

Interpreter

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The Revolution— In Their Own Words

Excerpts from a letter from George Washington to his wife, Martha, on his appointment as commander in chief of the Continental Army (Philadelphia, June 1775)

My Dearest:

I am now set down to write you on a subject which fills me with inexpressible concern, and this concern is greatly aggravated and increased when I reflect upon the uneasiness I know it will cause you. It has been determined in Congress that the whole army raised for the defense of the American cause shall be put under my care, and that it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take command of it.

You may believe me, my dear Patcy, when I assure you, in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home than I have



"Miniatures of George and Martha Washington." Watercolor on ivory with a silver case and glass crystal. (CWF G1956-44, 1-2). These likenesses of the Washingtons were the work of Archibald Robertson in Philadelphia between December 1791 and January 1792.

the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. But as it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose. . . .

It is utterly out of my power to refuse this appointment without exposing my character to such censures as would have reflected dishonor on myself and given pain to my friends. This, I am sure, could not and ought not to be pleasing to you and must have lessened me considerably in my own esteem. I shall rely, therefore, confidently on that Providence which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting but that I shall return safe to you in the fall.

George Washington

P.S. Since writing the above I have received your Letter of the 15th and have got two suits of what I was told wa[s] the prettiest Muslin. I wish it may please you—it cost 50/ a suit that is 20/ a yard.

(Thomas J. Fleming, *Liberty! The American Revolution*; and Joseph E. Fields, "Worthy Partner": *The Papers of Martha Washington*)

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Years later (1789), writing about America's prospects against Great Britain in 1775, Washington stated:

It was known that the resources of Great Britain were, in a manner, inexhaustible, that her fleets covered the ocean and that her troops had harvested laurels in every quarter of the globe. Not then organized as a nation, or known as a people upon the earth, we had no preparation. Money, the nerve of war, was wanting. The sword was to be forged on the anvil of necessity.

(Fleming, Liberty!)

Bunker Hill (Breed's Hill) as Seen from Boston (June 17, 1775)

Account of British Gen. John Burgoyne
And now ensued one of the greatest scenes of war that can be conceived. If we look to the heights, [British Gen. William] Howe's corps ascending the hill in the face of entrenchments and in a very disadvantageous ground was much engaged. To the left the enemy pouring in fresh troops by the thousands over land and in the arm of the sea our ships and floating batteries cannonading them. Straight before us a large and noble town [Charlestown] in one great blaze. The church steeples being of timber were great pyramids of fire above the rest. Behind us the church steeples and heights of our own camp, covered with spectators. The enemy all in anxious suspense. The roar of cannon, mortars and musketry, the crash of churches, ships upon the stocks and whole streets falling together in ruins to fill the air; the storm of the redoubt . . . filled the eye and the reflection that perhaps defeat was a final loss to the British Empire [of] America to fill the mind, made the whole picture and a complication of horror and importance beyond anything that ever came to my lot to witness to.

(Fleming, Liberty!)

From Benjamin Franklin to William Strahan (a lifelong English friend), July 5, 1775:

You are a member of Parliament and one of that Majority which doomed my Country to Destruction. You have begun to burn our Towns, and murder our People. Look upon your Hands. They are stained with the Blood of your Relations! You and I were long Friends: You are now my Enemy, and I am, Yours. B. Franklin

(Franklin never sent this letter to Strahan, but he did show it to friends in Philadelphia and elsewhere. He was trying to convince his fellow

Americans of his patriotism [after years abroad in England]. Gordon S. Wood, *Revolutionary Characters*)

Proclamation of Rebellion

Issued by King George III on August 23, 1775

Whereas many of our subjects in divers parts of our Colonies and Plantations in North America misled by dangerous and ill designing men and forgetting the allegiance which they owe to the power that has protected and supported them; after various disorderly acts committed in disturbance of the public peace to the obstruction of lawful commerce and to the oppressions of our loyal subjects carrying on same; have at length proceeded to open and avowed rebellion by arraying themselves in a hostile manner to withstand the execution of the law and traitorously preparing, ordering and levying war against us; And whereas there is reason to apprehend that such rebellion has been much promoted by the traitorous correspondence, councils and comfort of divers wicked and desperate persons within this realm: To the end therefore that none of our subjects may neglect or violate their duty through ignorance thereof or through any doubt of the protection which the law will afford to their loyalty and zeal, we have thought fit by and with the advice of our Privy Council, to issue our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring that not only all our officers, civil and military, are obliged to exert their utmost endeavors to suppress such rebellion and to bring the traitors to justice, that all our subjects of this realm and the dominions thereunto belonging are bound by law to be aiding and assisting in the suppression of such rebellion and to disclose and make known all traitorous conspiracies against us, our crown and our dignity.

(Fleming, Liberty!)

John Adams on the Declaration of Independence from a letter to his wife, Abigail, in Braintree, Massachusetts, July 3, 1776:

I am well aware of the Toil and Blood and Treasure, that it will cost us to maintain this Declaration [of Independence], and support and defend these States. Yet through all the Gloom I can see the Rays of ravishing Light and Glory. I can see that the End is more than worth all the Means. And that Posterity will triumph in that Days Transaction.

John Adams writing to Abigail from Philadelphia, May 22, 1777, concerning his evening with Benedict Arnold:

I spent last evening at the war office with General Arnold. He has been basely slandered and libeled. The regulars say, "He fought like Julius Caesar." I am wearied to death with the wrangles between military officers, high and low. They quarrel like cats and dogs. They worry one another like mastiffs, scrambling for rank and pay, like apes for nuts. I believe there is no one principle which predominates in human nature so much, in every stage of life, from the cradle to the grave, in males and females, old and young, black and white, rich and poor, high and low, as this passion for superiority. Every human being compares itself in its imagination with every other round about it, and will find some superiority over every other, real or imaginary, or it will die of grief and vexation. I have seen it among boys and girls at school, among lads at college, among practitioners at the bar, among the clergy in their associations, among clubs of friends, among the people in town meetings, among members of a House of Representatives, among the grave councilors, on the more solemn bench of Justice, and in that awfully august body, the Congress, and on many of its committees, and among ladies every where; but I never saw it operate with such keenness, ferocity and fury, as among military officers. They will go terrible lengths in their emulation, their envy and revenge, in consequence of it.

(In February 1777, Congress, despite Washington's protests, promoted five junior officers over Arnold's head. Eventually, Arnold was made Major General, but many felt that this as well as other slights led to his joining the British side in 1780. Ben Hallman, ed., *John to Abigail: Selected Letters of John Adams*)

American Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln on surrendering Charleston, South Carolina, on May 12, 1780, to British Gen. Sir Henry Clinton after a two-month siege of that city. This was the greatest loss of manpower and equipment suffered by American forces during the entire Revolution. It gave the British almost complete control of the southern colonies.

Having received an address from the principal inhabitants, and from a number of the country militia, desiring that I would accept the terms [of surrender]; and a request from the lieutenant governor and council, that the negotiation might be renewed; the militia of the town having thrown down their arms; our provisions, saving a little rice, being exhausted; the troops on the line being worn down by fatigue, having for a number of days been obliged to lay on the banquett [a raised way running along the inside of a rampart on which soldiers stand to fire at the enemy—OED]; our harbor closely blockaded up; completely invested by land by nine thousand men at least, the flower of the British army, besides the large force they could at all times draw from the marine, and aided by a great number of blacks in the laborious employments, the garrison at this time, exclusive of sailors, but little exceeding two thousand five hundred men, part of whom had thrown down their arms; the citizens in general discontented, the enemy being within twenty yards of our lines, and preparing to make a general assault by sea and land, many of our cannon dismounted, and others silenced for want of shot; a retreat being judged impracticable, and every hope of timely succor cut off, we were induced to offer and accede to the terms [of surrender] executed on the 12th of May.

(Almost a year and a half later, on October 19, 1781, Gen. Charles O'Hara, second in command to British General Cornwallis who pled illness, formally surrendered at Yorktown to Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, General Washington's second in command.)

REVOLUTIONARY CITY (*RC) CHRONOLOGY

1774

January 6—Purdie and Dixon's *Virginia Gazette* publishes news of the Boston Tea Party.

March 31—George III signs the Boston Port Bill, which orders the closing of the city's harbor on June 1, if compensation has not been made by that date for the tea destroyed December 16, 1773. This is the first of the so-called Intolerable Acts, which also includes the Administration of Justice Act, the Massachusetts Government Act, the Quebec Act, and the Quartering Act.

May 19—News of the Boston Port Act arrives in Virginia.

May 23–24—Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, and others decide to introduce a resolution to show support for Bostonians in response to the news of the Boston Port Act. The next day, the House of Burgesses resolves that June 1, 1774—the day the port of Boston will be closed—is to be observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer in Virginia.

May 26—The burgesses' resolution is printed, and Lord Dunmore dissolves the Assembly. (The burgesses' action prompts John Randolph's pamphlet *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia*, which is answered by Robert Carter Nicholas in *Considerations on the State of Virginia Examined* in August.)

RC May 26, 1774—*Enemies of Government: Lord Dunmore Dissolves the Assembly Lord Dunmore, the royal governor, arrives at the Capitol most unhappy with the House of Burgesses for protesting the closing of Boston Harbor by the British Government. What will he do? How will the burgesses react to his announcement? What does this mean for the people of Williamsburg?

May 27—Eighty-nine members of the House of Burgesses meet at the Raleigh Tavern to form an association calling for merchants to refuse to purchase tea and all other goods imported by the East India Company, with the exceptions of saltpeter and spices. They also issue a call for delegates from each colony to meet yearly in a "general congress," one of the first appeals for a continental congress. They state, "an attack, made on one of our sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack made on all British America." That evening, the burgesses give a ball at the Capitol in honor of the arrival of Lady Dunmore.

June 1—Port of Boston closes to trade. On the same day, many Virginians, including citizens of Williamsburg, show solidarity with Boston and observe the day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

June–July—Nearly thirty Virginia counties' resolves are published in the *Virginia Gazette* in support of Boston. These include calls for a continental congress, a moratorium on collection of British debts, and an association against trade with Great Britain.

August 1–August 6—The First Virginia Convention meets in Williamsburg. It agrees to an association based upon the Fairfax County resolves but forbids the importation of British goods or slaves after November 1, 1774, and the exportation of goods to Great Britain after August 10, 1775. Named as Virginia delegates to Congress are Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton.

circa August 8—Thomas Jefferson's intended instructions to the Virginia delegation to Congress are published (anonymously) as *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*.

August 10—Peyton Randolph initiates a meeting of the inhabitants of the city of Williamsburg at the courthouse, where they contribute "most generously for the Relief" of their "distressed Fellow Subjects at Boston, both in Cash and Provisions."

September 5—The first Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia. Peyton Randolph is elected president.

September 17—The first Continental Congress approves the Suffolk Resolves. Drafted at a meeting in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, these resolves declare the so-called Intolerable Acts to be unconstitutional, urge Massachusetts to set up an extralegal government until those acts are repealed, advise the people to arm themselves, and recommend economic sanctions against Great Britain.

October 14—The first Continental Congress adopts the Declaration of Rights and Grievances summarizing colonial arguments of protest and denying parliamentary jurisdiction over the American colonies, except for regulation of colonial commerce and strictly defined imperial affairs.

October 20—The first Continental Congress approves the Continental Association, based upon Virginia's, but it extends the date for prohibiting the importation of British goods to December 1, 1774, and for ending exportation to Great Britain to September 10, 1775. Congress resolves to meet again on May 10, 1775.

November 7—Yorktown citizens throw a “tea party,” boarding the ship *Virginia* and dumping into the York River two half chests of tea sent by John Norton & Sons of London to John Prentis & Company of Williamsburg.

November 9—In Williamsburg, some five hundred merchants sign the Continental Association, which they present at the Capitol to Peyton Randolph and other congressional delegates.

1775

January 14—The *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter) publishes news of Lord Dartmouth’s circular letter (dated October 19) to colonial governors informing them that the crown has forbidden the export of arms and ammunition from Britain to the colonies. It also contained orders to “take the most effectual measures for arresting, detaining, and securing any Gunpowder or any sort of Arms or Ammunition which may be attempted to be imported into the Province under your Government.”

January 19—Peyton Randolph issues a call for the election of delegates to a second Virginia Convention.

March 20—The Second Virginia Convention meets in St. John’s Church, Richmond, considered a more secure location than Williamsburg. On March 23, Patrick Henry delivers his famous “Give me liberty or give me death” speech, supporting a resolution to put the colony in a “posture of defence.”

March 25—The convention accepts a committee report proposing the establishment of a volunteer company of cavalry or infantry in every county. The convention elects Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, and Richard Bland as delegates to the Second Continental Congress.

RC April 15, 1775—*A House Divided! Ariana Randolph, a loyalist mother, warns her daughter Susannah that her father’s loyalty to the British king may require the family to leave the colony for England if American protests grow more violent.

April 18—In late evening, British troops assemble in Boston for an expedition to destroy colonial stores at Concord. Paul Revere and William Dawes ride with this news through towns along the proposed line of march to rouse militia and minutemen.

April 19—Minutemen and militia engage British troops in battles at Lexington and Concord.

April 21—In Virginia, British mariners by command of Lord Dunmore, take fifteen half-barrels of powder from the Magazine in Williamsburg during the night.

April 22—Dunmore threatens to arm slaves and burn the city of Williamsburg if British officers are abused.

April 28—News of the battles of Lexington and Concord reaches Williamsburg.

RC April 29, 1775—*The Gale from the North!

On April 21, Lord Dunmore ordered the removal of the gunpowder stored in the Magazine. When some patriots threatened retaliation against the governor, Peyton Randolph, Virginia’s most influential politician and president of the Continental Congress, negotiated a truce. A week later, as Randolph prepares to return to Philadelphia, devastating news from Lexington and Concord arrives in Williamsburg.

April 29—Hugh Mercer, commander of the volunteer company in Fredericksburg, rallies some six hundred men to march on Williamsburg. Three riders travel to the capital overnight, returning in the morning with a plea from Peyton Randolph to avoid violence. Congressional delegates George Washington, Edmund Pendleton, and Richard Henry Lee also appeal to the men to remain quiet. After debating all day, the company goes home.

May 2—Patrick Henry persuades the Hanover County Committee to support a march to Williamsburg and dispatches militia officer Parke Goodall with several men to take Richard Corbin, the receiver general, hostage at his King and Queen County home. Henry sets out for Williamsburg.

May 3—Goodall meets up with Henry’s troops at Doncastle’s Ordinary, about fifteen miles from Williamsburg. There, Corbin’s son-in-law Carter Braxton meets with Henry to request a truce while he arranges payment for the powder.

