Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

VOL. 27, NO. 2 SUMMER 2006

We, therefore, your Constituents, instruct you positively to declare for Independency; that you solemnly abjure any Allegeance to his Britannick Majesty, and bid him a good Night forever.

Instructions to the Delegates to be chosen for the County of Cumberland on Monday, the 22nd Day of April, 1776, to sit in the General Convention [The Fifth Virginia Convention] of this Colony

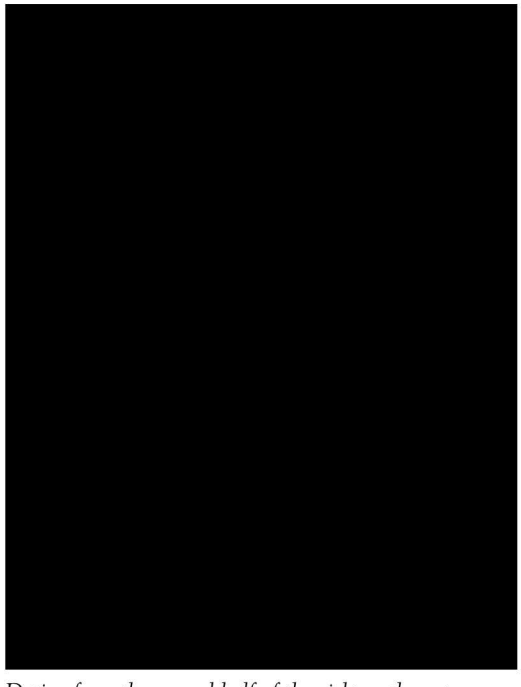
We Were There: The Revolution—In Their Own Words

When a certain great king,
whose initial is G,
Shall force stamps upon paper,
And folks to drink tea;
When these folks burn his tea
and stamp paper, like stubble,
You may guess that this king
is then coming to trouble.
(Philip Freneau, 1752–1832)

Letter of October 1777 from John Page of Williamsburg to General George Weedon on news of the surrender of British General Burgoyne at the Battle of Saratoga:

> *You relate the Battle with Burgoyne. . . . We have had a* Feu de Joye *from our Troops, ringing of Bells and a grand Illumination, and tho' it is now past 10 at Night the People are shouting and firing in Platoons about the Streets. . . . I have been obliged to go down into the Streets and prevent a Riot and to prevail on my Neighbor Lenox to cease firing—who drunk as a Lord had been endeaving to imitate a Cannon.*

From the Journal of Henry Hamilton after his capture at Vincennes by George Rogers Clark. Excerpt from June 16, 1779, the day he arrived in Williamsburg:



Dating from the second half of the eighteenth century, this mezzotint of George III (CWF1932-101) shows the sovereign in profile, a less than flattering image.

Also in this issue . . .

At the Jail we were received by the Jailer [Peter Pelham], *a character, however beneath other peoples notice, which soon called our attention, and which I shall touch upon elsewhere.*

The opening and shutting doors and barrier, unbolting some Cells, and giving directions in an authoritative voice perhaps were designed to appall us poor Devils, and bring us to a due sense of our situation—my reflections were by no means tranquill, but curiosity with a large share of indignation rose to the surface in turns—We traversed a small court 20 feet square, walled to the heighth of 30 feet—A Cell Door was opend when the first object that presented itself to my sight by a dim twilight, was Mr: Dejean—which of the parties was most surprised was doubtfull, but which was most affected appeared to be the Justice, who burst into tears and exclamations on seeing us in such a garb and condition—This poor man had as delicate a sense of danger as either Sancho or Partridge [literary illusions to characters in the novels *Don Quixote* and *Tom Jones*] *and now Gibbetts* [gallows] *and wheels* [medieval instruments of torture] *presented themselves to his fancy in all their horrors—The Jailer put us in, and having no further occasion for us went his way—now had we a hot supper to sit down to, some good wine, liberty of speech and comfortable beds to lye down on, and our handcuffs taken off, it would have been a considerable alleviation.*

But I had better proceed to tell what we had, and it will spare the time of particularizing the many things we had not—We had for our domicile a place *not ten feet square by actual measurement, the only light admitted was thro' the grating of the door which opend into the Court above mentioned, the light and air are nearly excluded for the bars of this grating were from three to four inches thick—In one corner of this snug mansion was fixed a kind of Throne which had been of use to such miscreants as us for 60 years past, and in certain points of wind rendered the air truly Mephytic—opposite the door and nearly adjoining the throne was a little Skuttle 5 or 6 inches wide, thro which our Victual was thrust to us—It is not necessary to describe the furniture, as such folks as were destined to be residents here had no occasion for superfluities.*

Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny . . . with an Introduction Memoir:

> [1781] *Sept. 1st. Army encamped on the bank of James river—part of French fleet, with troops on board, in view. Recrossed James river and encamped at Williamsburg. Army in high spirits—reinforcements coming on.*
>
> *14th. General Washington arrived; our brigade was paraded to receive him; he rode along the line—quarters in Williamsburg.*
> *15th. Officers all pay their respects to the Commander-in-chief; go in a body; those who are not personally known, their names given by General Hand and General Wayne. He stands in the door, takes every man by the hand—the officers all pass in, receiving his salute and shake. This the first time I had seen the General. We have an elegant encampment close to town, behind William and Mary College. This building occupied as an hospital. Williamsburg a very handsome place, not so populous as Richmond, but situate on evenly, pretty ground; streets and lots spacious—does not appear to be a place of much business, rather the residence of gentlemen of fortune; formerly it was the seat of government and Dunmore's late residence. A neat public building, called the capitol, fronts the principal street;*
>
> *The presence of so many general officers, and the arrival of new corps, seem to give additional life to everything; discipline the*

This portrait bust of General von Steuben (CWF 1959-248) was drawn in Philadelphia and engraved in Paris about 1789.

order of the day. In all directions troops seen exercising and manoeuvring. Baron Steuben, our great military oracle. The guards attend the grand parade at an early hour, where the Baron is always found waiting with one or two aids on horseback. These men are exercised and put through various evolutions and military experiments for two hours—many officers and spectators present; excellent school, this. At length the duty of the parade comes on. The guards are told off; officers take their posts, wheel by platoons to the right; fine corps of music detailed for this duty, which strikes up; the whole march off, saluting the Baron and field officers of the day, as they pass. Pennsylvania brigade almost all old soldiers, and well disciplined when compared with those of Maryland and Virginia. But the troops from the eastward far superior either.

25th. Joined by the last of the troops from the eastwood. French encamped a few miles on the right; busy in getting cannon and military stores from on board the vessels.

28th. The whole army moved in three divisions toward the enemy, who were strongly posted at York, about twelve miles distant.

"Uncommon Merit": Edmund Dickinson in the American Revolution

by Ed Wright

Ed is a journeyman cabinetmaker in the Department of Historic Trades. Ed has uncovered more information since he wrote this article. He will update the Dickinson story in future issues. For a footnoted copy of this article, contact Ed Wright or Nancy Milton.

Back in 2000, when Colonial Williamsburg purchased a portrait of cabinetmaker Edmund Dickinson and related papers from the Mary Ball Washington Museum in Lancaster Court House, Virginia, no one could imagine that anything more might be discovered about him. The history of Dickinson's life would always center on a few meager facts about his business activities, his taking up arms in the revolutionary cause, and his death in battle in 1778. How wrong we have been!

New materials have been discovered. Collected in archives across the United States and Britain, they are being brought together for the first time. Letters, diary extracts, regimental orderly books, muster rolls, pay receipts, maps, battle plans, land grants, deeds, wills, and inventories comprise much of the material studied and collected. Still lacking is a document written by Dickinson himself that matches the character of the one known letter that he wrote to his sister Lucy in 1778. Despite that disappointment, we can now flesh out his life far beyond the simple facts of "born, worked, fought, died." Above all, he can be placed in the context of the extraordinary times in which he lived.

Edmund Dickinson's watercolor portrait (front) (CWF 2000-100). This object was given to the Foundation by former employees Harold and Margie Gill.

The research has encompassed all aspects of Dickinson's life, from his family's genealogy to the men with whom he served in the war. Consequently, the space of this article cannot do justice to the full range of materials and the issues raised by them. So it will be devoted to the period that launched interest in researching him in the first place: his military service in the Revolution. Of course, this approach flies in the face of ordinary biographical practice. Certain details have been sacrificed so that important events can be highlighted. But plenty of evidence has come together to make a timely, compelling story.

For a long time, tradition held that Dickinson came from Norfolk, Virginia, to Williamsburg, possibly as a young apprentice under cabinetmaker Anthony Hay, certainly later as an inde-

pendent tradesman. That belief has now been demolished by the discovery of letters written from Williamsburg between 1739 and 1757 by his parents, Thomas and Elizabeth Dickinson. The information in these letters is supported by the birth records for five of the Dickinson children in the Bruton Parish register. Adding a couple of facts already known about Edmund's life in the 1760s with new documentation from family papers remaining at the Mary Ball Washington Museum has completed the verification of the letters.

These letters reveal a family hitherto unknown except for their existence. They also contain two vital pieces of information. First, the Dickinson family was a local one. Edmund, his older brother, and five sisters grew up as regular faces seen around the city of Williamsburg. Second, despite the fragmentary nature of the parish register, we can conjecture a birth date for Edmund sometime in 1747 or early 1748.

Very little new information has been found about Dickinson's adult life in the early 1770s while he worked his trade in the old Hay shop. His professional life as a cabinetmaker lasted only five years. With the coming of the Revolution, his hometown of Williamsburg became the political, military, and logistical center of the Virginia revolutionary cause, particularly with the committee of safety spearheading the effort from there, aided by the civilian population and the coordinating activities of the county and district committees.

Dickinson first supported the cause by providing material goods ranging from strong boxes for the committee treasury to cooking utensils and provisions. His support continued even after he joined the military, culminating in August 1776 with a large sale of furniture for the Palace as the new state governor's house, for which the Council of Virginia warranted him £92. As 1775 waned, he also began associating socially with military officers who joined Williamsburg Masonic Lodge Six, of which he was a member. Although no evidence indicates that he had military experience before 1776, he somehow impressed certain individuals in positions of power, convincing them that he possessed some capacity for leadership.

On February 7, 1776, Dickinson was elected captain of one of two companies of regulars for the York District, as mandated by the Fourth Convention ordinances passed the previous month to expand the military establishment. His election was a unanimous vote by the Virginia Committee of Safety itself, which broke a deadlock in the York committee between Dickinson and John Cary, the captain of a minute company in Elizabeth City County. Dickinson's elected subalterns were First Lt. Charles Pelham, son of Peter Pelham Jr., the musician and jailer; Second Lt. John Quarles, who possibly came from Yorktown; and ensign Thomas Herbert, who may have soon resigned to join the state navy in a higher rank.

Dickinson's fellow captain was Thomas Nelson Jr., the son of Thomas Nelson (1715–1787), the former deputy secretary of the colony. The two officers commenced recruiting their companies with funds supplied by the treasury. The process went quickly, with both units certified complete before the end of the month. Both men then received their commissions. Nelson, whose unit was certified earlier, became senior to Dickinson. The units went into the First Virginia Regiment, enlarging it to ten companies, with Dickinson's the most junior.

In December 1775, Congress in Philadelphia had taken the first six Virginia regiments into Continental service. Their provincial pay and rank ended on February 28, 1776, when they came under Congressional authority. The units then operated at the pleasure of Congress and Gen. George Washington, commander in chief, who could deploy them as they saw fit. Consequently, just days after his Virginia certification, Dickinson became a Continental officer.

Nelson and Dickinson were stationed at Yorktown on coastal watch, where they remained during the entire spring and most of the summer of 1776. In August, Congress ordered two Virginia regiments to supplement Washington's Grand Army in New York. Brig. Gen. Andrew Lewis, commander of Virginia forces, chose the First and Third Virginia Regiments for the duty. The Third got an early start on its trek. Lewis recalled Nelson's and Dickinson's companies to Williamsburg on August 8 to join the rest of the First. Five days later, on August 13, the regiment moved out.

Going by a route that included a barge trip up the Delaware River from Wilmington, Delaware, to Trenton, New Jersey, the First Virginia arrived at Fort Lee on the west bank of the Hudson on September 25. Shortly thereafter it joined the Grand Army north of Manhattan, Washington's forces having already been pushed out of Long Island and the city itself by British troops under Sir William Howe.

"Great joy was expressed at our arrival," wrote Capt. John Chilton of the Third Virginia, "and great things are expected of Virginians." Indeed, the two units did not disappoint; their involvement in raids and skirmishes boosted the army's overall morale. But the sentiment did not last long. British pressure forced Washington across

the Hudson into what became the famous retreat across New Jersey and the Delaware River into Pennsylvania during late November and early December 1776.

Unfortunately, the character of Dickinson's personal service in this campaign of the war remains somewhat vague. Participants in the First Virginia's military activities were rarely documented. That Dickinson kept his health for much of the period is an important point. On all the surviving dated rolls for the First Virginia at that time, Dickinson reported fit for duty while many of his fellow officers were falling sick all around him. He also rose in the ranks as his senior captains received promotions.

