

Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

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Heat Enough to Stifle, Cold Enough to Chill, All in the Month of July! Or, If You Don't Like the Weather . . .

July 18, 1774, Nomini Hall, Westmoreland County, Virginia

Pray Sir let all our Windows be put up . . . & let the Doors be set open or we shall faint with Heat—Such a night I never spent before—The Heat says he, and these cursed Chinches [bedbugs] made me intirely restless.

July 20, 1774, Nomini Hall

Shut the Door . . . I'm so cold I shake—in-deed the morning is cool enough to sit with December clothes on!

(Philip Fithian, *The Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian*)

After 1723, Manumission Takes Careful Planning and Plenty of Savvy

by Linda Rowe

Linda, historian in the Department of Historical Research, is assistant editor of the Interpreter.

As the institution of slavery matured in colonial Virginia, slaveholders saw the small number of free blacks in the colony as a "great inconvenience" suspected of everything from receiving stolen goods and encouraging slaves to run away to fomenting rebellion. Moreover, "being grown old [they bring] a charge upon the country"—that is, aged free blacks who were unable to work, in principle at least, became eligible for support from the parishes in which they lived. Although the General Assembly never considered reenslavement of the existing free black population, it took measures to prevent slaveholders of "ill directed" generosity from adding to the numbers by setting slaves free.

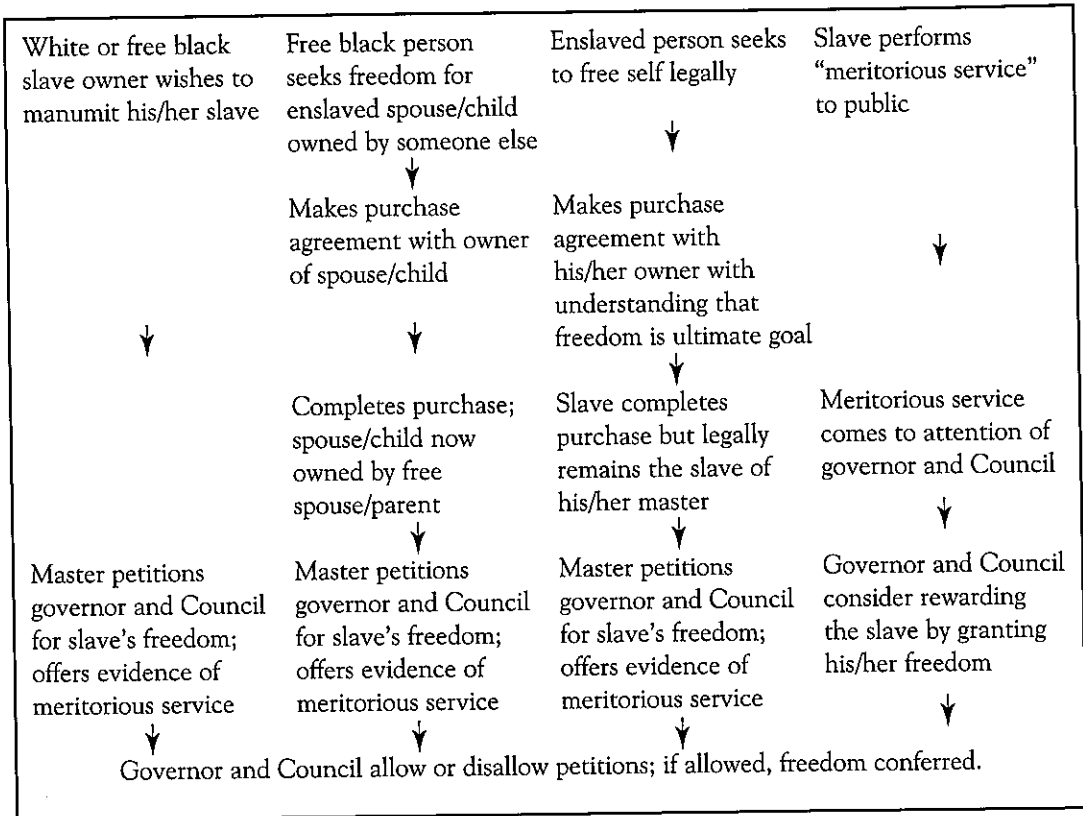
In 1691, the General Assembly passed a law aimed at making masters think twice before freeing any of their slaves. While manumission by deed or will was legal under this law, it required a newly freed slave to leave the colony within six months and the former master to pay for the trip.

