

Interpreter

Eighteenth-century Holy Days for December

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
<p>The First Sunday in Advent</p> <p>(John Harrower, Spotsylvania, Co., Va., December 6, 1774)</p> <p><i>"I have as yet only ten Scollars, One of which is both Deaff and Dumb...He is about fourteen years of Age. Another of them is a young man, a house carpenter who Attends me every night with candle light and every Sunday that I don't go to Church. He is Carpenter for a gentleman who lives two miles from me and has Thirty pound a year, free bedd & Board. The Colls. Children comes on pretty well. The Eldest is now reading verry distinctly in the Psalter according to the Church of England and the other two boys ready to enter into it."</i></p>			<p>Saint Nicolas Bishop of Myra</p>		<p>1</p> <p>Conception of the Virgin Mary</p>	<p>2</p>
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<p>The Second Sunday in Advent</p> <p>10</p>	<p>Saint Lucy</p> <p><i>"Set out as the sun rose...and reached the house of Colonel Whiting, father of my dear friend Captain Whiting, long before night. Here God spread a plentiful table for us, and, what was more desirable, sent to us a well-inclined person, to whom, I trust, my conversation was blessed. That passage in St. John, wherein it is said that our Lord must needs go through Samaria has often been affecting to my mind. The same good Providence, I trust, led me through these parts, for the sake of the person before mentioned."</i></p> <p>(The Rev. George Whitefield, Gloucester County, Virginia, December 13, 1739)</p>					<p>O Sapiaentia</p> <p>William or Mary College students end Trinity Term</p>
11	12	13	14	15	16	
<p>The Third Sunday in Advent</p> <p>17</p>	<p>Saint Thomas</p> <p><i>"I preached my first Sermon at Deerfield, on Job 23:3-4, 'O that I knew where I might find him,' to a very full assembly. I was much frighted in the entry of the Service - And as I was told by a friend afterward, made a material blunder in the first Prayer, 'desiring of God that the King may become a nursing mother, & the Queen a nursing Father to the Church.' I preached however, without Notes, & with little difficulty."</i></p> <p>(Philip Fithian, Deerfield, New Jersey, December 18, 1774)</p>					
18	19	20	21	22	23	
<p>The Fourth Sunday in Advent</p> <p>24</p>	<p>Christmas Day</p>	<p>Saint Stephen Martyr</p>	<p>Saint John Evangelist</p>	<p>Holy Innocents Day</p>		
<p><i>"Today Christmas Day was celebrated in the city...On the evening before, the bells of the English Church rang for a long time to announce the approaching Yuletide. In the Morning guns were fired off in various parts of the town. People went to church, much in the same manner as ordinary Sundays, both before and after dinner...The Quakers did not regard this day any more remarkable than other days. Stores were open, and anyone might sell or purchase what he wanted. But servants had a three-day vacation period."</i></p> <p>(Peter Kalm, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Christmas Day, 1749)</p>						
25	26	27	28	29	30	
<p>The Sunday after Christmas Day</p> <p>31</p>						

Calendar compiled by Dave DeSimone





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CHRISTMAS IN THE COUNTRY

Christmas Customs

By Emma L. Powers

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Christmas in colonial Virginia—it's a topic that alternately thrills and bores me. As the "designated hitter" in Research for the history of this holiday, I either bubble over with enthusiasm and information about Christmas customs in eighteenth-century Virginia, or else I can't find answers to satisfy myself or anyone else. The reason, I've lately come to see, is that for Virginia colonists the holiday was so very different from our twentieth-century celebration. Eighteenth-century customs don't take long to recount: church, dinner, dancing, some evergreens, visiting—and more and better of these very same for those who could afford more.

It's certainly a short list, I tell myself, as I plan meals, go shopping, bake cookies, write three hundred cards, stuff stockings, and dog-ear or recycle the hundreds of catalogs that begin arriving at my house in October. (Cousin Fran is so difficult to buy for!)

Attend church, stick some holly on the windowpanes, fix a great dinner, go to one party, visit or be visited. It sounds so refreshingly easy and simple and *quick*. But I'd miss a tree with lots of lights and all my favorite ornaments collected over the years. And if there were only one special meal, how could I hope to eat my fill of turkey and goose, both mince pie and fruitcake, shrimp as well as oysters? Materialist that I am, I would surely be disappointed if there were no packages to open on the morning of December 25.

Our present Christmas customs derive from a wide array of inspirations, nearly as various and numerous as the immigrants who settled this vast country. Most of the ways Americans celebrate the midwinter holiday came about in the nineteenth century, but we're extraordinarily attached to our traditions and feel sure that they must be very old and supremely significant. What follows is a capsule history of some of our most loved Christmas customs. Perhaps both residents and visitors will enjoy learning the background of one or more of these rites. I offer them in the spirit of the season: with best wishes for continuing health and happiness to all!

Christmas, a children's holiday? No eighteenth-century sources highlight the importance of children at Christmastime—or of Christmas to children in particular. Think of Philip Vickers Fithian's December 18, 1773, diary entry about exciting holiday events: "the *Balls*, the *Fox-hunts*, the fine *entertainments* . . ." None was meant for kids, and the youngsters were cordially not invited to attend. Sally Cary Fairfax was old enough to keep a journal and old enough to attend a ball at Christmas 1771, so she was not one of the "tiny tots with their eyes all aglow." The emphasis on Christmas as a magical time for children came about in the nineteenth century. We must thank the Dutch and Germans in particular for centering Christmas in the home and within the family circle.

Gift giving. Williamsburg shopkeepers of the eighteenth century placed ads noting items appropriate as holiday gifts, but New Year's was as likely a time as December 25 for bestowing gifts. Cash tips, little books, and sweets in small quantities were given by masters or parents to dependents, whether slaves, servants, apprentices, or children. It seems to have worked in only one direction: children and others did not give gifts to their superiors. Gift-giving traditions from several European countries also worked in this one-way fashion; for example, St. Nicholas filled children's wooden shoes with fruit and candy in both old and New Amsterdam. (Eventually, of course, "stockings hung by the chimney with care" replaced wooden shoes.) We must attribute the exchange of gifts among equals and from dependents to superiors to good old American influences. Both twentieth-century affluence and diligent marketing has made it the norm in the last fifty years or so.

Santa Claus too is an American invention,

although an amalgam of American, Dutch, and English traditions: partly the lean, ascetic Saint Nicholas, he is also related to the bacchanalian Father Christmas. While many countries and ethnic groups have a Christmas-time gift bringer, the "right jolly old elf" dressed in red and fur and driving his sleigh and reindeer sprang from the pen and imagination of New Yorker Clement Clark Moore. In his 1823 poem "A Visit from Saint Nicholas," Moore created the new look for the Christmas gift-giver. Cartoonist Thomas Nast completed the vision with his 1860s drawings that still define how we see Santa.

Christmas cards. Printers have been cashing in on Christmas since the eighteenth century—at least in London and other large cities. Schoolboys (and I do mean only the young males) filled in with their best penmanship pages pre-printed with special holiday borders. "Christmas pieces" they were called. But the Christmas card *per se* was a nineteenth-century English invention. The



one pictured here, published by H. C. Horsley in 1843, is generally accepted as the first. Other examples from the 1840s abound, as this quick, efficient means of sending season's greetings proved so useful.

Garlands and greens. Decorations for the midwinter holidays consisted of whatever natural materials looked attractive at the bleakest time of year—evergreens, berries, forced blossoms—and the necessary candles

and fires. In ancient times, Romans celebrated their Saturnalia with displays of lights and hardy greenery formed into wreaths and sprays. Christian churches have long been decorated for Christmas. The tradition goes back so far that no one knows for certain when or where it began.