By the time of the New Jersey retreat, when the First Virginia, like all the regiments, suffered desertion and sickness, Dickinson was fourth ranking captain. At that time, sickness may have finally caught up with him. An undated return of the regiment, commanded by Capt. John Fleming, listed Dickinson as absent sick. The return was rather sloppy and contradictory within itself, but its statistics match those of the general rolls of the army drawn up in late December 1776. If true, Dickinson may not have participated in the raid on Trenton on December 26 or the fight at Princeton on January 3, 1777, where a British bayonet charge mauled a remnant of the First Virginia.

After the Trenton-Princeton campaign, the Grand Army moved north to establish winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey. Officers of the First Virginia returned south to recruit much needed replacements. Dickinson's first lieutenant, Charles Pelham, was among them.

Dickinson himself moved to Philadelphia by early February where he supervised the available money for recruitment and may have worked as a liaison officer to receive the new recruits, put them through the newly mandated smallpox inoculation, if necessary, and prepare them for duty at Morristown. By April, the regiment was replenished but still seriously undermanned.

Capt. John Fleming's death at Princeton and Capt. Robert Ballard's promotion to major of the regiment that winter made Nelson and Dickinson the ranking captains of the First Virginia. Nelson departed for home on further recruiting duty sometime in May. With Col. Isaac Read, Lt. Col. John Green, and Maj. Ballard absent for various reasons, Dickinson took over command of the regiment. He served as captain-commander for the remainder of the summer.

Early August 1777 brought a new campaign. The Continental Army moved through New Jersey and Pennsylvania into Delaware to stop a new British expeditionary force aimed at Philadelphia by way of the Chesapeake Bay. As regiments under Howe landed at Head of Elk, Maryland, and the Continentals positioned themselves to protect the capital city, the command structure of the First Virginia slowly reassembled itself. Ballard returned by August 26 and took over command from Dickinson. Green returned later.

After Colonel Read's death of illness in Philadelphia, Washington effectively gave command of the regiment to Lt. Col. James Hendricks, Second Virginia, on September 2. Hendricks no doubt grabbed the chance immediately to command the most senior of the Virginia regiments. The First Virginia was now brigaded with three other regiments under Brig. Gen. Peter Muhlenberg in the division commanded by Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene. On August 18, just as the armies were getting into position, Washington reluctantly accepted the resignation of Captain Nelson. Dickinson became the ranking captain of the First Virginia Regiment.

The opening phase of skirmishes and maneuvers between the opposing forces culminated in the first battle of the campaign, Brandywine, on September 11. That day brought a stunning defeat for the Continental Army in the face of Howe's superior tactics. But Greene's division, composed of the Weedon and Muhlenberg brigades, proved its mettle by providing devastating cover fire for nearly an hour. It allowed Washington to withdraw his other troops in some order. These two brigades would not be called "the Flower of the army" for nothing.

After Brandywine, the cat-and-mouse movements continued, but Washington was ultimately outgeneraled. British troops under Lord Charles Cornwallis entered Philadelphia on September 26, sending the Congress and its support network fleeing to York, Pennsylvania. But Howe kept the bulk of his army outside the capital at Germantown, and Washington saw a chance for attack.

On October 4, after a night march into position, the Continentals surprised enemy pickets at dawn and drove both them and several other units back into Germantown. Greene's division, on the American left wing, pushed into the heart of the British encampment, wreaking havoc on their opponents. It looked like the Americans would carry the day in a major upset reminiscent of the raid at Trenton the year before. However, their initiative faded in the face of fog, confusion, depleted ammunition supplies, and, for Greene's men, stiffening resistance. The Continentals fell into yet another retreat. This day, like the one at Brandywine, turned into defeat, and the troops moved back to their main camp to lick their wounds.

The First Virginia sustained several casualties. Colonel Hendricks had head wounds, while Captain Dickinson suffered a slight wound in the knee. Fatalities included Capt. John Eustace and Capt. Joseph Scott. Others were taken as prisoners. The unit's strength was down to ninety-five rank and file fit for duty. Their respite from battle would not last long.

Two weeks later, division orders issued at 11 p.m. on October 17 activated the First and Sixth Virginia Regiments as reinforcements to the garrison at Fort Mifflin, Pennsylvania. Five days later, the Virginians arrived at the fort perched on a mud flat in the Delaware River below Philadelphia. It and its sister installation, Fort Mercer on the New Jersey shore, combined with underwater obstructions sunk into the river's channel, effectively barred the British navy from supplying its army now occupying the capital.

British strategy, based on the knowledge that their successful occupation of Philadelphia required full British control of the river before winter, now focused on the elimination of these two forts. The Virginians and their comrades inside Fort Mifflin endured a three-week siege. Sporadic bombardment from enemy batteries on the Pennsylvania shore coupled with unseasonably cold weather and storms that flooded the island made life there a living hell.

The British gradually strengthened their shore artillery, and the navy broke through the lower river obstructions. Fort Mifflin's defenders slowly weakened from constantly watching and endlessly laboring to maintain their facilities and posture. Lt. Col. Samuel Smith, the fort's commander, his French engineer Maj. François Louis Teissedre de Fleury, and all the defenders knew the odds lay against them.

On November 10, the enlarged batteries opened an overwhelming bombardment on Fort Mifflin. For five days and nights the guns roared. The defenders could only put up a token return fire from their own few cannons. Brig. Gen. James Varnum, sent by Washington with two Connecticut regiments to assist the Delaware forts, finally dispatched a full replacement under Maj. Simeon Thayer, Second Rhode Island, on the night of November 13–14. Lieutenant Colonel Smith's original garrison, with most of the First and Sixth Virginia regiments, was ferried across the river to safety in New Jersey. Among the original defenders who stayed to assist Thayer was Capt. Edmund Dickinson.

Early on November 15, five British warships ranging from twenty-eight to seventy guns came upriver and opened full broadsides upon the fort. Their continuous fire, combined with that from the shore batteries, rained metal from all directions. Two additional small British ships came up the channel between Fort Mifflin and the Pennsylvania shore. They blasted everything with grape shot and sniper fire. The fort was literally being reduced to rubble. No place inside was completely safe.

Dickinson commanded the cannon battery that faced the ships in the river. His men kept up their fire until the bombardment became so severe that they had to abandon their guns and take shelter in the ruins of the fort. Late that afternoon, Thayer called Dickinson and the other officers to a war council that ultimately sent a message to General Varnum in New Jersey: send ammunition or boats. Varnum sent boats. No one could mistake the implied order. The defenders held out until nightfall, then set fire to the ruins of the fort and evacuated to safety on the New Jersey shore.

The sun rose the next day on the smoking remains of Fort Mifflin. The British took possession of the island immediately. On the New Jersey shore, Lieutenant Colonel Smith wrote to Washington directly:

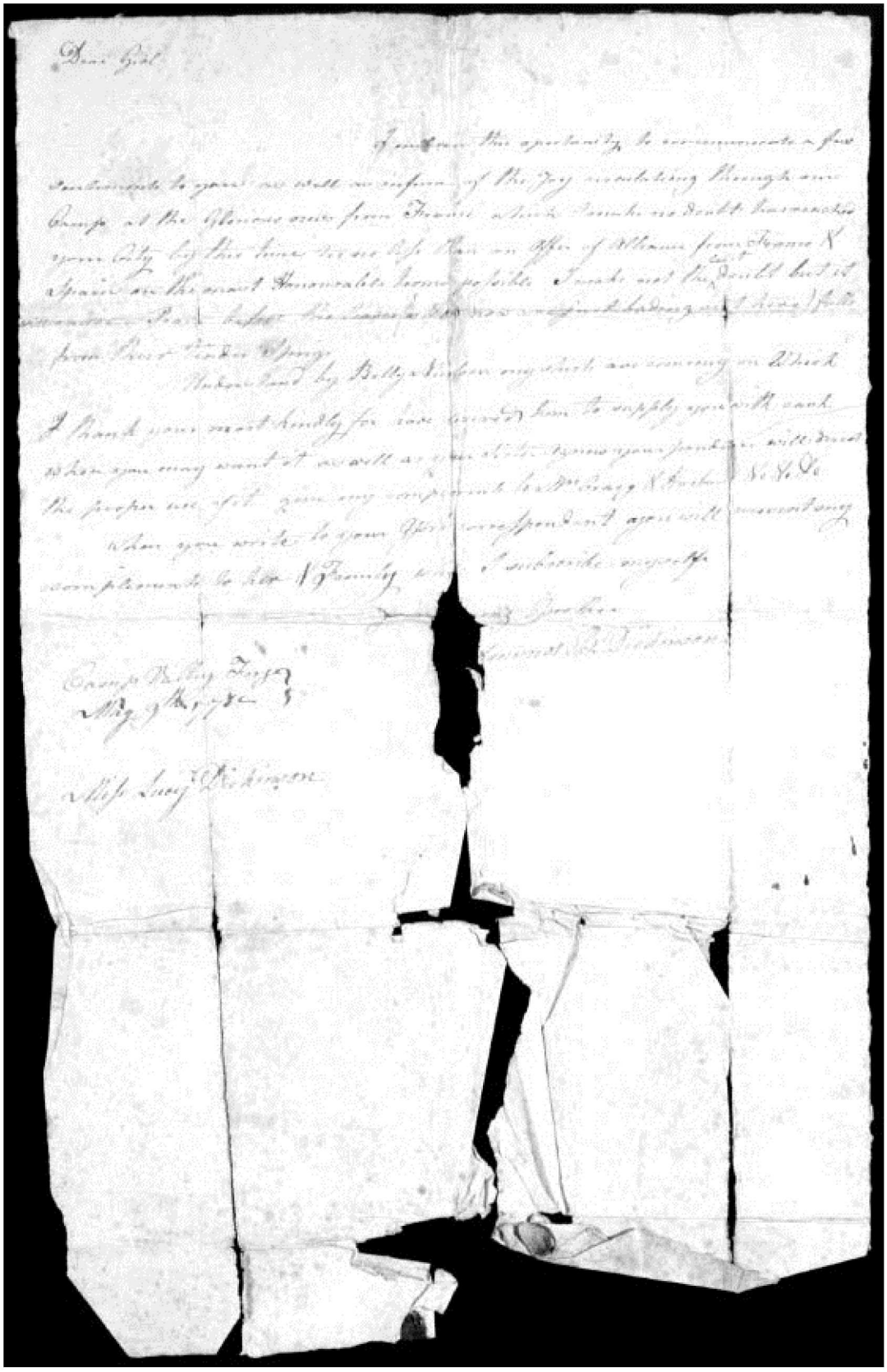
> *General Varnum will have inform'd your Excelly of the Evacuation of fort Mifflin. I am extremely sorry for the circumstance. Major Thayer defended it too bravely. . . . Capt. Dickinson of the first Virga Regt deserves much Attention. he Stay'd with and assisted Fleury. he is a brave industrious good officer.*

It was a first-class commendation. This letter also marked the first time that Dickinson was brought to the attention of Washington. It would not be the last.

When the two Virginia regiments rejoined their respective brigades at camp, Dickinson applied for and was granted extended leave. By December 11, he was on his way home for the first time in two years.

From late December 1777 through March 1778, Dickinson spent a quiet period in Williamsburg. Only once did he attend a meeting of the Masonic Lodge. Word arrived from camp that he had been promoted to major of the First Virginia. After what he had been through, Dickinson could have resigned his commission and left the fighting to others. Many Virginia officers were sick of Continental army life and were resigning in alarming numbers for the feeblest of reasons. But Dickinson bucked the trend and did not resign.

He took an advance of £92 on March 27 from Robert Nicolson, the Williamsburg merchant minding his financial affairs in his absence. The next day, Dickinson wrote his will, leaving the bulk of his estate to his two unmarried sisters, Agnes and Lucy, with small bequests to his mar-



Edmund Dickinson, Camp Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, to Lucy Dickinson, Williamsburg, Virginia, May 9, 1778. Dickinson Family Papers, MS 2001.9.

ried ones, Judith and Elizabeth. He then went back north to the war.

When he returned to duty at Valley Forge as major of the First Virginia, Dickinson found a new colonel of proven quality, Richard Parker, and a new discipline developed by the Baron von Steuben for the entire army. Not only did he have heavier administrative duties, he also now served as the unit's tactical officer. Von Steuben's practice required that all of the field officers personally supervise the drill of the troops, not leave it to the sergeants. Parker was anxious to bring the First Virginia up to the new standards. In Dickinson, he likely had an able assistant.

Dickinson also served Muhlenberg's brigade by presiding over two courts-martial during that spring. The result of one of them has survived: The court sentenced Pvt. Edward Price to 200 lashes for deserting the First Virginia and then taking the bounty and entering into another unit. Muhlenberg reduced the sentence to 100 lashes. The harshness was not unusual; Washington believed in iron discipline to control the otherwise rowdy, camp-bored soldiers.

The broader army also commanded Dickinson's time. He served as vice-major of the day on April 12, just after his return to camp, and full major of the day on June 15, under Maj. Gen. the Marquis de Lafayette and Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne. The duties primarily involved checking the guards and pickets around camp as well as handling routine administrative and camp matters upon which Washington and others in the high command of the army could not spend time.

Washington made a habit of inviting each day's duty officers to dinner on the day after their scheduled service. Thus, on two occasions, Edmund Dickinson sat at table with Washington; aides-de-camp such as Alexander Hamilton, John Laurens, secretary Dr. James McHenry; and, on June 16, Lafayette and Wayne. One would love to know precisely the food eaten and the conversation spoken on that social occasion.