May 4—Braxton brings Henry a bill of exchange for £330. Henry promises to account for it at the next convention. He offers to guard the treasury in Williamsburg, but treasurer Robert Carter Nicholas refuses. Henry dismisses his men and sets off for the Continental Congress.

May 6—Dunmore declares Henry an outlaw, and several counties promise to protect him from arrest. Three volunteer companies escort Henry to the Maryland border.

May 12—Dunmore issues a proclamation for the General Assembly to convene June 1 to consider Lord North’s reconciliation proposal.

May 24—John Hancock succeeds Peyton Randolph as president of the Continental Congress when Randolph returns to Williamsburg to preside over the General Assembly.

May 25—The Williamsburg volunteer company meets and resolves to “march, on the smallest warning, to any part of the continent, where

the general cause of American liberty may demand their attendance," provided that they do not leave their own country defenseless. They also resolve that they will consider the landing of foreign troops "in this country" a dangerous attack on liberty. If supported by their fellow countrymen, they will resist such measures "at the expense of life and fortune."

June 1—Called by Lord Dunmore in response to Lord North's conciliatory proposal of February 27, the General Assembly meets in Williamsburg for the first time since May 1774. North's proposal promises not to tax the colonists if they agree to tax themselves in accordance with quotas sent from London. Peyton Randolph is elected Speaker of the House Assembly.

June 3-4—While breaking into the Public Magazine in Williamsburg at night, three youths are wounded by a spring gun, which prompts an exchange between Dunmore and the burgesses.

June 5—The House of Burgesses unanimously approves actions of the Second Virginia Convention.

June 8—Lord Dunmore, his family, and their white servants leave the Palace and take refuge aboard the British ship *Fowey* in the York River.

June 14-15—The Continental Congress establishes the Continental Army by appointing a committee to draft regulations for it and authorizing the addition of companies of riflemen from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. On June 15, George Washington is unanimously chosen by Congress to be the commander in chief of the Continental Army.

June 16—Washington accepts the position of commander in chief. The Continental Congress appoints several officers for the Continental Army: two major generals, eight brigadier generals, an adjutant general, a quartermaster general and deputy, a commissary general of stores and

provisions, a commissary of musters, a paymaster general and deputy, and a chief engineer and two assistants.

June 17—The Battle of Bunker Hill follows overnight fortification of the American position at Breed's Hill, in front of Bunker, overlooking Charlestown, Massachusetts. The results are a British victory and with heavy casualties to both sides., especially the British.

June 23—Peyton Randolph convenes a meeting of Williamsburg's inhabitants "to consider of the expedience of stationing a number of men here for the publick safety, as well as to assist the citizens in their nightly watches, to guard against any surprise from our enemies." Local citizens unanimously agree to invite 250 men from several distant counties. In the meantime, nearby counties are furnishing guards.

June 27—James City County volunteers guard Williamsburg.

June 29—New Kent volunteers send a party to guard Williamsburg.

June 30—New Kent and York volunteers guard Williamsburg.

July 17-August 26—The Third Virginia Convention meets at St. John's Church in Richmond. Peyton Randolph is elected president.

August 5—The Virginia Convention creates a professional army and reestablishes the militia. After a bitter debate about Patrick Henry's lack of military experience, the Convention elects him colonel of the 1st Virginia regiment and commander in chief of Virginia's forces.

August 11—The Virginia Convention elects Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson Jr., Richard Bland, and George Wythe to represent Virginia at the Continental Congress.

August 16—The Virginia Convention authorizes dissenting clergy to hold worship services and preach to soldiers of their denominations who are mustered under convention authority.

August 17—The Virginia Convention elects Edmund Pendleton, George Mason, John Page, Richard Bland, Thomas Ludwell Lee, Paul Carrington, Dudley Digges, William Cabell Jr., Carter Braxton, James Mercer, and John Tabb to the Committee of Safety.

"View of the Attack on Bunker's Hill, with the Burning of Charles Town [Mass.], June 17, 1775" (CWF G1933-469) illustrates the events of mid-June 1775. It is taken from Edward Barnard's *New Complete & Authentic History of England* (1783).



August 23—King George III issues a proclamation declaring the colonies to be in a state of rebellion.

August 24—The convention creates the Committee of Safety to act as an executive body between sessions, after having already elected the members to it.

***RC September 3, 1775—A Court of Tar and Feathers**

The men who answered Virginia's call to arms for the defense of American liberty were proud, brave, and spirited. They were bound together by the ties of honor and love of country. Any who would challenge their rights and liberties had better beware.

September 11—Shooting in and around Williamsburg is prohibited because it "greatly incommodes and disturbs the soldiers."

September 17—The James City County committee meets and determines that Mr. William Holt, a merchant of Norfolk, has not violated the Association by supplying men-of-war with bread and flour from his mill in the county, but that he should not continue to supply them, since "the exports from this continent will in a few days be shut up."

September 26–November 15—The Virginia Committee of Safety meets at Williamsburg.

October 7—At Williamsburg, Col. Patrick Henry assumes command of Virginia's army.

October 22—Peyton Randolph dies in Philadelphia.

October 24—In response to British raids near Norfolk and after much debate about the choice of commanders, the committee decides to send Col. William Woodford and the 2nd Virginia Regiment to counter Lord Dunmore's actions, preferring Woodford to the less experienced Patrick Henry.

October 25–27—Under orders from Lord Dunmore, Capt. Matthew Squire sets out with five ships to burn Hampton. The barricade of sunken ships in the harbor delays them long enough that reinforcements from Williamsburg can get to Hampton and offend off the attack.

November 6—Betty Randolph returns to Williamsburg from Philadelphia.

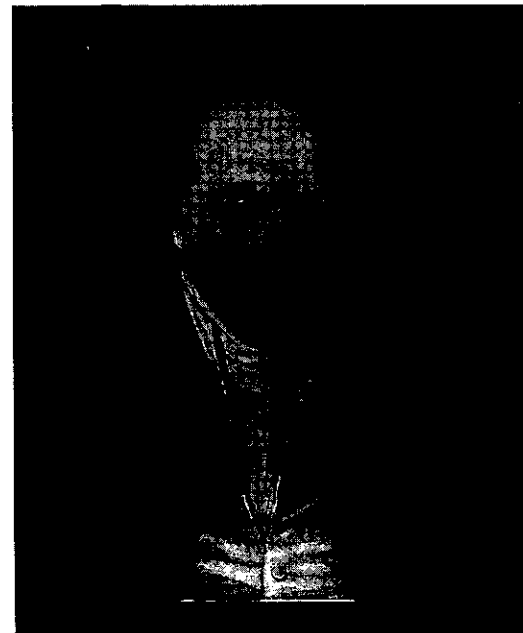
November 7—Lord Dunmore signs his Emancipation Proclamation. It declares martial law and "all indented Servants, Negroes, or others (appertaining to the Rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear Arms, they joining His Majesty's forces." He decides to wait for another victory before issuing it.

November 9—The following men are chosen as a committee for Williamsburg: James Southall, Robert C. Nicholas, John Tazewell, James Geddy, Robert Nicholson, William Pasteur, Alexander Craig, Humphrey Harwood, George Wythe, Benjamin

Powell, Thomas Everard, Gabriel Maupin, James M. Galt, Edward Charlton, Joseph Prentis, Joseph Hornsby, James Hubbard, William Goodwin, Robert Anderson, John Blair, and John Fergusson.



Miniature portrait of Joseph Prentis (CWF 1998-1). This miniature is watercolor on ivory enclosed in a gold, locket-type case. It was executed about 1770, five years before Prentis's appointment to the Williamsburg committee at the age of 20. The son of William Prentis, Joseph studied under George Wythe and practiced law in Williamsburg.



Portrait of John Blair Jr. (G1986-242). John Blair, another appointee to the Williamsburg committee, is also a lawyer. This pastel on paper was executed by William Joseph Williams sometime between 1792 and 1797

November 15—Lord Dunmore erects a small fort at Great Bridge, which crosses the south branch of the Elizabeth River. Hearing that the militia has mobilized at Kemp's Landing to await Woodford's arrival, Dunmore moves his troops there. When militia panic, their leaders, Col. Joseph Hutchings and Col. Anthony Lawson, are captured.

November 16—Lord Dunmore issues his Proclamation and raises the king's standard at Norfolk and Kemp's Landing. An official state of rebellion now exists.

RC November 17, 1775—*Liberty to Slaves! Dunmore's Proclamation

Enslaved people gather to consider the royal governor's offer of freedom to slaves who will take up arms with the British against their rebel masters. Should they leave their homes and families and endanger their lives for this one chance for freedom? Will the governor honor his offer? What will happen if they are captured and returned to their masters?

1776

January 1—British ships open fire on Norfolk. Virginia soldiers riot and burn a large number of houses in Norfolk.

February 2–3—Portions of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* are published by Alexander Purdie in the *Virginia Gazette* on February 2; the next day (February 3) John Pinckney did the same thing in his *Virginia Gazette*.

February 6—Americans abandon Norfolk by order of the Committee of Safety. Most of the remaining houses are destroyed to prevent the British from using them as a base.

February 28—Patrick Henry resigns when Congress passes him over for promotion to brigadier general. The 1st Virginia Regiment riots. Henry spends the night in their camp to prevent mutiny.

March 23—The Continental Congress authorizes privateering, resolving "that the inhabitants of these colonies be permitted to fit out armed vessels, to cruise on the enemies of the United Colonies."

March 25—Congress takes the 7th, 8th, and 9th Virginia regiments into Continental service.

March 29—Maj. Gen. Charles Lee arrives in Williamsburg and establishes quarters in the Governor's Palace. He has been sent south by the Congress to counter Sir Henry Clinton's invasion of the southern colonies. During his stay he attempts to improve discipline among the Virginia troops.

April 24—James City County freeholders meet at Allen's Ordinary six miles from Williamsburg and

agree to instruct their delegates, Robert Carter Nicholas and William Norvell, to "exert your utmost ability, in the next Convention, towards dissolving the connexion between America and Great Britain, totally, finally, and irrevocably."

May 6—Before the meeting of the Fifth Convention, forty-five delegates who are also burgesses meet at the Capitol and "neither proceed to Business, nor adjourn, as a House of Burgesses. FINIS." The Fifth Virginia Convention then assembles in Williamsburg and elects Edmund Pendleton president.

May 15—Congress recommends that all colonies adopt new forms of government.

May 15—Virginia becomes the first colony to direct its delegates to Congress to introduce a motion for independence when, following two days of vigorous debate, the convention adopts a resolution calling for the same. The convention also appoints a committee to draft a declaration of rights and a state constitution for Virginia.

RC May 15, 1776—*The Citizen Soldier!

Alexander Hoy, a thirty-year-old carpenter who has fallen on hard times, and his wife, Barbry, engage in a public argument about his enlisting in the army. His wife is concerned that he is too old and that the family can't survive without him.

RC May 15, 1776—*Resolved: Free and Independent States!

The representatives of the free men of Virginia pass resolutions for independence from Great Britain and prepare to establish a republican form of government.

June 7—As instructed by the Virginia Convention, Richard Henry Lee moves in Congress:

That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

June 11—The Continental Congress appoints a five-man committee to draft a declaration of independence.

June 12—The first Declaration of Rights adopted in America is passed by the Virginia Convention. It was drafted mainly by George Mason and emphasized individual liberty and self-government. The convention also agrees to issue £100,000 in treasury bills.

June 29—The Fifth Virginia Convention adopts the new state constitution, after much debate and modification of George Mason's original proposals. The constitution provides for a government with very limited powers, elected annually by the legislature. The government also includes

an executive council, a bicameral legislature (the lower house of which would predominate), and a separate judiciary.

June 29—The convention chooses Patrick Henry to be the first governor of the independent Commonwealth of Virginia.

July 2—The Continental Congress adopts Richard Henry Lee's resolution for independence.

July 4—Congress adopts the Declaration of Independence drafted by Thomas Jefferson.

July 5—The Fifth Virginia Convention adopts the seal for the Commonwealth of Virginia and adjourns. The Virginia Committee of Safety is dissolved.

July 6—Patrick Henry is inaugurated governor, and four members of the Council of State take office.

July 9—American gunners drive Lord Dunmore and the British off Gwynn's Island.

July 18 or 19—News of the Declaration of Independence reaches Williamsburg.

July 25—Gov. Patrick Henry officially proclaims the Declaration of Independence.

***RC July 25, 1776**—*A Declaration of Independence!*

The Declaration of Independence is read to the citizens of Williamsburg. This news arrives only a few weeks after Virginia's representatives have adopted their own Declaration of Rights and a constitution for the new state.

August 5—Dunmore departs Virginia, sailing north to New York.

August 27—Some 20,000 British forces attack about 10,000 Continental troops in the Battle of Long Island. British casualties are about 400, compared to the Continentals' 1,300. Two American generals are captured, and the Americans are pushed to Brooklyn Heights.

September 9—Congress orders that the nation be referred to as the United States rather than the United Colonies.

September 16—Congress resolves that eighty-eight battalions of Continental Army troops, apportioned among the states according to population, should be quickly enlisted for the duration of the war. This resolution was critical because Continental enlistments were due to expire at the end of 1776.

September 26—Congress appoints Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferson as commissioners to the court of France. Jefferson declined to serve, and Arthur Lee was appointed instead.

October 7—The first General Assembly under the new Virginia constitution meets in Williamsburg. Edmund Pendleton is elected speaker of the House of Delegates and Archibald Cary speaker of the Senate.

November 21–December 7—After the loss of Fort Lee, Washington leaves New York to the British. With about 4,000 troops, he retreats across New Jersey and the Delaware River into Pennsylvania. Some of Howe's forces under General Cornwallis follow in close pursuit to Delaware.

December 5—The House of Delegates passes a bill suspending the requirement that dissenters support the Episcopal Church (formerly the Church of England in Virginia). The House renews this legislation annually during the war. The Episcopal Church is not fully disestablished until 1786 after passage of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.

December 19—Best known for the lines beginning "These are the times that try men's souls," Thomas Paine's *The Crisis* is published in Philadelphia.

December 25—Washington's forces surprise the Hessian garrison and take Trenton, New Jersey.

1779

January 29—Following their capture of Savannah, the British occupy Augusta, Georgia, with almost no resistance.

February 3—American forces under Gen. William Moultrie successfully defend Port Royal, South Carolina, against a British attack; the British suffer heavy losses.

February 14—At Kettle Creek, Georgia, 350 Americans under Col. Andrew Pickens defeat a group of 700 loyalists from Carolina who were marching to join the British in Georgia. Loyalist losses were heavy; this action dampened loyalist enthusiasm in the Carolinas.