No early Virginia sources tell us how, or even *if*, colonists decorated their homes for the holidays, so we must rely on eighteenth-century English prints. Of the precious few—only half a dozen—that show interior Christmas decorations, a large cluster of mistletoe is always the major feature for obvious reasons. Otherwise, plain sprigs of holly or bay fill vases and other containers of all sorts or stand flat against windowpanes. (I cannot tell for sure how these last were attached; perhaps the stems were merely stuck between the glass and the wooden muntins.)

Christmas trees. If we had to choose the one outstanding symbol of Christmas, of course it must be the gaily decorated evergreen tree with a star at the very top. German in origin, "Tannenbaum" gained acceptance in England and the United States only very slowly. The first written reference to a Christmas tree dates from the seven-

teenth century when a candle-lighted tree astonished residents of Strasbourg. I have found nothing recorded in the eighteenth century about holiday trees in Europe or North America. By the nineteenth century a few of the "pretty German toys" (to use Charles Dickens's phrase) appeared in London. But these foreign oddities were not yet accepted. When a print of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's very domestic circle around a decorated tree at Windsor Castle appeared in the *Illustrated London News* in 1848, the custom truly caught on.

At about the same time, Charles Minnegerode, a German professor at the College of William and Mary, trimmed a small evergreen to delight the children at the St. George Tucker House. Martha Vandergrift, aged 95, recalled the grand occasion, and her story appeared in the *Richmond NewsLeader* on December 25, 1928. Presumably Mrs. Vandergrift remembered the tree and who decorated it more clearly than she did the date. The newspaper gave 1845 as the time, three years after Minnegerode's arrival in Williamsburg. Perhaps the first Christmas tree cheered the Tucker household as early as 1842.

Christmas foods and beverages. Everyone wants more and better things to eat and drink for a celebration. Finances nearly always control the possibilities. In eighteenth-century Virginia, of course, the rich had more on the table at Christmas and on any other day, too, but even the gentry faced limits in winter. December was the right time for slaughtering, so fresh meat of all sorts they had, as well as some seafood. Preserving fruits and vegetables was problematic for a December holiday. Then as now, beef, goose, ham, and turkey counted as holiday favorites; some households also insisted on fish, oysters, mincemeat pies, and brandied peaches. No one dish epitomized the Christmas feast in colonial Virginia.

Wines, brandy, rum punches, and other alcoholic beverages went plentifully around the table on December 25 in well-to-do households. Others had less because they could afford less. Slave owners gave out portions of rum and other liquors to their workers at Christmastime, partly as a holiday treat (one the slaves may have come to expect and even demand) and partly to keep slaves at the home quarter during their few days off work. People with a quantity of alcohol in them



Christmas at Windsor Castle 1848.

were more likely to stay close to home than to run away or travel long distances to visit family.

Length of the Christmas season. Eighteenth-century Anglicans prepared to celebrate the Nativity during Advent, a penitential season in the church's calendar. December 25, not a movable feast, began a festive season of considerable duration. The twelve days of Christmas lasted until January 6, also called Twelfth Day or Epiphany. Colonial Virginians thought Twelfth Night a good occasion for balls, parties, and weddings. There seems to have been no special notice of New Year's Eve in colonial days. (Maybe that is to be expected since Times Square was not yet built and Guy Lombardo had not been born.) Most music historians

agree that the song "The Twelve Days of Christmas" with all its confusing rigmarole of lords a-leaping and swans a-swimming was meant to teach children their numbers and has no strong holiday connection.

In the late 1990s the Christmas season seems to begin right after Halloween and comes to a screeching halt by Christmas dinner (or with the first tears or first worn-out battery, whichever comes first). We emphasize the build-up, the preparation, the anticipation. Celebrants in the eighteenth century saw Christmas Day itself as only the first day of festivities. Probably because customs then were fewer and preparations simpler, colonial Virginians looked to the twelve days beyond December 25 as a way to extend and more fully savor the most joyful season of the year. ■

Questions & Answers

Another Look at Christmas in the Eighteenth Century

by David DeSimone

David is assistant manager of religious studies and programs in the department of Trades/Presentations and Tours.

1. How did people in eighteenth-century Virginia prepare for Christmas?

There are many ways to prepare for any holiday, but a good start might be to look seriously at how eighteenth-century people prepared spiritually to celebrate Christmas. The Christmas season is foreshadowed by the four-week season of Advent. Advent is the beginning of the Christian liturgical year and is considered to be a separate season from Christmas. For most of Virginia's devout Anglicans, the season of Advent was a penitential time of reflection, anticipation, and expectation for the coming of Christ. This spiritual preparation was reflected most clearly in the liturgy and prayers of the church during Advent. The daily and Sunday readings from the *Book of Common Prayer* are highlighted by the two great heralds of Christ—the prophet Isaiah and John the Baptist. Fasting, the consumption of only one full meal (often meatless) during the

day, was recommended as another form of self-examination in preparation for Christmas. The Advent season emphasized the timeless dialogue between darkness and light, evil and good. Perhaps at a time of the year when daylight is at an ebb, the joy of the expectation of the holiday became even greater for people of the past. Philip Fithian's keen observation of December 18, 1773, strongly indicated a season of expectation: When it grew to dark to dance. . . . we conversed til half after six; Nothing is now to be heard of in conversation, but the *Balls*, the *Fox-hunts*, the fine *entertainments*, and the good *fellowship*, which are to be exhibited at the approaching *Christmas*.

2. Were Christmas decorations a common sight in churches and homes?

Yes. Although today residents in the Historic Area spend countless hours creating those beautiful natural decorations, greatly admired and copied far and wide, they are an inaccurate re-creation of eighteenth-century customs and materials. Citrus fruits such as oranges, lemons, and limes would never have been wasted on any form of decoration. A pineapple was considered a precious commodity in the eighteenth century and would not have been used as a door or mantel centerpiece. What was common, however, was the "sticking of the Church" with green boughs on Christmas Eve. Garlands of holly, ivy, mountain laurel, and mistletoe were hung

from the church roof, the walls, and the church pillars and galleries. The pews and the pulpit, and sometimes the altar, were bedecked with garlands. This scene is described by Peter Kalm, a Swede who visited Philadelphia in 1749. On Christmas Day he wrote:

Nowhere was Christmas Day celebrated with more solemnity than in the Roman Church. Three sermons were preached there, and that which contributed most to the splendor of the ceremony was the beautiful music heard to-day. . . . Pews and altar were decorated with branches of mountain laurel, whose leaves are green in winter time and resemble the (cherry laurel).

Lavender, rose petals, and pungent herbs such as rosemary and bay were scattered throughout the churches, providing a pleasant holiday scent. Scented flowers and herbs were chosen partially because they were aromatic and thus were considered an alternative form of incense. The Reverend George Herbert, an Anglican clergyman from Maryland, urged "that the church be swept, and kept clean without dust, or cobwebs, and at great festivals strewed, and stuck with boughs, and perfumed with incense." Virginians decorated homes in the same way, but they most likely reserved one or two main rooms in the house for the Christmas observance.