May 6, 1778, was a special day at Valley Forge. The army celebrated the alliance with France, the news of which had only just arrived at camp. The infantry regiments marched and formed by brigades on the Grand Parade where Washington and his staff inspected them. Then the units began a *feu de joie*, a running fire down the whole length of the front line of the ranks and back up the second line. Punctuated by ceremonial artillery fire and huzzahs from thousands of throats, three running fires were performed without a mistake, a testament to the effectiveness of Steuben's training. Once the troops were dismissed to their quarters, the officers partook of a cold luncheon given for them by Washington as host. Toasts were drunk. Dreams of the future were expressed.

Such was the mood at Valley Forge when Dickinson penned his one surviving letter, written to his sister Lucy on May 9. After announcing the news of the French alliance, he expressed the feeling of every officer and soldier when he wrote, "I make not the least doubt but it will cause a Peace before the leaves (which now are just buding out here) falls from their tinder Sprigs." As the saying goes, everyone hoped that the war would be over by Christmas.

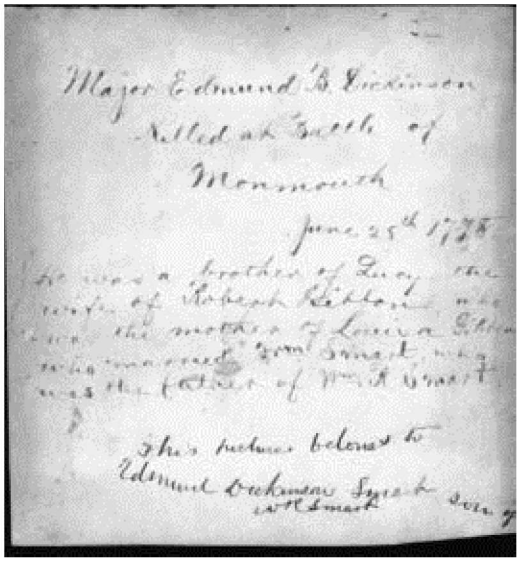
On May 12, Dickinson fulfilled a Congressional mandate by swearing his oath of allegiance to the United States. The printed form that he filled out, signed, and swore aloud before his brigadier, Peter Muhlenberg, remains preserved in the National Archives in Washington, D.C., mounted in a small record book.

The Continental Army departed Valley Forge on June 19, 1778, to pursue the retreating British force that had evacuated Philadelphia and was marching across New Jersey to New York. Once Washington was across the Delaware River, he twice detached units of picked veterans to harass the long, slow enemy lines. The second detachment, three battalions commanded by Anthony Wayne, left Hopewell, New Jersey, on June 25. It included Dickinson in the unit commanded by Col. Henry B. Livingston, Fourth New York Regiment.

After depleting their provisions during two days of abortive maneuvering in increasingly hot weather with no contact with the enemy, all the advance forces converged on Englishtown, New Jersey, by noon on June 27. There, the men rested and refreshed themselves on provisions sent ahead by Washington. Maj. Gen. Charles Lee took command of the entire advance force at this point.

June 28, 1778, was Dickinson's last morning alive. Lee attempted to surround the British rear guard near Monmouth Court House in a classic pincer maneuver. Dickinson's battalion marched in the left wing of the pincer, which brought them into a large grain field. The movement exposed them to enemy cannon fire that they could not return, because they were beyond effective musket range. As the battalion moved to their right to stop a hostile British flanking action, a cannonball killed Dickinson on the spot. He was probably dead before noon.

Increased enemy resistance and confusion among some of his officers caused Lee to retreat west toward Englishtown. British troops overran the area where Dickinson was killed and held it for the rest of that hot, violent day. Both armies exhausted themselves with vicious close fighting and artillery barrages until dark. In the night, the British silently withdrew from the area on the road toward New York. Washington did not pur-



Inscriptions from the back of the portrait, probably in Lucy's hand: "Major Edmund B. Dickinson, Killed at Battle of Monmouth, June 28th 1778, He was the brother of Lucy, wife of Robert Gibbons."

sue them in the morning and ordered mopping up operations over the ugly battlefield:

> *A party consisting of 200 men to parade immediately to bury the slain of both Armies. The Officers of the American Army are to be buried with military honors due to men who have nobly fought & died in the Cause of Liberty and their country.*

The fallen officers of both sides were also memorialized in the passwords issued for the day: the parole "Monckton" for British Lt. Col. Henry Monckton, Second Grenadiers, with the countersign "Bonner, Dickason" honoring Lt. Col. Rudoph Bunner, Third Pennsylvania, and Maj. Edmund Dickinson, First Virginia.

No descriptions of the funerals have been identified, but Dickinson is likely buried in one of the churchyards in the immediate area of Monmouth. If Washington's orders were obeyed, and there is no reason to doubt this, military protocol required that Bunner's and Dickinson's remains be conveyed to the sites by honor guards marching with reversed arms. Three volleys from as many as 200 muskets were the appropriate salute to a fallen major, the most fitting honor that the army could bestow. But Dickinson's final resting place remains unknown, for now.

In the ensuing days, Washington mentioned the deaths of Bunner and Dickinson in letters to Horatio Gates and to his own brother John Augustine. On July 1, he wrote his report to Congress on the battle. After praising the zeal of his army, officers and men alike, he closed:

> *Congress will be pleased to receive a Return of the killed, wounded and missing. Among the first were Lieut. Colo. Bunner of Penna. and Major Dickinson of Virginia, both officers of distinguished merit and much to be regretted.*

The army moved to New Brunswick, New Jersey, where on July 4, it celebrated another *feu de joie* in honor of the Declaration of Independence. Still pondering the Monmouth battle, Washington wrote to Virginia governor Patrick Henry:

> *We lost but two Officers of Rank Lt. Col. Bonner of Pennsylvania and Major Dickenson of the 1st Virginia Regiment. The former of those Gentlemen is unknown to you, but the latter ought much to be regretted by his friends and Countrymen as he possessed every qualification to render him eminent in the Military line.*

No one could have asked for a better commendation from his commander in chief.

Washington's report on Monmouth made the front page of Dixon and Hunter's *Virginia Gazette* on July 17. It was the first public notice of Dickinson's death in Williamsburg. The news, understandably, devastated his sisters. To remember her dead brother, Lucy Dickinson preserved the Valley Forge letter, his portrait, his will, and two anonymous poems written in his memory. Her descendants maintained these mementos to the 1990s. They are all now in the collections of Colonial Williamsburg.

Dickinson's sisters did not mourn alone. On August 4, the Williamsburg Masonic Lodge met for its regular monthly meeting. The members gathered that night recorded in their minute book that:

> *This being the first Lodge night in course since we have known of the Death of our late worthy Brother Major Edmund Blunberg Dickinson who gloriously fell in the Defence of our Civill Rights and Liberties—*
> *Resolved that the usual ceremonies indicating Joy and Pleasure be omitted for the present evening.*

It is fitting to leave the last word to Dr. James McHenry, one of Washington's military secretaries. He likely met and knew Dickinson at Valley Forge that spring of 1778. A Marylander, McHenry had no particular personal or regional reason to remember the Virginia major. His tribute, therefore, came from one American in honor of another. He wrote simply of Edmund Dickinson:

> *He was an officer of uncommon merit, to whose services we cannot pay too great a tribute of praise and remembrance.*

Arts & Mysteries

Humphrey Harwood: Builder of the Original "Revolutionary City"

by Jason Whitehead

Jason is an apprentice brickmaker in the Department of Historic Trades.

Because of the need to house, care for, and supply the thousands of soldiers assembling in and around the capital city, Williamsburg became the eighteenth-century equivalent of the military-industrial complex.

Within this "revolutionary city," carpenter shops were put to work building gun carriages. James Anderson's blacksmith shop was kept busy cleaning and repairing muskets. Builders were employed around the city expanding existing shops or building new structures capable of handling the increased need for production. Humphrey Harwood, the principal bricklayer in the community, handled most of the war-related government brickwork in Williamsburg during the period of the Revolution.

Barracks built near the city offer the earliest example of Harwood's war-related work. Troops had been gathering in and around Williamsburg since the beginning of hostilities. A camp was constructed on the college campus, and some soldiers were quartered in homes and businesses throughout town, with rent paid by the Continental Congress. This worked well as a temporary arrangement, but, for a more cost effective way of sustaining a permanent garrison in Williamsburg, the council "recommended to Brig. Gen. [Andrew] Lewis to provide barracks for the Continental Army stationed here."[1]

The barracks were, in fact, a group of buildings. According to Harwood's ledger, at least one of them was brick. He built at least one foundation and several chimneys by the end of 1776. Work continued into the next year, with Harwood building more chimneys, laying hearths, and building an oven. In March 1778, work at the "brick" barracks included "building a forge in kitching."[2]

Some officers were still stationed in town, however. In mid-1777, Harwood worked at the late Daniel Baxter's property (most likely the William Randolph Lodging), which he noted was being used for "Officer's Barracks." A substantial chimney was built and in four rooms, plaster was mended and whitewashed. In all, Harwood delivered over 185,000 bricks by mid-1778 charged to "The Continent[al Congress] for New Barracks."[3]

The barracks, intended to hold as many as 2,000 soldiers stationed to defend the capital city, must have been fairly impressive. Gov. Patrick Henry and wartime maps of the vicinity around Williamsburg provide fairly specific clues to their whereabouts. The barracks were "to be built on that Part of the Park, which the Governor lately gave up for the use of the Troops," a site Henry felt would be "more agreeable to the Inhabitants of Williamsburg."[4] This land, previously considered part of the Palace property, was far enough removed so as to reduce the disorderly conduct inherent in quartering potentially thousands of troops within the city.

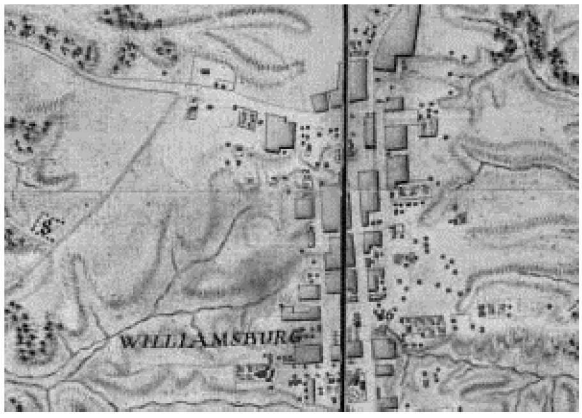
During the early years of the war, a journey to the barracks would have required leaving town along Capitol Landing Road. Anyone passing through the Moody subdivision just north of the Capitol would have come to a road heading off to the left. This road is marked on the Frenchman's Map. After traveling less than a mile down this road, soldiers would have seen the barracks off to their right in an open field.

However, anyone making this journey after the British occupation of Williamsburg in 1781, would have seen only the ruins of the "Casernes brule par les Anglois" (barracks burned by the English) listed as number eight on the map drawn in 1782 by Jean Nicolas Desandroüins (1729–1792), who was attached to Rochambeau's army.[5]

Another project that consumed Harwood's time as a bricklayer was a new hospital. The Virginia General Assembly issued directions in March 1777 "to have a Hospital erected for the sick troops in the service of this state."[6] The site chosen for the new hospital was the land where the public vineyard stood.

An act passed in 1769 allowed for the creation of a public vineyard to "bring great riches to the people." Frenchman Andrew Estave was allowed six years, beginning in 1770, to produce "10 hogsheads of good merchantable wine." Unfortunately for Estave, by the end of 1776, the land in York County purchased for the vineyard was judged "unfit for that purpose" and was to be sold by the next session of the General Assembly.[7]

The next year, Benjamin Powell was contracted to convert the barn on the site into the new hospital. By April, work had commenced at the vineyard hospital. On the 12th, Harwood entered a charge for 12,250 bricks, 160 bushels of lime, nine loads of sand, and twenty-three days labor for "Pillering (meaning brick piers were built) Barn at Vineyard . . . & building Chimney . . . & Underpinning trimming and laying 2 harths." By the end of 1777, Harwood



Map of Williamsburg area (1782) drawn by Jean Nicolas Desandroüins (1729–1792). Courtesy of Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

had delivered and laid another 93,000 bricks at the Vineyard, though for what purpose he did not say.[8]

As can be seen on a 1781 French map of the Yorktown environs,[9] a trip to the vineyard hospital required traveling down the York road east about two miles. The hospital sat off to the left, near the site of the Civil War–era Fort Magruder.

Throughout the war, Harwood also performed extensive work for James Anderson, blacksmith and public armorer, including building forges and chimneys and underpinning the shop. A more thorough examination of the work at the armory can be obtained by reading Noel Poirier's 2003 research report titled "The Williamsburg Public Armory: A Historical Study," available at the Rockefeller Library.

Harwood's account with the "Commonwealth of Virginia" from May 1778 to August 1779 totals more than £314 in charges related directly to the "Barracks, Hospital, and Smiths Shop." When added to his accounts for "The Continent for New Barracks" (October 1776–June 1778) and "Commonwealth Of Virginia" (March 1777–December 1778 and September–December 1779), Harwood billed the government for more than £2,245 in just over three years.

