests, however, that Menetree's brick kiln was probably close by.

In 1736, Menetree sold the property to joiner and carpenter James Wray, who established a large-scale building-trades company on the property. Wray was essentially what we call today a general contractor, overseeing a workforce consisting of some thirty persons, a small number of them journeymen, while the majority were enslaved African Americans. Documentary sources indicate a diverse range of endeavors that Wray and his workers were involved in, including shingle making, timber cutting, coffin making, shoemaking, window glazing, painting, and manufacturing of window leads. Archaeological evidence of his operation, excavated in 2002, included a saw pit, a sawing house, a workshop, an enormous wood-drying house or stable, and an open work shelter (Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 3

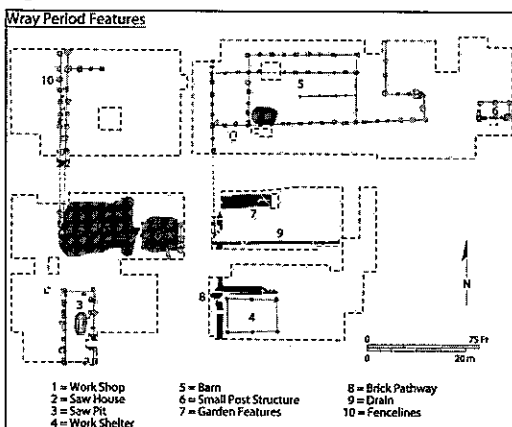


Figure 4

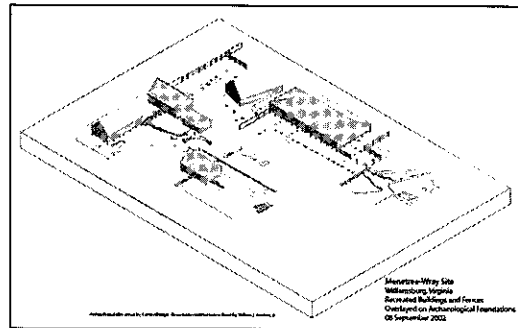


Figure 5

The building boom in the second quarter of the eighteenth century helped the Wray household become one of the largest in Williamsburg (Figure 5).

Upon Wray's death in late 1749, only the royal governor had a larger household. Mary Wray, James's wife, oversaw the company after her husband's death until its management was assumed in 1768 by their son James Jr., following his twenty-first birthday. The younger Wray held on to the property until 1796, when he and his wife conveyed the lots to Joseph Prentis, whose executors conveyed the property to Henry Skipwith in 1812. For the rest of the nineteenth century, the property remained vacant as it fell under the ownership of absentee title-holders. At the turn of the twentieth century, the property was divided into multiple residential lots, upon which several large wood-frame homes were constructed as part of Williamsburg's Peacock Hill neighborhood. Many of these original homes are still standing.

Archaeology of the SunTrust Lot

The first archaeology of the SunTrust property took place during the early months of 1969 when Ivor Noël Hume, then director of archaeology for Colonial Williamsburg, undertook an "accelerated archaeological study" prior to the construction of the United Virginia Bank drive-

Figure 6



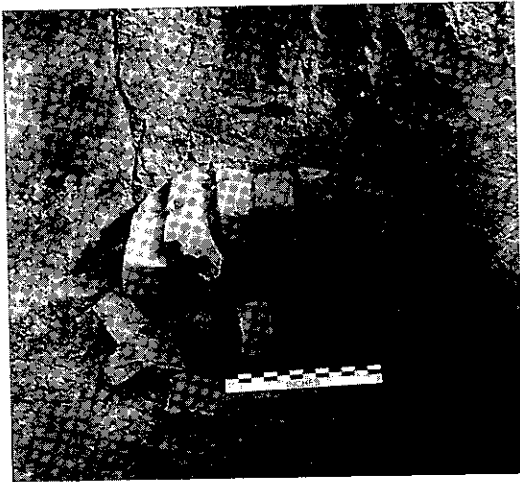


Figure 7

thru. The brief project identified intact archaeological features associated with the domestic occupation of the Wray family from the 1730s to the end of the eighteenth century including four building foundations, several drain features, and a large quantity of artifacts (Figures 6 and 7).

A small number of the features were excavated upon their discovery. Most, however, were covered by a protective layer of dense sand before the construction of the bank and paving of the adjacent parking lot (Figure 8).

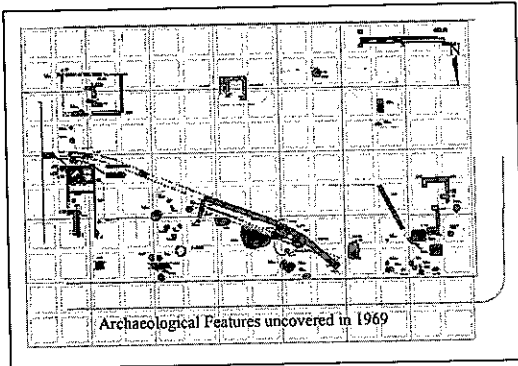


Figure 8

Subsequently, a well was discovered but not excavated during construction. In May 2003, small portions of two of the eighteenth-century foundations uncovered in the 1969 excavations were again excavated and recorded before the utilities servicing the parking garage were installed (Figure 9).

In addition, artifacts recovered during the 1969 excavations were reanalyzed in conjunction with those recently recovered during the parking garage project (Figure 10). The artifacts consisted mostly of domestic material associated with the Wray operation and possibly the home of James Wray Jr. (Figure 11).

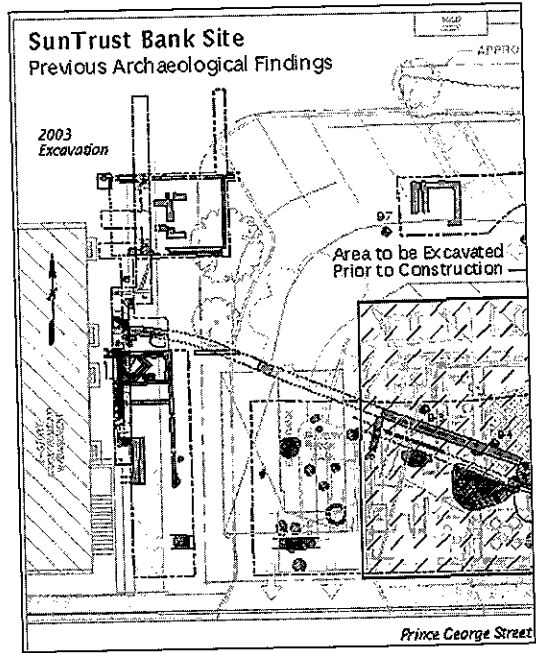


Figure 9



Figure 10

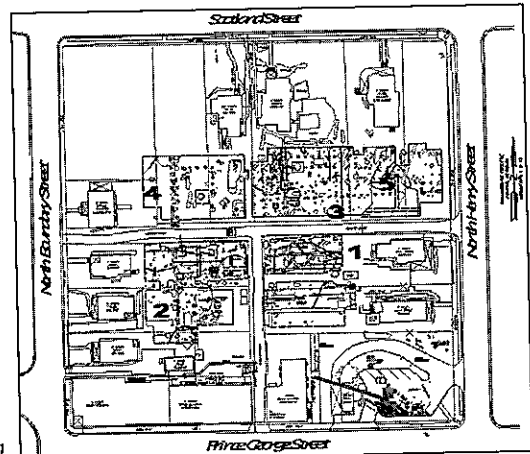


Figure 11



Figure 12

In August 2007, the Department of Archaeological Research began the current phase of archaeological research. Fieldwork began with the complete removal of the asphalt parking lot adjacent to the existing drive-thru bank and any recent soil layers below the paving (Figure 12).

The work was carried out by backhoe, closely supervised by Foundation archaeologists to ensure minimal impact to the buried resources. Once the backhoe removed the overburden, the remainder of the fieldwork was carried out by our archaeological field crew with shovels, picks, and trowels. All features were mapped, described, and photographed. Artifacts and soil samples were recovered from all layers and features and transferred to the Department of Archaeological Research laboratories, where they are currently undergoing analysis.

As already mentioned, the results of the investigation included a wealth of new information regarding eighteenth-century Williamsburg as well as the layout of the seventeenth-century community of Middle Plantation. Among these finds were two thirty- by twenty-foot post-in-ground structures framed on large wooden posts set directly into the ground at ten-foot intervals

between the main structural posts. The two buildings were superimposed upon one another, indicating that one building was a replacement for the other rather than the two being contemporary structures. Most important, the buildings are two of a mere handful of structures known from Middle Plantation, which officially disappeared with the 1699 founding of Virginia's second colonial capital (Figure 13).

The buildings were most likely tobacco houses—specialized barns designed to dry and cure tobacco before packaging it for transport across the Atlantic. The buildings were oriented southeast to northwest, conforming to the natural contours of the landscape, hugging the top edge of a natural ravine adjacent to the site. Interestingly, their orientation approximately matches that of a brick hearth found a short distance to the west by Noël Hume in 1969. The brick hearth and tobacco houses were too far apart to have been part of the same structure, but it is possible they were all part of the house lot of a small seventeenth-century tobacco farm.