Although this legislation likely had a dampening effect on the urge to manumit, it is not clear how many slaves were freed and forced to leave Virginia during the thirty-two years it was in effect.

Manumission became much more difficult in 1723. Paragraph 17 of the 1723 Act Directing the Trial of Slaves, Committing Capital Crimes; and for the More Effectual Punishing Conspiracies and Insurrection of Them; and for the Better Government of Negros, Mulattos, and

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Indians, Bond or Free stated that "No negro, mullatto, or Indian slaves, shall be set free, upon any pretence whatsoever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the governor and council, for the time being."

Passed in response to rumored slave insurrections, this act permitted manumission only upon approval of the governor and Council and then only as a reward for public service. Should a slave be set free in any other manner (by will or deed, for example), the act required churchwardens to return the person so freed to slavery by sale at public outcry.

Historians have said that the "meritorious service" in which Virginians were most interested was for slaves to alert authorities to slave conspiracies and insurrections, but records of the governor's Council show that no slaves gained their freedom on those grounds after 1723. Instead, meritorious service came to include such qualities as exemplary character and faithfulness. In spite of the 1723 law, a few slave owners left instructions in their wills to free a slave. It was then up to their executors or administrators to petition the governor and Council.

When arrangements prior to petitioning the governor and Council included agreement between a white slaveholder and a slave or free black, the process was fraught with pitfalls. A slave owner might die before a slave or free black was able to fulfill the purchase agreement. It is also not hard to

imagine that, after receiving the agreed upon purchase price for a slave, a master might not honor the agreement, perhaps by simply failing to go to the trouble and expense of taking that extra but critical step of submitting a petition to the Council. The following examples and the chart above may help explain why there are only about twenty petitions for freedom to be found among the journals of the Council between 1723 and 1773.

From the Executive Journals of the Council April 29, 1729

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

other venereal distempers, the said Papaw be set free; and that the sum of £50 current money be paid to the said M[istress] Frances Littlepage out of his Majesty's Revenue of 2 shillings per hogshead, for his freedom; but that he remain still under the direction of the Government until he made a discovery of some other secrets he has for expelling poison, and the cure of other diseases.

Council Journal, December 11, 1745

On Petition of Abram Newton a Mulatto setting forth that he being Husband of Elizabeth Young a free Mulatto was purchased by her and lived with her til her Death and that the said Elizabeth by a writing under her Hand gave the Petitioner his Discharge after her Death and Praying the Board to grant or confirm to him his freedom Ordered That the party who claims a Property in him be summoned to appear and shew Cause there upon why his prayer shall not be granted.

Council Journal, June 13, 1746

Ordered That the said Abram be manumitted and set free according to the Will of the said Elizabeth and the Prayer of the Petitioner

Council Journal, November 27, 1769

On the Petition of Matthew Ashby, a free Mulatto setting forth that he had two Children by his present Wife Ann Ashby, while she was a Slave to Samuel Spurr, that he bought her and the two Children of the said Spurr for one hundred and fifty pounds, that he has now two Children alive by her John and Mary, that she has been a faithful and diligent Wife ever since marriage, and praying that he may be permitted to set her and his Children free; the board being satisfied therein, were of opinion, that the said Ann, John and Mary were deserving of their freedom, and it was order'd that the said Matthew Ashby have leave to Manumit and set them free:

Council Journal, March 21, 1772

The Petition of Margaret, late a slave of Dorothy Cartmill, of the County of Frederick, deceased, was presented and read; setting forth that her said Mistress in her late Sickness made her last will and Testament by which she gave the Petitioner to her Son Edward Cartmill for five Years, and then she directed that the Petitioner should have her Freedom, as a reward for the extraordinary Diligence and Tenderness with which she waited on her during a long and painful illness; and praying that his Excellency and their Honours would be pleased to give their Consent that the said Dorothy's Intentions in her Favour may receive a full Sanction.