February 24—Lt. Gov. Henry Hamilton of Detroit surrenders Fort Sackville at Vincennes (in present-day Indiana) to George Rogers Clark after a two-day siege.

March 3—A force of 1,500 Americans, mostly militia from North Carolina, force the British out of Augusta. Nine hundred British troops under Lt. Col. James Prevost surprise them with a counterattack at Briar Creek, Georgia, inflicting heavy American losses with few British casualties.

March 29—Congress recommends that South Carolina and Georgia raise a force of 3,000 blacks because of a shortage of whites. This force is to be commanded by white commissioned and noncommissioned officers. Owners of each slave are to be paid up to \$1,000, and each slave who serves faithfully until the end of the war is to be emancipated and paid \$50.

May—Benedict Arnold begins treasonous negotiations with the British.

May 3—The General Assembly meets in Williamsburg. Benjamin Harrison continues as

speaker of the House with Archibald Cary serving again as speaker of the Senate.

May 8–24—The British under Maj. Gen. Edward Mathew and supported by Cmdr. Sir George Collier conduct a series of raids at Portsmouth, Gosport, Norfolk, Kemp's Landing, and Suffolk, ultimately destroying vessels, tobacco, supplies, and arms worth about £2,000,000.

June 1—The General Assembly elects Thomas Jefferson governor of Virginia.

June 5—The House of Delegates passes the act for the removal of the capital to Richmond.

June 12—Lt. Gov. Henry Hamilton of Detroit is brought to Williamsburg and put in the public prison.

June 21—Spain declares war on Great Britain, but as an ally of France, without recognizing U.S. independence.

June 26—The Virginia General Assembly levies a tax. For every man and every female slave more than sixteen years of age, a quantity of grain, hemp, or tobacco is to be paid for four years beginning in 1780.

RC July 14, 1779—*The Cost of Freedom!

On a hot summer morning, a confrontation with a merchant draws a crowd of angry protestors to complain about the high price of goods and collapse of Virginia's currency. If remedies are not put in place immediately, they argue, they will all be ruined.

July 15–16—In an effort to curb runaway inflation, Williamsburg citizens meet and resolve to set prices on goods and to prevent large amounts of goods from leaving the city. They elect a committee of inspection and observation to enforce their resolves: Samuel Beall, James Innes, James Southall, Humphrey Harwood, Henry Tazewell, Samuel Griffin, Robert Anderson, John Minson Galt, Benjamin Powell, Champion Travis, the Rev. Robert Andrews, John Dixon, Edward Archer, James McClurg, and John Boush.

September 3–28—An allied attempt to recapture Savannah from the British ends in disaster. American ally Count Pulaski is killed, commander of the supporting French fleet Count D'Estaing is wounded, and American Gen. Benjamin Lincoln withdraws his troops, having lost 800 men to the British's 140.

September 23—John Paul Jones's *Bonhomme Richard* defeats the British warship *Serapis*, though his ship sank a day later. He utters his famous words, "I have not yet begun to fight," during this battle.

October 25—Three thousand British troops at Newport, Rhode Island, are sent to support the British campaign in the southern colonies.

November 30—To meet increasing demands upon Virginia for foodstuffs for the armies in the

north and south, Governor Jefferson invokes a law the Assembly enacted in October 1778 to ban exportation of meats and grain. The prohibition is repeatedly extended through 1781.

December 1—Washington's army goes into winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey.

December 26—General Clinton sails from New York with 8,700 British troops with intent to capture Charleston, South Carolina.

1780

February 25—Because of a lack of resources, Congress resolves to call upon the states for specific supplies and issues quotas for the same to support the army.

April 1—The British begin a siege of Charleston, South Carolina.

April 7—The capital of Virginia moves from Williamsburg to Richmond.

April 14—At Moncks Corner, South Carolina, Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton surprises Continentals and militia guarding a supply depot and routs them, cutting off the last outside link of Americans besieged in Charleston.

April 24—Virginia government operations resume in Richmond.

May 1—The General Assembly meets in Richmond.

May 12—After almost two months of siege, American forces under Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln surrender Charleston, South Carolina, to the British under Gen. Sir Henry Clinton. Virtually the entire Virginia Continental Line under Brig. Gen. William Woodford is captured. Woodford is taken prisoner and brought to New York.

May 29—Near Waxhaw, South Carolina, Tarleton virtually annihilates Col. Abraham Buford's regiment, one of only two remaining in the Virginia Continental Line on the march to Charleston. The British kill many Virginians after they surrender.

May 29—Patriot irregulars defeat loyalists near Winnsboro, South Carolina, a sign of patriot resurgence in that colony.

June 10—To meet the urgent need for provisions, the Virginia House of Delegates enacts a provision law allowing commissioners to compel individuals to sell to the state at set prices provisions above the owner's immediate need.

July 7—The Virginia House of Delegates accedes to Congress's plan of March 18, which sought to stop the runaway depreciation of Continental paper currency by recalling it for a new issue at 40 to 1 in specie.

July 10—French Gen. Jean Comte de Rochambeau, with an army numbering 5,500, lands in Newport, Rhode Island.

July 12—Col. Thomas Sumter's militia inflicts heavy losses on the enemy (including some of Tarleton's cavalry) at Williamson's Plantation, South Carolina.

August 1—Sumter unsuccessfully attacks British fortifications at Rocky Mount, South Carolina.

August 3—Gen. Benedict Arnold assumes command of West Point, New York, with the intention of allowing its capture by the British.

August 15—Sumter's men capture the British garrison at Wateree Ferry, South Carolina, along with supplies intended for Cornwallis.

August 16—Cornwallis deals a serious defeat to American forces under Gen. Horatio Gates at Camden, South Carolina. Gates precipitously leaves the battle.

***RC September 15, 1780**—*In Desperate Circumstances!*

Barbry Hoy, a camp follower whose soldier husband was captured in the siege at Charleston, seeks work at the Raleigh Tavern. She tells the story of the war in South Carolina and of the grim defeats of the Americans.

September 25—Arnold flees to a British ship in the Hudson River upon learning that his treasonous contacts with the British have been disclosed.

September 26—Cornwallis occupies Charlotte, North Carolina, after a skirmish with militia.

October—Lt. Gov. Henry Hamilton is released from prison in Williamsburg and paroled to New York.

October 7—At King's Mountain, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia frontiersmen decimate the loyalist force that has been sent by Cornwallis to terrorize the countryside along his western flank. The Americans execute several loyalists after they surrender.

October 14—At Congress's request, Washington replaces Gates with Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene as commander of the Southern Department.

October 16—The General Assembly meets in Richmond.

December 30—Now a British brigadier general, Benedict Arnold sails into Chesapeake Bay catching Virginians completely unprepared.

1781

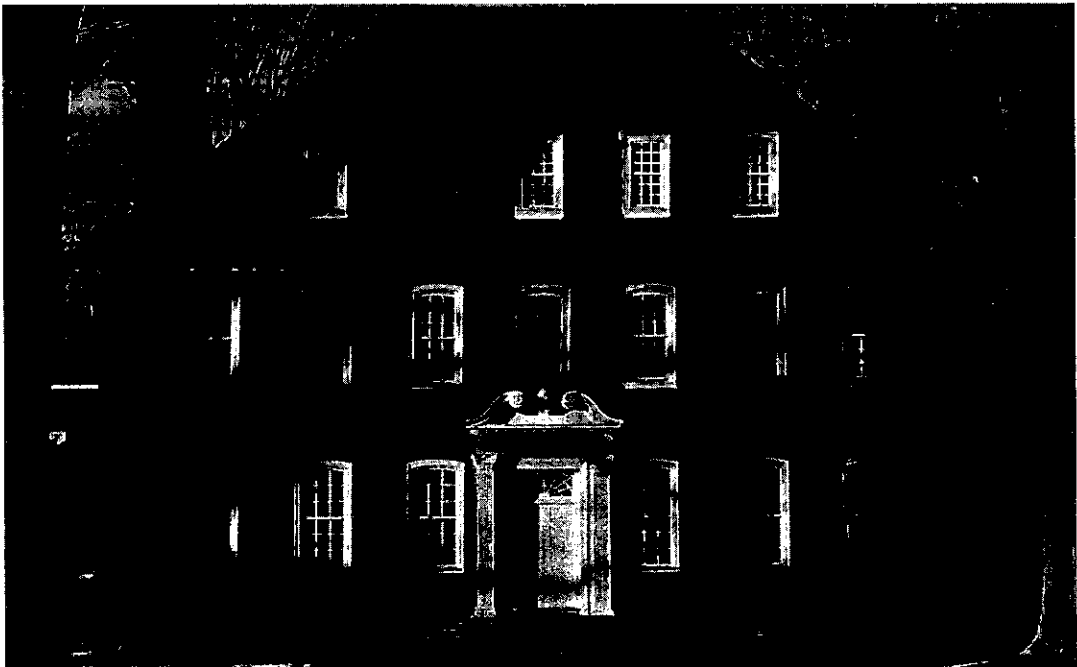
January 5 and 6—Arnold inflicts great damage to Richmond. He falls back to Westover until January 10 before moving to winter quarters in Portsmouth.

January 8—At Charles City Courthouse, forty mounted rangers from Arnold's force surprise and defeat the local militia.

January 17—At Cowpens, South Carolina, Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan, commanding militia from Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia, achieves a brilliant victory over Tarleton's Legion.

March—The Marquis de Lafayette is appointed the Continental commander in Virginia, replacing Baron von Steuben.

Westover is the home of William Byrd III's widow, Mary Willing Byrd who, rightly or wrongly, was reputed to be a loyalist sympathizer. Having Benedict Arnold stay at her dwelling, however, does not help counter loyalist rumors. (Photograph: Camille Wells)



March 14—Having left his troops at Annapolis, Lafayette lands at Yorktown to meet with von Steuben. Lafayette has been ordered south by Washington to cooperate with the French against Arnold.

March 15—The Americans under Greene are defeated by Cornwallis at Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina. Heavy British losses, however, convince Cornwallis to abandon the Carolinas and join the British forces in Virginia.

March 16—The French fleet under Admiral Destouches, arriving from Newport, Rhode Island, to reinforce Lafayette, meets a British squadron under Adm. Marriot Arbuthnot off the Virginia Capes. The French are forced back to Rhode Island for repairs, while the British enter Chesapeake Bay.

March 26—Maj. Gen. William Phillips arrives in Lynnhaven Bay to replace Arnold as commander of British troops in Virginia.

April 18—Generals Phillips and Arnold move out of Portsmouth up the James River.

April 20—Col. John Simcoe lands at Burwell's Landing and forces the retreat of James Innes and the local militia from Williamsburg.

RC April 20, 1781—*The Town Is Taken! The British Occupy Williamsburg

The American turncoat British Gen. Benedict Arnold seizes Williamsburg with British forces under his command. He raises the British flag over the Capitol and announces the rules of occupation.

RC April 20, 1781—*Running to Freedom!

A group of enslaved people hears about freedom offered by the British for service to the army. They debate whether they should leave home as have more than six hundred former slaves who left their rebel masters in the Carolinas to follow the British northward.

April 24—The British land at City Point, Virginia.

April 27—A British force under Arnold burns or captures all nine of Virginia's naval ships as well as twelve private vessels at Osborne's Wharf.

April 28—The British raid Chesterfield Courthouse.

April 29—Lafayette and his Continentals reach Richmond.

April 30—The British burn tobacco warehouses and about 1,200 hogsheads of tobacco in Manchester, Virginia, across the James River below Richmond.

May 2—The British head back downriver.

May 15—British General Phillips dies of a fever in Petersburg, and Arnold resumes command until the arrival of Cornwallis.

May 20—Cornwallis joins Arnold at Petersburg.

May 21—Reinforcements from Clinton in New York arrive, bringing the British forces in Virginia to 7,000.

May 23—Tarleton raids Chesterfield Courthouse, capturing the militia.

May 24—The British evacuate Petersburg to pursue Lafayette.

May 24—The Virginia General Assembly meets in Charlottesville.

May 27—Outflanking Lafayette, Cornwallis forces an American evacuation of Richmond.

June 2—Jefferson's term as governor legally ends, but the legislature puts off election of a successor until June 4.

June 4—Capt. John Jouett Jr. sees Tarleton's troops on the march in Louisa County and races to Monticello, where he arrives just before daybreak, to warn Governor Jefferson. He then continues on to Charlottesville to warn the General Assembly. Jefferson and all but seven legislators escape.

June 5—Cornwallis sends forces to attack the main American supply depot at Point of Fork, Virginia. They are successful.

June 7—Cornwallis abandons his pursuit of Lafayette at the North Anna River and encamps at Elk Hill near Point of Fork.

June 10—Gen. Anthony Wayne's Pennsylvanians (about 800 in number) join Lafayette at the South Anna River, and the two units follow Cornwallis south.

June 12—Thomas Nelson Jr. is elected governor of Virginia. He is with Lafayette and does not arrive to be sworn in until June 18.

June 16—Cornwallis arrives in Richmond.

June 19—Von Steuben's men join Lafayette and Wayne, so that those under Lafayette's command now total 1,900 Continentals and approximately 3,000 militia.

June 25—Cornwallis arrives in Williamsburg and establishes his headquarters at the President's House at the College of William and Mary. He receives Clinton's orders to send half his army in Virginia to New York.

June 26—Lafayette reaches Bird's Tavern, about ten miles from Williamsburg. Advanced detachments under Col. Richard Butler and Maj. William McPherson skirmish with Simcoe's Rangers at Spencer's Ordinary, about five miles from Williamsburg.

July 4—Cornwallis and his troops evacuate Williamsburg. They move to Jamestown and prepare to withdraw from the Peninsula.

July 5—Cornwallis begins to transport his heavy equipment across the James River but leaves most of his force on the northern bank.

July 6—Lafayette sends Wayne with 800 men to attack what he thinks is the British rear guard. Instead, at Green Spring a few miles from Williamsburg, Wayne attacks the main British army, which inflicts heavy casualties on the Americans before withdrawing across the James River.

July 20—Cornwallis receives new orders from Clinton that countermand the previous order to send 3,000 troops to New York. They also instruct Cornwallis to fortify Old Point Comfort as a base for naval operations in the Chesapeake and to establish an outpost at Yorktown.

August 2—Cornwallis, finding that the soil of Old Point Comfort will not sustain heavy fortifications and that its harbor is not deep enough for the British fleet, occupies Yorktown instead, after having secured Gloucester Point the day before.

August 19—Washington begins moving his own and the Comte de Rochambeau's armies from the north toward Virginia upon the intelligence that French admiral the Comte de Grasse is sailing with 3,000 men from the West Indies for the Chesapeake.