3. How long was the Christmas season?

The holiday, or more accurately the holy days of Christmas/Epiphany, fall into a forty-day cycle. This cycle was (and still is) a commemoration of the infancy narratives found in the Gospels of Saint Luke and Saint Matthew. Four major events involving Jesus, Mary, and Joseph are commemorated in the forty-day cycle. They are:

December 25: The Nativity of Jesus

January 1: The Circumcision of Jesus
(Eight Days after Christmas)

January 6: The Epiphany of Jesus (Twelve Days after Christmas)

February 2: The Purification of the Virgin
(Forty Days after Christmas)

Some of the most sacred holy days are observed within the octave of Christmas. The octave week (an eight-day observance) began on Christmas Day and included December 26—Saint Stephen's Day; December 27—Saint John the Evangelist's Day; and Decem-

ber 28—Holy Innocents Day. The octave week festival ended with the Feast of the Circumcision on January 1. It cannot be emphasized enough that amid the joy of the season, the holy days of Saint Stephen and the Holy Innocents were a solemn reminder of the darker side of humanity. In fact, Saint Stephen and the Holy Innocents were martyred because of Christ's coming. The observance of the first four sacred holy days is reflected in Fithian's diary entry of December 29, 1773: "This Morning our School begins after the Holidays. . . . At Dinner we had the Company of Dr. Franks. . . . We had a large Pye cut to Day to signify the Conclusion of the Holidays." While the observance of these sacred days was over, it did not signal the end of the liturgical season of Christmas. Eight days after Christmas, January 1, was the celebration of the Circumcision of Christ. Twelve days after Christmas was the Feast of the Epiphany, or the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles. Finally, forty days after Christmas was the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary.

4. Why did the Masons hold special celebrations on December 27?

December 27 is the feast of Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist. Saint John is one of the two patron saints of the Masonic order (along with Saint John the Baptist). Throughout Europe and the English colonies members of the Masonic order celebrated Saint John's Day with special activities in towns and villages. In Virginia, it was customary for the Masons (dressed in full Masonic regalia) to hold a procession from their lodge building to the local parish church on Saint John's Day. The Anglican liturgy for Saint John's Day was observed at church but the Masons usually heard a special sermon that invoked the blessings of love, unity, fraternity, wisdom, and brotherhood. These are the quali-



ties associated with Saint John. The sermons were often delivered by Anglican clergymen who were themselves members of the Masonic order. After the service the Masons continued to celebrate Saint John's Day by attending a special ball and supper with their wives and friends. A fellow brother was assigned to organize the evening celebrations that were often held in local taverns or in private homes. In 1778, the preparation for Saint John's Day came early as indicated by the minutes of the Williamsburg Lodge: (note the reverence for the Sabbath—Sunday after Christmas Day).

December 1, 1778

On a motion made respecting the ensuing Saint John the Evangelist it was after mature consideration resolved that as that Feast falls on Sunday the usual Ceremonies be postponed until Monday.

Resolved: That this Lodge meet on Monday after the ensuing Saint John and go in procession to Church and that the Reverend Brother Madison (James) be requested to preach a sermon on the occasion.

Resolved: That this Lodge meet on Monday Afternoon to spend the Evening together and that a Ball be given to the Ladies and that Brother Charlton (Edward) be desired to provide accordingly.

Visiting Fredericksburg on December 27, 1774, John Harrower, a Scottish tutor, noted in his journal: "St Johns Day. This Day a Grand Lodge in Town, And the whole went to Church in their Clothing & heard Sermon."

5. How popular were Christmas music, carols, and hymns?

Very popular! The Christmas season in Virginia was filled with festive entertainment, which included singing and dancing to the accompaniment of musicians. Traditional carols and contemporary hymns were sung in the company of friends and family. On Christmas Eve in 1775, Philip Fithian wrote in his diary from Staunton, Virginia:

The Evening I spent at Mr. Guy's—I sung for an Hour, at the good Peoples Desire, Mr. Watt's admirable Hymns—I myself was entertain'd; I felt myself

improv'd; so much Love to Jesus is set forth—So much divine Exercise.

Fithian sang the hymns of Isaac Watts (1674-1748), an English Congregationalist minister and theologian. Watts's hymns, and his hymn book, were a favorite of many Virginians including the slaves. Expressing the popularity of Watts's hymns among the slaves was the Reverend John Wright, a Presbyterian minister active in Cumberland County, Virginia, during the 1760s. On the Feast of the Epiphany, 1761, he wrote to several benefactors in England and described the following Christmas scene:

My landlord tells me, when he waited on the Colonel (Cary) at his country-seat two or three days (ago), they heard the Slaves at worship in their lodge, singing Psalms and Hymns in the evening, and again in the morning, long before break of day. They are excellent singers, and long to get some of Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns, which I encourage them to hope for.

Perhaps Watts's most famous hymn is "Joy to the World," a beloved Christmas carol. During the Christmas season Virginians enjoyed singing popular English carols. Among them were "The Snow Lay on the Ground," "The First Noel," "God Rest You Merry Gentlemen," "The Holly and the Ivy," "I Saw Three Ships," and, appropriately sung on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, "Lully Lullay" ("The Coventry Carol"). During the eighteenth century carols were not sung in the liturgy of the Anglican Church. The congregation joined with the parish clerk and priest in the metrical singing of psalms and hymns based on the psalter. However, it was not unusual for Anglican clergymen to compose their own hymns for congregational singing on important feast days such as Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and Ascension Day. A Christmas hymn for metrical singing was composed by the Reverend James Marye in the early 1770s. Marye was rector of Saint George's Parish in Fredericksburg from 1768 to 1780. The hymn, composed in the form of a poem, reads:

Assist me, Muse divine! To sing the Morn
On which the Saviour of Mankind was born;
But oh! What Numbers to the Theme can rise?
Unless kind Angels aid me from the skies?

Methinks I see the tuneful Host descend
 And with officious Joy the Scene attend.
 Hark, by their hymns directed on the Road,
 The gladsome Shepherds find the nascent God!
 And view the Infant conscious of his Birth,
 Smiling bespeak Salvation to the Earth!

6. Was Christmas celebrated throughout all the colonies?

No. The celebration of Christmas was outlawed in most of New England. Calvinist Puritans and Protestants abhorred the entire celebration and likened it to pagan rituals and Popish observances. In 1659, the General Court of Massachusetts forbade, under the fine of five shillings per offense, the observance "of any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forebearing of labour, feasting, or any such way." The Assembly of Connecticut, in the same period, prohibited the reading of the Book of Common Prayer, the keeping of Christmas and saints' days, the making of mince pies, the playing of cards, or performing on any musical instruments. These statutes remained in force until they were repealed early in the nineteenth century. In 1749, Peter Kalm noted that the Quakers completely dismissed the celebration of Christmas in Philadelphia. Kalm made another interesting observation about the Presbyterians as well. He wrote in his diary:

Christmas Day. . . The Quakers did not regard this day any more remarkable than other days. Stores were open, and anyone might sell or purchase what he wanted. . . There was no more baking of bread for the Christmas festival than for other days; and no Christmas porridge on Christmas Eve! One did not seem to know what it meant to wish anyone a merry Christmas. . . first the Presbyterians did not care much for celebrating Christmas, but when they saw most of their members going to the English church on that day, they also started to have services.

Christmas Day in 1775 must have been a great disappointment for the Presbyterian missionary, Philip Fithian. A year earlier he had experienced the finest of Virginia Christmases at the residence of Robert Carter,

Nomini Hall. But in 1775, Fithian toiled as a missionary in the western counties of Virginia among the Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The following is part of his diary entry for December 25:

Christmas Morning—Not A Gun is heard—Not a Shout—No company or Cabal assembled—

To Day is like other Days every Way calm & temperate—People go about their daily Business with the same Readiness, & apply themselves to it with the same Industry.

Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Moravians celebrated the traditional Christmas season with both religious and secular observances. These celebrations in eighteenth-century America were observed by the aforementioned communities in cities such as New York and Philadelphia, in the Middle Atlantic colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and in the South. ■



Changing Landscapes:

Recent Excavations at the John Page House Site

By Dwayne W. Pickett

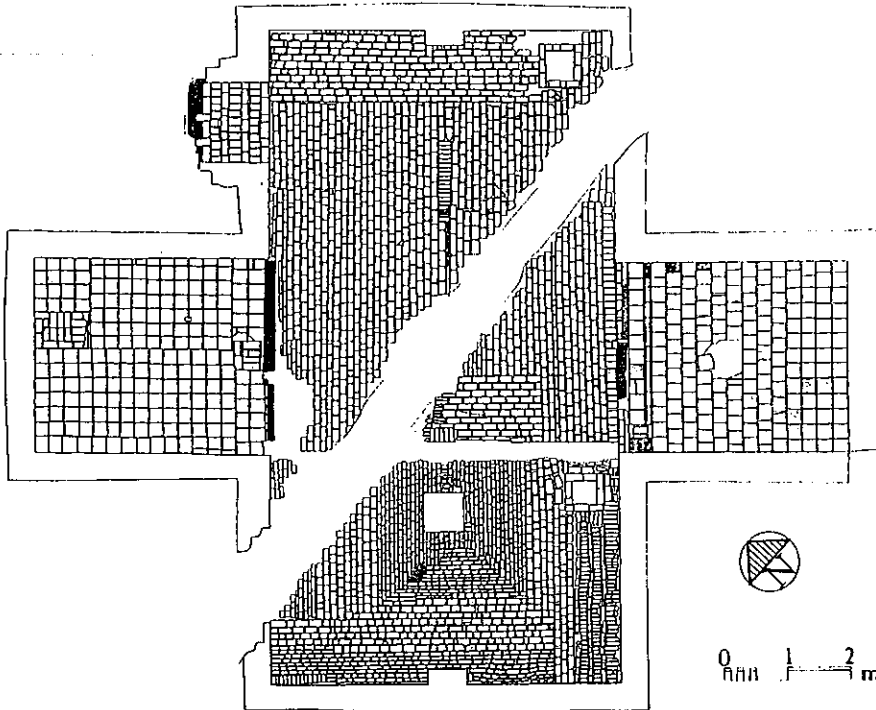
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On a broad, flat terrace overlooking Capitol Landing Road the elaborate brick home of John Page stood for roughly sixty years. The discovery of its foundation in the spring of 1995, and the subsequent excavation of its cellar, have revealed several striking elements about this imposing structure. Its cross-shaped plan, elaborate brickwork and cellar, and its appearance on a landscape that was dominated by plain, unassuming wooden structures, make it a truly unique house.

John Page was a wealthy aristocrat who came to Virginia in 1650. He quickly rose to prominence in local politics, becoming a member of the House of Burgesses in 1655, high sheriff of York County in 1677, and a member of the governor's Council in 1680. His wealth and political appointments al-

lowed him to accumulate over 10,000 acres of land in several different counties, including 330 acres in Middle Plantation, the community that preceded Williamsburg. A large portion of that acreage encompassed much of present-day Williamsburg. In addition to being prominent in local politics, Page was also instrumental in starting the town of Williamsburg. In 1681, he donated land for the first Bruton Parish church, which his brother built, and a 1699 student speech credits him as being instrumental in establishing the College of William and Mary. Those two institutions helped Middle Plantation attract the capital in 1699.

John Page died in 1692 and left his Middle Plantation holdings to his wife, Alice, and his eldest son, Francis. Francis died a few months later and left his share of the property to his only child, Elizabeth. When Alice died in 1698, Elizabeth became sole heir to the property. She married John Page II, her father's cousin, in 1699 and died in 1702. In 1705 John remarried Mary Mann, his first wife's widowed aunt, and moved to Gloucester County. It is not known who was occupying the house from 1705 until the 1720s, when it burned down. The property was probably rented before it was sold in 1743. Several



Drawing of Page site by Virginia Brown.

wine bottle seals recovered from the site have shed some light onto who might have been staying there. Three different sets of initials have been found on the seals, but so far the only seal identified is that of James and Thomas Bray. It appears, however, that the Brays did not live there. John Page II's daughter Elizabeth did marry David Bray around 1730, but they are believed to have lived at his James City plantation. The connection between the Brays' and the Pages' Williamsburg property is not yet known.

John Page's house was constructed entirely in brick. Based on the width of the foundation, it appears to have stood one-and-one-half stories with two-story towers. It measured thirty-six feet, nine inches long and twenty-one feet, eleven inches wide with thirteen foot, six inch by thirteen foot, ten inch towers. The roof was most likely covered with ceramic tiles, and matching chimneys probably adorned the ends.

There are several things about this house that make it unusual. One is its layout. The house features two matching square towers on the front and back called porch and stair towers. These projections gave the house a cross shape commonly referred to as a cross plan. This style is well known in England

and is seen on several other structures in Virginia, the most renowned being Arthur Allen's 1665 home, Bacon's Castle in Surry County. The origins of this style can be traced back to fifteenth-century England when the medieval castle was starting to decline in popularity. By examining the evolution of the castle, a better understanding may be had of the style of Page's house.

A castle is a "fortified residence in which the fortifications predominate over the domestic aspect of the structure, and the occupant normally owns or controls a large territory around it." Castles not only protected but also denoted an owner of high status and thus were very important in the social structure of society. Until the fifteenth century it was not uncommon for these fortified structures to be abandoned and replaced. But in the fifteenth century this pattern was seen less and less as abandonment was not often followed by replacement. Advances in weaponry, social changes, and a growing desire for more comfortable accommodations all contributed to the lack of rebuilding.

The construction of seriously defended castles stopped around 1500 and did not occur again until the Civil War (1642-1646)



Cache of wine bottles in small room of cellar.

when century-old castles were deliberately destroyed so they would not fall into enemy hands. Owners were even compensated for leveling them. Despite the unpleasant nature of the castle and the declining need for fortified structures, however, the prestige that living in one bestowed upon an owner was something that people sought to retain and in some cases obtain. Thus towers and mock military features were displayed on buildings. In a 1707 letter about the construction of a new house, Sir John Vanbrugh stated, "As to the outside I thought 'twas absolutely best to give it something of the castle air tho' at the same time to make it regular." By giving the house a "castle air," Vanbrugh was trying to maintain the authority and respect that castle owners enjoyed during the Middle Ages. Making it "regular" ensured that it was first and foremost a house with all the comforts and amenities it provided. To some people, however, the mixing of styles was not desirable. During his travels through England and Wales in the late eighteenth century, Sir Richard Colt Hoare noted in his journal his dislike of Downton Castle by saying, "If

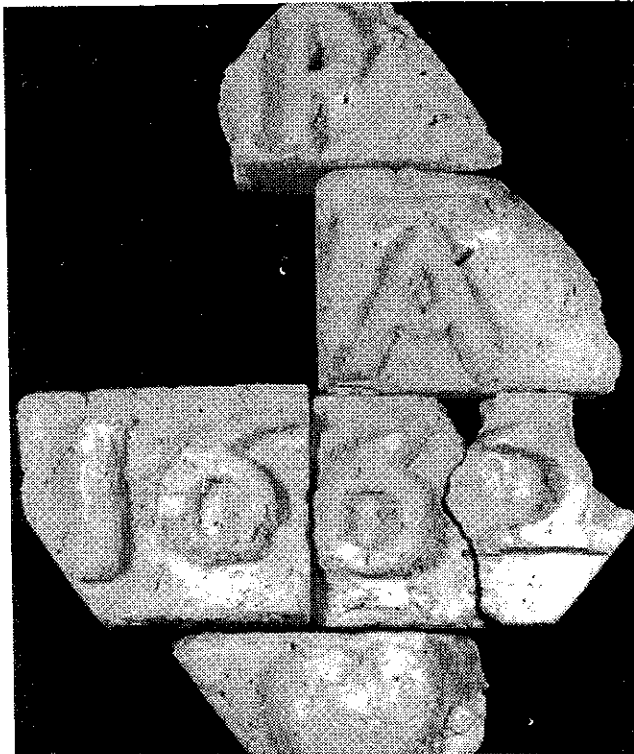
criticism can anywhere be well found it is on the house which I do not think quite adapted to the genius of the place. Too great a variety of different architecture of different (a)era—it is neither an ancient castle nor a modern house but a mixture of modern and antique."