*Virginia Gazette (Purdie),
June 16, 1775.*

TEN POUNDS REWARD.

RUN away from the subscriber in Dunmore county, in May last, a negro fellow named SAM, 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, has a broad face, and is a well looking fellow. As to his clothing, I cannot be certain, he having carried several things with him. He also took with him an old bay horse very gray about the head, an iron pot, a narrow axe, a handsaw, and an old smooth bore gun. About three years ago he purchased his freedom of his old master, Mr. Francis Slaughter, and continued in that state till this spring, when it was discovered he was attempting to inveigle away a number of negroes to the new or Indian country (where he had been most of the last summer) upon which the neighbours insisted on his being reduced to slavery again, and I purchased him. I imagine he will endeavour to pass as a free-man, he having a discharge from his old master, as well as one from Lord Dunmore, having served in the expedition against the Indians last fall. Whoever delivers said slave to me shall have the reward that is offered.

GABRIEL JONES.

Sam had the proper papers from both his former owner and the governor, but his reenslavement illustrates the threat posed by his suspicious "neighbors."



On consideration whereof, it was the opinion of the Board and ordered accordingly that the said Edward Cartmill, or any other Person who would be intitled to the Service of the said Slave, if the said Will had never been made, be permitted to Manumit and set Free the aforesaid Margaret.

Council Journal, October 30, 1772

John Carter, Esqr. Having petitioned the Governor and Council, for leave to manumit his Slave, named Agathy, together with her five Children, called Betty, Myrtilla, Lucy, Aggy, and James, & having failed to give the board Satisfactory Proof of their meritorious Services, as the law requires, the petition was rejected.

Council Journal, May 7, 1773

The Petition of Elizabeth Jolliffe, Executrix of William Jolliffe decd. For Leave to manumit Jane, a Negro girl according to her Husband's will, was rejected for want of proof of meritorious Service as the Law requires.



Bothy's Mould

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

English Precedent and the Colonial Landscape

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 from Bruton Parish Church.

The architecture of gardening for most of our history has been composed of straight lines, sheared plants, and bilateral symmetry. From the gardens of the pharaoh Amenhotep III, illustrated on the walls of his tomb before 1400 B.C.E., through the early Renaissance gardens of the Italian nobility, and reaching the height of perfection, or extravagance, in the gardens of Versailles in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, we have arranged our plants in formal patterns.

This artificial manner of gardening may speak to the human condition until relatively recent history. At a time when our crops, our animals, and our families were at the mercy of nature, we responded in the garden by trying to make nature behave in contrived shapes and patterns. This approach is also very much in keeping with the biblical command to "replenish the earth, and subdue it" (Gen. 1:28).

Early in eighteenth-century England, a scant three hundred years ago, the precepts developed over thousands of years of gardening came into question. The English, after the Restoration of Charles II, had embraced the French *tapis vert* (grass walk or green carpet) perfected by André Le Nôtre, gardener to Louis XIV. When William III and Mary II came to the throne late in the seventeenth century, the English garden was further embellished by the fanciful topiaries favored by Dutch gardeners.

Soon after this the English intelligentsia began to rebel against such formal, contrived landscapes. Alexander Pope ridiculed the excesses of topiary in a 1713 article in *The Guardian*, in which he described a fictional English estate: "Adam and Eve in Yew; Adam a little shatter'd

by the fall of the tree of knowledge in the Great Storm. Eve and Serpent very flourishing. The tower of Babel, not yet finished. St. George in box; his arm scarce long enough, but will be in condition to stick the dragon by next April."

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the English began to move away from the rigidly formal gardens of their ancestors. Stephen Switzer and Charles Bridgeman developed what has become known as the "forest style" of landscape architecture stressing that a landscape could be both "useful and beautiful." Their landscapes retained the formal gardens surrounding the house but added vistas to a countryside of forestlands and orchards. This is very much how the landscape at the Governor's Palace appears today, perhaps even as it was designed by Gov. Alexander Spotswood.