August 26—De Grasse arrives in Chesapeake Bay.

September 2—De Grasse disembarks 3,000 troops under the command of the Marquis de St. Simon at Jamestown, Virginia.

September 5—Outside the Virginia Capes, de Grasse meets a smaller British fleet commanded by Adm. Thomas Graves and gains the upper hand. The damaged British fleet is forced to return to New York.

September 14—Washington and Rochambeau arrive in Williamsburg from the north, ahead of their troops.

September 22—Washington and Rochambeau return to Williamsburg after conferring with de Grasse aboard his flagship.

September 26—The American and French troops under Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln (who surrendered Charleston to the British in May 1780) and Baron de Viomenil arrive in Williamsburg. The American and French armies leave Williamsburg for Yorktown two days later.

RC September 28, 1781—*The Promised Land, or A Matter of Faith

An African American Baptist preacher talks about his hopes for the future in a new society where all citizens are equal and where there will be no state church connected to the government like the Church of England had been. A young soldier confronts him with questions of faith in the face of war and world-changing events.

"Washington and His Generals at Yorktown" (CWF 1958-1). Set on the south shore of the York River, George Washington stands with Lafayette on his right and on his left Rochambeau and Tilghman with possibly Lincoln and Chastellux in the background.



*RC September 28, 1781—*On to Yorktown and Victory!*

General Washington addresses his men and the citizens of Williamsburg as he prepares to leave for Yorktown.

September 29—October 17—Siege of Yorktown.

October 1—The Virginia General Assembly meets in Richmond.

October 3—Near Gloucester, Virginia, French cavalry attack a foraging party under Tarleton and push them back. Additional French forces and Virginia militia begin a siege of Gloucester Point, which helps block any overland escape by Cornwallis.

October 14—British redoubts Number 9 and 10 fall after night assaults led by the Comte de Deux Ponts and Col. Alexander Hamilton, enabling the allies to complete a second parallel of breastworks close to Yorktown.

October 16—A sudden storm ends Cornwallis's final effort to escape by boat across the York River to Gloucester under steady allied bombardment. He asks to parley the next day.

October 19—The British army of 7,247 men surrenders at Yorktown. Washington, with the aid of the French, has virtually won independence for the colonies. In spite of a de facto truce in the east, bitter fighting continues for more than a year in the west.

Artistic license or metaphor put Cornwallis and Washington in "The Surrender of Earl Cornwallis" (CWF 1930-479). Neither man took part in the surrender ceremony, which was carried out by their seconds in command. From Barnard's New Complete & Authentic History of England (1783).

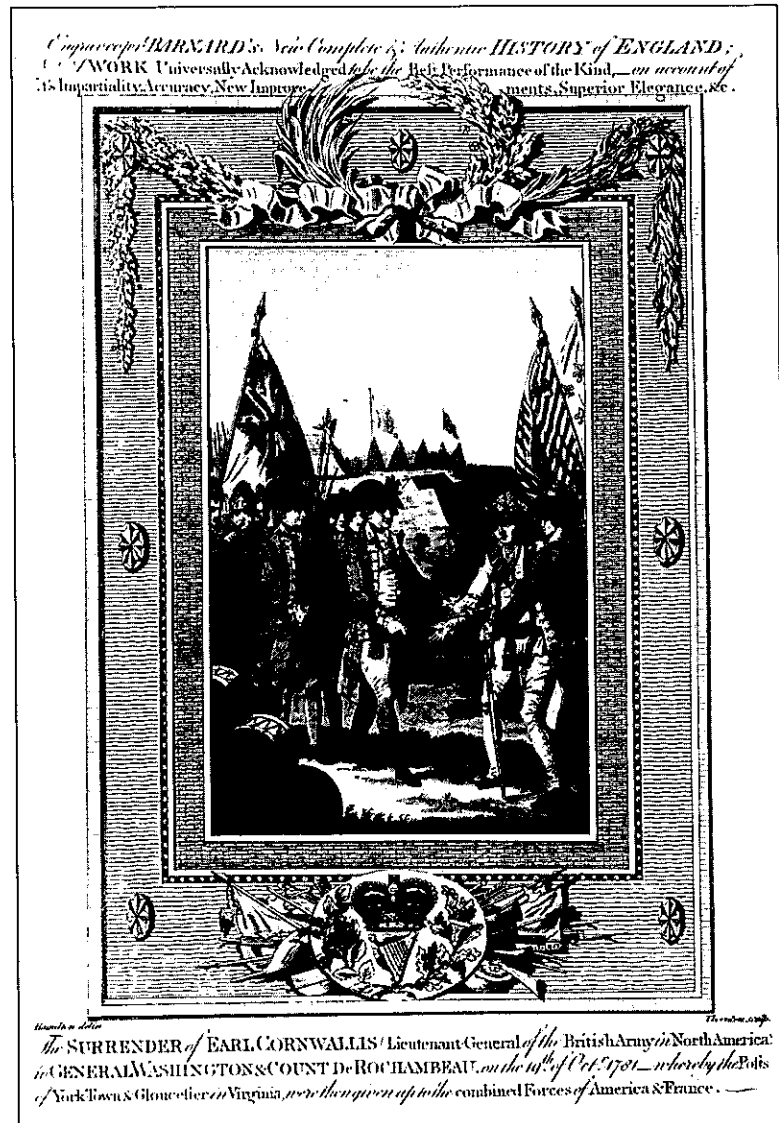
October 30—Patriot militia pursue a British force and engages it at Jerseyfield, New York. This is the last significant action on New York's border.

November 30—Benjamin Harrison is elected governor of Virginia to replace Thomas Nelson who had resigned because of ill health. John Tyler Sr., Charles City County, replaces Benjamin Harrison as speaker of the Senate.

December—In Williamsburg, the President's House at the College of William and Mary, occupied by French officers, burns.

December 13—Day appointed by Congress as a day of thanksgiving and prayer in gratitude for victory at Yorktown.

December 22—Fire destroys the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg. The sick and wounded housed there are evacuated with the loss of only one life.



Gowan Pamphlet

by Linda Rowe

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

Gowan Pamphlet answered a call that set him on a path few would have imagined possible for an enslaved person in the colonial Chesapeake. Enmeshed in the slave society of eighteenth-century Virginia, this man was hemmed in by law and custom, by his owners' demands, and by fear and prejudice harbored by slaveholding and nonslaveholding Virginians alike.

When Gowan began his preaching mission in the 1770s, he was the property of Mrs. Jane Vobe, owner of the King's Arms Tavern in Williamsburg. Some of the Widow Vobe's slaves, Gowan possibly among them, learned to read the Bible and took part in formal Church of England services at Bruton Parish Church.¹

Under Vobe's watchful eye, Gowan and his fellow tavern workers (enslaved and free) also became skilled in the manners, etiquette, and services that genteel diners and travelers expected. Before the Revolution, Vobe catered to the likes of William Byrd III, Sir Peyton Skipwith, and George Washington.

On the eve of the siege at Yorktown in 1781, Continental officers stationed in Williamsburg, including Gen. Thomas Nelson Jr. and Baron von Steuben, had accounts with Vobe for lodgings and meals.² To pursue his calling, Pamphlet had to negotiate with his mistress for time away from his duties at her busy tavern.

Gowan Pamphlet stepped in when Moses, an itinerant black preacher, moved on. Both men had responded to the "good news" abroad in Virginia in the 1760s and 1770s spread by evangelical Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists. The message of equality before God was on the lips of black preachers and in the hearts of many black Virginians.³ Always quick to associate slave religion with rebellion, local authorities ordered Moses whipped according to Virginia laws that authorized slave patrols for breaking up slave gatherings and up to thirty-nine lashes for anyone caught meeting clandestinely with slaves.⁴

Oral tradition suggests that Pamphlet like his predecessor, Moses, carried on his early ministry in arbors made of saplings and underbrush on Green Spring Plantation several miles from Williamsburg, out of sight of slave owners and patrollers. Black people flocked to hear Gowan preach and to be baptized by him.

His popularity among the enslaved population may have been what prompted assaults on his



Actor-interpreter James Ingram as Gowan Pamphlet

reputation as well as his calling. In July 1779, a white resident of Yorktown used the pages of the *Virginia Gazette* to accuse Gowan of theft. And, despite the good will thought to have existed among early black and white Baptist converts in Virginia, a regional Baptist umbrella organization temporarily excluded Pamphlet from the Baptist fold, having decided that "no person of color should be allowed to preach."

Undaunted, Pamphlet and his followers continued to meet and grew in number. By 1781, the congregation counted two hundred members and may have begun gathering for worship on the outskirts of Williamsburg in a wooded area known as Raccoon Chase south of Jamestown Road.⁵

After the capital of Virginia moved to Richmond in 1780, Gowan and the rest of Jane Vobe's tavern staff continued to live and work in Williamsburg. By 1786, a dwindling residential population and fewer visitors to the former capital prompted Vobe to move her tavern operations to Chesterfield County across the river from Richmond. Pamphlet came back to Williamsburg in 1791 with his new owner, David Miller, executor of Vobe's estate.⁶

With his congregation numbering some five hundred, the visionary pastor judged the time ripe to apply for membership in the white-run Dover Baptist Association—a regional organiza-

tion descended from the very group that earlier tried to silence him. To that end, Pamphlet—still a slave and probably with a pass from Miller in his pocket—traveled north across the York River to Mathews County to attend the annual meeting of the Dover Association in October 1791.⁷

Near the end of the two-year inspection period for candidate churches, events near Pamphlet's home base could have derailed the application and brought the law down on Pamphlet himself. In August 1793, William Nelson Jr. claimed that "the black preacher Gawin" inadvertently dropped a letter in the street in Yorktown on his way to Norfolk. The letter's shocking contents convinced Nelson that Pamphlet was a messenger for a network of armed slaves from Richmond to Charleston, South Carolina. Pamphlet laid low for several weeks, and the trouble somehow blew over.⁸

In September 1793, within a month of the talk of conspiracy involving his slave, David Miller drew up a deed that would set Pamphlet free. In October, Pamphlet attended the annual meeting in Middlesex County to hear the Dover Association announce that the "Baptist church of black people at Williamsburg" was received into membership. In December 1793, York County officials did not bat an eye when the Dover Association ordered Miller's deed copied into the public record.⁹

Perhaps in his mid-forties or early fifties, the now free Pamphlet owned part of a lot in

Williamsburg and fourteen acres in James City County, just two miles west of downtown.¹⁰ Late in Pamphlet's ministry, Jesse Coles invited the congregation of black Baptists to hold services in Williamsburg proper in a wooden carriage house on Nassau Street.¹¹

In 1805, white resident James Semple reported with unease that "On Sundays & Holidays the number of Free negroes & Mulattoes as well as slaves that is seen in the City is truly astonishing." Pamphlet continued as pastor of the black Baptist church until his death in 1807 or 1808. White Baptists did not organize a church in Williamsburg until 1828.¹²

Pamphlet very likely chose his surname himself.¹³ No evidence for his family connections has come to light, but free black Benjamin White Sr. administered his estate.¹⁴ From under Pamphlet's wing emerged a new generation of pastors. Free blacks Israel Camp (Kemp), Benjamin White Jr., John Dipper, and John Alvis picked up the reins after Pamphlet's death.¹⁵

Literate church members kept a church book (now lost), possibly a record of baptisms, ordinations, congregational meetings, and preaching trips as far away as Lynchburg. The African Church, as it was known in the late 1820s, was tested in the antebellum period: it was closed for a year after the 1831 Nat Turner rebellion in Southampton County, badly damaged by a tornado in 1834, and forced to accept "reorganization" in 1843 with its own black preachers

Deed from David Miller freeing Pamphlet in 1793; York County Records

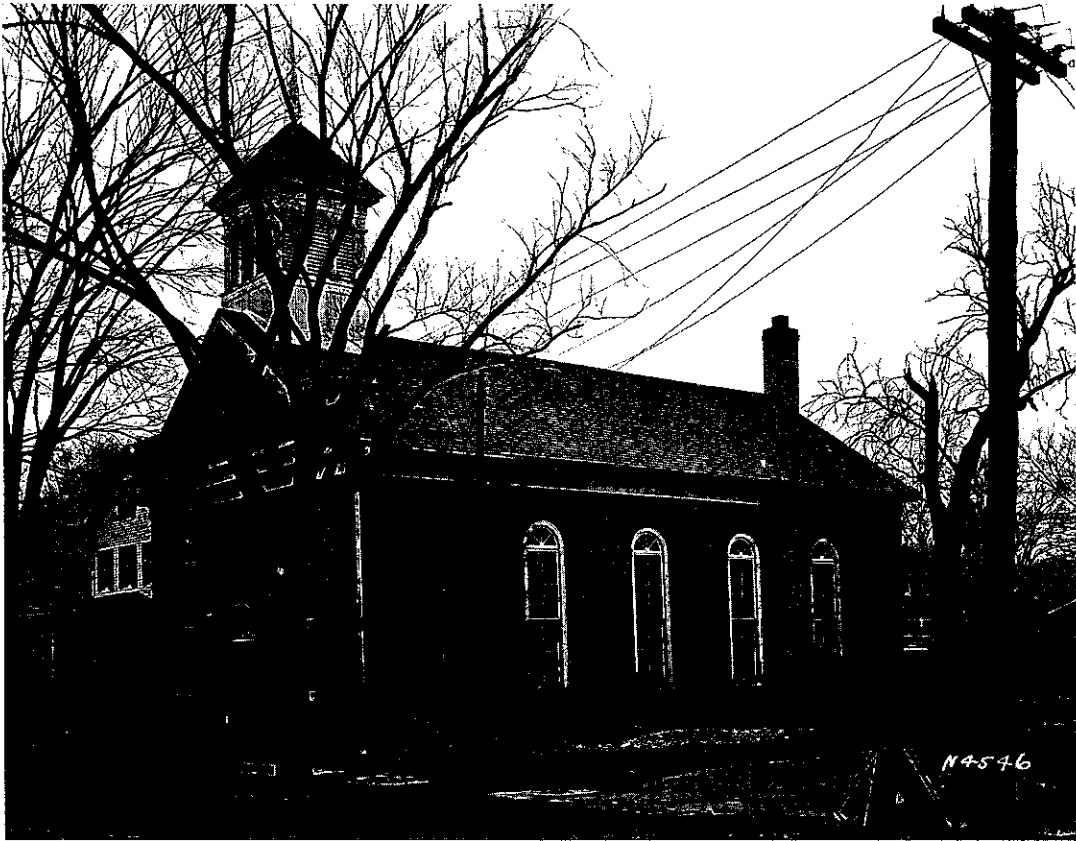
Know all men by these presents that I David Miller of York County do hereby manumit emancipate and set free a Negro man named and called Gawin of Pamphlet, and do for myself my heirs executors and administrators hereby declare the said Negro man Gawin Pamphlet reconcered of and from all services whatsoever and do hereby declare him to be a free man, and do renounce all Right title Interest claim and demand whatsoever to the said Slave In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and affixed my seal this twenty fifth day of September 1793

David Miller

*Scaled & Delivered
In presence of
Philip Moody
William Scott*

*At a Court held for York County the 16th day of December 1793
This deed of Emancipation was acknowledged by David Miller Party
thereof and ordered to be recorded*

Wm. H. Walter Esq.