The tobacco houses' southeast-to-northwest orientation provides a marked contrast to the strict east-west/north-south rectilinear grid adopted by Gov. Francis Nicholson when he laid out Williamsburg's streets and building lots in 1699. While Middle Plantation developed organically in conformity with the existing landscape, Williamsburg's plan gave little or no consideration to the terrain or the surrounding environment. As a result, many of Williamsburg's earliest landowners had to overcome uneven topography and poor drainage, among other problems, in the development of their lots.

While there is little documentary evidence referring to the nature of the work done to level and drain early Williamsburg, clues include a network of drains that have been found buried beneath all parts of the colonial capital. At the SunTrust site, the earliest drain was a water diversion ditch carved directly into the clay subsoil. Over time, the drain became silted-in and it was replaced by two brick drains. One was a surface or gutter drain, sometimes known as a "French drain," for carrying storm water away from the back of a large brick residence that fronted onto Prince George Street. The

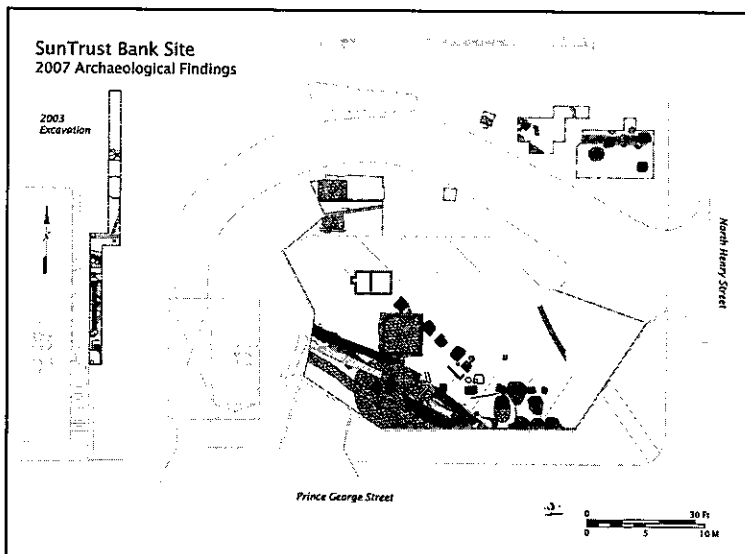


Figure 13

second was a subterranean brick tunnel drain that drew groundwater from James Wray's saw house. This drain, originally positioned where the city parking garage now stands, was excavated in 2002. The drains attest to how city lots within this part of Williamsburg were prone to flooding and the efforts that individual property owners in the eighteenth century put forth to make their lots suitable for building.

The precise age of the three drains is still under investigation, although they undoubtedly date either to David Menetree's or the Wray family's occupation of the property. The bricks used in the construction of the drains likely came from Menetree's kiln, either as new bricks or as seconds salvaged from the extensive waster piles discarded into his borrow pit. Appropriate chemical testing of samples from both can eventually document this relationship firmly.

Another early landscape feature found during the excavations was a fence line extending east-west across the south end of the project area. The posthole fills included an assortment of eighteenth-century ceramic and glass artifacts, indicating that the ground surface across the site was somewhat littered with debris by the time the fence was erected. The fence was probably part of an enclosure for the space where household activities such as butchering, cooking, and laundering took place. Evidence of each of these activities was also found in two shallow trash features near the southeastern corner of the site. Artifacts found in them included ceramics, wine bottle glass, and animal bones along with other objects dating to the mid-eighteenth century (Figure 14).

An equally important discovery at the northeastern corner of the site was the ruins of a late-eighteenth-century building. This structure, dated to approximately 1782, is depicted as a large outbuilding or quarter on the so-called Frenchman's Map of Williamsburg. In this case, none of the bricks that made up the building's foundation was found intact. Instead, the archaeological evidence consisted of a brick-and-mortar rubble-filled robber's trench that followed the foundation's former location—a type of feature created when foundation bricks are salvaged for reuse in another location. Evidence of a fence line, also pictured on the Frenchman's Map, was similarly located. The end post was found at

the building's southeastern corner, and a second post was found eight feet to its south.

For the most part, the property was little used during the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, twentieth-century features included a square cellar with brick and cement walls filled with demolition debris dating to the 1960s and a cast-iron water tank for an early commode. The cellar was part of an early-twentieth-century home that was part of Williamsburg's Peacock Hill neighborhood. To the north of the cellar was a small outbuilding consisting of a single course of brick divided into two small rooms. Finally, at the northeastern corner of the site, the curved brick foundation for the bay window of another Peacock Hill house facing onto North Henry Street was found intact.

In summary, the archaeological investigations at the SunTrust site included evidence beginning with the early expansion attempts of the Virginia colony beyond Jamestown Island to the present day. The finds have provided significant insights into the nature of the area's occupation during the seventeenth century and how that contrasted with its development in the eighteenth. In addition, all the way through the duration of the fieldwork, Foundation archaeologists and College of William and Mary students provided explanations of the archaeological work and impromptu site tours for guests, area shoppers, and bank customers to give the Williamsburg community a better understanding of the nature of Colonial Williamsburg's archaeological research. Now that the fieldwork at the site is complete and the construction of the new SunTrust bank has commenced, laboratory technicians and faunal experts will analyze the finds from the 2007 excavations. A detailed report is in preparation to be submitted to the city.

Stay tuned to http://research.history.org/Archaeological_Research.cfm for the "freshest advices" from your Archaeology Department.

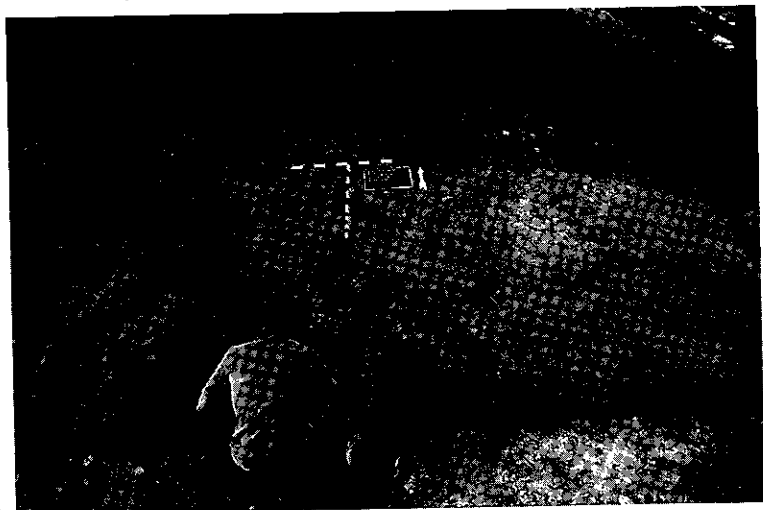


Figure 14



COOK'S CORNER

by Laura Arnold

Laura is a volunteer for this publication.

Colonial Williamsburg's Foodways program is always popular with guests, especially on hot summer days when they look on in amazement as food is prepared over open fires. At the Governor's Palace Kitchen, they see today's equivalent of a fine restaurant kitchen, where fresh ingredients, the best cuts of meat, and delicate pastries and desserts are prepared. The Peyton Randolph Kitchen shows guests how meals were prepared, not only for the wealthy Randolph family but also for their slaves, who lived on simpler fare. The Foodways staff is constantly challenged to interpret eighteenth-century cooking accurately and to represent how it was consumed by all levels of society. They rely on the resources of the John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library to help them in their research. The following bibliography of recent acquisitions is a window into the wealth of information available.

Beverages

- Brown, Peter B. *In Praise of Hot Liquors: The Study of Chocolate, Coffee and Tea-Drinking, 1600-1850*. York: York Civic Trust, 1995. This catalog of an exhibition at Fairfax House, York, in 1995 discusses the history of these formerly exotic beverages as well as early recipes and the development of equipage to prepare and serve them.
- Pettigrew, Jane. *A Social History of Tea*. London: National Trust Enterprises Ltd., 2001. The history of tea drinking, tea, and tea wares from the seventeenth century to the twentieth.
- Renfrow, Cindy. *A Sip Through Time: A Collection of Old Brewing Recipes*. [Pottstown, Penn.]: C. Renfrow, 1994. More than 400 documented period recipes for beverages to suit every taste.
- Standage, Tom. *A History of the World in 6 Glasses*. New York: Walker & Co., 2005. A history of beverages in general, with specific sections on alcohol, tea, coffee, and cola drinks.

Unger, Richard W. *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. A detailed history that reveals why today's beer shares only its name with the beverage brewed and consumed during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Desserts and Sweets

- Mason, Laura. *Sugar-Plums and Sherbet: The Prehistory of Sweets*. Totnes, Eng.: Prospect Books, 2004. History and recipes are combined in a study of methods used to produce the sweetmeats that have been part of our diets since the late Middle Ages.
- Powell, Marilyn. *Ice Cream: The Delicious History*. Woodstock, Vt.: The Overlook Press, 2006. This delicious story of ice cream is a collection of myths, facts, anecdotes, and recipes that traces the consumption of ice cream from ancient China to the present day.
- Scully, Terence. *LaVarenne's Cookery: The French Cook; The French Pastry Chef; The French Confectioner*. Totnes, Eng.: Prospect Books, 2006. This modern English translation of the first substantial book of French cookery, published between 1651 and 1660, brings seventeenth-century classical French cooking into the repertoire of today's chefs.
- Staib, Walter. *City Tavern Baking & Dessert Cookbook: 200 Years of Sweet Recipes from America's First Gourmet Restaurant*. Philadelphia: Running Press Book Publishers, 2003. This sequel to the original *City Tavern Cookbook* focuses on baked goods and confections enjoyed in the eighteenth century.