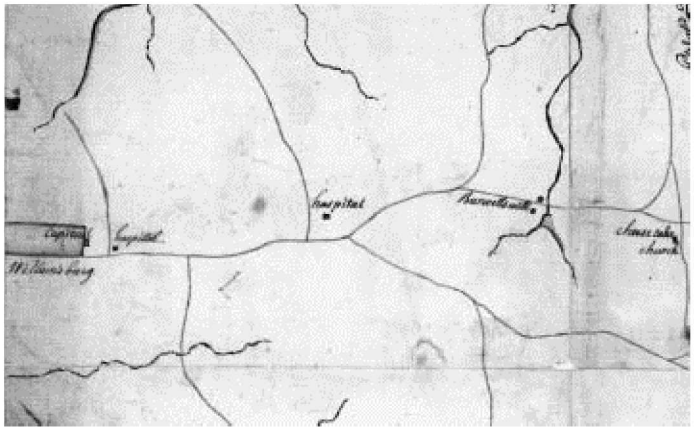
But he wasn't just working for the state. Even during war, with the grand construction happening all around the capital city, routine maintenance had to go on. In early 1777, Harwood installed two new grates and did chimney and whitewashing work in the Courthouse. In mid-1777, he worked on the drains and wall by the Printing Office.

In late summer 1779, the Capitol underwent a renovation. Chimneys, plastering, and a marble chimney piece in the Council Chamber were all repaired, and thirty-five days were spent whitewashing the entire building.

A reader of Harwood's ledger can also begin to get a feel for the inflating economy by the late 1770s. As another routine job, twice a year in May and October, Harwood was contracted "To Cleaning the Statue." The £12.6 charge in October 1777 had risen to £20 by the next May. A year later, cleaning the statue cost £60, and, by October 1779, Harwood was charging £100.

Why was Humphrey Harwood awarded so many contracts for government work? One only has to look as far as family and freemason connections. The Harwood family had been established locally since the 1650s. Close relative William Harwood represented Warwick County in the House of Burgesses for more than thirty years into the mid-1770s.

Humphrey was selected for the Williamsburg Committee for the Enforcement of the Continental Association of Nonimportation and was elected lieutenant and later captain of the local militia in 1775. He was also a very active mem-



"Notes sur les environs de York" [1781] in the Rochambeau Map Collection. Courtesy: Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

ber of the local Lodge of Masons along with William Finnie, state quartermaster of Virginia and deputy quartermaster of the Continental Army's Southern Department.

Even though Harwood was the most prominent bricklayer employed by the government, he was not alone. Both Samuel Spurr (Bruton Parish churchyard wall, Public Hospital) and William Phillips executed brickwork at the barracks totaling more than £42 in 1776.[10] However, very little is known of Phillips, and Spurr died in 1779.

Historians also have the advantage of Harwood's two surviving ledgers. His wartime work is well documented, and his professional connections were impeccable. Thus, interpretively in the Brickyard, his name will be first and foremost when the discussion turns to wartime construction in and around the capital city. As twenty-first-century Colonial Williamsburg presents Revolutionary City, interpreters need to be familiar with the work that went into building Revolutionary-era Williamsburg .

1 *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia,* Vol. 1: *The Letters of Patrick Henry* (Richmond, Va.: The Virginia State Library, 1926), 25.

2 Humphrey Harwood Account Book, Ledger B (John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), fol. 5.

3 *Ibid.*, fol. 1.

4 *Ibid.*

5 This map is part of the Rochambeau Map Collection at the Library of Congress and can be viewed online at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/rochambeau-maps/index.html.

6 *Official Letters of the Governors, Henry,* I: 117.

7 *Hening's Statutes,* 8: 364, 365; 9: 239.

8 *Official Letters of the Governors, Henry,* I: 125; Harwood, Ledger B, fol. 7.

9 *Notes sur les environs de York* [1781] in the Rochambeau Map Collection, Library of Congress. http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/armhtml/armhome.html.

10 Phillips is listed in Deputy Quartermaster, Southern Department, Accounts 1776–1780. The Library of Virginia. Richmond. Microfilm, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Spurr appears in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers,* 8: 142.

William and Arthur Lee, America's First Spies

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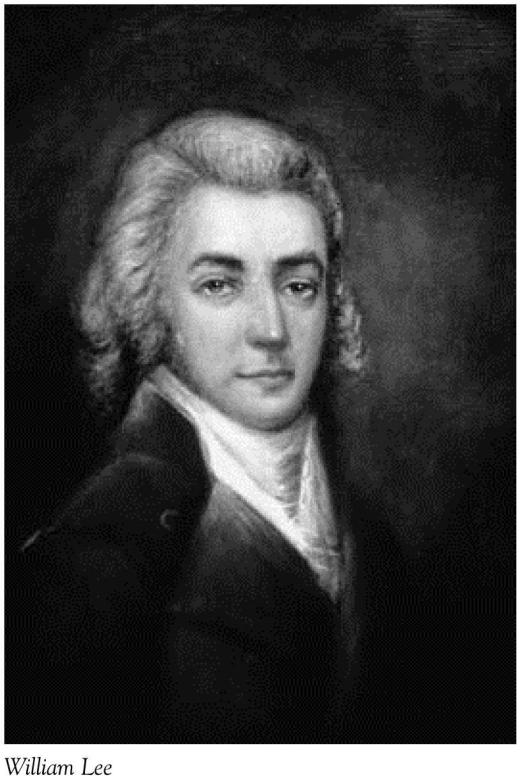


William Lee

For a time, the careers of Thomas Lee's youngest sons, William (1739–1795) and Arthur (1740–1792), seemed sure to eclipse those of their older brothers, Richard Henry Lee and Francis Lightfoot Lee (signers of the Declaration of Independence). Ingratiating themselves with the British aristocracy, they soon abandoned their promising careers as "Englishmen" and risked their lives and fortunes in the cause for American independence. Their contributions to the Revolution are often overlooked; their work frequently was done in secret and well away from the visible sphere of American politics. From their base in London, they gained access to invaluable information on the motives of King George III and Parliament, which, at the risk of treason charges, they passed on to their brothers in America.

Labeled "vagrant Americans" and "pestilent traitors" by an increasingly suspicious English Parliament, they were America's first spies and worked tirelessly in that capacity for governmental as well as popular support for the American cause.

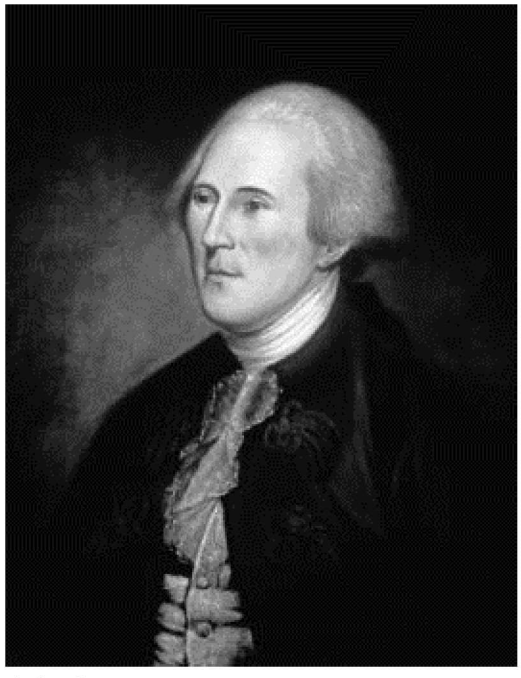
From their years in England, the brothers were well acquainted with British political and social life. In July 1773, to the astonishment of all, William Lee

was elected Sheriff of London. He went on to claim the title of City Alderman, which made him a powerful American political figure in England. Eyeing a seat in Parliament, William became increasingly vocal in his support for the rights of the colonies and believed his political influence in the English capital would further the cause for independence. His brother Arthur, meanwhile, used entirely different methods to attain the common goal.

Well educated, Arthur Lee was considered an intellectual presence in London. Graduating with honors from Edinburgh University with a degree in medicine, he also studied law in London before abandoning these careers to write political tracts in support of the colonies. Under various pen names, Arthur was as prolific as he was patriotic. His pamphlets were distributed throughout Europe and America and served to rally sympathizers in support of the American cause. A 1775 editorial in the *Virginia Gazette* praised "the amiable Dr. Lee, admired by all for his literary abilities and excellent pieces in Vindication of the colonies, shines conspicuously as one of the first patriots of his age."

With war imminent, the Continental Congress named Arthur its secret agent in London. In this role he made contact with the French agent, Beaumarchais, and initiated a flow of supplies between France and America. A few months later, Congress named Arthur, along with Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, as commissioners to the court of Versailles. It also made William its commercial agent in French ports. By June of 1776, both brothers were in Paris.

William later became commissioner to the courts of Berlin and Vienna. Arthur, in concert with Franklin and Deane, made overtures to the courts of Madrid and Berlin. Neither Germany nor Spain intended to establish diplomatic relations with the new nation until France entered the war; thus their efforts to secure international support for the American cause proved futile.



Arthur Lee

The careers of William and Arthur were impeded by bitter debates with Silas Deane, each questioning the other's allegiance to his country. The controversy divided Congress in a vituperative debate. The political infighting resulted in the reorganization of the diplomatic corps and all but one of the positions held by the two brothers were eliminated. Neither brother was ever reappointed to an important government post.

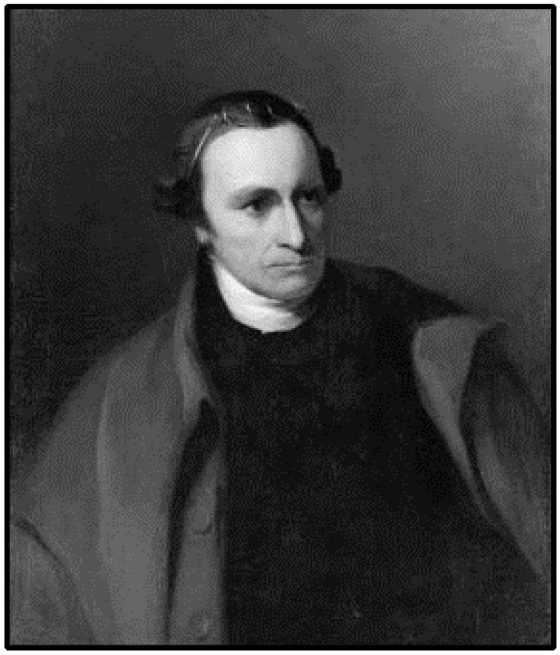
The Silas Deane affair seemed to have embittered not only William and Arthur but the Lee family as a whole. Accusations, though unproven and unfounded, tarnished the Lee family name. Ever courageous, the brothers defended one another with the same vigor and spirit that brought them so much respect and admiration in their pursuit of American liberty.

Patrick Henry: First Governor of the Commonwealth

by Mark Couvillon

Mark is a site interpreter in the Department of Historic Site Interpretation and has written extensively about Patrick Henry.

During the summer of 1776, while the delegates of the Fifth Virginia Convention were drawing up Virginia's constitution in Williamsburg, Lord Dunmore, the defunct royal governor of Virginia, was encamped with his tattered army at Gwynn's Island on the Piankatank River. Though some forty miles away, Dunmore's presence was still powerfully felt in Williamsburg when it came time for the convention to draw up the duties of the new governor of the commonwealth.



Painted by Thomas Sully, who took the image from a miniature by a French artist, Patrick Henry (CWF 1958-3, A) is shown here in a three-quarter front view. The portrait is dated 1815, but the miniature would have been done much earlier.

By declaring Virginia to be a commonwealth, the delegates were, in essence, harking back to the days of Oliver Cromwell and the English civil wars, when the majority of power was lodged in the hands of the legislature and not the executive. Under the new state government, the House of Delegates and the Senate (both elected by the voters of Virginia) were to choose annually, by joint ballot, a governor who had to step down after three terms in office. The two houses were also to elect an eight-man council to serve as an advisory board to the governor, who could not act without their consent.

Having determined how the governor and privy council were to be chosen, the drafting committee went on to decide what hand, if any, the executive should have in the legislative process. Aiding the delegates in framing a new government for Virginia was a pamphlet written by John Adams titled *Thoughts on Government*, which had been circulating through Virginia since May, as well as a plan of government presented to the drafting committee by George Mason. Though similar in many ways, Adams's plan called for an executive veto, whereas Mason wanted the governor to have no voice in the enactment of laws.

Patrick Henry, who had written to Adams a few weeks earlier praising his pamphlet as being in unison with his own sentiments, spoke in favor of an executive veto on the acts of the two houses of the legislature. Without the ability to veto, Henry warned, the executive would not be a coordinate branch of power, but a "mere phantom" unable to defend itself against the usurpation of the legislature or to defend the people against "a vehement impulse or ferment in that body." His arguments fell on deaf ears.

The late depradations by Lord Dunmore were still too fresh in the minds of most delegates for them to consider giving the governor any control over the legislature. According to Edmund Randolph, a member of the drafting committee, "After creating the office of governor, the convention gave way to their horror of a powerful chief magistrate without waiting to reflect how much stronger a governor might be made for the benefit of the people, and yet be held with a republican bridle."

Having denied the executive the power to veto, the Convention went on to remove that one power that had been the thorn in the side of the House of Burgesses for years: the power of the governor to "adjourn, prorogue, or dissolve" the legislature. Removed from all legislative and judicial matters (save the ability to grant pardons and reprieves), the position of the new governor in Virginia would be primarily an administrative one; the legislature would enact the laws and the governor would implement them.