The African Baptist Church on Nassau Street, dedicated May 11, 1856

subordinate to white ministers. But the congregation also took possession of a new brick church dedicated in 1856 that stood on Nassau Street for more than a hundred years.¹⁶

Returned to black leadership after the Civil War, the historic congregation took the name First Baptist Church. Newly freed citizens of the United States in the Williamsburg area turned to this distinguished African American church for spiritual, civic, and educational support. During Reconstruction, the Rev. John M. Dawson won election to the Virginia General Assembly and served in the Williamsburg city government.¹⁷

First Baptist Church moved to its current location on Scotland Street in 1957. The congregation honors the memory of its founder Gowan Pamphlet to this day.

¹ *Virginia Gazette* (John Clarkson), July 3, 1779, p. 3, col. 2; John C. Van Horne, *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, 1717-1777* (Urbana, 1985), 242, 278.

² Patricia A. Gibbs, "Taverns in Tidewater Virginia, 1700-1774" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1968). Gibbs's thesis covers the personnel and wide variety of services available at colonial taverns. Mary A. Stephenson, "King's Arms Tavern Historical Report, Block

9, Building 29A & B, Lot 23," The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series, no. 1149, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, 1949 (1990), 6-9.

³ Robert B. Semple, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia* [1810], rev. and extended by Rev. G. W. Beale (Richmond, Va., 1894), 148; Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 101; Mechal Sobel, *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 88; Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: "The Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1978), 131-134; Carter G. Woodson, *History of the Negro Church* (Washington, D.C., 1945), 61.

⁴ William Waller Hening, *Statutes at Large . . .* (Richmond, Va., 1810-1823) 5: 19, 24; 6: 108-109; Thad W. Tate, *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, Va., 1965), 112; Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of the Afro-American People*, 2nd ed. (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1983), 30-32.

⁵ Semple, *History of the Baptists in Virginia*, 118, 148; *Virginia Gazette* (John Clarkson), July 3, 1779, p. 3, col. 2; Garnett Ryland, *The Baptists of Virginia, 1699-1926* (Richmond, Va., 1955), 121; John Asplund, *The Universal Register of the Baptist Denomination in North America for the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, and part of 1794* (Boston, 1794).

⁶ Chesterfield County Personal Property Tax Lists; Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists, 1783-1861, microfilm M-1.47, Rockefeller Library Special Collections, CWF; "David Miller, Acting Ex'or" advertised the personal

estate of Mrs. Jane Vobe, deceased. *Virginia Independent Chronicle and General Advertiser*, June 24, 1789. Miller married Ann Craig, daughter of James Craig of Williamsburg, York County, Wills and Inventories (23), 401.

⁷ Semple, *History of the Baptists in Virginia*, 126, 148. The author, Rev. Robert Semple, early nineteenth-century Baptist historian, attended several annual meetings of the Dover Association that Pamphlet also attended. Dover Baptist Association Minutes, 1793.

⁸ Winston D. Babb, "French Refugees from Saint-Domingue to the Southern States: 1791-1810" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1954). Thanks to Michael L. Nicholls for this reference.

⁹ York County, Virginia, Deed Book 7 (1791-1809), 92; Dover Baptist Association Minutes, 1793.

¹⁰ James City County Land Tax, 1805-1835, microfilm M-1.56, Rockefeller Library Special Collections, CWF; Williamsburg Land Tax Lists, 1805-1806, microfilm M-1.48.

¹¹ A deed for the transfer of a building and Lot M on Nassau Street from Jesse Coles [Jr.] to First Baptist Church is not extant, but there is evidence that a deed was executed and recorded. In 1818, Williamsburg land tax records used "the Baptist meeting house" as the southern boundary of the Bryan House lot (faces Duke of Gloucester Street at the corner of Nassau Street, Block 14, lot 351), M-1.48. In 1844, a letter from nineteenth-century (white) Baptist minister Scervant Jones about a controversy within the Dover Baptist Association over methods of baptism (involving the African Baptist and the minister at Bruton Parish Church) was published in a Baptist periodical. Jones noted that "their house of worship [African Baptist church in Williamsburg], (in itself of no value, but prized on account of it having been theirs by deed, and that of record,) is now forcibly withheld from them. As to the matter about the House, the moral sense of this intelligent community will settle that. The good citizens of this ancient metropolis will not suffer the poor colored Baptists to have their house of worship forcibly taken from them." *Religious Herald*, August 8, 1844, p. 127, col. 2. In the 1940s, a member of the Coles family remembered that "he [Jesse Coles] gave the land and the building to the church 'to have and to hold as long as it was used for a church by the congregation.' Mr. Coles before he died [1845] gave the land and building to the congregation outright. The records of this transaction were destroyed when the courthouse at Williamsburg was burned [1912]." William Eurenstoff Gardner, "A Historical Survey of the First Baptist Church at Williamsburg, Virginia" (B.D. thesis, Virginia Union University, 1949), 24-25. Gardner was pastor of First Baptist for several years beginning in 1946. The principal value of Gardner's thesis is excerpts from a remarkable series of interviews he conducted with members of First Baptist Church and the Coles family in the 1940s.

¹² James Semple to Archibald McRea, May 27, 1805, Executive Papers 134, 21-31 May 1805, Library of Virginia,

as quoted in Michael L. Nicholls, "Aspects of the African American Experience in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg and Norfolk" (Williamsburg, Va., 1990), 101. Pamphlet's partial lot in Williamsburg was last listed in Williamsburg land tax records in 1806. Williamsburg Land Tax Lists, 1806, microfilm M-1.48. Pamphlet last attended the Dover Baptist Association annual meeting in 1807. Dover Baptist Association Minutes, 1807. Pamphlet's estate held the fourteen acres in James City County from 1813 until 1835. James City County Land Tax, 1813-1835, microfilm M-1.56. Zion Baptist (white), now Williamsburg Baptist Church, was said to be "newly constituted" in the Dover Baptist Association Minutes, 1830.

¹³ To date, Gowan Pamphlet is the only person with the surname "Pamphlet" discovered in local records from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Only once was the name spelled differently, as "Pamphet," by the eighteenth-century clerk who recorded Miller's deed manumitting the preacher. However, the deed is listed in the index contemporary with that court book under the spelling "Pamphlet." York County Deed Book 7 (1791-1809), index and 92.

¹⁴ Pamphlet listed one free male tithable (himself) in his household in the 1805. Pamphlet listed himself and one horse for tax purposes in 1806. James City County Personal Property Tax List, 1805-1806, microfilm M-1.53. Pamphlet died about 1807, but his estate held the fourteen acres in James City County until 1835 when White sold the parcel to Moses Moore, another pastor at the African church in Williamsburg. James City County Land Tax Lists, 1813-1835, microfilm M-1.56 & M-1.57; Dover Baptist Association Minutes, 1834.

¹⁵ Dover Baptist Association Minutes, 1797-1812, 1819-1822, 1825-1833; Virginia Baptist Historical Society; Israel Kemp registration, August 20, 1810, no. [47 or 48], and John Alvis registrations, October 15, 1804, November 20, 1810, October 20, 1817, nos. 27, 58, 101. York County, Virginia, Free Black Register, 1798-1831.

¹⁶ Semple, *History of the Baptists in Virginia*, 148; John Dipper to Polly Dipper, November 24, 1829, John Dipper Papers, Folder III, Papers 1826-1830, item 14, New Jersey Historical Society. Photocopy in Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, CWF. Dover Baptist Association Minutes, 1828, 1832, 1843, 1848; *The American Beacon and Norfolk and Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*, v. 38, Norfolk, Va., June 23, 1834, [third page of issue]. Dedication, Sunday, May 11, 1856. *Virginia Gazette*, May 15, 1856, p. 2, col. 2.

¹⁷ First Baptist Church of Williamsburg, Virginia records, 1865-1950, M-2103.1 & 2, Rockefeller Library Special Collections, CWF. Dawson served in the Senate of Virginia from 1874 until 1877 for the district composed of Charles City, James City, York, Warwick, and Elizabeth City counties. *Register of the General Assembly of Virginia 1776-1918 and of the Constitutional Conventions*, comp. Earl G. Swem and John W. Williams (Richmond, Va., 1918), 196, 198, 200, 367.



Gardner and Barrow

Bothy's Mould

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

Gardening Under Cover

by Wesley Greene

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

One could advance the theory that civilization began over the novel idea of bringing wild food plants into a garden. This allowed a formerly nomadic people to settle in one place and form towns, states, and eventually, nations.

Over the millennia, however, as we became more prosperous and became better gardeners, simply having food plants in their natural season or native climate was not enough. Today we have become accustomed to having fruit or vegetable on any day of the year, and I doubt that many stop to consider what a remarkable achievement this is or how many thousands of years it took to accomplish.

The first person I can identify who ate a vegetable out of season was the Roman emperor Tiberius who ruled between 14 and 37 C.E. Pliny records in the *Natural History*, Book XIX, that the cucumber was "a delicacy for which the emperor Tiberius had a remarkable partiality; in fact there was never a day on which he was not supplied with it, as his kitchen-gardeners had cucumber beds mounted on wheels which they moved out into the sun and then on wintry days withdrew under the cover of frames glazed with transparent stone."

All of the methods developed for growing fruits and vegetables out of season seem to revolve around four fruits: orange, cucumber, melon, and pineapple. We will look first at the orange, which is responsible for the development of the orangerie, stove house, and, eventually, the greenhouse with which we are familiar today.

The first orange in Europe was the bitter orange (*Citrus aurantium*), not the sweet orange we know today. This seems to be a native of India that was acquired by Arabic people at a very early date. Only the rind was used for per-

fume, seasoning, and medicine. A variety of the bitter orange known as the Seville orange is best known for its use in marmalade. The bergamot variety of bitter orange gives Earl Grey tea its distinctive flavor. The Romans apparently did not grow the orange themselves. They acquired it from the Arabs, who first brought orange culture to Europe in Moorish Spain where it is first recorded by Caliph al-Mansur in 976 C.E. at Cordoba.

Legend has it that the first sweet orange (*Citrus sinensis*) was brought from India by Portuguese traders in the fifteenth century. The culture of the sweet orange quickly replaced the bitter orange in southern Europe. It was not long after this that northern nobility began devising methods of growing this luscious tropical fruit at their own estates.

The first Englishman to successfully raise an orange tree was Lord Carew who accomplished the feat at his estate at Beddington sometime in the middle of the sixteenth century. John Evelyn visited Beddington, then in decline, in 1700 and recorded that it was "heretofore adorned with ample gardens, and the first orange-trees that had been seen in England, planted in the open ground, and secured in winter only by a tabernacle of boards and stoves."

In a 1561 letter written by Lord Burghley sent via his son to Lord Carew, who was staying in France, he requested, "I have already an orange tree, and if the price be not much, I pray you procure for me a lemon." It was probably in France that Carew saw his first orangerie and apparently constructed a crude one at Beddington.

The orangerie was not a greenhouse as we know it today. It was a long, narrow structure with tall south-facing windows. It was meant to house exotic fruit for the winter, which were then taken back outside during the summer months. The containers that were developed for growing orange trees were fashioned with handles that accepted poles allowing two men to move them about. (You can see an example of this at the Colonial Garden.)

Originally, orangeries relied exclusively on insulation to keep out the winter cold, but experiments with artificial heat were soon under way. The first attempts were made with charcoal braziers that were set around the floors or hung from the ceilings. Unfortunately, burning charcoal gives off carbon monoxide. Although this gas would not be identified until late in the eighteenth century, gardeners knew the fumes could do as much damage to the plants as the cold and exposed gardeners themselves to death by suffocation as noted in Philip Miller's *The Gardeners Dictionary* (1754).

By the seventeenth century small rectangular cast-iron wood- or coal-burning stoves were added to the orangeries, but they created their own set of problems. As anyone who has heated with a woodstove knows, these devices severely dry out the environment, which in turn provides an ideal habitat for spider mites, one of the most serious pests on citrus. John Evelyn wrote of this problem in 1668: "stoves absolutely destroy our conservatories, but if they could be lined with cork I believe it would better secure them from the cold and moisture of the walls, than either mattresses or reeds with which we commonly cover them."

The solution came in the next century with the development of the stove house. These structures employed a thick central wall that contained one or more fireboxes and a flue that doubled back on itself several times. In this manner, the wall itself was heated and provided an indirect heat to the room housing the oranges. These structures also employed a glass roof and sides and looked much more like the modern greenhouse.

Henry Tellende's innovation to the hotbed was replacing the manure with tanbark, barks rich in tannin cut in small pieces and used to tan leather. The waste product of tanning leather, tanbark had the advantage of maintaining its heat for a much longer time—some records say up to five months. Potted plants within the stove house were plunged into beds filled with tanbark. This

not only provided warmth but moisture as well, in the form of evaporation from the bark beds.