Despite Hoare's criticism, his observations describe well the cross-plan houses in the American colonies. John Page's house with its towers was not a castle or a Renaissance-style house. It was a mixture, or perhaps more accurately a transition, between the

two styles. The towers gave it a "castle air" which helped reinforce Page's authority and position in society while its symmetrical facade reflected the latest in Renaissance-style housing. The names of cross-plan houses like Bacon's Castle, Foster's Castle, and Bond Castle all reflect their medieval origins and the status they bestowed upon their owners. Even in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries homes took on this castle image, including the largest privately owned mansion in America, the Biltmore Estate built in 1895 by George Vanderbilt.

The elaborations bestowed on the exterior of Page's house are also unique. Curved watertable bricks and a number of other

curved and rounded bricks were discovered. The most fascinating find was five bricks that featured raised symbols and characters. The letters "P" and "A," the date 1662, and a symbol of a heart make up a set of bricks that feature the initials of John and Alice Page and the date the house was constructed. This would have formed a diamond-shaped shield or cartouche that was probably located



Brick cartouche with initials of John and Alice Page and date house was built.

over the front door. The characters were carved out of brick in a way that caused them to be raised. Examples like these bricks are almost nonexistent for this time period in English North America, and to date this is the only known example of this type of carved brickwork in the southern colonies. Other houses do have initials and dates on them, but they are etched, not raised.

The inside of Page's house shows that his flare for the elaborate was not restricted just to the exterior. Large amounts of plaster were found, suggesting that both rooms of

this hall and parlor house were plastered. This common two-room floor plan featured a large hall that was entered from the porch tower and a smaller parlor that was entered from the hall. The hall served as a multipurpose room where a variety of everyday activities took place. The parlor, on the other hand, was a more private room where the owner and his wife usually slept and displayed their more valuable items. It is also where important visitors would have been entertained. The half floor above would have served as sleeping quarters, most likely for children, and below the first floor was a full English basement.

The detail Page put into the rest of his house is also apparent in the cellar, especially in the brickwork. The cellar contained four unheated rooms, one underneath each tower and two in the main section. The foundation walls were laid primarily in Flemish bond, which uses alternating headers and stretchers in the same row, and all the mortar joints between the bricks were scored to give the walls a finished look. This is unique considering that most cellars are not normally laid in Flemish bond or finished. Only one other seventeenth-century house, Arlington in Northhampton County, and two eighteenth-century houses, Battersea and Belle Grove in King George County, are known to have properly finished Flemish bond brickwork in their cellars. Tile flooring was used in both towers, and in the main part of the cellar a brick floor was laid that incorporated bricks up on their ends with ones that were laid flat. As one might expect with a finished cellar in the Tidewater, keeping it dry was a concern. An elaborate drainage system that used sloping floors and curved tiles to drain water into brick-lined sumps located in each of the four rooms was discovered. This type of intricate brickwork and elaboration is atypical for a non-public space like a cellar and shows that Page was concerned with making his entire house sophisticated.

There were two ways to enter the cellar, through an outside entrance on the back of the house that featured brick steps with wood nosing, or by descending down a wooden staircase in the stair tower. Evidence for a staircase on the right side of the tower comes from two holes chopped in the right wall for framing, and a small hole in the tile floor that supported a post around which the stairs wound. Both towers were separated from

the rest of the cellar by a wooden partition wall, the porch tower wall later being encased in brick. Wooden doors led out into the main part of the cellar.

Artifacts have helped in assessing what each room was used for. The smaller room in the main part of the cellar was used primarily for wine storage. Large numbers of broken wine bottles were found next to the foundation walls. Some of these bottles still had burned corks in place along with the wires used to secure them. Sixty of these bottles, located against the foundation wall where the bricks are on their ends, were stored in a wooden corral, thirty-six of them sitting on the floor and twenty-four resting on top between the necks of the bottom ones. A few wine bottles and a concentration of burned wheat seeds were found on the floor of the larger room, suggesting this area was used for light storage. In the room under the porch tower large amounts of broken stoneware storage jars and earthenware flowerpots were found right above a small cache of wine bottles that sat on the tile floor. This room would have been used as a general storage area.

The burning of the house has preserved a great deal of material that normally would not have survived. Wooden sills and posts, a small section of cloth—most likely a rug—part of a basket that went around a wine bottle, wheat seeds, and wine bottle corks have been recovered. The artifacts on the floor of the cellar have also presented a unique opportunity to study them in their original locations. These artifacts were not, as most artifacts have been, thrown out or discarded but instead sat exactly where they were when the house burned down. Their location and their excellent preservation will yield much information about the site's occupants.

The fact that Page and a good number of his contemporaries built in brick at a time when most people constructed wooden post-in-ground structures can be seen as an attempt on their part to change the landscape by emulating a style they had known in England. The lack of timber, new fire laws, and the fashionable nature of brick facilitated the use of this material in England during the seventeenth century. In Virginia, the situation was quite different. The abundance of wood along with the monetary commitment of tobacco production and generally short life spans meant that most colonists did not

have the funds, need, or desire to build more substantial brick homes. They simply did not want to spend a lot of money on a structure that they or their descendants might not enjoy for any extended period, when their funds could be used instead to invest in a major cash crop like tobacco.

Although built in Middle Plantation where brick construction was more common, the unique and elaborate character of Page's house was an exception for most in the harsh and sometimes dangerous world of seventeenth-century Virginia. The uncertainty of

life and the unstable environment that was reflected in the landscape were being reversed by men like Page who, by introducing brick structures to the landscape, wanted to re-create a more familiar and stable world. The changing of landscapes from short-lived wooden structures to more permanent brick buildings was firmly in place by the time America became independent. Its brick construction was now similar to England's, creating an American landscape that was more English in nature than it ever had been before. ■

Meet Benjamin Waller

by John Greenman

John is a character interpreter in the department of Trades/Presentations and Tours and portrays the eighteenth-century Williamsburg lawyer Benjamin Waller. This article is based on his master's thesis on Benjamin Waller and takes the form of an interview with the editor of this publication.

Editor Mr. Waller, in this year of 1774, you have lived in Williamsburg for many years. You are an attorney by profession and have served as clerk of the James City County court and clerk of the General Court. Would you tell us what brought you to the city?

Waller My father, Colonel John Waller, emigrated to this country from Buckinghamshire early in the 1690s and purchased nineteen hundred acres of land on the Mattaponi River about a day's ride from here. He and my mother, Dorothy Waller, had seven children of which I was the next youngest. He had given considerable attention to the education of his children. While he had a competent fortune, it would not have been sufficient to support so numerous a family in perpetuity, and he wanted to give all of us the opportunity to make our way in the world. One day when the river upon which we dwelt had crested, who but the Secretary of the Colony, Mr. John Carter, eldest son of Robert "King" Carter, should happen to pass that way. The Secretary, being kept from continuing his journey home by the swollen condition of the river, decided to stay the

evening at our home. You can imagine my excitement as a little lad ten years old that so distinguished a guest should come to our house. Mr. Carter's wealth was second only to that of the royal governor himself, and in the eyes of a small boy his horses and carriage alone were exceedingly fine. What could be my astonishment and delight when the great man deigned to question me closely concerning my school subjects. I gave as good account of myself as I was able and to my amazement, the Secretary announced that since I was not capable of further improve-



John Greenman (left) as Benjamin Waller confers with fellow justice.

ment in my father's house, he would take me to Williamsburg, enroll me in the College, and make a man of me.