English Heritage Publications

- Brears, Peter C. D. *Stuart Cookery: Recipes & History*. London: English Heritage, 2004. Recipes for seventeenth-century cooking include additional information about cooking equipment, kitchen design, and the serving of meals.

- Renfrew, Jane. *Prehistoric Cookery: Recipes & History*. London: English Heritage, 2005. A look back at the evolution of cooking traditions based on the use of fire, the sources of food, and its availability.
- Stead, Jennifer. *Georgian Cookery: Recipes & History*. Swindon, Eng.: English Heritage, 2003. The birth of a consumer society, with an array of new cooking equipment and tableware, changed the ways food and drink were prepared, served, and consumed.

Facsimile Editions of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Cookbooks

- Ayres, Ralph. *Ralph Ayres' Cookery Book*. Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2006. This cookbook was written by the head cook at New College, Oxford, in the early eighteenth century. The recipes are reproduced in his handwriting, accompanied by contemporary botanical illustrations that make this book a small gem for collectors of facsimile editions.
- Cleland, Elizabeth. *A New and Easy Method of Cookery*. Totnes, Eng.: Prospect Books, 2005. First published in 1755 and written by a cook and teacher of cookery in Edinburgh, this cookbook gives the Scottish perspective to eighteenth-century English foodways.
- Rabisha, William. *The Whole Body of Cookery Dissected*. Totnes, Eng.: Prospect Books, 2003. This facsimile of the 1682 edition, published twenty years after the first edition, is a testimony to Rabisha's influence in introducing French, Dutch, and Italian foodways to English cuisine.
- Thacker, John. *The Art of Cookery*. Lewes, Eng.: Southover Press, 2004. Thacker was cook to the dean and chapter of Durham Cathedral, and his book, published in 1758, reflects the generous hospitality of an English religious community.

Foodways of Europe and the Middle East

- Brown, Peter B. *Pleasures of the Table: Ritual and Display in the European Dining Room, 1600–1900*. York, Eng.: York Civic Trust, 1997. This is a catalog of a 1997 exhibition at Fairfax House, York, which featured glass, ceramics, and silver used by the very wealthy to impress their guests.
- Dalby, Andrew. *Flavors of Byzantium*. Totnes, Eng.: Prospect Books, 2003. A history of the culinary traditions from ancient Greece (Byzantium), where the use of spices, seafood, and local produce tantalized Crusaders as they made their journey to the Holy Land.

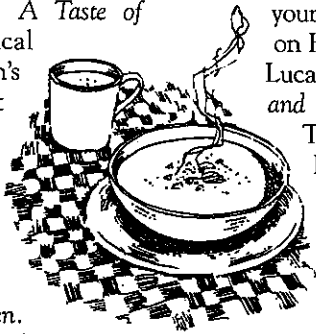
- Strong, Roy C. *Feast: A History of Grand Eating*. Orlando, Fla.: Harcourt, 2002. From Babylonian feasts of the ninth century b.c. to those of the early twentieth century, Strong chronicles the social phenomena that resulted from grand feasts to mark celebratory occasions throughout the centuries.

- Winter, J. M. van (Johanna Maria). *Spices and Comfits: Collected Papers on Medieval Food*. Totnes, Eng.: Prospect Books, 2007. This book is a historical review of the foodways of the Netherlands and their influences on their European neighbors. It contains recipes and references to medieval cookbooks.

Foodways of Great Britain

- Colquhoun, Kate. *Taste: The Story of Britain Through Its Cooking*. New York: Bloomsbury USA, 2007. British cooking from Roman times to the present day, with illustrations that augment a descriptive and entertaining text.
- Lehmann, Gilly. *British Housewife: Cookery Books, Cooking and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Totnes, Eng.: Prospect Books, 2003. The first major study that looks at cookbooks, their recipes, their authors, and those who purchased the books in Georgian England.
- Mason, Laura, and Catherine Brown. *Traditional Foods of Britain: A Regional Inventory*. Totnes, Eng.: Prospect Books, 2004. Four hundred regional British foods are featured in this collection that brings together the food heritages of England, Scotland, and Wales.
- . *The Taste of Britain*. London: Harper Press, 2006. First published in 1999 as *Traditional Foods of Britain*, this later edition is enriched with a preface by the authors and a foreword by Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall.
- Macdonald, Janet. *Feeding Nelson's Navy: The True Story of Food at Sea in the Georgian Era*. London: Chatham Publishing, 2004. A fascinating history of the logistics of feeding and maintaining the health of the men whose hard physical work guaranteed the success of the British navy.
- Olsen, Kirstin. *Cooking with Jane Austen*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2005. A collection of more than 200 modernized recipes extracted from references in Austen's novels and cookbooks of the period.

Tames, Richard. *Feeding London: A Taste of History*. London: Historical Publications Ltd., 2003. Britain's richest city and largest port sets the scene for a history of twenty centuries of "conspicuous consumption," from the very wealthy to the very poor and every social level in between.



White, Eileen. *The English Kitchen*.

Totnes, Eng.: Prospect Books, 2007. A collection of essays from the Eighteenth Leeds Symposium on Food History in March 2003, discusses the origin of many of the traditional foods that are considered uniquely English.

Willes, Margaret. *Household Management*. London: National Trust Enterprises Ltd., 1996. Useful information about the functions of kitchens and dairies within the larger picture of the complex management of large country houses.

Foodways of North America

Bower, Anne L. *African American Foodways: Explorations of History and Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007. This collection of essays covering everything from soul food to cookbooks reveal how West African foods have been assimilated into American foodways.

Curtin, Kathleen, Sandra L. Oliver, and Plimoth Plantation. *Giving Thanks*. New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 2005. Subtitled "A delicious exploration of the Thanksgiving Holiday," with a history of Plimoth Plantation and more than eighty recipes that define the traditional foods associated with America's holiday.

Fowler, Damon Lee. *Dining at Monticello*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005. Essays by Monticello historians are combined with recipes based on family manuscripts to provide an accurate description of the "good taste and abundance" found when dining with Thomas Jefferson.

Horry, Harriott Pinckney. *A Colonial Plantation Cookbook: The Receipt Book of Harriott Pinckney Horry, 1770*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984. Life in eighteenth-century lowcountry South Carolina is recorded in the recipes and household responsibilities described by a

young woman who began her married life on Hampton plantation.

Lucas, Fiona. *Hearth and Home: Women and the Art of Open-Hearth Cooking*.

Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2006. A social history with emphasis on the roles and skills of women who cooked over open fires in homes and taverns.

National Council of Negro Women. *The Historical Cookbook of the American Negro*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2000. A collection of 132 recipes, which also includes historical facts, rare illustrations, and personal anecdotes.

Oliver, Sandra L. *Food in Colonial and Federal America*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2005. European immigrants joined Native Americans and African slaves in developing regional food habits based on the food they brought with them and what they found here. Each volume of the Food in American History Series is written by a food historian who is an expert on the period.

Sumner, Judith. *American Household Botany: A History of Useful Plants, 1620-1900*. Portland, Ore.: Timber Press, Inc., 2004. "Useful plants" could mean herbs for cooking, food preservation, and medicines as well as trees and vines used for buildings, furniture, barrels, and basket making. This is a comprehensive look at the adaptation skills of European settlers in North America.

General History of Foodways

Civitello, Linda. *Cuisine and Culture: A History of Food and People*. Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2008. This revised and updated second edition expands the narrative of interactions between history, culture, and food from prehistory to today's celebrity chefs.

Freedman, Paul. *Food: The History of Taste*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. This collection of essays written by European and American food historians presents a chronological history of taste from prehistory to the present day.

McLagan, Jennifer. *Bones: Recipes, History and Lore*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2005. This book uses ancient history, folklore, and literary quotes to trace the cultural significance of "bones." More than a cookbook, one reviewer called it, "An ode to meat"!



Bothy's Mould

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

Snails, Flies, and Caterpillars Part I

The Vegetable Garden

by Wesley Greene

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

We are often asked by visitors to the Colonial Garden, "How did the colonists control insect pests in the garden?" The answer (which we will get to later) is a surprise to most.

When man first gathered food plants into a garden, he simultaneously created an ideal habitat for the insects that feed on those plants, initiating a battle between man and insect that continues to this day. For most of our history, insects have had the upper hand. The first English garden book, written by Thomas Hill in 1577, recorded:

There is none so dul of eye-sight (as I believe) who not thorowly perceiveth and seeth, how that the Garden riches be diversly annoyed, and harmed by divers creeping worms and beasts, as wel above as under the earth, and that through the same occasion, often procured to feeble and wast, and unlesse speedy remedies shall be exercised, that these in the end do fall down and perish.¹

The remedy, of course, has been the problem. Hill recommended many of the same techniques that had been practiced for more than a thousand years and continued well into the nineteenth century. Plants were sprinkled with fig tree ashes, ox urine, olive oil, and chimney soot. Lixiviums (solutions) of limewater, sulfur, and asafetida were sprayed on the leaves. Bundles of garlic, brimstone, goat's hoof, and hartshorn were burned between the rows to ward off pests.