Randolph and Henry were not the only ones to voice concern over the creation of a weak executive. After the adoption of the constitution, Italian immigrant and secret agent for the state Philip Mazzei wrote: "In Virginia, fearing

to give the governor too much power, we have made him an almost insignificant personage; he is completely under the tutelage of his councilors." Mazzei observed that "the obligation the governor is under to follow the instructions of his councilors in all cases limits his authority too much, and in critical moments, his obligation to consult them can also be dangerous."

Despite the loss of power given to the new governor of the commonwealth (as compared to the broad powers held by the royally appointed governors), it was still regarded as a prestigious and influential position. Contrary to popular belief, the position was not given to Patrick Henry by his political enemies as a means of removing him from the assembly.* In fact, only fifteen votes separated Henry from his closest opponent.

On June 29, 1776, after adopting the new state Constitution and Declaration of Rights, the Fifth Convention called for nominations for the position of governor. George Mason, the main author of Virginia's constitution, put forth the name of Patrick Henry for governor. Edmund Pendleton, chairman of the convention and political opponent of Henry, nominated Thomas Nelson Sr. for the post. Nelson (not to be confused with his nephew and signer of the Declaration of Independence Thomas Nelson Jr.) had been the secretary of the colony under Lord Dunmore and a member of his council. The last man to be nominated was John Page, also a member of the former governor's council.

The battle came down to Henry and Nelson, the latter having not only the backing of Pendleton and his conservative followers, but also the support of many of the more liberal-minded men in the convention. Although Nelson had not been at all prominent in the Revolution, it was widely believed that his election would help unite the political factions.

There were also those who believed Nelson to be better qualified for the position. From Congress, Richard Henry Lee wrote Pendleton: "would it not be well to appoint Mr. President Nelson for the first Governor . . . since he possesses knowledge, experience, and has already been in the dignified station?"

When the vote was finally taken, the democratic spirit in the House prevailed. Sixty votes were cast for Henry; forty-five for Nelson. After the vote, Pendleton justified not running for office himself on the grounds that he "did not think it became those who pushed on the revolution to get in the first offices." Spencer Roane (an ardent supporter of Patrick Henry) replied to Pendleton "that we should have cut a pretty figure if that office had been given to a man who was no Whig; as Mr. Nelson was said to have been."

After his gubernatorial defeat, Nelson was selected by the convention to serve on the new governor's council, which he promptly declined on account of "his age and infirmities" (problems that seemed not to have bothered him when accepting the nomination for governor!).

John Page, who had only received one vote for governor, accepted the position on the executive council. Page, like most of the men elected to Henry's council, was a patriotic, yet conservative Tidewater man. Henry, like previous British governors, quickly realized that he would have to work well with these men or risk the chance of becoming a weak and ineffectual leader.

On July 6, the day after the Virginia Committee of Safety held its final meeting, Patrick Henry was sworn in as governor. There would be no parades, no balls, no grand speeches. While in Williamsburg, Henry had contracted malaria and was close to death.

John Page, who had been assigned to swear in the new governor, wrote to Thomas Jefferson concerning the gravity of the situation. "I must immediately attend the Governor who is very ill. If he should die before we have qualified and chosen a President (lieutenant-governor) the Country will be without any head—everything must be in Confusion."

Sitting up in his sickbed, Henry placed his shaking hand on the Bible and swore an oath to uphold the new constitution; to protect the rights of the people; and to "peacefully & quietly resign the government" at the end of his term. After Henry was sworn in, he left Williamsburg for his home—Scotchtown in Hanover County—for rest and recuperation.

Two months went by before the forty-year-old governor had enough strength to return to the capital city and assume his executive duties. During his absence, John Page (who had been chosen vice president of the council) officiated in his stead. As the first lieutenant-governor of the commonwealth, he proved to be a most competent stand-in during Henry's bouts with illness and would narrowly lose to Jefferson as second governor of Virginia in 1779.

On September 17, 1776, Henry was well enough to attend his first council meeting, which he held at the Governor's Palace. Council meetings were held by the governor both at the Palace and in the "Council Chamber" in the Capitol. (The latter space appears to have been preferred when the General Assembly was in session and when the governor was absent.) Just where they met in the Capitol is unknown. It may have been the same chamber once used by Lord Dunmore and his councilors. However, that room may have also been taken over by the newly formed state senate.

A usual session of the governor's council started at ten in the morning and lasted until late in the afternoon. After the meetings, Henry would return to the Palace where he would spend the majority of the rest of the day receiving visitors, signing land grants, drawing up proclamations, issuing declarations for days of thanksgiving and prayer, and corresponding with officials inside and outside of Virginia, including those from foreign nations.

He also responded to the occasional appeals for clemency sought by one of the courts on behalf of a convicted felon. Such was the case when the magistrates of Stafford County petitioned Governor Henry to pardon two slaves they had sentenced to death for killing another slave "in the course of a mutual fighting."

Henry's main focus while governor naturally centered on the war. In 1777, he wrote to Richard Henry Lee: "From morning 'til night, I have not a minute from business. . . . There are a thousand things to mend—to begin."

Some of those "thousand things" included placing a military guard on the streets of Williamsburg, removing incompetent militia officers, issuing marching orders, making provisions for prisoners of war, strengthening fortifications, directing ship placements, establishing dockyards (with the assistance of the Navy Board), ropewalks, and naval depots, and perhaps the most stressing of all—trying to meet Virginia's quota of men for the Continental Army.

Congress had requested fifteen regiments from Virginia for continental service. Though Virginia had the manpower to fill the ranks, fear of smallpox, the recruiting within Virginia by other states, news of military defeats, and the reluctance of men to leave their family and farms to fight and perhaps die in a foreign state, all led to incomplete quotas.

There was also the endless demand of finding arms, powder, salt, tents, blankets, clothes, wagons, and other supplies for Virginia's troops at the cheapest rates possible. (For this task he often turned to the commissary of provisions William Aylett and purchasing agent John Hawkins.)

Henry was also burdened with the nearly impossible task of protecting the long Virginia coastline and frontier from invasion. On four separate occasions, fearing a British invasion by sea, the executive was compelled to embody the militia.

When British Gen. William Howe's fleet appeared off the Virginia coast in August 1777, Henry called out sixty-four militia companies and placed them under the command of Gen. Thomas Nelson. He also ordered the arrest and removal from the coastline of all persons suspected of disaffection to the American cause.

To help protect Virginia's western settlers, Henry sent out forces under commands of Col. George Rogers Clark and Col. Evan Shelby in 1777 and 1778 to put a stop to the Indian raids instigated by British agents. These two expeditions led to the capture of Henry "The Hair Buyer" Hamilton and the defeat of Chief Dragging Canoe and his band of renegade Cherokees.

Internal enemies were also a threat to the state's security. In May 1777, Governor Henry was instructed by the assembly to see to the removal of all British subjects who manifested hostility toward the American cause and to furnish their passage back to England. The bulk of those exiled were merchants who represented British houses.

The following year, Henry sent out the militia and a detachment of state troops to capture notorious tory leader Josiah Phillips, who, with a band of fifty men, had been plundering and killing citizens in Princess Anne County and Norfolk. Philips was captured, tried for robbery in the General Court, convicted, and hanged on December 4, 1778.

A look at the surviving executive journals show that the majority of Henry's time as governor was spent in two areas: appointing local officials (such as justices, sheriffs, coroners, inspectors, and militia officers from those names recommended by the county courts) and approving expenditures of state money.

The council minutes reveal endless claims upon the state (for which warrants were issued by the governor) for such things as paying masters for the use of their slaves in the lead mines, paying salaries of state officials (including Benjamin Bucktrout as purveyor to the hospital and James Anderson as public armourer), and paying wagoners for transporting supplies to the army.

As war concerns mounted, the members of the legislature realized that they had restricted the executive branch so severely that the governor was unable to carry out his duties properly, especially when the assembly was not in session. By the end of 1776, the legislature granted Governor Henry "additional powers" to handle wartime emergencies. These extraordinary powers included seizing supplies for the army, raising additional troops (if needed), and sending three state battalions to aid Washington's army or a sister state in distress.

Over the coming months, further powers were given to the executive by the assembly. These included the full power to commission and remove justices of the peace from office, the ability to convene courts-martial, and the power

to lay embargoes on the exportation of certain provisions. In 1778, the governor was authorized by the assembly to superintend the Public Jail and direct compensation to the keeper.

Although on paper Henry had no hand in legislative matters, in reality his views and opinions had great weight in the assembly. Such was the case in May 1777, when he recommended and the legislature enacted a law directing a draft to complete the six additional regiments called for by Congress, or when he recommended (and received) a tax for the redemption of the paper money issued by the state to help curb inflation.

Rampant counterfeiting throughout the state was a main contributor to the depreciation of Virginia's currency. The relaxed laws on counterfeiting prompted Governor Henry to write the legislature on November 13, 1778, urging them to make counterfeiting a crime punishable by death. The assembly responded by making counterfeiting or passing counterfeit money a felony without benefit of clergy.

On May 29, 1779, Henry's third term as governor came to an end. Whatever fears and uncertainties some of the delegates had in voting against him for governor in 1776 had been wiped away by the hard work and exemplary conduct he displayed during the dark years of the Revolution. This is evident in his reelection to a second and third term without opposition. Some members encouraged him to run for a fourth term, arguing that he had been elected in 1776 by the convention and not the General Assembly. Henry politely refused, preferring to abide by the spirit of the constitution.

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* Henry served two more terms as governor after the Revolution, from 1784 until 1786. His reelection to the governorship at that particular time may have had consequences for debates in the legislature over passage of Jefferson's bill for establishing religious freedom, then being shepherded through the General Assembly by James Madison. Henry supported a different bill known as "General Assessment" that would have created a mandatory religious tax to be distributed to the church, denomination, or school of the taxpayer's choice. Historians suggest that with Henry in the governor's chair and out of the legislature, the way was smoothed for passage of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom in 1785.

Bothy's Mould

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

Tall Tales: A Cultural History of North American Trees (Part 1)

by Wesley Greene

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

The eastern hardwood forest of North America is the most diverse temperate forest anywhere on earth. It was this magnificent population of trees that first impressed the early colonists and plant explorers. The Rev. John Clayton, who was sent to Virginia by Henry Compton, bishop of London, explored Virginia and Maryland from 1684 to 1686. He reported on the flora: "The country of itself is one entire wood, consisting of large Timber Trees of several sorts, free from Thickets or under wood, the small shrubs growing only on Lands that have been cleared, or in swamps; and thus it is for several Hundreds of Miles, even as far as has yet been discovered."

The value of our timber trees was quickly recognized by the colonists, and vast quantities of timber were cut both for export and local use. Coupled with the clearing of land for crops and the harvesting of wood for heating and cooking, the forest had all but disappeared from Tidewater Virginia by the Revolution.

Landon Carter expressed his concern for the dwindling supply of timber in his diary on April 4, 1770: "We now have full 3/4 of the year in which we are obliged to keep constant fires; we must fence our ground in with rails build and repair our houses with timber and every cooking room must have its fire the year round. . . . I must wonder what succeeding years will do for firewood."

By the eighteenth century, the individual attributes of different woods had been long established among tradesmen and plantation owners. Colonial Williamsburg's tradespeople have preserved this knowledge and interpret the unique properties of our many native trees to guests. In this article, we will look at some of the larger timber trees; a future story will examine the understory trees.

The pines were our most important natural resource, supplying a variety of naval stores. The trunks became masts, and the resin was used to produce tar, pitch, and turpentine. As early as 1608, Capt. Christopher Newport returned from Jamestown with naval stores produced in the first year of the settlement.

Capt. John Smith received these instructions for the production of turpentine: "Pyne trees, or ffirre trees, are to be wounded within a yard of the grounde, or boare a hoal with an agar the third pte into the tree, and lett yt runne into anye thinge that may receyve the same, and that such yssuses owte wilbe turpentine worth 18 pounds per tonne."

Prior to the settlement of North America, the English were getting most of their naval stores from Sweden. The danger of relying on a foreign source for such important resources was recognized in a petition drawn up by Parliament in 1704: "it was forseen fifty years since that it would be dangerous to depend upon the Northern Crownes for naval stores and then taken into consideration to be supplied from the plantations in America."

To encourage the production of naval stores, a bounty was implemented in 1705 of £4 per ton for tar and pitch and £3 per ton for resin or turpentine. In Williamsburg, a 1720 bill stated: "Be it enacted by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council and Burgesses of this present Assembly . . . That the sum of twelve hundred pounds current money of the Colony, be appropriated and paid to the person or persons, who shall make, or cause to be made, good and merchantable tar."

While Virginia did produce naval stores, the most common pine in Tidewater was (and is) the loblolly pine (*Pinus taeda*), an inferior species for naval stores. The white pine (*P. strobus*) of the New England colonies was preferred for masts, and the long-leaf pine (*P. palustris*) in the Carolinas was best for production of masts, tar, and turpentine.

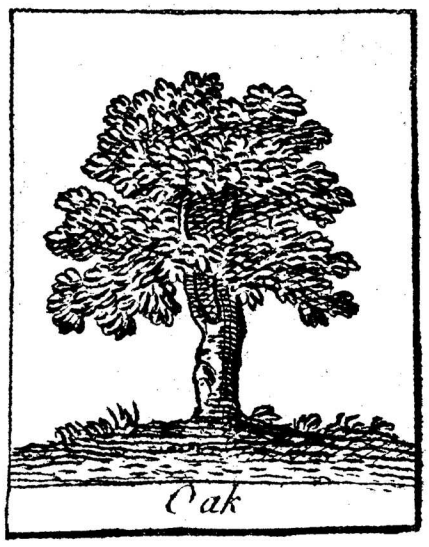
When the first colonists arrived, long-leaf pine grew throughout the Tidewater region. Many of the Historic Area's original buildings have floors made from this pine. These hard, resin-soaked boards derived from 300-year-old trees are nearly indestructible.