Editor Did your mother and father welcome the Secretary's proposal?

Waller After the Secretary had left our house promising to return for me in a sennight (a week), my mother and father deliberated at some length, reluctant to allow their next youngest son to leave home at such an early age. When the Secretary returned and found me unprepared to travel, he flew into a high dudgeon and demanded that I be placed in his carriage just as I was. A hasty farewell sufficed, and I was on my way to Williamsburg in high spirits. One does not say "no" to a Carter.

Editor Weren't you too young to attend the College?

Waller The Secretary's father, Robert "King" Carter, had assisted the President of William and Mary College, the Reverend Doctor James Blair, in rebuilding the College which had burnt down. This was the impetus for the recruitment of gentlemen's sons not only for the College itself, but as students at the Grammar School. There, boys between the ages of twelve and fourteen received an education in Latin and Greek, mathematics, geography, history, spelling, and writing in preparation for entry into the

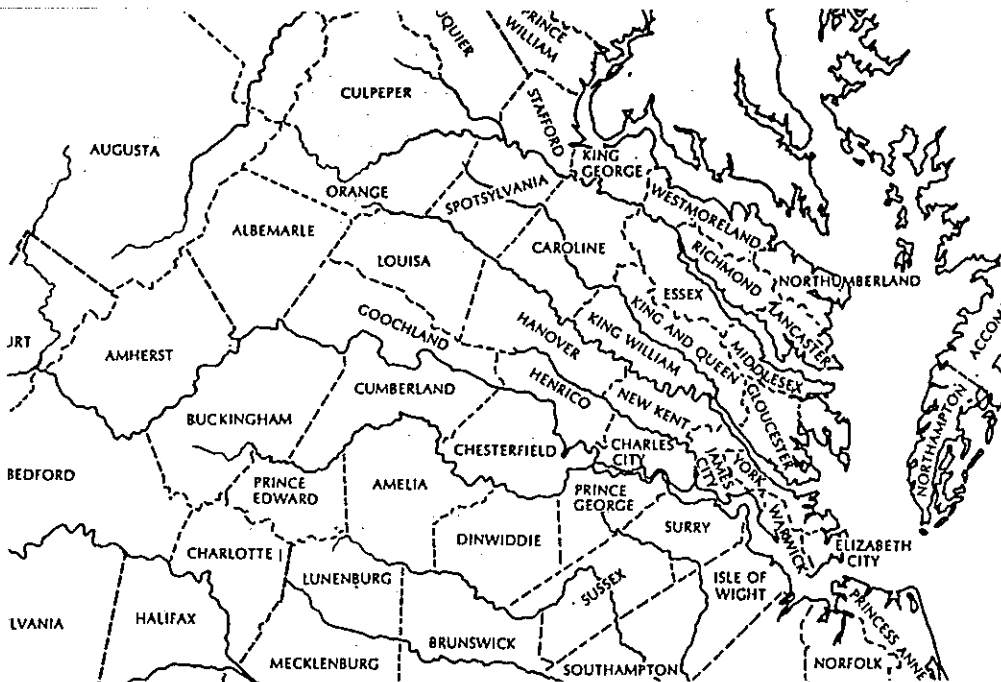
College at age fourteen or fifteen. I attended the Grammar School somewhat younger than my fellows and upon completion of my studies was examined for the College. There, I received a classical education in moral and natural philosophy.

Editor Did you study law at the College?

Waller There is no professor of law at the College. The students devote themselves to reading the ancient and modern philosophers for knowledge of government and of morality. They also study the natural laws of motion through mathematics, astronomy, physics, and other branches of the sciences. The laws of moral philosophy spring from nature just as surely as the laws of natural philosophy.

Editor How then did you receive your education in the law?

Waller When I had completed my studies at the College, the Secretary made me one of his clerk apprentices. Appointments of all the clerks to all the county courts were in his gift, so he saw that his apprentice clerks learned all the proper legal forms then in use. By copying whatever forms were required, the records of the courts were maintained at the Secretary's Office. When I had served three years as clerk apprentice, the Secretary arranged with Lady Randolph for me to read law at the library of her late husband, Sir



Benjamin Waller's Virginia

John Randolph. Thereafter, when free of other business, I applied myself to the books in that excellent library.

Editor How did you qualify to practice law?

Waller I applied to the Governor and Council for leave to practice as an attorney in the county courts on April 22, 1738. The petition was referred to the Attorney General and Mr. Benjamin Needler. Either of them could examine my qualifications and report the same to the aforementioned board. On July 17, 1738, I stood before the York County Court and produced a commission from the Honourable William Gooch, Esquire, appointing me an attorney, and having taken the usual oaths to the government and subscribed to the test was sworn an attorney.

Editor Do you have any favorite cases?

Waller In George Holden versus John James Hughlett, I nearly brought Hughlett to justice. He was a notorious gamester who was causing trouble all over town. My client, who had lost money to Hughlett, was willing to sue in open court. By Virginia law, the defendant's winnings at gaming are subject to a suit for debt as money held without legal reason. Another fellow, an attorney, George Douglas, who had gamed with Holden and Hughlett on the evening in question, gave a deposition specifying Hughlett's winnings. Since only one witness was needed and since there was evidence that the defendant had cheated with loaded dice, Hughlett would have paid five times the original wager with costs and stood two hours in the pillory with his ears nailed. Unfortunately for my client, the defendant's lawyer raised questions concerning the legality of the deposition and the interest of the deponent in the case. He also attacked the deposition on the grounds that most of the evidence was presumptive. And although the jury found Hughlett guilty of gaming, it denied that he was cheating. Moreover, the defendant's lawyer had the case appealed to the General Court where Hughlett was acquitted. In advising my client, Mr. Holden, I considered that the punishment due to an infamous gamester necessitated enforcement of the gaming laws in this case.

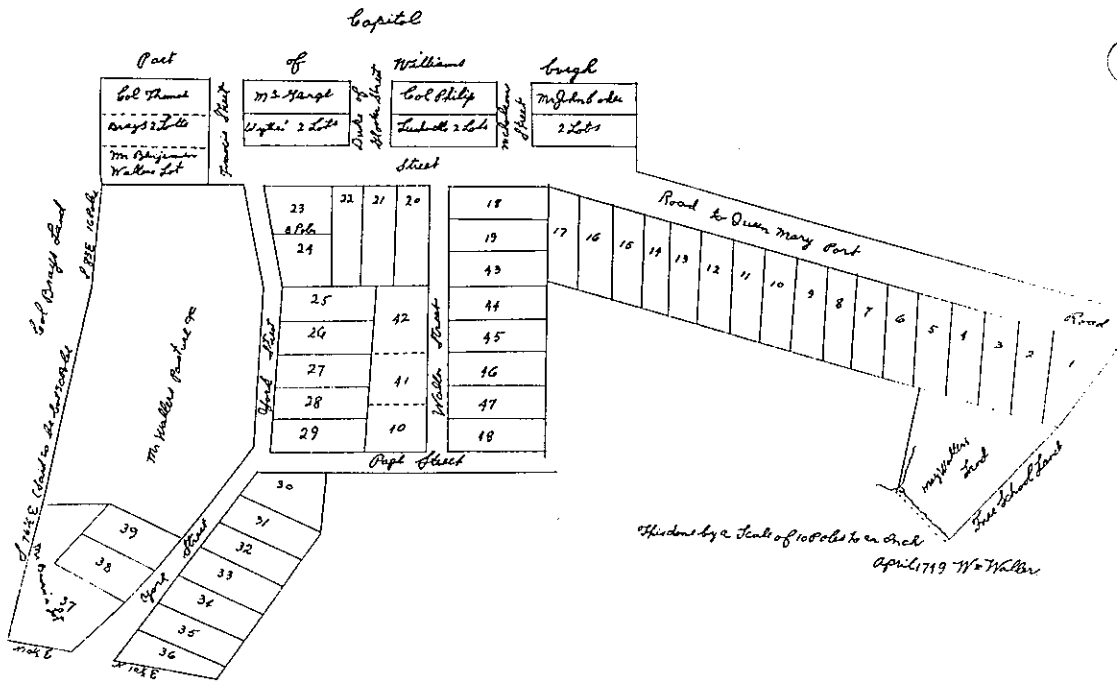
Editor Have you won any important cases?