The origin of the insects that attacked the plants was a mystery. For more than two thousand years, insect and disease organisms were thought to arise through spontaneous generation. According to Aristotle, plant lice (aphids) arose from the morning dew, and field mice were created by dirty hay. One of the first scientific

investigations into spontaneous generation was conducted by Italian physician Francesco Redi in 1668. It was generally believed that maggots arose spontaneously in rotting meat, but Redi postulated that they actually came from the eggs laid by flies. To test his hypothesis, meat was set out in a number of flasks, some open to the air, some sealed completely, and others covered with gauze. The maggots appeared only in the open flasks, proving that flies had to be able to reach the meat to lay their eggs.

The debate over spontaneous generation continued through the eighteenth century. In 1745, English clergyman John Needham conducted what he claimed to be the definitive experiment. After the invention of the microscope, it was readily apparent that boiling liquids killed microorganisms. In his experiment, he boiled chicken broth in a flask and allowed it to cool. Within a few days, microorganisms had formed a scum on the surface of the broth, proving (to Needham) the theory of spontaneous generation.

Lazzaro Spallanzani, an Italian priest, was not convinced. In 1768, he proposed that microorganisms were introduced from the air. In his experiment, he boiled meat broth in two flasks. One was allowed to stand open, and the other was sealed. The open flask grew microorganisms; the sealed flask did not. Doubters argued that this only proved that spontaneous generation could not occur without air.

In 1859, the French Academy of Sciences solicited experiments to prove or disprove spontaneous generation. A young French chemist named Louis Pasteur created the experiment that finally laid to rest the theory of spontaneous generation. Like earlier experiments, his involved boiling meat broth in a flask, but he modified the container by heating the neck of the flask and bending it into an S shape so that air could enter but airborne spores could not. The broth in the flask remained clear. In a definitive demonstration, he then tipped the broth into the lowest part of the neck, where spores had settled through gravity, and the broth rapidly clouded over. This not only disproved spontane-

ous generation but demonstrated the ubiquity of microorganisms in the air around us.

The confusion over the origins of insects is apparent in many eighteenth-century garden works. In 1704, Leonard Meager recorded

*Caterpillars of which there are several sorts, but those are the worst enemies to Trees and Fruit which are bred by the East Wind. To counter this evil: some affirm with much confidence, that the oft smoaking of them with old Hay, or Straw, using the advantage of the Wind in the Spring, to be a sure prevention.*²

More than sixty years later, Philip Miller also blamed the wind:

*Some have supposed, that blights are usually produced by an easterly wind, which brings vast quantities of insects eggs along with it from some distant place; which, being lodged upon the surface of the leaves and flowers of fruit-trees, cause them to shrivel up and perish.*³

Today, as then, members of the cabbage family are afflicted with several particularly bothersome insect pests. The green caterpillar of the imported cabbage worm is familiar to anyone who has ever grown broccoli, cauliflower, collards, or cabbage. Richard Bradley, writing in 1720, recognized the vast potential these insects have to reproduce:

*every Insect increases Yearly about 400, and some of them many more; for Example, those Caterpillars which feed upon the Cabbage, and change into the common White Butter flies, breed twice every Year, each of them laying near 400 Eggs at one time; so that from the second Brood of one single Caterpillar we may reasonably expect 160,000.*⁴

Samuel Trowell was a great believer in the virtues of manure in controlling insect pests. In 1747, he wrote of the cabbage worm:

*when the Plant is grown large, the white-wing'd Butterfly lays his Eggs, which brings a Caterpillar at the Bottom of the Leaf, and when they come to be large, devours the whole Plant. . . . Now to prevent this Mischief, take some of the Lixivium made of the Manure, and water the plants with it, which will destroy all the Caterpillars, be thy ever so many, nor will they come there any more.*⁵

Council of Colonial Virginia

April 25, 1701

Whereas it has pleased almighty God of his Infinite mercy to deliver this Colony from the late great & rageing Plague of Caterpillars with wch it was Infested in an humble Sence thereof, it is ordered & appointed that the 5th day of June next be observed and Kept (by all the Inhabitants of the City of Williamsburgh & Parts adjacent) as a day of thanksgiving for such signall mercies & the 19th day of the same month in all other Parts of this Country & that a Proclamation be drawn & Issue to Enjoyn the due observation thereof.

H. R. McLlwaine, ed., *Executive Journals, Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1927) 2:138-139.*

William Thompson suggests salt as a remedy. "When your cabbages and coleworts are infested with caterpillars, take some salt water, and sprinkle it over them; this method has been frequently found to be effectual."⁶

The origin of the white butterfly that produced the green caterpillar remained a mystery throughout the eighteenth century. John Hill



wrote for the month of November 1773: "On the Tops of the Branches in his Hedges, and on many Trees that are about the place, he will see Bags like Cobwebs: these are the Nest of the Caterpillars that will the next Year eat his Cabbages and other valuable Products; let him cut them off, and burn them." The web worm of which Hill wrote is not the source of cabbage worms. He further observed, "Chuse for this Purpose, [planting cabbage] an open Piece of Ground, far from Trees or Hedges, for Caterpillars breed among the Leaves of these; and the Butterflies, that produce those Devourers, frequent such Places more than open Ground."⁷

Many authors recommended placing cabbages at a distance from trees or hedges. While this would have no effect in controlling the cabbage caterpillar, it may actually be good advice for another pest of cabbage: the cabbage flea beetle. Because the flea beetle shelters in vegetation on the edges of gardens or fields, placing plants away from hedges may have some benefit. Research from Washington State University has shown that flea beetle damage on canola (a serious problem in the northern United States today) seldom occurs farther than fifty yards from the edge of the field.

Modern readers of eighteenth-century garden works experience some of the same confusion as the authors, who often read and plagiarized each other: Just about any insect that hops, flutters, or flies is called a "fly." This can make accurate identification difficult and result in the mistaken attribution of information in eighteenth-century garden books.

Stephen Switzer was obviously speaking of the flea beetle when he wrote concerning coleworts (similar to the modern collard). It "is often apt to be eat up in the seedleaf as other cabbage seeds are with the black fly." It is only in the seedling stage that cabbages are damaged by the flea beetle. To prevent damage from the beetle, he suggested, "as soon as the seed is sown and rak'd in, you should sow some slack'd lime, the virtue of which will last till some rain succeeds, after which the seed will soon sprout, and be out of danger."⁸ This very likely would provide some protection from the flea beetle.

Miller recommended using radishes as a trap crop with cauliflower. "If there are not some Radishes amongst them, and the month of May should prove hot and dry, as it sometimes happens, the fly will seize your Cauliflowers, and eat their leaves full of holes, to their prejudice, and sometimes their destruction; whereas, if

there are Radishes upon the spot, the flies will take to them, and never meddle with the Cauliflowers."⁹ This would likely have some effect, since the flea beetle seems to prefer radishes to cauliflower.

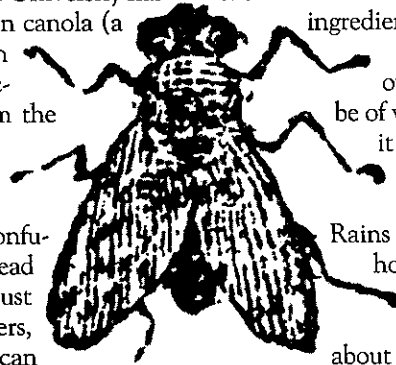
That same insect and a number of its relatives also feed on turnips. Switzer wrote, "There is a black fly that always fastens upon them, and eats the seed-leaves in their first coming up in the summer-time, which spoils that crop entirely, if not prevented." To ward off the fly, he recommended, "some have sap or seminated soot out of the chimney, wood-ashes, and the like strewn over the young plants."¹⁰ This method is still employed by organic gardeners in England.

John Rutter and Daniel Carter suggested a more elaborate method to combat the turnip fly: "Steep the seed in the following liquor: Boil a good quantity of tobacco stalks in water till it is very strong of them; then stir into this some aloes, soot, and flour of brimstone. Put in the seeds, and let them lie eighteen hours; then draw off the liquor and sow them with the ingredients."¹¹

Trowell, ever the proponent of manure, wrote: "Manure must be of very great Service here, because it will prevent the Fly's Mischief, that is the chiefest Insect that spoils Turnips; for altho' the Rains may wash it, yet its Efficacy will hold strong enough to prevent its Hurt."¹²

In 1747, Trowell wrote about another vexing problem: the fly on the broad or horse bean (known to most Americans as the fava bean).