The blending of utility and beauty fit the American psyche well. Plantation gardens in the seventeenth and first part of the eighteenth century were valued more for their practicality than their beauty, and a restraint of excess almost seems to be a point of pride. This is expressed in a 1686 letter written by William Fitzhugh to his mother from Eagles Nest on the Potomac: "I neither live in poverty or pomp, but in very good indifference." The *ferme ornée*, or "ornamental farm," appealed particularly to Thomas Jefferson who envisioned an agronomic society of enlightened gentlemen.

According to garden historian Peter Martin, formal gardens near plantation houses in Virginia sometimes included terraces, a distinctive garden feature in Renaissance Italy and in seventeenth-century England. For example, the house at Green Spring plantation, after being enlarged in the late seventeenth century, overlooked terraces on its southern exposure. Early in the eighteenth century, Gov. Alexander Spotswood transformed the ravine west of the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg into elaborate terraces facing west over a formal canal that opened out into a fish pond. The terraces were wide enough to accommodate plantings and may have been naturalized by the addition of fruit trees and shrubs. Later in the eighteenth century, gardens at Kingsmill plantation included three broad terraces extending almost 500 feet to the south with a constant width of 220 feet. At Carter's Grove, terraces descended from the house to a large fenced-in, rectangular garden. The earth excavated for their construction was piled high to make flanking terraces and mounds. Terraces were a feature in the gardens at Sabine Hall, Cleve, Gunston Hall, and possibly Mount Airy. Philip Fithian, tutor at Nomini Hall, thought the terrace there "curious" because rather than

falling vertically, it sloped in the manner of the terraces that exist today behind the Robert Carter House in Williamsburg (see figure below).

An interesting landscape feature was the ha-ha wall ("a boundary to a garden or park, of such a kind as not to interrupt the view from within, and not to be seen until closely approached; a sunken fence" *Oxford English Dictionary*). The one at the Governor's Palace would have been a very modern feature for the time. The act of 1710 stipulated that the pasture and orchard be "enclosed with a good ditch and fence." This stipulation has been interpreted by Peter Martin, author of *The Pleasure Gardens of Virginia*, to suggest the presence of a fosse or ha-ha in the original Palace landscape.

Charles Bridgeman is often credited with bringing the ha-ha wall to the English landscape at the royal residence at Richmond sometime after 1727 and was judged by Horace Walpole in his *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1760) to be the single most important factor in moving away from the French style of gardening toward a uniquely English landscape. This is somewhat paradoxical in that this garden feature is first described in Frenchman A. J. Dezallier d'Argenville's *Theory and Practice of Gardening* (1709), although the ha-ha was probably in use much earlier than this.

Gov. William Gooch first saw the Palace landscape in 1727 and wrote his brother Thomas in