When the forest was cut, the long-leaf pine was replaced by the loblolly pine found throughout Tidewater Virginia today. Today the long-leaf pine is found naturally in Virginia only in a single preserve located in Isle of Wight County near Zuni, maintained by Old Dominion University.

The demise of the long-leaf had two primary

causes. Unlike the other pines, long-leaf pine germinates in the winter to form what is called the grass stage of the plant. These young, susceptible plants were devastated by the feral hogs that plantation owners turned loose in the forest. Long-leaf pine is also an obligate fire species and will grow only in areas that experience periodic burns. Naturally occurring fires and the fires set by the native peoples created an ideal situation, but once the fires were suppressed, this pine disappeared from our area. One of the primary considerations for the construction of the canal through the Dismal Swamp (begun in 1793) was to gain access to the stands of long-leaf pine in North Carolina.

In Williamsburg today, long-leaf pine is the primary source of "lightwood" or "fatwood" burned in cressets, although other pines will make lightwood as well. Lightwood has been used for torches for hundreds of years. Around 1685, the Rev. John Banister recorded in his *Natural History,* "we fish anights in a Canoe by light wood."



Oak is second only to pine in importance. Of about 450 species of oak worldwide, 68 exist in North America, with the largest diversity on the east coast. Oaks are struck by lightning more often than any other tree, primarily because of their rough bark.* For this reason, the Greeks associated the oak with Zeus and his ultimate weapon, the thunderbolt, and the Norse with Thor, the god of thunder, whose battle hammer set off flashes of lightning.

Oak is used extensively in all of the building trades. The bark's high content of tannic acid makes it the most popular source for tanbark, used in tanning leather. The acorns were valued for hog food.

The most important oak native to Virginia is the Eastern white oak (*Quercus alba*), or "scaly bark oak" as it was often referred to by colonial woodsmen. It was recognized as a close relative to the English oak (*Q. robur*) and put to similar uses in the construction of ships. The *Natural History* (circa 1730), until recently attributed to William Byrd II, classes it as the *White iron oak* and explains the name as "called thus because of its hardness. This wood is regarded as best for ships because of its lasting quality. Many are made from it."

Its straight, pliable grain also makes it the ideal wood for basketmaking. Colonial Williamsburg's basketmakers use primarily white oak along with the closely related swamp or basket oak (*Q. michauxii*).

The southern red oak (*Q. falcata*) was often called the Spanish oak in the eighteenth century though this name quickly disappeared in the next century. François Michaux remarked on this in 1819: "In an old English work I found in Charleston it is said to have been called Spanish Oak."

Some writers have speculated that the name originated from the similarity of its leaves to that of the European turkey oak, for example, in the *Natural History*: "Spanish Oak does not grow so tall, its wood is very good, and shingles and barrel ropes are made from it."

John Brickell, author of the *Natural History of North Carolina* (1737), wrote that it was "very easy to split, therefore some use to build Vessels with it, it affords good Plank, Clap-Boards, Rails, for Fences, and also excellent good Mast [nuts fallen from trees] for Swine." This is one of the woods our coopers use for their buckets.

The black oak (*Q. velutina*), a less common variety, is a tight-grained wood used for building and ground contact. Brickell recorded that it "grows large, and is . . . sometime used in House-work." The *Natural History* records "the wood is very good for building, for when it is old, it becomes as hard as iron." Anyone who has tried to pull a nail from an old post-and-beam structure made from black oak can testify to this; it is impossible to extract the nail without breaking it. This oak was originally classed as *Q. tinctoria* because a yellow dye was obtained from its bark.

The American elm (*Ulmus americana*) has all but disappeared from our landscape through the ravages of Dutch elm disease, which was introduced into this country in 1930. The American elm is the quintessential memorial tree, and there are scores of locations east of the Mississippi bearing placards that state: "On this spot an Elm Tree stood."

An elm that once stood on Cambridge Common was famous for marking the site where Washington took command of the Continental Army. However, when it came down and the rings were counted, we learned that it would have been a mere sapling at the time.

Other famous elms were the Whipping Post Elm in Litchfield, Connecticut; the William Penn Treaty Elm in Haverford, Pennsylvania; the

Divine Elm in Madison County, Kentucky, under which the first legislative session in Kentucky was held on May 23, 1775; and the Justice Elm in Missouri, where Daniel Boone spent his last years dispensing his version of frontier law.

There are eighteen species of elm worldwide, and its wood has been put to a variety of uses. Danish flat bows discovered on sites dating to 2800 B.C.E. were constructed from elm. The first water pipes laid in London in 1613 were made from elm wood. Sections of them, still sound and intact, were unearthed in 1930 during the construction of the London Underground. Our wheelwrights use elm for wheel hubs because of its durable, split-resistant property.

The American beech (*Fagus grandifolia*) is one of our most stately native trees. Colonial surveyors looked to it as an indicator of fertile soils, since it typically grows on calcareous soil overlaid with loam. (The English *book* derives from the Anglo-Saxon *boc* meaning "letter" or "character," which may, itself, derive from the older *beece,* or *beech.*)

The smooth gray bark of these trees has provided a palette for romantic carving since Roman times. Orlando, in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, declared:

> *O Rosalind! These trees shall be my books*
> *And I their bark my thoughts I'll character*
> *That every eye which in this forest looks*
> *Shall see thy virtue witness's everywhere.*

Perhaps the most famous carving on a beech tree in this country was found on Carrol Creek in Washington County, Tennessee: "D. Boone, Cilled a Bar, On Tree, In Year 1760." Boone's testament was legible until 1880, and, when this venerable old tree fell in 1916, the Forest Service estimated it was 365 years old.

The arbors at the Governor's Palace are constructed from American beech and are routinely carved by our guests. The oldest inscription I could find when walking through the arbor in January was from 1985. When I first came to work at the Palace in 1981, there were several inscriptions still legible from the 1950s.

The species name for the beech, *fagus*, comes from the Greek *phagus,* meaning "to eat." Beech nuts are composed of up to 22 percent protein and 50 percent fat. Lawson in *A New Voyage to Carolina* (1709) observed of the beech nut: "It afford a very sweet Nut, yet the Pork fed thereon (tho' sweet) is very oily, and ought to be harden'd with Indian Corn, before it is kill'd."

Beech wood is not used for building because it quickly rots when exposed to the weather, but our carpenters employ the wood for making block planes.

The most common maple in tidewater Virginia is the red maple (*Acer rubrum*), but the sugar maple (*A. saccharum*), found more commonly in the mountains, is the most useful. Robert Beverly devoted an entire chapter of *The History and Present State of Virginia* (1705) to sugarmaking and observed: "tho' this discovery has not been made by the English above 12 or 14 years; yet it has been known among the Indians, longer than any now living can remember."

A detailed list of the uses for maple sap can be found in the *Natural History*:

> *This is the most useful tree in the whole world, because one makes wine, spirits, vinegar, honey and sugar from it. . . . At first this juice is as pleasant as the best grape juice. If one lets it ferment, then it produces a very good wine. If one distills it, then one has spirits. If one places it in the sun, then one gets splendid vinegar. If, however, it is cooked, one gets honey, and afterwards, sugar.*

Thomas Jefferson was the first to record that it was a combination of freezing nights and warm days that produce the best flow. Maple is used by our cabinetmakers as well as in the production of kitchen implements such as spoons and bowls.

Our largest deciduous tree is the tulip tree (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), often called the yellow or tulip poplar. Lawson, in *A New Voyage to Carolina* (1709), wrote about a hollow tulip tree that was so large "wherein a lusty Man had his Bed and Household Furniture, and liv'd in it, till his Labour got him a more fashionable Mansion." The wood of this tree was used in furniture as well as wainscoting.

Several hickories native to Virginia are useful for their nuts and in making tool handles and other wooden implements such as rakes and pitchforks. Ash is used extensively by our wheelwrights for carriage frames, wheelbarrows, and wheel spokes.

Black walnut provides both nuts and wood for some of the finest furniture. The persimmon, often called American ebony, is used for gun stocks. The bald cypress was used for constructing canoes and shingles. The rot-resistant properties of eastern red cedar (actually a juniper) made it suitable for fencing and coffins; its fragrance made it desirable for furniture.

The easily carved light wood of the American linden, or basswood, was often fashioned into kitchen implements because the wood does not impart a flavor to food during cooking. Longfellow tells us that all of the bowls at Hiawatha's wedding were made from basswood. The name *Basswood* is actually a derivation of *bastwood* or *bast* referring to the inner bark, which the native

people in North America used for making ropes for fish seines. Interestingly, the Celts had used European linden for seine nets.

North America's greatest resource was not found in precious metals, as the first settlers had hoped, but in the trees. As Franz Michel, a Swiss traveler who visited Williamsburg in 1702, observed: "Regarding wild trees, it may be said justly that none can be found which are superior to them."

* Smooth barked trees such as beeches form a continuous sheen of water from the upper limbs down the trunk, which essentially creates a crude lightning rod. A tree with a complete sheen of water functions much the same way as a lightening rod by siphoning off electrons and preventing a strike. Oak bark, because of it roughness and its water shedding properties, prevents this sheen of water from forming, so there are air gaps along the trunk of the tree. Mature oaks are also among the tallest of trees so they provide likely targets for lightening strikes.

COOK'S CORNER

Coffeehouses: The Starbucks of the Eighteenth Century

by Laura Arnold

Laura is a volunteer and member of the Interpreter *Planning Board.*

When the format at Shields Tavern on Duke of Gloucester Street was changed to that of an English coffeehouse, Colonial Williamsburg added an often misunderstood dimension to its depiction of life in eighteenth-century Williamsburg. *Coffeehouse* and *tavern* are words that are mistakenly used as synonyms for each other because of the similarity of the services offered.

Unlike taverns, coffeehouses were usually smaller, provided limited or no space for lodging, and served only simple, light fare along with a variety of nonalcoholic (coffee, tea, chocolate) and, by the eighteenth-century, alcoholic beverages. Most taverns in England did not serve coffee, which contributed to the explosive increase in the number of coffeehouses where this relatively inexpensive drink could be enjoyed.

The concept of coffeehouses was yet another facet of British society that was copied in the colonies. However, because tea became the beverage symbolic of the American Revolution, coffee was lost in the shadows of the famous "tea parties" that drew attention to the issue of taxation without representation.

Three new books in the collection of the Rockefeller Library bring coffee out of those shadows: *Coffee: A Dark History* by Antony Wild, *London's Coffee Houses: A Stimulating Story* by Antony Clayton, and *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* by Brian Cowan.

The popularity of coffee in England can be traced back to the mid-seventeenth century when travel and trade with the Middle East and the Orient first excited the upper levels of British society. Coffee was initially described as a "strange Turkish beverage" that was "black as soote, and tasting not much unlike it." Like many of the new imported "exotics," coffee was believed to have beneficial medicinal properties. The caffeine in coffee was a stimulant that made it well suited to good conversation and an antidote to the intoxicating effects of alcoholic beverages, all of which helped accelerate the popularity of coffee and by 1650, the coffeehouse as the place in which to consume it. Obviously, the cachet associated with drinking coffee with your intellectual peers was more important than its taste.

Early in their history, coffeehouses were chiefly patronized by the "elite" members of society: those men whose interest in science, philosophy, and the arts launched the Age of Enlightenment. Admission to a coffeehouse cost one penny; because of the intellectual discussions and new ideas that flourished in the congenial atmosphere of coffeehouses, they were referred to as "penny universities."

Gradually, coffeehouses welcomed all levels of society (but not female customers), especially those craftsmen whose skills supplied the new demand for luxury goods. In urban areas such as London, men with similar interests (ships' captains, politicians, artists, and clergy) began to gather at particular coffeehouses for refreshments, socializing, and the dissemination and discussion of the latest news.

Politics was always a popular topic of conversation, and after the return of Charles II to the throne, his nervous followers became concerned about what they considered seditious ideas coming from the patrons of coffeehouses. The king was persuaded to issue a proclamation in December 1675 ordering the closure of all coffeehouses. Imagine forcing the closing of all Starbucks! Public protest caused Charles II to revoke the proclamation, and coffeehouses continued to prosper.

Mary Goodwin, in *The Coffeehouses of the 17th and 18th Centuries,* a research report written for Colonial Williamsburg, found the earliest reference to a Williamsburg coffeehouse in the 1709–1712 diaries of William Byrd of Westover. He did not give the proprietor's name or its location except to indicate that it was near the Capitol.

Byrd was familiar with London coffeehouses, and his numerous visits to the coffeehouse in Williamsburg reveal that it, too, was a gathering place for men of business as well as those who took part in the business of government. They seldom ate their meals at the coffeehouse and, like their British counterparts, used it as a place for light refreshments and socializing while discussing the latest news.

Goodwin found a more specific reference to a Williamsburg coffeehouse in the 1751 journal of Daniel Fisher, a coffee and tea merchant who leased the building previously owned by John Marot and later James Shields. Fisher noted that the building was "known by the name of the English Coffee House."