Many Farmers and Gardeners Bean-Crops in the Spring-season of 1746, where the Seed was sown or set too early . . . their Horse-beans in particular suffered much by the destructive Dolphin Fly, bred by the frequent Showers of Rain, and the hot Glades or the Sun-beams that interposed their scorching Rays between their falling, and produced this horrid Insect, which no Manure, sowed over the Ground, can prevent: but I will here make known a Way to prevent this Collyer Fly's Damage . . . These black Dolphin Flies always begin their Settlement on the top part of the Bean-stalk, and there carry on their Increase till they get down almost to its bottom, and live on the Sap of it, by which they poison and destroy it. . . . I am the first Author that discovered this Remedy, and this is, when a Crop of Horse-beans is perceived



to be seized by this Dolphin Fly. Then let a Man make use of a Scythe, and go in among them, and mow their Tops off so far as the Fly has settled...when all the Tops are cut off, the Fly falls with them on the Ground, and can never rise again.¹³

In this case, the insect was actually an aphid. English gardeners still top beans to combat what is now known as the black bean aphid.

Whereas all of the above insects are fairly host-specific, slugs and snails are indiscriminate feeders, as John Worlidge noted in 1716:

*there cannot be a more pernicious Enemy than Snails, which you may in a Dewy Morning easily find where they most delight to feed; but the surest way is in the hard Winter to seek our their haunts, and make a clean riddance of them: they lie much in the holes of Walls, behind old Trees, under Thorn, and other old and close Hedges. In one Year I caused near two Bushels to be gathered in a Nobleman's Garden, which had in precedent Years destroyed the most of their Wall-Fruit, and ever after they had great plenty of Fruit.*¹⁴

In 1779, Thompson explained the most common method of gathering snails: "If you place bricks, tiles, or boards, hollow against your pales, and walls, the snails will creep under them for shelter, and may then be taken." The "final" solution was known much earlier: "They are easily taken with your Hand, if you look for them Morning and Evening, especially after Rain, for then they come out in the greatest Abundance; they should be presently crush'd under Foot."¹⁵

The aphid, or plant louse, is nearly ubiquitous in gardens worldwide. Their success is due to their extraordinary reproductive proficiency. All are parthenogenic, so the females do not require males to produce offspring; in some genera of aphids, males have never been found. In 1792, Peter Hill and Thomas Cadell described the damage these pests inflict:

*They are furnished with a small trunk, which pierces the leaves, and enables the animal to extract the juices proper for its nourishment. Many plants grow deformed by the number of punctures thus made upon their leaves.*¹⁶

Worlidge noted, "By reason of great Drought, many sorts of Trees and Plans are subject to Lice: And seeing that they are caused by Heat and Drought, as is evident in the Sweetbryar and Gooseberry, that are only Lowsy in dry times, or in very hot and dry places; therefore frequent washing them, by dashing Water on them, may prove the best remedy."¹⁷ Drought, of course,

does not produce aphids, but the damage from aphid feeding is much more pronounced in drought conditions, which likely explains the phenomena that Worlidge observed.

Aphids are probably responsible for giving the ant a bad name among eighteenth-century gardeners. Ants are attracted to the honeydew emitted by aphids and, like an army of farmers, "milk" them to produce the honeydew and protect them from predators. Ants do not damage plants themselves other than by aiding aphids, but most eighteenth-century gardening works present ideas for killing them. Benjamin Whitmill's 1748 suggestions include the following: "Some Persons recommend the cutting of Dew-Worms in small Pieces, and strewing them for Ants in proper Places which they do frequent; to these they will resort in great Numbers for Food, and may be easily destroy'd by the Help of a Watering-Pot of scalding Water."¹⁸

Hill and Cadell gave a novel use of ants in an early example of natural pest control.

In Switzerland, however, they are transported to trees for a different purpose; the destruction of caterpillars and other vermin. A bag filled with ants is fastened to a tree, with a small hole purposely left open for them to creep out; they spread along the tree, and are prevented from leaving it, by a quantity of pitch with which the stem is covered. Rather than die by famine, they go in pursuit of the caterpillars among the leaves and devour them.

They also recognized the role of beneficial insects. Concerning aphids, they observed:

*The most effectual method of preventing the depredations of plant lice upon flowers and leaves to plants, is suggested by those insects which live by preying upon them. The plant louse-lion, or aphidivorous fly, either by instinct or foresight, deposits her eggs in the midst of these animals; and as soon as the larvæ are produced, they devour hundreds around them.*¹⁹

They were likely referring to lady beetles.

Parasitic wasps are important predators of many insect pests. Hill and Cadell were also familiar with the most important family of these wasps. "Ichneumon—one striking peculiarity in the manners of some insects of this genus, who make their way into the body of the caterpillars of different kinds, and there deposite their eggs. . . . The ova hatched within the caterpillar after being quickened into life, preys upon the intestines of that animal."²⁰

A control method widely practiced to this day is a system of crop rotation. Meager wrote in 1704:

Another thing I would have you take notice of, and that is that you do no sow one sort of Crop too often upon one and the same piece of ground, but sow it with changeable Crops, especially Parsnips and Carrots, the which being sown too often without change, will be apt to canker, rot or be very apt to be Worm-eaten, although the ground be maintained very rich.²¹

Now, to our original question: "How did the colonists in Virginia deal with insect pests in the vegetable garden?" For the most part, they did not have to because the majority of insects that plagued their crops in England had not yet arrived in America! The imported cabbage worm was first introduced to Quebec and did not find its way to Massachusetts until around 1869. The flea beetles that infested English cabbage and turnips did not arrive in America until the twentieth century. Slugs and snails arrived sometime in the nineteenth century, and, to this day, I have never seen a black bean aphid on my broad beans. New World pests such as the Colorado potato beetle and the Mexican bean beetle never made it within a thousand miles of Virginia in the eighteenth century.

There were a few garden pests waiting for the colonists in North America, including the cabbage looper and striped cabbage caterpillar, which we occasionally see in gardens today. The striped cucumber beetle is native to North America, as is the squash vine borer. John Randolph, writing in Williamsburg in the eighteenth century, warned us concerning raspberries: "They are pestered with lice, but lime water kills them, if sprinkled upon them." However, very few insect problems were recorded in the vegetable garden by our colonial predecessors.²²

Beverley's 1705 observation that "A Kitchen-Garden don't thrive better or faster in any part of the Universe, than there. They have all the Culinary Plants that grow in England and in far greater perfection"²³ may have been due in part to the fact that English vegetables arrived in America before their English pests.

¹ Thomas Hill, *The Gardeners Labyrinth: Containing a Discourse of the Gardeners Life, Gathered Out of the Best Approved Writers of Gardening, Husbandrie, and Physicke* (London, 1577).

² Leonard Meager, *The Compleat English Gardener: or, a Sure Guide to Young Planters and Gardners* (London, 1704).

³ Philip Miller, *The Gardeners Dictionary*, 8th ed. (London, 1768).

⁴ Richard Bradley, *The Gentleman and Gardener's Kalendar, Directing What Is Necessary to Be Done Every Month in the Kitchen-Garden, Fruit-Garden, . . .*, 3rd ed. (London, 1720); see also 4th ed. Dublin, 1720, with different subtitle.

⁵ Samuel Trowell and William Ellis, *Farmer's Instructor; or, The Husbandman and Gardener's Useful and Necessary Companion* (London, 1747).

⁶ William Thompson, *The New Gardener's Calendar* (London, 1779).

⁷ John Hill, *Eden: or, A Compleat Body of Gardening* (London, 1773).

⁸ Stephen Switzer, *The Practical Kitchen Gardiner: or, A New and Entire System of Directions for His Employment in the Melonry, Kitchen-Garden, and Potagery, in the Several Seasons of the Year* (London, 1727).

⁹ Miller, *Gardeners Dictionary*.

¹⁰ Switzer, *Practical Kitchen Gardiner*.

¹¹ John Rutter and Daniel Carter, *Modern Eden: or, the Gardener's Universal Guide: Containing Plain and Familiar Instructions, for Performing Every Branch of Gardening* (London, 1767).

¹² Trowell and Ellis, *Farmer's Instructor*.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ John Worlidge, *A Compleat System of Husbandry and Gardening; or, the Gentleman's Companion, in the Business and Pleasures of a Country Life* (London, 1716).

¹⁵ Thompson, *New Gardener's Calendar*; Dézallier d'Argenville, A[ntoine]-J[oseph], *The Theory and Practice of Gardening: wherein is fully handled all that relates to fine gardens*, trans. John James (London, 1712).

¹⁶ Peter Hill and Thomas Cadell, *A New System of the Natural History of Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes,—and Insects* (London, 1791–1792).

¹⁷ Worlidge, *Compleat System of Husbandry and Gardening*.

¹⁸ Benjamin Whitmill, *Kalendarium Universale: or, The Gardiner's Universal Kalendar*, 4th ed. (London, 1748).

¹⁹ Hill and Cadell, *New System of Natural History*.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Meager, *Compleat English Gardener*.

²² John Randolph, "A Treatise on Gardening" [1793], in John Gardiner and David Hepburn, *The American Gardener: Containing Ample Directions for Working a Kitchen Garden Every Month in the Year*, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C., 1818).

²³ Robert Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia* (London, 1705).