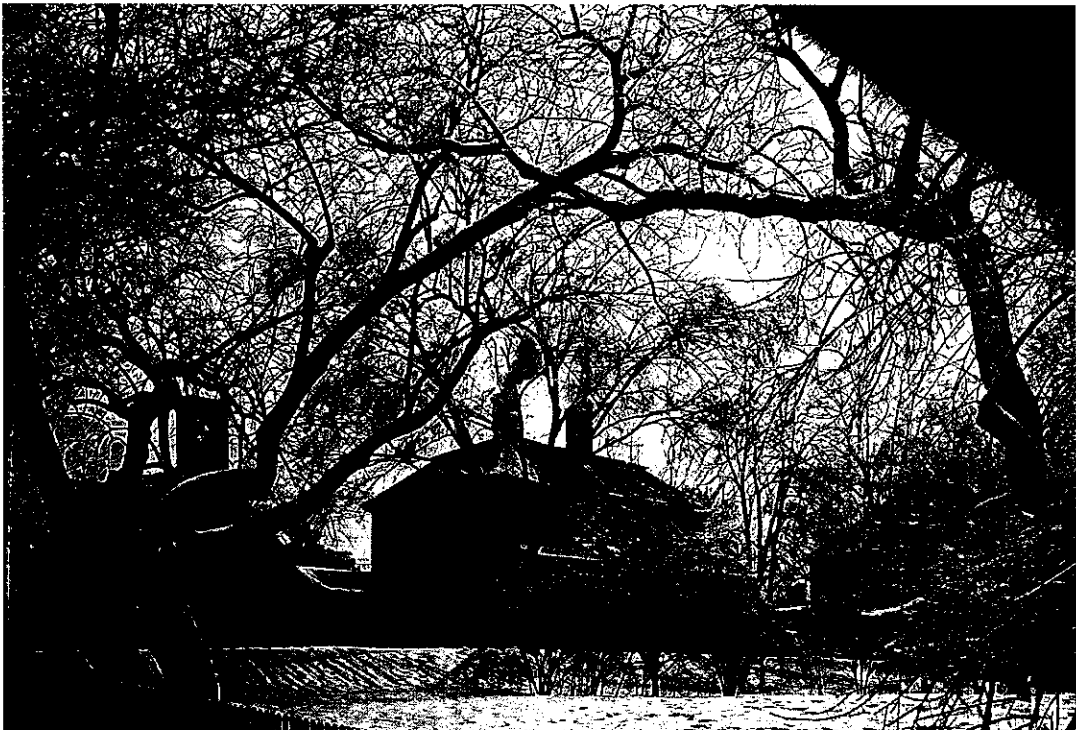
England describing a "handsome garden, an orchard full of fruit, and a very large Park, now turn'd to better use I think than deer, which is feeding all sorts of Cattle, as soon as I can stock it." Deer parks were a common feature at English country homes, and this preference for cattle over deer, even from an English governor, seems to mirror the American preference for practicality over pomp.

Around 1730, the English landscape was further changed under the influence of William Kent who created what historians call the Augustine style. In Kent's landscape the formal garden was largely abandoned and replaced with broad areas of lawn, lakes, and groves of trees. Horace Walpole wrote that it was Kent who "leaped the fence and saw that all of nature was a garden."

As the precepts of the Enlightenment, expressed as man's ability to improve on nature, and the artistic influence of romanticism spread to the landscape, they resulted in pastoral or "picturesque" landforms. Kent also filled the landscape with Roman temples, neo-Palladian bridges, statuary, and mock ruins, embellishments of the wisdom of the ancients and a perceived nobler time.

There is a parallel between Kent's Augustine gardens and the Colonial Revival landscapes found around many of our buildings today. In both cases, we are recalling the past with a selec-

This 1930s view of the rear of the Robert Carter House shows the remains of the terracing that was often a garden feature of great colonial houses, such as Sabine Hall, Mount Airy, and Menokin.



tive perception that highlights what we think is noble or beautiful and ignores the full reality and complexity of the period.

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the plantation garden as an expression of wealth and taste began to emerge. This occurred in conjunction with the increased trade in ornamental plants between England and America by wealthy plant collectors such as John Custis, William Byrd II, and John Clayton.

The design of these American gardens showed a mixture of European influences and personal preferences. One of the earliest plantation landscape designs we have is the 1701 plan for Westover plantation that shows three symmetrically radiating avenues of trees with the house as their focus. This is very much in the French classic style that focuses the landscape on the residence or more importantly on the owner of the residence.

It is interesting that the town plan for Williamsburg, done at about the same time, has as the focal point of its main axis the college and the Capitol while the Palace is the focal point of a minor axis. This design is in apparent opposition to the French plan for Versailles in which all major avenues focus on the house and thereby the monarch.

This fashion of radiating rows of trees lasted well into the eighteenth century in Virginia, even after the English had abandoned the practice on the advice of William Kent, who wrote, "Nature abhors a straight line."

It is important to recognize that all landscapes employ a certain personal preference, and gardeners do not walk lockstep with fashion. John Custis, in a 1736 letter to Peter Collinson, wrote of his fondness for variegated plants, observing: "I am told those things are out of fashion; but I do not mind that I allways make my fancy my fashion."