Other buildings near the Capitol that were operated as taverns or ordinaries were, at various times, also referred to as coffeehouses. As the colony grew in size, more visitors came to this capital city, and public houses that offered lodging and dining were more numerous.

An establishment that began as a coffeehouse may have changed into a tavern without its former name changing in the minds of its patrons. Shields Tavern is an example of the blurred distinction between the use of *tavern* and *coffeehouse*. Today, Shields Tavern places the emphasis on its role as a coffeehouse by offering its customers a capsule history of coffeehouses on its bill of fare:

Some Interesting Facts:

- Coffee beans were used by the Galla tribe in Ethiopia as an energy food before A.D. 1000.
- England's first coffeehouse opened in Oxford in 1650.
- It is estimated that by 1700 more than 2,000 coffeehouse were operating in London alone!
- Although we associate England with tea, coffee and tea were introduced about the same time.
- During the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, coffeehouses were

"A London Coffee House," signed and dated A.S. 1668, demonstrates that women could be found in coffeehouses as owners or managers but not as customers nor in direct contact with male customers. Taken from Peter B. Brown's In Praise of Hot Liquors *(1995), 11.*

strictly male domains; women were excluded as customers [even though women occasionally ran coffeehouses].

- Many English coffeehouses had posted "Rules and Orders" to the effect that all men were equal within the establishment. Any man with a penny for admission was welcome and could interact with his fellows without regard for rank and privilege. Men from all strata of society would meet, mingle, and exchange information and opinions.
- The coffeehouse rules often prohibited such activities as gambling, swearing, quarrelling, and mourning over a lost love.
- One London coffeehouse was so popular with shippers, captains, and the underwriters who insured their voyages that the proprietor, Edward Lloyd, began circulating a newsletter and posting a chart of arrivals and departures. Long after Lloyd's death, the underwriters who still frequented his coffeehouse banded together to form the insurance firm known today as Lloyd's of London.
- In 1751, Daniel Fisher took over the late Mr. Shields's tavern and remarked in his journal that it was known in town as "Marot's or the English Coffee House."

The full, fascinating history of this "strange Turkish drink," a beverage that for four centuries has survived the ever-changing tastes of its consumers, can be found in the following bibliography of sources available at the Rockefeller Library.

Aubertin-Potter, Norma. *Oxford Coffee Houses, 1651–1800.* Oxford, 1987.

Clayton, Antony. *London's Coffee Houses: A Stimulating Story.* London, 2003.

Cowan, Brian. *The Social Life of Coffee.* New Haven and London, 2005.

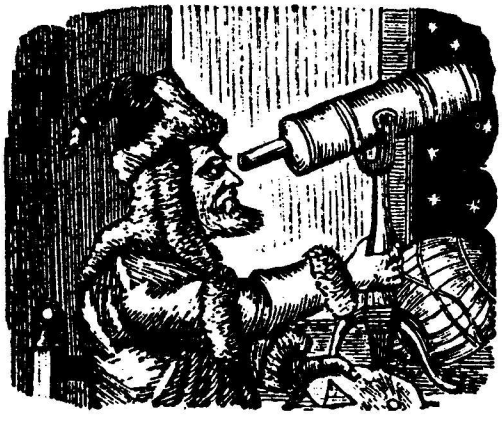
Ellis, Aytoun. *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffeehouses.* London, 1956.

Goodwin, Mary. *The Coffeehouse of the 17th and 18th Centuries.* Williamsburg, Va., 1956.

Hattox, Ralph S. *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East.* Seattle, Wash., 1985.

Lillywhite, Bryant. *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* London, 1963.

Wild, Antony. *Coffee: A Dark History.* New York 2004.



Q & A

Question: Was voting compulsory in early Virginia?

Answer: Technically, yes. By law, all freeholders were required to vote in the county in which they held property. In 1662, the penalty for not voting was set at 200 pounds of tobacco. After 1785, the penalty was increased to an amount equal to one-fourth of the individual's levies and taxes for the year.

These laws seem never to have been effectively enforced, however. In a couple of documented instances where freeholders who had not voted were presented to a grand jury, either the county court or the governor dismissed the cases. Voters before and after the Revolution cited inconvenience, weather, and distance to the polls as reasons for not attending elections.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, St. George Tucker generalized, "Except on some great occasion where a contest may happen, between influential persons, the whole body of freeholders in a county, rarely, perhaps, never, attend." (Source: Charles S. Sydnor, *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* [Chapel Hill, N.C., 1952].)

Question: In a November 1774 letter to Scottish merchant Charles Steuart, Virginia loyalist James Parker of Norfolk described the "liberty pole" incident in Williamsburg (a near tarring-and-feathering) and the forced signing of the Continental Association by Virginia merchants meeting in the capital. Parker noted the tactics of someone called "Little England . . . a mighty man in forwarding this, preaching up the terrible consequences of refusal." Who was "Little England"?

Answer: "Little England" seems to have been James Balfour of Hampton, Virginia. Gene Mitchell, supervisor of the Thomas Everard House, offers these tidbits:

In *Time Tears Down Many Old Landmarks*, Parke Rouse notes, "Little England on Hampton Creek was the home of Hampton's wealthy Balfour family, who intermarried with the Blairs of Williamsburg. Their onetime plantation house stood near the former Queen Street Bridge fronting a deep water dock." Thomas Everard's daughter Frances visited there to recover her health.

An obituary in Purdie's *Virginia Gazette*, April 14, 1775 reports:

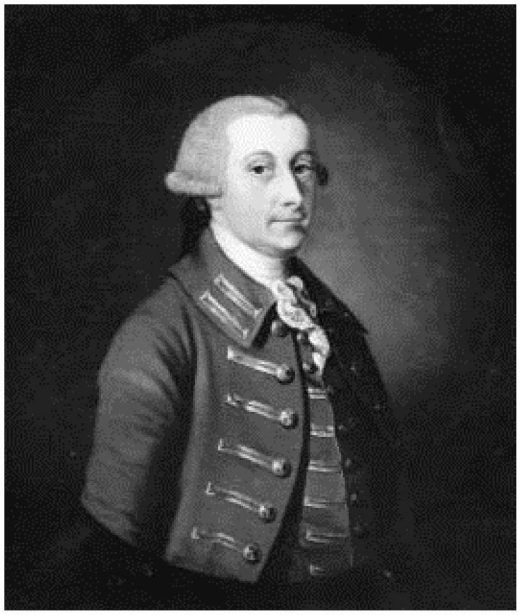
> *James Balfour, Esq. at Little England near Hampton; an agent for the house of Mess. Hanbury & Co. of London. To whom he was a most faithful servant, and executed his trust with the ease and politeness of a gentleman. He was an agreeable companion, a steady friend, had a very humane and benevolent heart, and no man wished better to the cause of America, or had a higher sense of liberty in general.*

Exactly three months later, a notice of the estate sale appeared:

> *To be sold on Thursday the 27th instant (July) at Little England, near Hampton, the remaining part of the personal estate of Mr. James Balfour, deceased, consisting of house hold and kitchen furniture (among which are several good feather beds, and some plate) plantation utensils, Negroes, and sundry other articles. The Negroes have been altogether brought up to housework, and are complete servants. Credit will be allowed till the 10th day of October next, the purchasers giving bond with approved security; the bonds to bear interest from the date, if not punctually discharged at the day.*
>
> *Daniel Barraud, admin.*

The text of the Historic Marker for the plantation site provides the last bit of available information:

> *Little England*
> *In 1634, Capps Point, later known as Little England, was patented by William Capps, a prominent planter who maintained a lucrative salt works. He served as a burgess in the 1619 General Assembly, the first representative legislative body in the New World. On 25 June 1813, during the War of 1812, British Admiral George Cockburn sailed into the mouth of Hampton River and shelled Hampton. A complement of 450 Virginia militiamen tried in vain to hold the British at bay with several small cannons mounted in the fortification at Little England.*



Charles Steuart's portrait (CWF 1956-495) was painted during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, either in America or Britain.

Question: In mid-November of 1775, when Lord Dunmore published his proclamation offering freedom to slaves willing to flee their masters and join him, was there any sort of official response by the Virginia Convention?

Answer: On December 14, 1775, a month after Dunmore's proclamation, the Fourth Virginia Convention adopted and published its own declaration, hoping to induce the voluntary return of slaves who had left their masters. The meat of the document—in essence a reprieve from the Act of Assembly that prescribed death for slaves who rebelled or fomented insurrection—read as follows:

> *We think it proper to declare, that all slaves who have been, or shall be seduced, by his lordship's proclamation or other arts, to desert their masters' service, and take up arms against the inhabitants of this colony, shall be liable to such punishment as shall hereafter be directed by the General Convention. And to the end that all such, who have taken this unlawful and wicked step, may return in safety to their duty, and escape the punishment due to their crimes, we hereby promise pardon to them, they surrendering themselves to col. William Woodford, or any other commander of our troops, and not appearing in arms after the publication hereof. And we do farther earnestly recommend it to all human and benevolent persons in this colony to explain and make known this our offer of mercy to those unfortunate people.*

The absence of documentation makes it difficult to know whether any slaves who joined Dunmore were induced to return to their masters by the publication of the Convention's offer of exemption from the death penalty. Slaves who might have considered returning still faced considerable uncertainty about the consequences they might suffer at the hands of masters.

Question: How fast was the rise in inflation of paper currency that was issued to finance the Revolution? Why couldn't it be controlled?

Answer: The paper currency issued by Congress first in 1775 (and later by the individual states) began to lose its face value almost immediately upon printing. Congress's "Continentals," as they were called had no backing in gold or silver, but were, in theory, backed by the anticipation of tax revenues and redeemable only after the former colonies won their independence.

Easily counterfeited and with no solid backing, the notes quickly lost value, giving rise to the phrase "not worth a Continental." Even George Washington was heard to say, "A wagonload of Continentals will hardly purchase a wagonload of provisions."

This uncertainty created a deep distrust of paper money, an enduring theme in the evolution of American paper money. The Revolutionary period marked the first time that the value of American currency was derived solely from its purchasing power, as it is today.

Little could be done to shore up the value of paper currency. Some colonial and continental notes were engraved and printed by prominent statesmen and Revolutionary heroes, such as Benjamin Franklin and Paul Revere, to give it credibility, but the public's distrust persisted.

Most currencies were issued with a date by which time they were to be redeemed for gold or silver specie or replaced with a new paper issue, but neither the Congress nor the states had gold or silver with which to buy them back from the bearers. Neither were there any banks with reserves of specie to ameliorate the situation. Even after France began sending specie to America in 1778, the supply was insufficient to make a real difference.

John J. McCusker, in an article titled "How Much Is That in Real Money?" (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 101 [1991]: 297) gives a picture of inflation rates in various states during the Revolution and summarizes the rapid devaluation of Virginia paper money. Virginia currency issued by Act of Assembly in October 1776 was so devalued by January 1777 that it took 150 paper dollars to buy 100 silver dollars.

By January 1778, the ratio of paper to specie was 400 to 100; by 1779, 800 to 100; by 1780, 4,200 to 100; and by 1781, 7,500 to 100.

In the absence of any other solution to inflation, states began in mid-1779 to attempt to control commodity prices, with limited success. In 1780, Congress repudiated its worthless paper money. Virginia followed suit in 1781. (*Kevin Kelly, historian, Research Department)*

Question: Who officiated at marriages in Virginia during the Revolution? Isn't there something about marriages performed by dissenting ministers not being legal?

Answer: Let's take a step back into pre-1776 Virginia. Marriages performed by dissenting ministers before 1776 were not legal because Virginia law at the time required that a minister of the established (state) Church of England officiate at weddings.

In the only known exception to this rule, Gov. William Gooch in the late 1740s gave Presbyterian minister Samuel Davies of Hanover County permission to marry members of his congregations, although the fee established by law for officiating at weddings did not go to Davies. That fee continued to be paid to the minister of the local parish church even though he did not take part in these Presbyterian weddings.

Fast-forward to 1776. Dissenters took the "free exercise" wording of article sixteen of Virginia's Declaration of Rights at face value, even though the Declaration actually spoke only of the freedom to worship as one chose without fear of the authorities. It did not address—and therefore left in place—mandatory parish taxes and other civil restrictions on dissenters.

Dissenters' pleas, in the form of petitions to the General Assembly, did not fall on deaf ears, however. Beginning in 1776, the assembly annually *suspended* the requirement that dissenters pay parish levies.

Delegates addressed other grievances, such as marriage laws, during the war years. In 1780, the General Assembly passed *An act declaring what shall be a lawful marriage* for "encouraging marriages and for removing doubts concerning the validity of marriages celebrated by ministers, other than the church of England."

The law went on to say that "it shall and may be lawful for any minister of any society or congregation of christians, and for the society of christians called quakers and menonists, to celebrate the rights of matrimony, and to join together as man and wife, those who may apply to them agreeable to the rules and usage of the respective societies to which the parties to be married respectively belong, and such marriage as well as those heretofore celebrated by dissenting ministers, shall be, and they are hereby declared good and valid in law." (*Hening's Statutes,* 10: 361–362.) (*Linda Rowe, historian, Research Department)*

Question: Did allied French forces begin leaving Virginia immediately after Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown?

Answer: The French established winter quarters in Williamsburg through July 1782. The now well-known Frenchman's Map of 1782 was a billeting map drawn by French engineers to aid in identifying quarters for troops wintering over in Virginia after the siege at Yorktown. (Accommodations were also sought at Yorktown, Hampton, Gloucester, Jamestown, and West Point.)