Q & A

“Frogs” Revisited

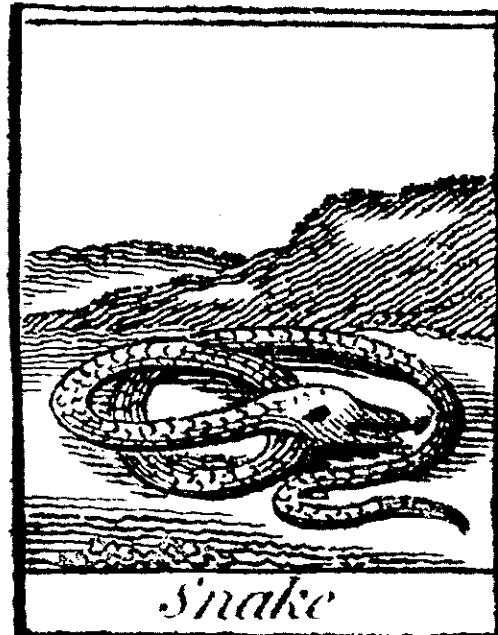
The spring 2007 Q&A column treated the delicate question of whether or not the eighteenth-century British used the terms *frog* and *froggy* as pejorative references to French people. We based our answer in the negative on the *Oxford English Dictionary's* (OED's) assertion that the use of *froggy* (also *froggie*) as a “term of contempt for a Frenchman, from their reputed habit of eating frogs” cannot be documented before 1872. *Au contraire*, *mon frère*, according to master tailor Mark Hutter, who called to share his discovery of eighteenth-century examples of Englishmen who wielded the “F” word as a derogatory appellation against the French. Mark points out that a targeted search of the electronic database Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO), now available to Colonial Williamsburg employees through the John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library website, pulls up several derivative quotes that predate, by many decades, the OED's earliest example.

A 1773 printed poem, *The Fair Quaker or Humors of the Navy*, in extolling the virtues of “Grogg,” declares it to be the drink that makes the English sailor “squeeze the French frog.” The second edition (1793) of a satirical work *Topsy Turvey: With Anecdotes and Observations Illustrative of Leading Characters in the Present Government of France* tromps on eggshells with this from page 24: “But even these powerful authorities must yield to M. l'Abbé Spallanzani, who has demonstrated that Frogs, by which he means FRENCHMEN, (substituting by learned license *the Food for the Feeders*). . . . This accurate and humane Experimentalist, I repeat, has satisfactorily demonstrated that Frogs—that is to say, FROG-EATING FRENCHMEN, when breech'd, tho' with but so slight a texture as waxed taffety are thereby utterly disqualified for all vigorous exertion, and rendered totally incompetent to the grand purposes of life.”

Though corrected on the historical facts, we stand by our former admonition that “the use of such terms of derision, even those that were in common use at the time—like calling Catholics ‘papists’—is by no means acceptable, guest-friendly practice for Colonial Williamsburg interpreters, who must be ever mindful of the sensibilities of our increasingly diverse and international audiences.” (Bob Doares, with thanks to Mark Hutter, Tailor)

Question: I've heard that a slave was once freed by the Virginia General Assembly for finding a cure for snakebite. Could you point me to that piece of legislation? (submitted by Kat Warden, interpreter, Group Interpretation)

Answer: You may be referring to the freedom granted to a New Kent County slave in 1729, though the manumission occurred as a resolution of the governor and council meeting in executive (administrative) session, not in its legislative role as the upper house of the General Assembly. Recall that manumission became much more difficult in 1723, when the full legislature passed an “Act directing the trial of slaves, committing capital crimes; and for the more effectual punishing conspiracies and insurrection of them; and for the better government of Negros, Mulattos, and Indians, bond or free.” Paragraph XVII of this act said that “No negro, mullatto, or Indian slaves, shall be set free, upon any pretence whatsoever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the governor and council, for the time being, and a licence [sic] thereupon first had and obtained” (Hening, *Statutes at Large*, 4:132).



Passed in response to rumored slave insurrections, the 1723 act permitted manumission only upon approval of the governor and council, and then only as a reward for public service. Should a slave be set free in any other manner (by will or deed, for example), the act required churchwardens to return the person to slavery by sale at public outcry. The governor and council manumitted only about twenty enslaved persons between 1723 and the late 1770s.

The 1723 act did not spell out what exactly was to be done, but the usual procedure was for a slave owner to submit a written petition to the governor and council describing the "meritorious service" and requesting permission to set his or her slave free.

The case of the enslaved man Papaw noted below is a little bit different in that there is no mention of a petition by Papaw's owner. His medicinal skills came to the attention of the governor and council through some other means. In fact, they felt compelled to pay his former owner £50 current money, a sure sign that she did not seek freedom for Papaw herself.

Governor Gooch took this action on April 29, 1729, with councilors Robert Carter, John Carter, James Blair, Richard Fitzwilliam, William Byrd, John Grymes, Cole Digges, William Dandridge, John Robinson, John Custis, and William Randolph. While the resolution does not specifically mention snakebite, it is probably inferred. The complete resolution reads:

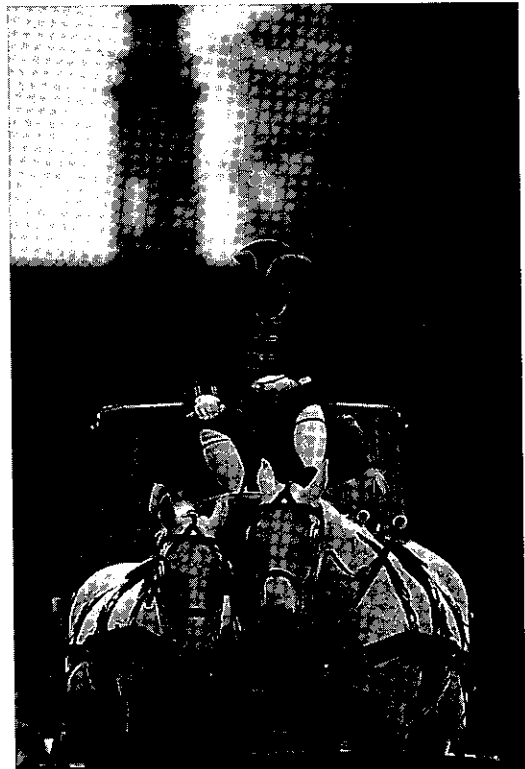
Whereas upon consideration of the many extraordinary Cures perform'd by Papaw a Negro Slave belonging to M[istress] Frances Littlepage of the County of New Kent, it was resolved that means should be used to obtain from him a discovery of the secret whereby he performs the said cures; and the said Papaw having upon promise of his freedom now made an ample discovery of the several medicines made use of by him for that purpose to the satisfaction of the Governor and the Gentlemen appointed by him to inspect the application and operation of the said medicines, It is the opinion of this board and accordingly ordered that as a reward for useful a discovery, which may be of great benefit to mankind, and more particularly to the preservation of the lives of great numbers of the Slaves belonging to the Inhabitants of this Country frequently infected with the Yaws, and other venereal distempers, the said Papaw be set free; and that the sum of £50 current money be paid to the said M[istress] Frances Littlepage out of his Majesty's Revenue of 2 shillings

per hogshead, for his freedom; but that he remain still under the direction of the Government until he made a discovery of some other secrets he has for expelling poison, and the cure of other diseases. [Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 4:199]

As for snakebite, a quarter century before this event, Robert Beverley, in his 1705 *History and Present State of Virginia*, mentioned the problem of rattlesnakes. It is clear that Beverley wished to promote immigration to the colony and tried to allay concerns about the poisonous reptile when he wrote: "The bite of this viper, without some immediate application, is certainly death; but remedies are so well known, that none of their servants are ignorant of them. (Linda Rowe, historian, and Rose McAphee, training specialist)

Question: *In my early training with Colonial Williamsburg, I heard that carriages traveling Duke of Gloucester Street in Williamsburg's first years seemed to disappear and reappear on the horizon as they dipped in and out of the ravines that still cut through the street at the time. What is the documentary basis for this story? (submitted by Adam Wright)*

Answer: You may have read former Colonial Williamsburg landscape architect Kent Brinkley's discussion of the ups and downs of Duke of Gloucester Street, on page 193 of the *Taking Possession* story line resource book from



2000. Kent tells how Williamsburg residents petitioned the House of Burgesses in autumn of 1720 to do something about the “irregularitys of their principal street.” That was two years before Williamsburg received a charter authorizing creation of its own municipal government with a mayor and aldermen.

The original reference appears for November 28, 1720, in the *Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1712–1720* (page 283). The wording seems to indicate concern with “horizontal” issues surrounding the main street of the capital, expressing frustration with the dipping in and out of several ravines. Archaeological excavation has shown the original depth of the ravine at the Mary Stith Shop to have been seven and a half feet below the present grade and twelve feet at the Post Office just across the street.

The House of Burgesses appropriated £150 “towards making Bridges and Causeways in the

Main Street” and appointed trustees to oversee the work. In 1722, Hugh Jones wrote that the appropriation “was expended in removing earth in some places, and building a bridge over a low channel; so that it is now a pleasant, long dry walk, broad, and almost level from the College to the Capitol.” The ambitious engineering included brick retaining walls at the present Printing Office site and at Greenhow Store and a brick culvert that carried water under the street at the Printing Office. Money ran out before the repairs were finished; a request from dissatisfied citizens for another appropriation was denied. From then on, maintenance of the streets was the bailiwick of the newly formed town council.