George Mason, who built Gunston Hall in the 1750s, employed elements of both old and new fashions in his landscape. On one hand, his garden was not fenced as was the common practice at other contemporary sites such as Carter's Grove. Lack of fencing allows the garden to meld with the surrounding natural scenery. On the other hand, he planted double rows of cherry trees on the land-side of the house along the entry road that precisely focused on the central residence. These trees were so arranged that standing on the front steps of the house there appeared to be only two pairs of trees at either side of the drive and it was only after you started down the road that the trees behind became apparent. This mathematically precise conceit is very much in the best French tradition.

The informal landscape was further refined by Lancelot "Capability" Brown in the middle of the

eighteenth century with what is called the "serpentine landscape." Brown removed many of the structures characteristic of the Augustine style and joined the various landscape features into more harmonious sweeps of forest and field. Even the French recognized this as an entirely English invention when they named it the *jardin Anglais*.

In this country, the idea of converting the landscape into a wilderness was only partially adopted. We were, after all, still in the process of taming the wilderness, and most landscapes were still built around a formal layout. The typical plantation garden as well as town garden generally employed the bilateral symmetry characteristic of the French gardens. We were, however, keenly aware of English tastes and even presumed to emulate them, after our own fashion. Tutor Philip Fithian, after visiting Beverley's Blandfield on the Rappahannock wrote, "It looks like an elegant nobleman's-seat in England."

An English nobleman may or may not have agreed with this assessment, but elements of the *jardin Anglais* could be found at many plantation homes. At Monticello and Mt. Vernon, the approach to the house featured a lawn area surrounded by serpentine walks. A ha-ha wall was incorporated into each landscape. Both Jefferson and Washington developed what they called "wildernesses" on the perimeters of their landscapes with walks or "roundabouts" that were planted with native trees and shrubs.

Washington, like many plantation owners, did not, however, entirely abandon the earlier characteristics of the French and Dutch landscapes. Benjamin Latrobe, while visiting Mt. Vernon in 1796, wrote, "I saw here a parterre, clipped and trimmed with infinite care into the form of a richly flourished Fleur-de-Lis: the expiring groans I hope of our Grandfather's pedantry."

What little evidence we have for garden design around the homes in eighteenth-century Williamsburg seems to suggest that the formal layout, such as that at the Benjamin Waller House, still held sway. This tendency was partially due to the efficient use of space in smaller, usually rectangular, areas and, probably, an ingrained garden tradition that valued the parterre for ornamentals and the four-square layout for the kitchen garden.

Today, the residential American landscape has generally moved away from the formal garden, but we can still find examples of Washington's "pedantry" in the sheared foundation evergreens and in the small spaces and courtyards where our landscapes are improved with symmetrical beds and uniform displays of flowers. Mr. Washington, I am sure, would approve.



Q & A

Question: What were the tenets of, or distinctions between, different faiths in colonial Virginia? What were the theological issues of the day?

Answer: Since we can't devote a couple of college semesters to a detailed answer to these questions, let's make a few basic points about different religious groups in Virginia that may be of practical use for Historic Area interpreters with limited time for guest interaction.

As interpreters of Virginia history, it is important that we emphasize that this was a Protestant Christian colony with a variety of denominations in addition to the established Church of England (or Anglican Church). These denominations originated in the Protestant Reformation, a reaction beginning in sixteenth-century Europe against practices and traditions of the Catholic Church.

Christian Europe had been Catholic until the Reformation, when some political and religious leaders withdrew themselves and their followers or subjects from the authority of the Roman Catholic Church and its pope. For our purposes, then, the conceptual opposite of "Protestant" is "Catholic." During the Reformation, European nations aligned themselves in Protestant and Catholic camps.

The Reformation in England came in stages, largely dependent upon the inclinations of the reigning monarch: The reigns through 1688 of the Tudor monarchs and queens (Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth I) and the Stuart kings (James I, Charles I, Charles II, and James II) witnessed a pendulum swing of Anglicanism in terms of religious loyalty," according to historian David Holmes.

Henry VIII (reign 1509–47) broke with the Roman Catholic Church in the 1530s to make himself, not the pope, head of the English church. Henry's action made the church in En-

gland independent of Rome, but devotional practice and liturgy under Henry retained a rich medieval Catholic framework. During Edward VI's brief reign (1547–53), the Church of England bore the imprint of the young king's Protestant tutors and advisors. Worship services were conducted in English, the Mass (Eucharist) was downplayed and divested of some of its mystery, and churches were stripped of religious images.