See *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig Von Closen, 1780–1783,* edited by Evelyn M. Acomb (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1958) for an account of experiences in Williamsburg before and after the siege, including social activities. For an in-depth analysis of the dating and purpose of the Frenchman's Map, see Alan Simpson's *The Mysteries of the "Frenchman's Map" of Williamsburg, Virginia* (Williamsburg, Va., 1984). (*Linda Rowe)*

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

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE:

New at the Rock

New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

Choosing Revolution and Revolutionary City

American liberty asserted: or British tyranny reprobated: in a discourse, delivered on Wednesday, the 22d day of April, 1778, to the officers and soldiers of General Woodford's brigade, by Fitzhugh Mackay, chaplain. Lancaster [Pa.]: Printed by Francis Bailey, near the Court-House., [1778] Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans, 1639–1800, Digital text: http://opac.newsbank.com/select/evans/15875

Woodford's Brigade of the First Virginia Regiment spent the winter and early spring at Valley Forge. In McKay's exhortation to the men, he used a passage from Deuteronomy, "When thou goest out to Battle against thine Enemies, and seest Horses and Chariots, and a People more than thou, be not afraid of them; for the Lord thy God is with thee," and compared the Continental forces to the people of Israel battling for the Promised Land.

By His Excellency the Right Honourable John Earl of Dunmore, His Majesty's lieutenant and governour-general of the colony and dominion of Virginia, and vice admiral of the same: a proclamation. As I have ever entertained hopes that an accommodation might have taken place between Great Britain and this colony . . . I do, in virtue of the power and authority to me given, by His Majesty, determine to execute martial law. . . . Given under my hand, on board the ship William, off Norfolk, the 7th day of November, in the 16th year of His Majesty's reign. [Broadside, Norfolk, Va.: From the press of John H. Holt & Co., 1775] Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans, 1639–1800, Digital text: http://opac.newsbank.com/select/evans/14592

An image of the famous broadside declaring slaves who take up arms for England will earn their freedom.

Cline, Edward. *Sparrowhawk. Book Four: Empire*. San Francisco, Calif.: MacAdam/Cage, 2004. PS 3553.L544 S627 2004

In the fourth book of his American Revolution series, Yorktown author Ed Cline turns his attention to the anti-tax movement that helped shape the American Revolution, specifically the protests against the Stamp Act and how they led to the subsequent rebellion. Hugh Kenrick, the hero of volume two, becomes a burgess in the Virginia legislature and leads the charge to push a series of resolutions to repeal the Stamp Act.

Howard, Robert A., and E. Alvin Gerhardt Jr. *Mary Patton: Powder Maker of the Revolution*. Rocky Mount, N.C.: Rocky Mount Historical Association, 1980. E207.P35 H69 1980

This short publication tells the story of Mary McKeehan Patton, who emigrated to Pennsylvania from England with her parents in the 1760s. Later she moved to western North Carolina with her husband and children and there established a powder mill. She is credited with supplying five hundred pounds of gunpowder to the frontiersmen who won the Battle of King's Mountain. Following the short biography of Mrs. Patton is an illustrated description of how black powder is made. Unfortunately, there are no footnotes for further research.

Enslaving Virginia

Levy, Andrew. *The First Emancipator: The Forgotten Story of Robert Carter, the Founding Father Who Freed His Slaves*. New York: Random House, 2005. F229.C34 L485 2005

The author marvels that Robert Carter III freed his slaves and wonders why his unprecedented action hasn't been more celebrated in the history of the American abolition movement. At a time when southern landowners such as Washington and Jefferson deplored slavery in theory, Robert Carter changed his way of life in order to free some five hundred slaves. Levy focuses on the development of Carter's thinking and relationship with his slaves as reflected in his writings. For more information on the freed slaves, see John R. Barden's 1993 dissertation, "Flushed with Notions of Freedom." E445.V8, E24.

McCartney, Martha W. *A Study of the Africans and African Americans on Jamestown Island and at Green Spring, 1619–1803*. Williamsburg, Va.: The

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2003. F234 .J3 M334 2003

This carefully documented narrative complements McCartney's earlier work on Jamestown [*Documentary History of Jamestown Island*, Ref F234 .J3 M333 2000]. She discusses the slave trade at Jamestown, the legal status of Africans, and the role of slaves in the success of the Virginia colony. The appendices include lists of slaves belonging to the Amblers (1768) and the Ludwells (1767) and an index of data files owned by the Colonial National Historical Park, which lists documentary sources for African Americans, Native Americans, and indentured servants.

Slavery and the Making of America. New York, N.Y.: Ambrose Video Pub., 2005. E441.S538. 4 DVDs:
v. 1. *The Downward Spiral,* Danté J. James, director/producer/writer. Morgan Freeman narrator.
v. 2. *Liberty in the Air,* Gail Pellett, director/producer/writer. Morgan Freeman narrator.
v. 3. *Seeds of Destruction,* Chana Gazit, director/producer/writer. Morgan Freeman narrator.
v. 4. *The Challenge of Freedom,* Leslie D. Farrell, director/producer/writer. Morgan Freeman narrator.

One of the first films purchased by the Library in DVD format, this series produced by PBS describes the contributions of slaves to the building of the United States. Danté J. James's film, based on James Oliver Horton's book of the same title, is a splendid overview of the subject, made all the more accessible by concentrating on the human stories of the people involved. For instance, blacks wrote petitions questioning how whites could talk of not being "slaves" to the British, while keeping slaves themselves. Of course, these petitions were dismissed. The on-air scholars—James Oliver Horton, Thomas J. Davis, Ira Berlin, Norrece T. Jones Jr., and Peter H. Wood—are articulate and interesting.

Buying Respectability

Barfield, Rodney, and Patricia M. Marshall. *Thomas Day: African-American Furniture Maker*. Raleigh: North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 2005. NK2439 .D38 B37 2005

Two articles about Thomas Day originally published in the *North Carolina Historical Review* are reprinted in this volume. He was born in 1801 to a free land-holding family in Virginia and became a master furniture maker in Milton, North Carolina. As a free black, he was educated, ran a successful furniture business, was an active member of the Presbyterian Church, and owned slaves. He is considered by many to be the founder of the modern southern furniture industry. Using primary sources, the authors critically evaluate the stories that have grown up around the man. Black and white pictures of his furniture testify to his style and craftsmanship.

Cowan, Brian William. *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005. TX908 .C68 2005

How did a foreign brew like coffee become so integral to British life of the eighteenth century? Cowan explores the economics, the medicinal value, the controversies, and the political and intellectual life surrounding the drink. Reading this is sure to send you to Shields Tavern for a cup of hot coffee, conversation, and possibly, sedition.

Taking Possession

MacKercher, Daniel. *A memorial relating to the tobacco-trade: Offer'd to the consideration of the planters of Virginia and Maryland*. Williamsburg [Va.]: Printed by William Parks, MDCCXXXVII. [1737] Early American Imprints, Series I: Evans, 1639–1800, Digital text: http://opac.newsbank.com/select/evans/4154

MacKercher introduces his plan for streamlining and expediting the tobacco trade for the purpose of increasing efficiency and profit.

Restoring Southern Gardens and Landscape Conference. (13th: 2001, Winston-Salem, N.C.) *Cultivating History: Exploring Horticultural Practices of the Southern Gardener*. Winston-Salem, N.C.: The Conference, 2001. SB16 .U6 R47 2001

Missed the conference? Learn interesting bits of information on gardening based on documentary and physical evidence from this enjoyable collection of articles. Included are Davyd Foard Hood's "'Their garden was of moderate size, well laid off . . . ': Historic Southern Gardens in Letters, Journals, and Travel Accounts"; Terry Yemm's "Practical Gardening: The Method of Proceeding"; Stephen Mankowski's "Well Wrought: Making Garden Tools from Iron and Steel"; and Pat Gibbs's "'Little spots allow'd them': Slave Gardens in the Eighteenth Century."

VerBoon, Caitlin, and Thomas H. Taylor. *Historic Area Graveyard Study*. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report, 2005. F234 .W7 R47 no. 383 [Also available on the Colonial Williamsburg Intranet http://intranet/architect-collect/arch_collections_mgmt/completed_rpts/conservation_rpts/conservation_reports.htm]

The staff of the Architectural Collections Department photographed and transcribed the

markers and diagrammed the layout of seven family graveyards located at the following properties: Coke-Garrett House, Custis Tenement, Secretary's Office, Taliaferro-Cole House, Benjamin Waller House, Williamsburg Inn pool site, and the Wren Crypt.

Submitted by Juleigh Muirhead Clark, public services librarian, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library.

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

An Essay on Hunting (London: J. Roberts, 1733). This book, by a "country squire," laments the decline in popularity of the pursuit of game and decries the degeneracy of the age in its neglect of this "manly sport." Among the many benefits of the chase, the author gives first place to the enhancement of health. Topics include huntsmen, horses, hounds, game, and scent.

Sharp, William (ed.). *Great English Painters* (London: Walter Scott, 1886). The editor traces the development of art in England from earliest times through the era of Holbein. The work also includes selected biographies from Allan Cunningham's *Lives of Eminent British Painters*, with chapters devoted to William Hogarth, Richard Wilson, Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Gainsborough, and William Blake.

Second Protest, with a List of the Voters against the Bill to repeal the American Stamp Act, of Last Session (Paris: J.W. Imprimeur [i.e., London: John Almon], 1766). This protest was raised following a reading in Parliament of the "Bill for applying certain Stamp Duties in the British Colonies and Plantations in America." The book warns that passage of the law will justify those in America and Britain who have termed similar acts as instances of tyranny and oppression. It also warns that the almost certain uprising against such an act will lead to a conflict impossible to win. The topic, with its implied criticism of the English government, was so controversial that the London printer, for his own protection, gave a fictitious place of publication and publisher on the title page.

Williamsburg, Virginia: A Brief Study in Photographs (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1939). Among the early publications produced by Colonial Williamsburg, this collection of images by New York photographer Richard Garrison shows the varied fields of interest embraced by the Restoration at that time, such as architecture, decoration, arts and crafts, horticulture, and scholarly pursuits are mentioned as specific areas of interest to be found in the restored city.

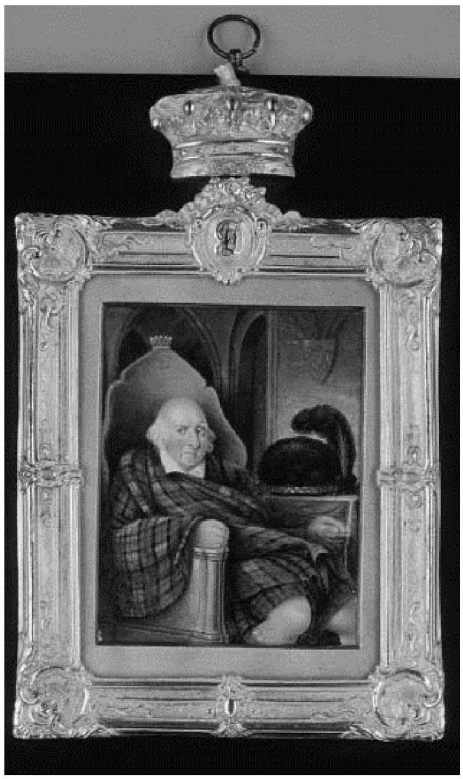
Submitted by George Yetter, associate curator for the architectural drawings and research collections, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library.

Editor's Notes

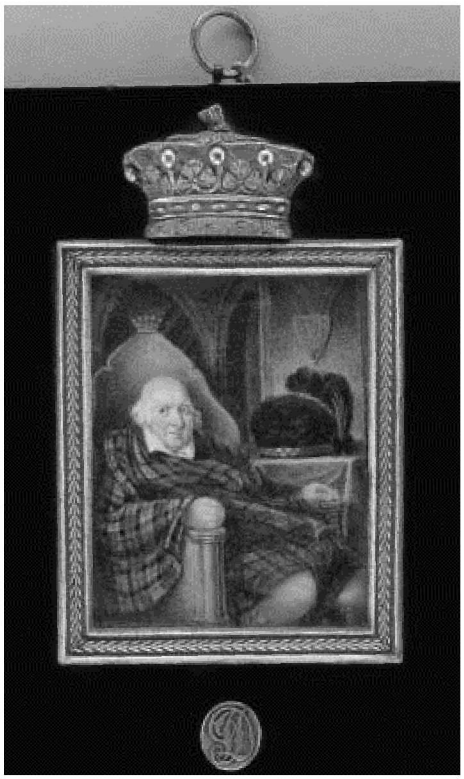
In her article, "Seeing Double," in the Spring 2006 issue on the Department of Collections' two Dunmore miniatures, Barbara Luck was unable to say why Lord and Lady Dunmore moved to the area of Ramsgate, Isle of Thanet, Kent, in later life. Interpreter Terry Yemm has pointed out that their daughter Lady Augusta was already living there, a fact that undoubtedly contributed to the couple's decision.

Also, readers may need clarification regarding the two illustrated miniatures. Miniature "A" (shown on the left in the more ornate frame) was purchased from a dealer. Miniature "B" (illustrated on the right in the plainer frame) was a partial gift of a descendant of the subject in memory of Henry Alexander Murray, with residual acquisition costs funded by John A. Hyman and Betty C. Leviner.

Miniature A



Miniature B



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Revolutionary City