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



Interpreter's Corner

Christmas Music

by Jane Hanson

Jane is a supervisor and musician in the Department of Performing Arts.

As much as we'd like to say differently, and contrary to what some Colonial Williamsburg researchers have implied over the years, we have no firsthand accounts of anyone singing Christmas songs (as we know them today) in colonial Virginia. There is some evidence of singing during the season, though. Here are several references from the time:

*Now Christmas comes, 'tis fit that we
Should feast and sing and merry be;
Keep open house, let fiddlers play,
A fig for cold, sing care away;
And may they who thereat repine
On brown bread and on small beer dine.*

Virginia Almanack, 1764

24 December 1710

About 11 o'clock we went to church and took possession of the pew which the vestry gave us. We began to give in to the new way of singing Psalms.

The Secret Diary of
William Byrd of Westover

24 December 1775: Staunton, Virginia

The evening I spent at Mr. Guy's—I sung for an hour, at the good People's desire, Mr. Watt's admirable hymns— I myself was entertain'd; I felt myself improv'd; so much Love to Jesus is set forth— So much divine Exercise.

Journal of Philip Vickers Fithian

6 January 1761

My landlord tells me when he waited on the Colonel (Cary) at his countryseat two or three days (ago), they hears the Slaves at worship in their lodge, singing Psalms and Hymns in the evening, and again in the morning, long before break of day.

They are excellent singers, and long to get some of Dr. Watt's Psalms and Hymns, which I encourage them to hope for.

Letter of Rev. John Wright, Presbyterian minister active in Cumberland County, Virginia, during the 1760s

For A Kid's Holiday Weekend programs at the Geddy House, we will focus on the singing of psalms and hymns at church and home. Here's a brief look at what singing was like at Bruton Parish Church (and any other Church of England in America) during the eighteenth century.

- Sung metrical psalms (more about what that means later!) usually provided the only vocal music in the church.
- The organ would not usually play while the people were singing.
- The clerk would "line-out" the psalm—chant or sing one line at a time—and the congregation would sing that line back to him.
- Hymns such as those by Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley, including "Joy to the World," "O God, Our Help in Ages Past," and "Hark! The Herald Angels Sing," were considered too modern and too personal to be sung in church.

For these reasons, singing was more often enjoyed at home. Psalms were also played and sung at home. It was said that Thomas Jefferson especially liked the psalm known as "St. David's tune."

"Metrical psalms," mentioned above, resulted from people taking the psalms as written in the Bible and rewriting them in meter with rhyming phrases. Here's an example:

Psalm 100:1

*O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands
Serve the Lord with gladness and come
before His presence with a song*

becomes this when written metrically:

*All people that on earth do dwell
Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice
Him serve with mirth, His praise forth tell
Come ye before Him and rejoice.*

This metrical psalm is written in what was known as "long meter," often abbreviated LM in collections of hymns, meaning that there are eight syllables in each line—count them and find out! Any tune that is written for this meter can be sung with these words.

When Isaac Watts wrote his hymns and published the first volume in 1707, he was writing to bring New Testament truths into the psalms and to make them more meaningful and understandable. "Joy to the World" is part of his version of Psalm 98. It is set in "common meter" (or "CM"—one line with eight syllables, six in

the next, eight again, and ending with six) and can be sung to any existing tune in that meter. His book looks like a big poetry tome instead of a hymnal as we think of them today, because he did not publish music with his hymns. The reader was expected to choose the tune that fit the desired hymn.

Hymns and the psalms (a collection of psalms was usually called the *psalter*—look in the back of the Book of Common Prayer) were not often published with music but they *sometimes* were. (Never say “never” when interpreting!) We have in our rare book collection at the John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library several psalters that have music and words printed together. One was published in London in 1738 by John Playford. Here are some quotes from the introduction, which you might like to use in your interpretations of singing the psalms:

To sing Praises to God is an angelic Office, it is a Taste of the first Fruits of Heaven while we are on Earth.

The singing of Psalms comforteth the sorrowful, pacifieth the Angry, strengthenth the Weak, humbleth the Proud, gladeth the Humble, . . . reconcileth Enemies, lifteth up the Heart to Heavenly things, and uniteth the Creature to His Creator; for whatsoever is in the Psalms [is] conduceth to the Edification, Benefit and Consolation of Mankind.

Here is another quote from a different book of psalm tunes published by William Tans'ur in New England in 1771:

And as Divine Musick excelleth all other Arts in the known World, and is deemed a heavenly Exercise and standing Part of Devotion, how much the more ought we to endeavor to the true Knowledge of it, to perform it decently and in good Order: And to follow the Examples of all good men who have taken such Pains to recommend it.

Watts's psalms and hymns, originally published in Boston in 1715, appeared in several editions, including one printed by Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia (1729) and a more complete Boston edition in 1730. It was, however, the great evangelist George Whitefield, who came to America in 1738 and again from 1739 to 1741, who was largely responsible for promoting the hymns of Watts and Wesley to American colonists.

Watts's book of hymns and other books with hymn tunes were sold in Williamsburg at the Printing Office (also called the Post Office):

- *A catalogue of books to be sold at the post office in Williamsburg . . . Watt's Poems, Psalms, and Hymns . . . 29 November 1770, Virginia Gazette*
- *to be sold at the post office . . . Doctor Watt's . . . sermons on various subjects divine and moral; with a sacred hymn suited to each subject . . . 25 July 1771, Virginia Gazette*
- *Dixon and Hunter have on hand the following books, which they will sell cheap . . . Harmonia Sacra, or a Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes . . . 24 August 1776, Virginia Gazette*

I already mentioned a little about Watts's “Joy to the World.” Here's some information on some other hymns, Christmas and otherwise.

“O Come, All Ye Faithful (Adeste Fideles)”

The Latin words to this hymn are believed to have been written by an unknown French poet between the years 1685 and 1690. John Wade, an Englishman working as a music copyist in a Jesuit community in Douay, France, associated the words with music. This hymn likely journeyed to England with French émigrés during the French Revolution. Frederick Oakeley, a nineteenth-century British minister, translated the text into English.

“While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks by Night”

Nahum Tate wrote the words to this hymn around 1700. They first appeared in a supplement to Tate and [Nicholas] Brady's version of the psalter in 1700. The tune is a psalm tune called “Winchester Old” from *Este's Psalter* of 1592. By virtue of its inclusion in the supplement to the psalter approved for worship by the king himself, this Christmas song was allowed in the Church of England.

“Hark! The Herald Angels Sing”

This hymn was written and published by Charles Wesley in 1739. The first line was different though: “Hark, how all the welkin ring.” *Welkin* comes from Old English and literally means “cloud” or “sky.” Fourteen years after it was first published, Whitefield edited Wesley's hymn to include it in his own book of hymns in 1753. His revision is what we know today as “Hark! The Herald Angels Sing.” “Hark! The Herald Angels Sing” was included in the 1782 supplement.



"The First Noel"

The meaning of *noel* is clouded in mystery. One of the most logical explanations, however, is that it is properly spelled *nowell*, as the English do, and is an abbreviated version of the saying, "Now all is well," the phrase with which people greeted each other on Christmas morning. This is only speculation, however; not fact. This carol's origins are said to date back as far as the seventeenth century.

"Amazing Grace"

This hymn was written by John Newton, a slave ship's captain turned minister. Having become a Christian onboard his ship during a

1748 storm, Newton gradually came to abhor the practice of slavery, although he continued to serve as a slave ship captain for another seven years. Following his ordination as a minister in the Church of England, he took a position in a parish in Olney, England, in 1764. Newton wrote many original hymns and versions of the psalms and, in 1779, published a hymnal with poet William Cowper that included "Amazing Grace." It is unlikely that those words were known or sung in America during colonial times.

I hope this information is helpful as we lead our guests in this "Divine Exercise" during the upcoming Colonial Williamsburg holiday season.