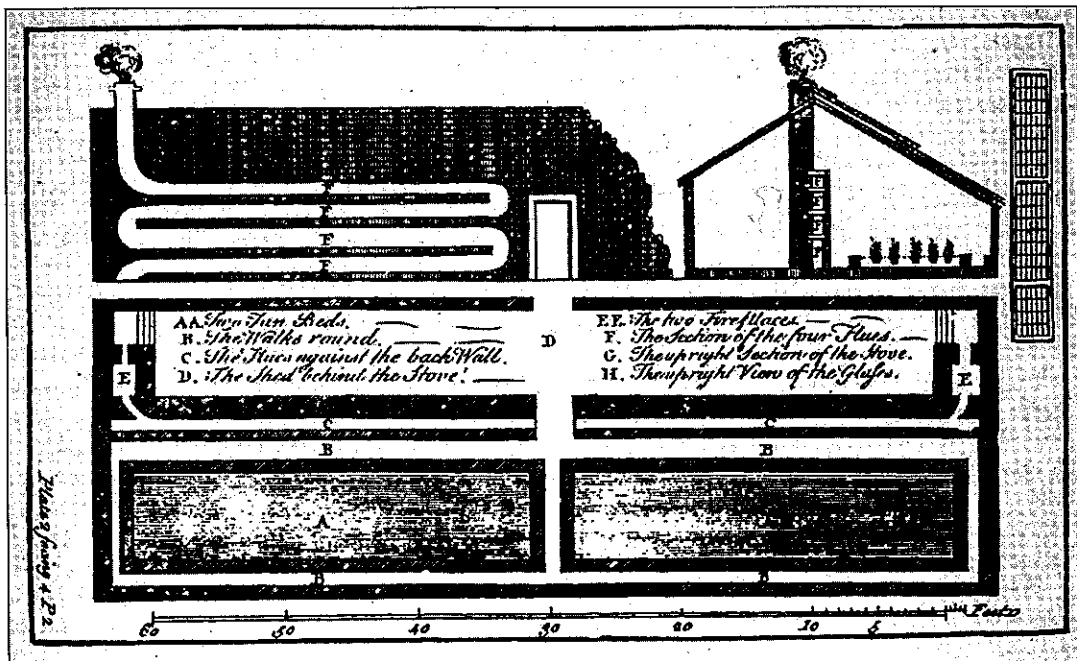
Stove houses were built at nearly all of the grand estates of England but were rare in the colonies. Perhaps the first was built by William Byrd II at Westover. On a visit to Westover in 1738, John Bartram observed "a little greenhouse with two or three orange trees with fruit on them."

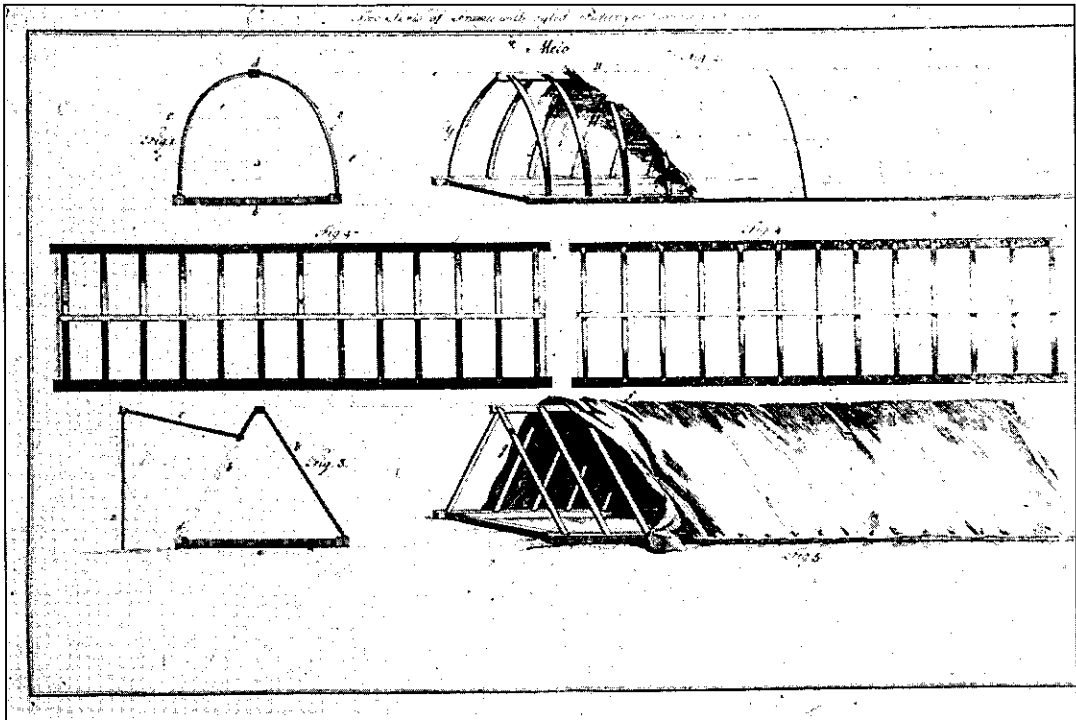
While never numerous, several greenhouses were built on eighteenth-century Virginia estates such as Mt. Airy and Mt. Vernon. There is also some very intriguing archaeological evidence at the Governor's Palace in the area now portrayed as the fruit garden that suggests that a stove house had been built on this site.

At the same time that gardeners were devising methods for growing tropical fruits in northern climes, advances were being made in the kitchen garden that allowed the preservation of tender vegetables or the production of vegetables out of season. The simplest method is using straw as a mulch or cover. (It is possible that *strawberries* got their name from this practice. It is more likely, however, that *strawberry* is a corruption of the medieval name *strewberries* from their sprawling growth habit.)

Thomas Tusser recommended a more elaborate straw cover, which we build each fall at the Colonial Garden. This table-like structure, made from sticks, came from Tusser's *Five Hundreth Pointes of Good Husbandrie* (1573):

Stove House from Philip Miller's *The Gardeners Dictionary* (1753)





Oiled paper frames for melons from Miller's *The Gardeners Dictionary* (1759)

*If frost should continue, take this for a law
The strawberries look to be covered with
straw*

*Layed over trim, on crotches and boughs
And after uncovered as weather allows*

A little more protection is offered by paper frames. John Randolph wrote in the *Treatise on Gardening*—probably dating from the 1760s—that for melons “The early sowing should be covered with oil paper” and tells us “Many use lathes in imitation of covered wagons.” Randolph’s *Treatise* is a very close repetition of Philip Miller’s *The Gardeners Dictionary*.

The 1757 edition of *The Gardeners Dictionary* has an illustration of two sorts of melon frames, one of them constructed of hoops “in imitation of covered wagons.” The paper is glued to the frame with hide glue, and then the paper is painted with linseed oil. The frames prove to be remarkably durable, and we (at the Colonial Garden) typically get six months’ use from them.

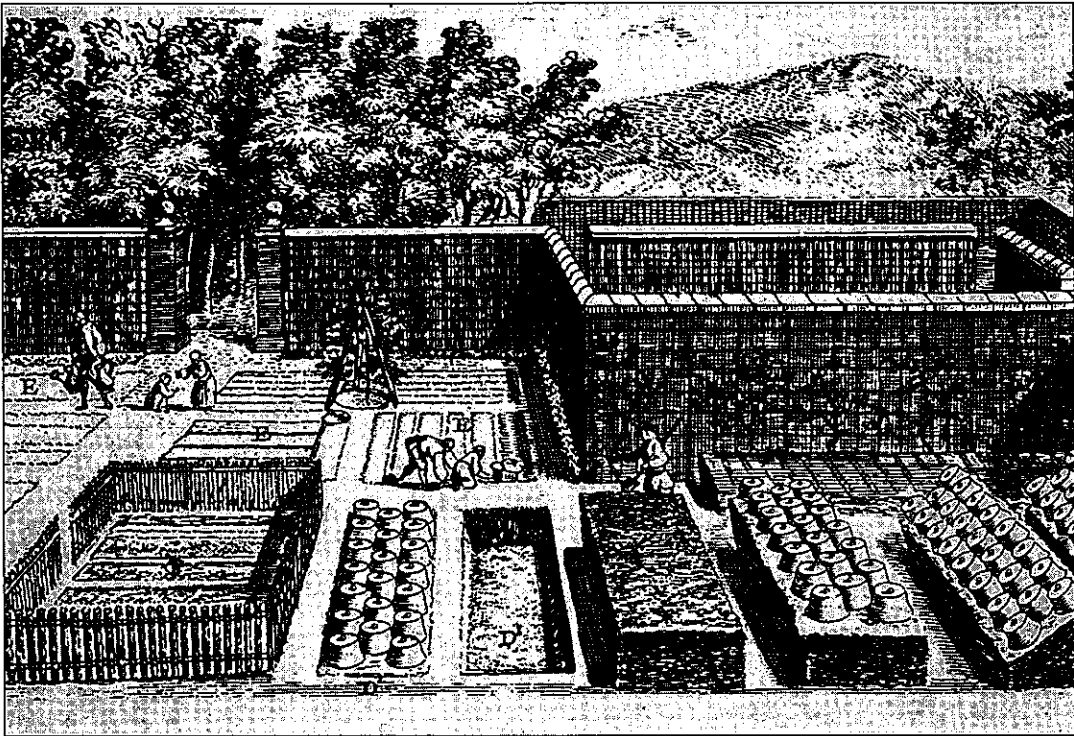
These paper frames were often used over hotbeds, piles of fermenting manure, which generated a bottom heat for young seedlings. The first record of hotbeds came in 1085 from Ibn Bassal, gardener to the Sultan of Toledo: “We use soft, slightly dried out mule or horse-dung free of all foreign bodies.” He was using the hotbeds for starting melons and eggplants, and in the evenings or in cold weather covered the bed with cabbage leaves.

The first English reference to hotbeds is found in Thomas Hill’s *The Gardeners Labyrinth* (1577); but he does not give instructions for their use. Gerard’s *Herball* (1597) contained the first detailed instructions for hotbeds used for growing cucumbers: “In the middle of April or somewhat sooner . . . you shall cause to be made a bed or banke of hot and new horse dung taken forth of the stable . . . which bank you shall cover with hoops or poles, that you may the more conveniently cover the whole bed or bank with mats, old painted cloth, strew or such like, to keep it from the injury of the cold frostie nights.”

The next innovation came in the material used to cover the hotbed and in this case was used for the culture of melons. Melons have a confusing history because they went by the same name as the cucumber in Roman writings. This confusion lasted for hundreds of years.

Hill wrote in *The Gardeners Labyrinth*, “The ancient, both of the Greek and Latine writers of Husbandrie, attributed the Pompons and Mellons, to a kinde of Cucumbers which they confessed, very neer to agree with them, in that the Cucumbers, in their growth have been seene, to be changed into Pompons, and Mellon Pompons.”

Pompons, or pumpkins, was the term used by the Romans for the largest kinds of cucumbers. However, Pliny did describe a new type of “cucumber” in the *Natural History* (73 B.C.E.): “Curi-



Bell glasses on hotbeds from Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, vol. 1 (1762)

ous to say, just recently a new form of cucumber has been produced in Campania. . . . Cucumbers of this kind do not hang from the plant but grow of a round shape lying on the ground; they have a golden color. A remarkable thing about them, besides their color, shape and smell, is that when they have ripened . . . they at once separate from the stalk." A characteristic of muskmelons is that once they are ripe the stem "slips" from the fruit, so this new "cucumber" Pliny spoke of was almost certainly a melon.

This newest innovation in hotbed coverings for melons was found in Parkinson's *Paradisi in Sol* (1629): "then having prepared a hot bed of dung in April, set your seeds therein to raise them up, and cover them, and order them with as great care or greater then Cowcumbers . . . some use great hollow glasses like unto bell heads." This becomes known as the bell jar, bell glass, or simply glasses after this time. The use of bell glasses for plants is believed to have originated in France in the middle of the sixteenth century where they were called *cloches*, the word for bell.

For larger plants, frames covered with glass sashes known as "lights," were used. Busoni, who was chaplain to the Venetian ambassador in London, recorded in 1618 that market gardeners were growing artichokes on hotbeds ten months out of the year. Artichokes are large plants that require much larger coverings than a bell glass affords.

Most hotbeds were built on piles of manure above ground. At the Colonial Garden we use hotbeds such as those described by John Reid in the *Scots Gard'ner* (1683). "As for making the hotbed for raising early and tender plants, dig a pit (4 foot deep, and of length and breadth, as you have occasion) in a convenient and warme place, lying well to the Sun and sheltered from the winds. . . . this pit will be so much more excellent, if lyn'd round at the sides with brick."

In early January at the Colonial Garden, we gather fresh dung from the pastures and throw it into a pile in the orchard and cover it with a tarp. Generally within three or four days, it begins to heat up, and then we turn it and load it into the hotbeds, "beating it down close with a fork," as recommended by Philip Miller (*The Gardeners Dictionary*, 1754).

About a week later we will have a temperature anywhere between 120 and 140 degrees on top of the pile. At this time we cover it over with about four inches of a very fine soil, and, about three days after this, we will have a 70-degree soil temperature. On this we sow our spring crops, most of which are moved to the garden in March. We also sow a crop of peas that we harvest from the frame around the second week of April.

The final innovation in hotbed technology enabled the growing of the pineapple. The pineapple is a New World crop, probably originating in coastal Venezuela. By the time of European

contact, it was being grown throughout the West Indies. The first Spanish description dates from 1535. It was known in France by 1570, and Johnson's edition of *Gerards Herbal* (1633) listed the "pine thistle" in the appendix.

The pineapple was first grown successfully in northern Europe in Holland by Agnes Block around 1687. The identity of the first Englishman to grow the pineapple is the subject of much debate. A painting showing John Rose, gardener to Charles II, presenting the king with a pineapple has been taken by some to be the first proof of pineapple culture in England. However, scholars have pointed out that one of the buildings pictured in the background of this painting was not constructed until after Charles's death when he would have had very little use for a pineapple.

Some point to the stove house at Hampton Court constructed around 1693 as the site of the first pineapple grown in England. Richard Brad-

ley, in *Dictionarium Botanicum* (1728), gave 1721 as the date. "Henry Tellende, who was the first that brought it to rejoice in our climate, in Sir Matthew Deckers fine gardens at Richmond."

The various devices for protecting plants in the kitchen gardens seemed to be fairly common in colonial Virginia. Bell glass fragments have been found in Williamsburg at the Palace, Hubbard site, and at Burdett's Ordinary. Most of the gentry, including John Randolph, John Custis, William Byrd II, and Landon Carter, wrote of various glasses, light, or frames. All of these devices were luxuries found primarily at the homes of the wealthy. The rest of the populace had to wait for the development of the market gardens that grew up around the major cities in the next century to enjoy the luxury of consuming vegetables and fruits out of season and far from their natural climates.



Q & A

Question: Are the three-legged stools with half round seats used in our trade shops based on documented eighteenth-century prototypes? (Submitted by Susie Dye, Geddy Foundry)

Answer: The reproduction three-legged stools with half round seats currently in use throughout the trade shops in the Historic Area were based on English prototypes. Colonial Williamsburg has two examples of antique stools of this form in the furniture collection (1953-586 and 1953-587). Both antiques are English examples—one walnut, the other oak—and probably date from the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Dating simple objects like stools can be difficult due to the persistence of the form over time. A popular, serviceable form like a simple stool would not have changed in the same way that a high-style parlor chair evolved with changes in fashions and styles.

Colonial Williamsburg acquired the two antique stools in 1953 with a group of silversmith tools that were being sold by a London silversmith shop. The company, that of Messrs. How of Edinburgh, Pickering Place, London, had been in business since the 1730s, and many of the tools dated from the eighteenth century. The two antique stools had been used in the London shop.