Waller Governor William Gooch appointed me registrar of the Court of Vice Admiralty in 1737, and I rose to chief advocate of that court. In 1758, I prosecuted a

Rhode Island ship's captain and his crew for trading with the enemy during the late war with the French. It was common practice in those days for New England ships with false clearance and provided with flags of truce to carry a few French prisoners of war as a cover for a cargo of all sorts of provisions for the French in Hispaniola. One of these vessels, the *Prudent Hannah*, was seized off Cape Hatteras and brought to Yorktown, and she and her captain were libeled in the Vice Admiralty Court. When the Rhode Island captain arrived in Williamsburg to arrange his defense, he found himself and his crew branded as traitors and only one lawyer willing to take his case. That attorney was George Wythe who held in the trial that the ship should never have been boarded because its flag of truce must be honored under international law. In my prosecution of the case, I reminded the judge of the court, Peyton Randolph, that the ship was violating an act of Parliament against trading with the enemy during time of war. About that time a French ship from Port-au-Prince was seized carrying letters stating that the French colony would not have survived save by the supplies of the New England ships. These I entered into evidence although they were loudly objected to by my opponents, but their objections were to no avail. His Honour found for the prosecution, and the ship and its entire cargo were auctioned off to eager buyers in Williamsburg. The judge, the governor, and the British captain who had seized the Rhode Islander received the proceeds.

Editor Your opponent in that case, Mr. Wythe, was an old friend of yours. How did you become acquainted?

Waller Mr. Wythe became my kinsman by his first marriage to my niece, Anne Lewis. We met at the home of an attorney, Stephen Dewey, an uncle to George Wythe to whom he was apprenticed at the time. I found Mr. Wythe a man of high principle and deep understanding of the ancient law. His mother had imparted to him knowledge of Latin and Greek, and he read law largely on his own after quitting his apprenticeship to his uncle. His first wife, Anne, died shortly after their marriage, and George Wythe came to Williamsburg afterward hoping to put the tragedy behind him. He and I had frequent conversations after that, and I came to appreciate his sound logic in the application of principle in all cases.



Plat showing Waller property dated 1749 from the Colonial Williamsburg collection.

Editor Did you remain friends for many years?

Waller Yes, our paths crossed often in pursuing the course of public office. Mr. Wythe became secretary to the House of Burgesses of which I was a member for seventeen years. When he was elected mayor of the city of Williamsburg, I served as recorder. During his practice at the General Court, I was its clerk.

Editor Were there any crises in the House during your tenure?

Waller One of them was connected to the happiest day of my life, the day of my wedding to Martha Hall of North Carolina in January 1747. That very month the capitol burned down. That put the future of the city in doubt. A large faction in the Assembly voiced its desire to rebuild the capitol farther inland, but we of the Common Hall of the city were determined to resist the removal and laid a petition before the House. Our adversaries favored a more central location and pressed for removal. They hoped to gain support by helping to pass an allowance for the relief of the people of Williamsburg. The latter suffered an even greater calamity when the city was stricken by an epidemic of smallpox. It was nearly fatal to my eldest child.

Editor Who among the burgesses chiefly advocated removal of the capitol from Williamsburg?

Waller Landon Carter was firmly in favor of it. Mr. Richard Bland brought in the bill for removal which was read once and voted by a large majority for a second reading. Whereupon, I arose and declared against it, arguing the great expense the Assembly would be put to. Upon hearing this, Landon Carter rose and defied me to show how a new capitol would cost more than a rebuilt one. A motion was then made to commit the bill to a committee of the whole house. It passed in the affirmative. Fortunately, Governor Gooch's natural sympathy for the inhabitants of this city, particularly those sick with the smallpox, swayed him in the direction of rebuilding on the old foundations. The House passed a bill for that purpose. Council concurred, and His Excellency affixed his signature.

Editor In view of the considerable property you own near the city, were you personally relieved by this outcome?

Waller The influx of many tradesmen looking for permanent homes in Williamsburg would have been ended by the removal of the capitol. These men and women have made of the city a center of fashion and style

as well as a place of learning and government. Had Williamsburg become a mere market town, I dare say neither the artisans nor their patrons would have come here in such numbers. By the restoration of the capitol, however, the original purpose for which the city was chartered had been reestablished. With the increase of skilled workers, I shared in the growth of prosperity by selling lots from my lands adjacent to the capitol. The purchasers of these lots were required by the specifications of the deeds to plant and seat each half-acre lot as though it had been within the borders of the city. By special act of the Assembly in 1756, the owners of these lots become freeholders of Williamsburg, and their lots included within the bounds of the city. These and other new residents with their useful skills are now available to undertake public works on behalf of the community, to pay the public levies, to serve in the military forces raised for the defense of the colony, to undertake public offices in the city and county, and to vote for their representatives in the House of Burgesses.

Editor Obviously, Mr. Waller, you see the artisans as far more than mere taxpayers.

Waller My belief in the virtue of the trades was instilled in me early in my life when as a young student at the College, I saw the first book of the laws of Virginia in print. In Virginia until this time, all official records of any-kind were written out by hand, hence the necessity for a writing master at the College. With the setting up of the first printing press in Virginia in a house on Lot 48 of this city about 1730, copies of the collected laws of the colony were circulated to every county. Justices and others of the county courts had more ready access to these laws by this method. Moreover, printed forms decreased the time required to handle routine transactions. Many other books, pamphlets, and even an *Ode to Printing* flowed from the presses of William Parks, Virginia's first permanent printer. In 1736, he began publishing a weekly newspaper, the *Virginia Gazette*. Of course, he imported books from England as well, particularly books for the faculty and students at the College. You can imagine how this work increased desire for knowledge of the outside world. As a student, I constantly scanned the productions of the press hoping to find fantastical tales of faraway lands or unexpected witticisms or anecdotes to add to my store. What I did find was sober advice from printed sermons and practical