New at the Rock



New Titles in the Janice McCoy Memorial Collection for Youth John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library

- Athan, Polly. *Felicity's Cookbook*. Middleton, Wis.: Pleasant Company Publications, 1994. Fans of Felicity, the colonial American Girl® character, will delight in this peek at dining in the past with meals they can cook today.
- Anderson, LaVere. *Martha Washington: First Lady of the Land*. New York: Chelsea Juniors, 1991. Traces the public and private life of the nation's first first lady.
- Beller, Susan Provost. *The History Puzzle: How We Know What We Know About the Past*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Twenty-First Century Books, 2006. Stories in this collection reveal how historians and scientists act as detectives searching for missing pieces in their quest for accurate information about our past.
- Bradley, Michael R. *It Happened in the Revolutionary War*. Guilford, Conn.: The Globe Pequot Press, 2003. Fascinating stories about thirty events that helped shape the Revolutionary War, including little-known episodes that defined the birth of a nation.
- Doherty, Kieran. *Soldiers, Cavaliers, and Planters: Settlers of the Southeastern Colonies*. Minneapolis, Minn.: The Oliver Press Inc., 1999. Discusses the lives of nine people who were responsible for founding or fostering the growth of settlements in the colonial American South.
- Dosier, Susan. *Colonial Cooking*. Mankato, Minn.: Capstone Press, 2000. Discusses the everyday life, family roles, cooking methods, important foods, and celebrations of colonial America. Includes recipes and sidebars.
- Griffin, Judith Berry. *Phoebe, the Spy*. New York: Scholastic Book Services, 1977. The exciting true story of Phoebe Fraunces, who saved the life of Gen. George Washington when he dined at Mortier House in New York City.
- Gunderson, Mary. *Cooking on the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. Mankato, Minn.: Capstone Press, 2000. Discusses the everyday life, cooking methods, and foods eaten on the journey of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark up and beyond the Missouri River to the Pacific as they charted the vast territory of the Louisiana Purchase. Includes recipes.
- . *Pioneer Farm Cooking*. Mankato, Minn.: Capstone Press, 2000. Discusses the everyday life, family roles, cooking methods, and common foods of pioneers who settled in the Midwest during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Includes recipes.
- Haywood, John. *World Atlas of the Past: The Age of Discovery, 1492-1815*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1999. Volume three of a four-volume study of historical geography, from the ancient world to modern times.
- Ichord, Loretta F. *Hasty Pudding, Johnnycakes, and Other Good Stuff: Cooking in Colonial America*. Brookfield, Conn.: The Millbrook Press, 1998. Presents colonial food preparation methods with a look at the influences of available ingredients, cooking methods, and equipment. Includes recipes and an appendix of classroom-cooking directions.
- Kalman, Bobbie. *The Colonial Cook*. New York: Crabtree Publishing Company, 2002. Discusses the foods, methods, equipment, and places used by cooks in colonial America.
- Karwoski, Gail. *Miracle: The True Story of the Wreck of the Sea Venture*. In the summer of 1609, a fleet of nine ships left England bound for the Jamestown colony. Days before landfall, the fleet was hit by a hurricane. Four nights later,

the flagship, *Sea Venture*, ran aground on the reefs on Bermuda's northern coast. Miraculously, everyone survived. This is their story.

Keoke, Emory Dean. *Food, Farming, and Hunting*. New York: Facts on File Inc., 2005. Explores Native American peoples' hunting, fishing, gathering, and farming practices that helped sustain early European colonists and continue to play a role in feeding the world's population today.

Nixon, Joan Lowery. *Ann's Story: 1747*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1999. Ann, a young girl in eighteenth-century Williamsburg, wants to become a doctor like her father, but she is not allowed even to study Latin and mathematics.

———. *Caesar's Story: 1759*. New York: Delacorte Press, 2000. After having been a slave on Carter's Grove plantation near Williamsburg, Virginia, since childhood, Caesar finally finds a way to plan his own future.

———. *John's Story: 1775*. New York: Delacorte Press, 2001. In Williamsburg in 1775, as events threaten to plunge the colonies into war with Britain, eleven-year-old John feels caught between the revolutionary sentiments of his older brother and his father's insistence on a more temperate and patient course of action.

———. *Maria's Story: 1773*. New York: Delacorte Press, 2001. In Williamsburg, Virginia, two years before the start of the American Revolution,

nine-year-old Maria worries that her mother will lose her contract to publish official reports and announcements of the British government because she prints anti-British articles in their family-run newspaper.

———. *Nancy's Story: 1765*. New York: Delacorte Press, 2000. In 1765, twelve-year-old Nancy worries about the effect of the British Stamp Act on her father's silversmith business in Williamsburg and about how to get along with her new stepmother.

Sateren, Shelley S. *Going to School in Colonial America*. Mankato, Minn.: Capstone Press, 2002. Discusses the school life of children who lived in the thirteen colonies, including lessons, books, teachers, examinations, and special days. Includes activities and sidebars.

Stanley, Diane. *Good Queen Bess: The Story of Elizabeth I of England*. New York: Harper Collins, 2001. This account of Elizabeth I's reign amid the turmoil of the Reformation discusses how she acted with tolerance and moderation in religious matters and spared her country much of the dreadful tug-of-war taking place between Catholics and Protestants.

Waters, Kate. *Mary Geddy's Day: A Colonial Girl in Williamsburg*. New York: Scholastic Press, 1999. Family life of a successful craftsman and tradesman James Geddy is told through the eyes of his young daughter.

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

Andre, Maj. John. *Andre's Journal* (Boston: Bibliophile Society, 1903), 2 vols. This work, by the charismatic and popular British officer who was hanged as a spy, lay undiscovered in England until 1902. It provides a daily record of the movements and engagements of the British army in America from June 1777 to November 1778. Maps and plans drawn by Andre are included. E280. A5 A22 1903

Anno Regni Georgii III . . . An Act for Granting and Applying certain Stamp Duties (London: Mark Baskett, 1765). This infamous law levied taxes on all legal and commercial papers, pamphlets, newspapers, almanacs, paying cards, and dice. Immediate colonial outrage caused its repeal in the following year, but the bitterness lingered and, coupled with the subsequent Townshend Duties and Intolerable Acts, it engendered the grievances described in the Declaration of Independence. E215.2. G747 1765

Gazette Françoise (New York: Grolier Club, 1926). This scarce and little-known volume includes the few issues produced between November 17, 1780, and January 2, 1781, on printing presses carried by the French fleet supporting the colonial cause during the American Revolution. The newspapers include the information French commanders wanted known among their troops. Absence of some events suggests that they may have been censored. The press was carried aboard the *Neptune* and was later set up by Rochambeau's forces on shore in Newport, Rhode Island, and known as "L'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre." Uncat.

Greatrakes, William. *An Application of some General Political Rules to the Present State of Great-Britain, Ireland and America in a Letter to the Right Honourable Earl Temple* (London: J. Almon, 1766). The author addresses Temple, brother-in-law and political ally of William Pitt, concerning rights of colonial citizens and traces the rights of colonies in the ancient world. He argues that American colonists are, by right and inheritance, British and have every claim to the care and regard of those in the mother country. DA507. A7 1766

Hopkins, Stephen. *The Grievances of the American Colonies candidly Examined* (Providence, R.I., 1766). This work traces the rights of colonies

from ancient times, observing that when citizens of the Greek city-state of Corinth established a new colony at Epidamus, all citizens were to have "equal and like privileges with those who staid at home." Hopkins cites an act of George II stating that inhabitants of his colonies were deemed to be "subjects of the kingdom of Great-Britain, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as if they, and every one of them, had been, or were born within the same." The author hopes that Providence will continue to perpetuate the sovereignty of the British constitution and the filial dependency of the colonies. E215.2. H66 1766

Levasseur, Auguste. *LaFayette in America, in 1824 and 1825; or, Journal of Travels, in the United States* (New York: White, Gallaher & White, 1829), 2 vols. Written by a secretary traveling with the Marquis, the reminiscences recount their time spent revisiting the newly developing country. Lafayette's reception in the quiet town of Williamsburg is recounted. E207. L2 L4813

Mellen, George Washington F. *An Argument on the Unconstitutionality of Slavery* (Boston: Saxton & Pierce, 1841). This flamboyant and eccentric abolitionist abstracts proceedings of the national and state legislatures on the subject of slavery. Although arguing that the Constitution did not recognize the right to hold slaves, Mellon was seldom cited by fellow abolitionists because of his embarrassing tendency to imagine himself the reincarnation of Washington, together with a habit of appearing at antislavery meetings dressed in Revolutionary uniform. KF4545. S5 M451841

Necessity of Repealing the American Stamp-Act Demonstrated (London: J. Almon, 1766). This work, subtitled "a proof that Great Britain must be injured by that Act," was sent in a letter to a member of the House of Commons. The unknown author, a British traveler recently returned from the American colonies, argues that the loss of commercial enterprise will redound to the mutual detriment of both sides. E215.2. N43 1766

Rowland, David S. *Divine Providence Illustrated and Improved* (Providence, R.I.: Sarah Goddard, 1766). This discourse was delivered in the Presbyterian or Congregational Church of Providence on June 4, 1766, on the occasion of

His Majesty's birthday and also in celebration of the day of rejoicing at the repeal of the Stamp Act. The text is taken from Psalm 126:3, "The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad," and is dedicated to Henry Conway, principal secretary of state and privy counselor, whose support of repeal made him a "Patron of Liberty." E215.2 R69 1766

Rudiments of Architecture: or, the Young Workman's Instructor (Edinburgh: James Dickson, 1778). This early Scottish architectural book, largely a compilation from Salmon's *Palladio Londinensis* and LeClerc's *Treatise*, includes sections on orders, architectural details, and surveying as well as a builder's dictionary. There are also designs of buildings built in Scotland. NA2515. R82 1778

Sketch of the Life and Military Services of Gen. LaFayette during the American Revolution

(New York, 1824). Printed during the year of Lafayette's triumphal American tour, after an absence of some forty years following the allied victory at Yorktown, this work traces his life and describes his arrival in New York and the festivities offered him there. E207. L2 S6 1824

Smith, William. *A Sermon on the Present Situation of American Affairs* (Philadelphia: James Humphreys, 1775). The text is taken from Joshua 22:22 and argues for recognition of the mutual common interests of Great Britain and the colonies "ardently panting for the return of those Halcyon-days of harmony, during which both countries so long flourished together, as the glory and wonder of the world." E297. S65 1775

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



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