Print sources also illustrate this type of three-legged stool in use in eighteenth-century European silversmith or goldsmith shops. It is very likely that the form was also used in other trade shops. Three-legged stools were not the only examples illustrated in trade shop interiors. Four-legged stools were also popular in silversmith and other trade shops. The three-legged stools may have provided an advantage over the four-legged variety when used on uneven floors. (Tara Gleason Chicirda, associate curator of furniture)

Question: Are the words *caterwaul*, *cater-cornered/catty-cornered*, and *caterpillar* related? Do they all have to do with cats? Are they period appropriate?

Answer: The answer is not so simple. *Caterwaul* and *caterpillar* do share common etymology and relate to *cats*, but *catty/cater-cornered* doesn't. *Catty-cornered* may also not be appropriate for eighteenth-century usage.

The *cater* in *caterwaul* and *caterpillar* refers to cats. *Caterwaul* may have migrated into English by 1386 as *caterwrawet*, perhaps from Middle Dutch *cater* for "tomcat" plus *waul*, "to yowl," thus, "a cat yowl."

Caterpillar existed in English by 1440 as *catyrpel*, probably altered from Norman French *caterpilose*, from Old French *chatepelose*, literally, "hairy cat," originally from late Latin *catta*, "cat," plus *pilosus*, "hair." A Swiss/German name for it is *teufelskatz* "devil's cat."

The *cater* in *cater-cornered* (alternatively *catty-cornered*) appeared in English print rather late, in 1838, but was possibly in use before that time. This *cater* meant "to set or move diagonally" and "four at dice" in the sixteenth century, and came from the Middle French *catre*, for "four" (now *quatre*, of course). So *catty-cornered* or *cater-cornered* literally meant "four-cornered," but we use it for "diagonal." (Bob Doares, Department of Interpretive Training)

Question: During the Revolution, was disease quarantine maintained by the military as well as by municipal ordinance?

Answer: Yes, though there was a lot of flexibility among the colonies regarding quarantine.

Contagious diseases such as smallpox were a scourge in close-quartered military camps. George Washington was adamant about maintaining separate quarters for soldiers with any contagious illness, not just smallpox. He also ordered guards posted nearby to maintain the quarantine. In addition, to help reduce the spread of disease, Washington set areas near a smallpox hospital or quarantine facility as off-limits to any susceptible soldier.

Quarantined merchant vessels might be identified as flying a red or yellow warning flag. Some city or town ordinances required infected households or quarantine (pest) houses to post red flags or written warnings to keep people away. (Susan Pryor, Apothecary Shop)

Question: What is the meaning of Common Hall in the following item from the Virginia Gazette? Is an eighteenth-century alderman the equivalent of a member of a modern city council? (Submitted by Susan Pryor, Apothecary Shop)

Last Thursday night Capt. Collins, with a party of men, belonging to the Magdalen armed schooner, by command of Lord Dunmore, came to this city, from Burwell's ferry, and privately removed out of the magazine, and carried on board the said schooner, about 10 barrels of gunpowder belonging to this colony. The inhabitants were alarmed with the intelligence early yesterday morning, the Common Hall assembled, and the following address was presented to the Governor.

The honourable ADDRESS of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of Williamsburg.

(April 22, 1775, *Virginia Gazette*,
Dixon and Hunter, eds. p. 2, col. 3)

Answer: Linguistically and historically, *common hall* could mean either meetings of common councils of cities such as London or refer to the buildings in which collective bodies of that type met. In the eighteenth-century Williamsburg context, *common hall* did not have local application until the city was incorporated in 1722. After that, both uses for common hall appear in local sources.

The 1722 charter of the City of Williamsburg states that city officials "shall be a Body incorporate, and one community, for ever" under the collective name "Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of Williamsburg." The term *common hall* does not appear in the charter itself, but officials, residents, and the press sometimes used it as a kind of shorthand for the body incorporate acting in its administrative and regulatory (legislative) capacity. In 1745, for example, the *Gazette* notes, "The Play-House in Williamsburg, being, by Order of the Common-Hall of the said city, to be fitted up for a Court-House [this was the old playhouse on Palace Green], with the necessary Alterations and Repairs" (*Virginia Gazette*, December 19, 1745, p. 4, col. 1).

The April 1775 *Gazette* item above regarding the gunpowder incident suggests the building

where city officials met—namely, the Courthouse in Market Square. Townspeople and city officials reportedly came into Market Square when the alarm sounded over theft of the powder from the Magazine. The *Gazette* account tells us where in Market Square—"the Common Hall assembled" where they heard an address from the "Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council."

Notices in the *Gazette* sometimes used another name for this collective meeting for regulatory and administrative purposes: the Court of Common Council. In 1768, for example, during the smallpox epidemic in Williamsburg, the *Gazette* reported on laws or regulations made by "the Court of Common Council," which the newspaper defined as the "mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council" (*Virginia Gazette*, Purdie & Dixon, eds., p. 2, col. 3).

Keep in mind that the Common Hall in Williamsburg—the Courthouse—was also the place where the judicial component of city government sat. The Hustings Court of the City of Williamsburg resembled county courts in Virginia. The 1722 charter called for the "Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen"—not to include the common council—to sit as the Hustings Court.

When the eighteenth-century aldermen (six) and common council (twelve) acted together with the mayor and recorder in a nonjudicial capacity (administrative, regulatory), then yes, the parallel to modern city councils is reasonably apt for both eighteenth-century common councilmen and aldermen. But when the mayor, recorder, and aldermen sat as a Hustings Court (judicial), that put them in a capacity filled by few, if any, city council members today.

The 1722 charter made city offices self-perpetuating, so voting enters into a discussion of parallels with modern city councils as well. The eighteenth-century Williamsburg mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common councilmen voted in new mayors from among sitting aldermen, voted in replacement aldermen from among the sitting common councilmen, and nominated and elected common councilmen from among the inhabitants. So election day, on St. Andrew's Day (November 30), as appointed in the 1722 charter, was not a popular election. (Linda Rowe, Department of Historical Research)

Question: Did the Virginia legislature once consider a proposal to replace references to God or "the Creator" with the term "Jesus Christ" in all government documents? (Outside inquiry forwarded by the Rockefeller Library staff)

Answer: There was never consideration of changing such language in all government documents. The issue did arise, however, in the General Assembly of the new state of Virginia when it considered passage of a Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, first introduced in the House of Delegates by Jefferson in 1779, but not adopted until the fall of 1785, effective in January of 1786.

As Thomas Jefferson wrote in his autobiography, in reference to his proposed religious freedom bill:

Where the preamble declares, that coercion is a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, an amendment was proposed by inserting "Jesus Christ," so that it would read "A departure from the plan of Jesus Christ, the holy author of our religion;" the insertion was rejected by the great majority, in proof that they meant to comprehend, within the mantle of its protection, the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and Mohammedan, the Hindoo and Infidel of every denomination.

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



COOK'S CORNER

Stuff It!

by Jim Gay

Jim is a journeyman in historic foodways in the Department of Historic Trades.

One of the characteristics of eighteenth-century cookery was that very little went to waste. Since refrigeration and sanitary storage were not available, leftover bread, vegetables, and meat scraps were often recombined into *forcemeat*. *Force* in this case derives from *farce*, the French word for stuffing. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word *forcemeat* came into the English language as a cooking term by the late seventeenth century.

Besides frugality, forcemeats also added richness and interest to various food offerings. Forcemeats generally involved finely diced, minced, or pounded ingredients. They helped to tenderize the main ingredient and gave the diners with tooth problems something soft to eat. Sometimes the stuffing on the inside was more important than the thing it stuffed.

What could be forced? Well, just about anything. The following is a partial listing: eggs, cabbage, onions, pumpkins, cucumbers, apples, leftover dinner rolls, fish, poultry, fowl, game, beef, pork, and mutton. Some of more interesting dishes from Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* featuring forcemeat include *Hog's Ears forced*, *To Force Cock's-Combs* and *[Forced] Tongue and Utter*.¹ Mrs. Glasse included the first two in a section that she titled "a Number of pretty little Dishes fit for Supper or Side-dish, and little Corner-dishes for a great Table." Another example was:

Asparagus forced in French Rolls
Take three French rolls, take out all the crumb, by first cutting a piece of the top-crust off; but be careful that the crust fits again the same place; fry the rolls brown in fresh butter; then take a pint of cream, the yolks of six eggs beat fine, a little salt and nutmeg, stir them well together over a slow

fire till it begins to be thick; have ready a hundred of small grass boiled; then save tops enough to stick the rolls with, the rest cut small and put into the cream, fill the loaves with them; before you fry the rolls make holes thick in the top crust and stick the grass in; then lay on the piece of crust and stick the grass in, that it may look as if it were growing. It makes a pretty side-dish at a second course.²

Forced dishes such as this were often intended as much for display as for consumption.

Sometimes forcemeat represented the majority of calories in the dish and would combine many ingredients. The recipe for Glasse's *A forced Cabbage* included "a pound of veal, half a pound of bacon, fat and lean together . . . four eggs boiled hard . . . pepper and salt . . . mace . . . lemon-peel . . . parsley . . . two anchovies . . . crumb of stale [bread] roll . . . mushrooms . . . the heart of the cabbage you cut out . . . mushrooms."³ All of these ingredients were chopped, shredded, or pounded into fine dice or crumb or mush. The stuffing when cooked bound together into a sausage-like consistency.

Binding resulted from the fat. If the meat was too lean, the cook added raw egg yolks. If the quantity of the stuffing exceeded the volume of the item to be stuffed, the remainder was often rolled into balls, fried, and served as garnishes. In *The Virginia House-wife*, Mary Randolph also gave the cook the option to boil forcemeat balls if the dish had a white sauce.⁴ Boiling gives the forcemeat a dumpling-like texture and a light color as opposed to the fried.

According to the *Joy of Cooking*, the term *dressing* came from Victorian England when *stuffing* was thought to be a bit unseemly.⁵ (To Brits—nowadays at least—"stuffed" means pregnant!) While the modern American diner is familiar with stuffing as something that accompanies turkey at Thanksgiving, our eighteenth-century ancestors stuffed every type of flesh, whether it originally flew, swam, or grazed.

While there were numerous recipes for forcemeat, it was generally understood that the cook

would substitute, add, or subtract ingredients as necessary. Sometimes the recipe simply said "stuff it with rich forcemeat"⁶ and left it at that.

Although we generally think of forcemeat as mostly breadcrumbs and meat and having a meatloaf type consistency, there were other possibilities. Consider the oyster. Mary Randolph recommended them as an ingredient in boiled turkey.

*Grate a loaf of bread, chop a score or more of oysters fine, add nutmeg pepper and salt to your taste, mix it up into a light forcemeat with a quarter of a pound of butter, a spoonful or two of cream, and three eggs; stuff the craw with it, and make the rest into balls and boil them; sew up the turkey.*⁷

Besides turkey, practically any type of bird cooks well with forcemeat. Sometimes the bird was boned, stuffed, sewed up, and then cooked. Once the bones were removed, the forcemeat helped hold the shape of the bird. The diner who did the carving could slice the bird like a loaf of bread because there were no bones. However, dishes such as this consisted of more stuffing than bird.

Sometimes the bird was stitched up into something not resembling the original such as *Pigeons au Poire* [pigeons in the shape of pears].

*Bone your pigeons, and stuff them with forcemeat; make them in the shape of a pear, with one foot stuck at the small end to appear like a stalk of a pear; rub them over with the yolk of an egg, and strew some crumbs of bread on; fry them [stew them in white wine gravy until done].*⁸

Beef or veal steaks wrapped around forcemeat, pan fried or roasted, then finished in a sauce were called "olives." Hannah Glasse's recipe follows:

Beef Olives

Take a rump of beef, cut it into steaks of half an inch thick, cut them as square as you can, and about ten inches long, cut a piece of fat bacon as wide as the beef, and about three parts as long, put some yolk of an egg on the beef, put the bacon on it, and the yolk of an egg on the bacon, and some good savory force-meat on that, some yolk of an egg on the force-meat, then roll them up and tie them round with a string in two places; put some yolk of an egg on them and some crumbs of bread, then fry them brown in a large pan of good beef dripping; take them out and put them to drain; take some butter and put into a stew-pan, melt

*it, and put in a spoonful of flour; stir it well till it is smooth; then put a pint of good gravy in, and a gill of white wine, put in the olives and stew them for an hour; add some mushrooms, truffles and morels, forcemeat balls and sweetbreads, cut in small square pieces, some ox-palates; season with pepper and salt, and squeeze the juice of half a lemon; toss them up. Be careful to skim all the fat off, then put them in your dish. Garnish with beet-root and lemon.*⁹

Yum.

While oysters made a wonderful ingredient in some recipes, perhaps the ultimate dish involving stuffing was the "Yorkshire Christmas Pie." This called for a pigeon to be stuffed inside a partridge inside a fowl inside a goose inside a turkey. All the birds were to be boned and "look only like a whole turkey." While this seems elaborate enough, the recipe also called for a "hare . . . woodcocks, moor game, and what sort of wild fowl you can get." All of these were to be included in the pie along with four pounds of butter. The crust required a bushel of flour. Not quite four and twenty blackbirds, but pretty elaborate nonetheless.¹⁰

In today's world, stuffing seems to be relegated to some aunt's specialty during the holidays or something made on top of the stove. Main dishes made with forcemeat aren't something you usually see in the standard restaurant menu. As if that isn't enough, there are all sorts of health warnings about proper cooking temperatures and cross-contamination to scare away the novice cook. However, if you are looking to stretch your food dollars, and add some variety to your daily food routine, stuffing or forcing something inside of something else is worth considering. Our eighteenth-century ancestors did it every day.

¹ Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, rev. ed. 1796 (Schenectady, N.Y.: U.S. Historical Research Service, repr. 1994), 134, 68.

² *Ibid.*, 232-233.

³ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁴ Mary Randolph, *The Virginia House-wife* (1824), Karen Hess, ed. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), 109.

⁵ Marion and Ethan Becker and Irma S. Rombauer, *The Joy of Cooking* (New York: Scribner, 1997), 482.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁸ Glasse, *The Art of Cookery*, 113.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 196.

Myth Busters!

by the Pasteur & Galt Apothecary Staff

Another summer has come and gone and brought with it inevitable historical myths that have, unfortunately, found their way into various interpretations. Guests take these juicy, outrageous, but sadly incorrect nuggets of information to interpreters in other buildings and trade shops, assuming that what they heard was fact. These myths need to be identified and busted so that they do not come to life again.