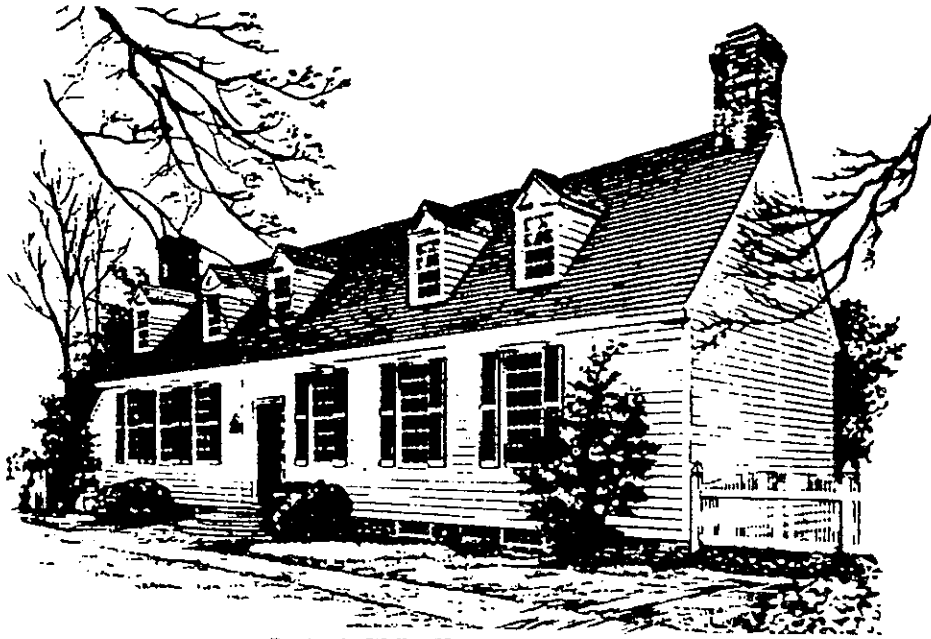
books by which to master skills or professions. A favorite of mine was Webb's *Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace*. Later, when I was apprenticed to Secretary Carter, I fell to perusing the titles of books Mr. Parks listed for sale at the Post Office to find the latest English law treatise. As clerk of the county, I found that the greater ease with which the public business was carried out kept pace with the increase of litigation in the courts. And so I had reason to thank the printer, but not only him but all the artisans whose skills made Williamsburg the bustling capital of the largest colony in British North America.

Editor Did your skills as an attorney benefit these middling sorts?

Waller During the first decade of my legal practice in York County, I was chosen by several men and women of moderate means as executor of their wills to handle their estates after they died. Samuel Hyde's estate was insufficient to support his two orphaned children whom I was responsible for apprenticing out to a master to learn a trade. As guardian to the children, I gave an account of their estate to the court each year until they reached the age of majority as law provides. Thomasine Carter, widow of the public gaoler, who also chose me as executor of her will, left the residue of her estate to several sons all of whom bettered themselves. James Carter became an apothecary and surgeon, and his brother, Thomas, my clerk. Another gaoler's widow, Elizabeth Wyatt, schooled three of my children.

Editor Did you serve more prominent clients as well?

Waller William Parks, the public printer, was the first such man to name me an executor. He had been appointed sheriff of James City County and elected mayor of the city of Williamsburg. He had also owned considerable property, but left nothing to his wife who renounced the will. I held the mortgage on Parks's Hanover County property hoping vainly to preserve it for the heir. Unfortunately, William Parks's estate was debt-ridden, and the land had to be sold. Parks's successor as public printer, William Hunter, also named me an executor as did other men of business: Henry Wetherburn, William Prentis, and Thomas Hornsby. In addition, two men of the landed families did so: Thomas Bray, justice of James City County, and Philip Ludwell III, a member of the Virginia Council. I also served as a guardian



Benjamin Waller House on Francis Street.

to Charles Carter, son of my patron, and as a legal advisor to Martha Dandridge Custis during her widowhood before she married Colonel George Washington.

Editor Was your head turned by all those powerful people?

Waller Corruption of the mind is a condition to be avoided by honest work, and the virtue of a peaceful spirit is to be nurtured by true religion. Parliament has become corrupt by the lust for power, but we of the colonies have retained our virtue by indefatigable attention to duty. Unstinting labor is required of greater and lesser men alike, regardless of their condition in life, but in addition, conformity to the established church.

Editor Mr. Waller, isn't it about time this country had a popularly elected government instead of rule by the privileged few?

Waller I flatter myself that I have gained the approbation of my fellow subjects in the execution of their commands. If the freeholders of James City County found fault with my seventeen years' service in the House of Burgesses, it was only that I supported revenue measures which required them to sacrifice their substance for victory over the French. By 1761, the people had tired of war, and my colleagues in the Assembly were restive under stricter control by the Board of Trade. While I could not bring myself to oppose the British ministry, I did not wish to antagonize my disenchanted friends in the

House. Therefore, I did not stand for reelection. Now, I can no longer act in the business of the Assembly, but I have served on several committees for the review of the currency.

Editor Are you bitter about relinquishing your seat in the House?

Waller The affections of the people toward Great Britain were not quickened by the late war, nor did British officers recommend themselves when they lorded it over American soldiers. Virginians remember Colonel Washington's able leadership, and I find no fault in the people for pride in their own troops. I am glad to have been able to foresee the shift in the people's affections to leaders who would oppose the British administration even though I could not do so myself.

Editor Are you a Tory, Mr. Waller?

Waller Retaining my loyalty to the person of His Majesty, nevertheless I animadvert to the views of my patriotic colleagues with only the greatest reluctance. Save for the appalling outburst of Mr. Henry during the Stamp Act crisis, implying that the king was a tyrant who might profit from the example of Julius Caesar and Charles I, I stand by those in the House who speak in defense of our English liberties.

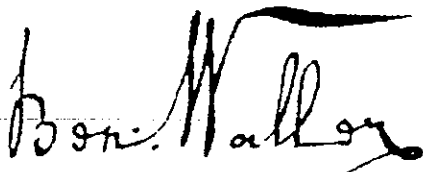
Editor Isn't it true that the people's voice prevailed in the repeal of the Stamp Act?

Waller The condescension of the British ministry in setting aside the Stamp Act showed

that it was not insensible to the sentiments of the people. But remonstrances couched in the most conciliatory language had been received by His Majesty long before the Stamp Act riots took place in many colonies. Colonel George Mercer's rough treatment by mobs in Virginia persuaded him to resign as stamp master, but Parliament will not be so easily subdued. The violence provoked Parliament's strongest assertion of its right to tax the colonies in any manner whatsoever. Parliament had never made such a declaration before, and it augured ill for the future. Two years later came the Townshend Duties, and while some of the provisions have been lifted, new protests have failed to secure the repeal of the tea duty.

Editor Yes, but now won't the dumping of the East India Company's tea into Boston harbor force Parliament to back down?

Waller In spite of the excesses of the Bostonians in disposing of the East India tea, the tax has not been withdrawn. On the contrary, more British regulars have arrived in Boston, and the port has been blockaded. I fear that in Parliament we have raised up a mighty adversary which will test our zeal for liberty to the fullest.



(According to the memoir of his grandson, Littleton Waller Tazewell, Benjamin Waller declined reelection to the House of Burgesses in 1761 because "he did not think it right to oppose the measures of the [British] administration and could not reconcile it to himself to oppose those proposed by his countrymen." Although he was once elected to the Committee of Safety for the city of Williamsburg, Waller feared the arrival of British troops bringing with them the smallpox, and abandoned the city for the course of the Revolution. Having absented himself from the capital, Waller did not avoid calamity. His daughter Dorothy, who resided near him in Brunswick County, died, leaving her young son, Littleton Waller Tazewell, primarily in her father's care. Still ambivalent toward the Revolution, Waller returned to Williamsburg where his grandson could receive a proper education. There Waller continued to act in the service of British merchant

creditors while retaining the respect of Virginia leaders. He remained judge of the Admiralty Court, which continued to meet in the city of Williamsburg until the year of his death in 1786. In part, Waller's legacy consisted of robust offspring who married into the upper gentry and continued the family tradition of public office holding. The Wallers had thirteen children, three of whom died within a few months of birth. Of the survivors, three sons became county clerks, one daughter married the receiver general's son, and another, a future United States senator. Grandson Littleton Waller Tazewell, who was educated by Waller's old friend, George Wythe, became governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, and another grandson, William Waller, married Elizabeth Tyler, daughter of United States President John Tyler.) ■



The editorial staff of the *interpreter* welcomes aboard the new typesetter for this publication, Deanne Bailey. Her patience and expertise are already in evidence with this issue. Thank you, Deanne, and we look forward to working with you on a continuous basis.

I've really enjoyed "getting my feet wet" with this first issue. Good to be working with such a great staff!
— Deanne

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