First is the misconception that women placed free-standing face-shields between themselves and fireplaces to keep their wax-based makeup from melting off their faces. Historians in Colonial Williamsburg's Department of Historical Research state, "There is no documented evidence of these screens being used for this purpose." In addition, Kris Dippre's research into the history of cosmetics reveals that the cosmetic mixtures contained oils rather than waxes. Furthermore, they contained gum resins that promoted adherence to the skin.

The deliberate consumption of arsenic by women who wanted a lighter complexion is another long-held myth. There is no primary evidence to support such an act. In fact, arsenic darkens the skin. Instead, women attempting to lighten their complexions made do with white-lead makeup, known at the time as *cerusse*.

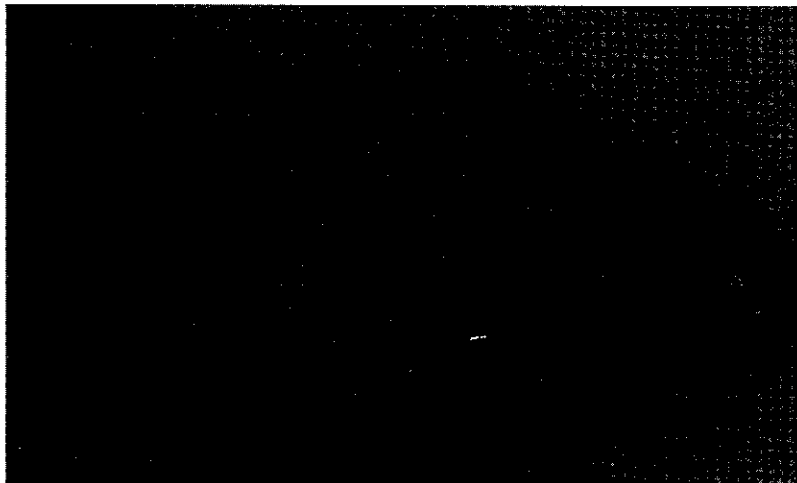
Perhaps the oddest piece of misinformation (though quite interesting) concerns the use of eyeglasses with blue lenses to identify the wearer as someone suffering from syphilis. Frankly, this is not a disease one would advertise.

It is true that darkened lenses were worn to help protect the eyes from the glare of the sun and to help weakened eyes; dark green, amber, amethyst, and blue lenses are documented for eighteenth-century use. But wearing dark lenses did not indicate any medical problem.

The seventeenth edition of the *Merck Manual* (1999) states that systemic diseases, including syphilis, can cause inflammation of any component of the uveal tract in the eye (uveitis), and Susan Pryor's research into venereal disease has found that eighteenth-century doctors also recognized the effects of syphilis on the eyes. In *A Treatise of the Venereal Disease* (1789), Jean Astruc noted that even though syphilis could cause inflammation of the conjunctiva, a darkened cornea, glaucoma, cataract, and even blindness, there was no specific treatment offered and no mention of wearing blue lenses to alleviate the problem. William Buchan's *Observations Concerning the Prevention and Cure of the Venereal Disease* (1796) recommended the application of blistering plasters to the temples or behind the ears to help reduce some of the symptoms but made no mention of wearing dark or blue glasses, either.

Nor are venereal diseases the only conditions that affect the eye. So claiming that people who wear blue lenses are syphilitic is irresponsible. (Whew!) Therefore, please refrain from telling guests that dark lenses, particularly blue lenses, identified the wearer as having syphilis.

These are just a few of the interesting myths that occasionally crop up in various interpretations. Maybe in your own specific interpretive areas you can identify and "bust" others!



"Spectacles" (G1971-1236).
Made of steel and green
glass, these tinted spectacles
were possibly made in
England about 1775.

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: New at the Rock



Becoming Americans Story Lines New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

Buying Respectability

Cartier, Claudine. *Antique Tools and Instruments from the Nessi Collection*. Milan, Italy: 5 Continents, 2004. [TJ1200 .A58 2004]

European scientific instruments, medical instruments, occupational tools, cooking and fire-place utensils, and objects for private use are all represented here in their finest and most decorative forms. While the average colonist probably never saw the likes of such expensive and finely detailed pieces, this book serves as a reminder that, like most other consumer goods, tools were available in an incredible range of beauty, utility, and price. Sometimes choosing the “plain style” was all about cost-consciousness.

Cornforth, John. *Early Georgian Interiors*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004. [Oversize NK2043 .C668 2004]

The physical world to which the colonial Virginia gentry aspired could not be made any more apparent than in this book. Illustrations of the interiors of eighteenth-century country and town houses show in great detail the room use, fashion trends, extravagance, and available consumer goods that tempted the colonists to incur enormous debt in trying to keep up with the current taste of their British acquaintances and cousins.

Kirtley, Alexandra Alevizatos. *The 1772 Philadelphia Furniture Price Book: A Facsimile*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2005. [NK2438 .P5 A16 2005]

This little book, originally published as a method of price fixing in the cabinetmaking world, offers a glimpse of eighteenth-century life far beyond the immediate group of numbers in hand. This book compares prices for goods made of mahogany or walnut, lists journeymen’s wages for piecework with that of the ultimate retail price, and differentiates between many kinds of furniture

and the embellishments available for each. Such information makes it possible to begin to interpret not only the “art and mystery” of a single trade, but also the taste of the local market and the economic pressures of becoming a shop master. Previously known only from two partial manuscript copies, the complete, published 1772 version was discovered in 2003.

Taking Possession

Grant, W. L., et al., eds. *Acts of the Privy Council of England*. Colonial Series. 6 vols. Buffalo, N.Y.: W. S. Hein, 2004. [KD5020 .A33 2004]

This title provides the record of the Privy Council in the work of colonial administration—summaries of actions taken by the Council toward governors, individual planters, ship’s masters, colonial courts, and legislatures, etc. Whether ordering “altogether unfitt and of no use for moderne Service” weaponry to be taken from the Tower of London to send to Virginia, responding to Governor Berkeley’s plea for gunpowder, reprimanding Governor Culpeper for his failure to leave for Virginia on schedule, ordering the destruction of English-cultivated tobacco plants, or setting a date for the prohibition of transporting felons to Virginia, these volumes illustrate the bureaucracy of governing the colony from across the Atlantic.

Harper, Steven Craig. *Promised Land: Penn’s Holy Experiment, the Walking Purchase, and the Dispossession of Delawares, 1600–1763*. Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press, 2006. [F152 .H375 2006]

Described as a “land swindle perpetrated by Pennsylvania authorities on the Delaware Indians,” the Walking Purchase of 1737 was a fraud promoted by the sons of William Penn, whereby land ceded to the English under a lost treaty was described as that extending as far as a man could walk in one and a half days. To fix the boundaries between colonist and Indian, Thomas Penn hired a runner who more than doubled the size of the land involved, thus further displacing the formerly friendly Delawares and helping turn them into hostile opponents in the backcountry during the French and Indian War.

Shields, E. Thomson, Jr., and Charles R. Ewen, eds. *Searching for the Roanoke Colonies: An Interdisciplinary Collection*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of Archives and History, 2003. [F229 .S374 2003]

This book of sixteen essays, presented at two conferences in 1993 and 1998, continues to remind us that many of the problems and opportunities faced by the Lost Colonists were later replayed at Jamestown. The economic and social climate of England, who adventured and why, how the Native Americans and colonists perceived each other, how the colonists were and were not adequately supplied from England, how the Roanoke colony and its settlers have been interpreted in literature and by archaeologists all are addressed here in this work on "failed possession" of the new land.

Choosing Revolution

Ahearn, Bill. *Flintlock Muskets in the American Revolution and Other Colonial Wars*. Lincoln, R.I.: Andrew Mowbray Publishers, 2005. [UD383 .A38 2005]

With an introduction by our own Erik Goldstein, Ahearn's approach to smoothbore longarms is to find the complete story of each object—makers, owners, uses, alterations, or repairs—in short, a full description that allows the reader to understand his statements that "in North America, the 18th century was a one-hundred-year span of violence . . . these weapons were a necessity of life" and "the principal weapon of 18th-century warfare was the flintlock, smoothbore, muzzle-loaded musket with bayonet." More than many other objects, it is the weaponry that reminds us of how our independence from Britain was won.

Freeing Religion

Moss, Roger W. *Historic Sacred Places of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. [Oversize BL2527 .P45 M67 2005]

While few Protestants would confuse the "church" with the "building," neither would they argue that the building has no lasting influence on the spiritual mind. This selection of images of early sacred places, including graveyards, reinforces many ideas—the differences and similarities between sacred and domestic architecture, the different presentations to the mind of various Protestant denominations' choices of visual stimulation, the spatial relationships between congregation and pastor, etc.

Redefining Family

Dorman, John Frederick. *Adventurers of Purse and Person*. 4th ed. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2004-. [Ref F225 .A7 2004]

Births, marriages, and deaths have always defined families. This set (with the last volume to be published in 2007) identifies, describes, and traces families who both survived the 1622 uprising and also left descendants to the sixth generation. Dorman's genealogical works are always better documented than most, and this is no exception.

Fissell, Mary E. *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England*. New York: Oxford, 2004. [GT2465 .G7 F57 2004]

This book is an attempt to define the ideas of ordinary people about human reproduction, based on sources easily available to them in cheap print—songs, jokes, prayer books, popular medical manuals, witchcraft pamphlets, etc. Before the Reformation, the mysteries of pregnancy and childbirth were the intellectual domain of women. Afterward, as England moved from Catholic to Protestant, women's bodies were re-invented as dangerous places. Author and apothecary Nicholas Culpeper was at the center of the shift in gender relationships, publishing works in the mid-seventeenth century that described women's bodies as inferior to men's.

Submitted by Susan Shames, decorative arts librarian, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library.

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

Bryant, Charles. *Flora Diaetetica: or, History of Esculent Plants* (London: B. White, 1783). This work describes edible plants, both foreign and domestic, under eleven general headings: roots, shoots or stalks, leaves, flowers, berries, stone-fruit, apples, legumes, grains, nuts, and fungi. Account is given of their use, native habitat, and varieties, together with whatever is curious or remarkable in each species.

[Lee, Arthur]. *The Political Detection, or, the Treachery and Tyranny of Administration . . .* (London: J. and W. Oliver, 1770). Lee was educated at Eton and the University of Edinburgh, where he received a medical degree, after which he practiced medicine briefly in Williamsburg before returning to London to study law and then enter a diplomatic career. He defended the colonies in their struggle with England, and signed a series of letters to the press with the pseudonym "Junius Americanus."

———. *A Speech, intended to have been delivered in the House of Commons . . .* (London: J. Almon, 1775). This work supports the petition from the General Congress at Philadelphia. Grievances include retention of a standing English army in America to collect taxes, infringement of civil rights due to the army's commanders superseding the authority of colonial governors in the colonies, and numerous others, including trials of colonists in England for offenses alleged to have occurred in America by virtue of an antiquated law passed in the reign of King Henry VIII.

Paine, Thomas. *Common Sense* (Philadelphia: W. and T. Bradford, 1791). This tremendously popular book, originally published in 1776, issued the first public call for the American colonies to declare independence from Britain. Paine, an Anglo-American pamphleteer, political scientist, and religious thinker, follows the natural rights tenets of British philosopher John Locke, whose writings justified independence as the right and will of the people and revolution as a device to bring happiness. Paine's work sold more than 100,000 copies in its first three months and had a profound influence on public opinion and on deliberations of the Continental Congress.

Piozzi, Hester Lynch, ed. *Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1788), 2 vols. This correspondence of the English writer and lexicographer includes letters to and from a wide variety of eighteenth-century figures. Volume 1 contains 182 letters covering the years 1765 through 1777. Volume 2 includes 184 letters covering the years 1777 through 1784. Poems translated from Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* are included.

Spencer, John Blair. *Illustrated Historical Sketch of Jamestown, Williamsburg and Yorktown* (Petersburg, Va.: Franklin Press, 1907). This small guide, prepared by a Williamsburg resident and hotel proprietor for visitors to the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition of 1907, features historical sites on the Virginia peninsula. It is accompanied by photographs and an advertisement for the Colonial Inn, on the site of the now reconstructed Chowning's Tavern.

Trial at Large of Her Majesty Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, Queen of Great Britain; in the House of Lords (London: T. Kelly, 1821), 2 vols. This work documents the adulterous intercourse between the queen of George IV and Bartolomo Pergami. The bill provides for dissolution of the marriage and the stripping of the former queen's rank and titles. The volumes contain engraved images of the king and queen, together with panoramas of events during the trial.

Virginia Almanack for . . . 1773 (Williamsburg: Purdie & Dixon, 1772). This copy includes many interlineations concerning pedigrees of horses belonging to Philip Tabb of Toddsbury plantation in Gloucester County, to whom the book belonged. Manuscript accounts with James Maury Fontaine, Carter Burwell, and William Pasteur are also included. The work retains its original leather binding.

Wood, Anthony. *Athenæ Oxoniensis: An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in . . . Oxford* (London: R. Knaplock, D. Midwinter, & J. Tonson, 1721), 2 vols. This is the second edition of this work by the English antiquarian and historian. The two rare volumes contain "Fasti Oxoniensis," or lists of chancellors, vice-chancellors, and proctors of the various colleges making up the university at Oxford, and the "Athenæ Oxoniensis," or biographical lists of all students matriculating in the colleges between 1500 and 1695.


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


Editor's Notes

Correction: In the article "Uncommon Merit: Edmund Dickinson in the American Revolution" by Ed Wright (*Interpreter*, Summer 2006), there was a misprint on page 6, column 1, listing Capt. Joseph Scott as killed in action at Germantown. Scott was not killed in action but taken prisoner at Germantown and remained so for sometime afterward.

Addition: *The Natural History* (circa 1730), attributed to William Byrd II and referenced in the recent article on the history of trees in North America ("Bothy's Mould—Tall Tales: A Cultural History of North American Trees," *Interpreter*, Summer 2006), should have included this full citation and information about the attribution to Byrd: Richmond Croom Beatty and William J. Mulloy, eds. and trans., *William Byrd's Natural History of Virginia or the Newly Discovered Eden* (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, 1940). Beatty and Mulloy attributed this work to Byrd and included his name in the title of their translation.

More recent scholarship suggests that Byrd was not the author. Originally published in Bern, Switzerland, by Samuel Jenner, *Neu-gefundes Eden* [The Newly Discovered Eden] was likely plagiarized by Jenner from John Lawson's *A New Voyage to Carolina*. See Percy G. Adams, "The Real Author of *William Byrd's Natural History of Virginia*," *American Literature* 28 (May 1956): 211–220. See also Margaret Beck Pritchard and Virginia Lascara Sites, *William Byrd II and His Lost History: Engravings of the Americas* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1993), 110–111.



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