Mary Tudor (reign 1553–58) forced the English Church back into the Catholic fold. More than eight hundred clergy and laity of the Church of England (called "Marian exiles") fled to Geneva and to other centers of Reformed Protestantism in Europe. When they returned during the reign of Mary's successor, Elizabeth I, they brought with them ideas about Christianity that are now called "Calvinist" or "Reformed."

Elizabeth I (reign 1558–1603) and her bishops took a "middle way" in order to accommodate a wide spectrum of Protestant opinion from high church Anglicans who favored ritualistic worship to low church reformers who were willing to tolerate bishops and other holdovers from medieval Catholicism for the sake of a unifying national religion. Nonetheless, the "Elizabethan settlement" left two groups outside the Church of England: intractable Catholics who refused to forswear their allegiance to the pope, and extreme Protestants (Puritans) influenced by Calvinism who believed the vestiges of the Latin liturgy in Anglicanism and its episcopal organization (government by bishops) were contrary to scripture.

Elizabeth's policies had spared England the wars that ravaged Reformation Europe, but the Stuart sovereigns that followed her brought civil and ecclesiastical turmoil to the island nation. The high church policies of James I and Charles I forced out large numbers of Puritans; following the English civil war, Puritans ruled during the Commonwealth (1649–60); after the monarchy was restored Charles II remained nominally Anglican but converted to Catholicism on his deathbed. Nonetheless, with the removal of the Catholic James II (converted while still Duke of York) and the ascension of William III and Mary II in 1688 ("Glorious Revolution"), Protestant succession to the English throne was assured.

Protestant England regarded most Catholic nations as enemies. Therefore, the few Catholics who settled in the Virginia colony occasionally found themselves at odds with Virginia authorities and confronted with anti-Catholic legislation, although there is not much evidence that these laws were enforced or that Catholics were persecuted in Virginia courts.

There were probably only about two hundred Catholics in Virginia at the time of the Revolu-

tion. A few, like the Brent family of Prince William County, Virginia, were large landholders and even officeholders, but most operated in the obscurity of everyday life. (More about Catholics in Virginia in the next issue of the *Interpreter*.)

All Christians, whether Catholic or Protestant, base their faith in the Bible's teachings about Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior. Whereas Catholics adhere to a more or less uniform practice of the faith as defined by the pope, Protestants splintered into many groups with differing interpretations of biblical teachings.

While Catholics continued to hear Mass (Eucharist) and scripture in the traditional Latin, people in areas embracing the Reformation worshiped in the "vernacular," their own national languages. Translations of the Bible into German, French, English, Dutch, and many other languages proliferated. The Reformation emphasized the centrality in worship of preaching, particularly the interpretation of scripture.

The authority of the Bible was paramount for Protestants. Reform-minded Protestants were determined to rid their churches of traditions developed in Catholic Europe over many centuries, such as priestly vestments, elaborate ceremonials, religious statuary, shrines, and even stained glass windows. (The difference between the Presbyterian meetinghouse in the Historic Area and a Catholic cathedral gives a good visual contrast.) The acceptance of married ministers also distinguished most Protestant groups from Catholics.

Each Protestant denomination adopted its own form of worship and organizational structure. These denominational differences in worship and structure often seem greater than distinctions in theology or basic beliefs among the various groups. Some denominations developed more authoritarian, hierarchical structures, while others grew more democratic. Some groups established rigid requirements for ordination of ministers, while others had few or none. Between such extremes lay every possible gradation.

Colonial Virginia's most structured Protestant denomination was the established Church of England. Authority flowed downward through the hierarchical organization from archbishops to bishops to priests, a retention from the once-Catholic national English church. For many Protestants, this episcopal structure (meaning "having bishops") put many layers of church of-

ficials between them and access to God and excluded them from decisions. (Note how after the Revolution the American church capitalized the word and called itself the Episcopal Church.)

Anglican ministers could be ordained only by a bishop in Britain following a formal seminary education in the tenets of the faith. Worship in the Church of England proceeded according to the official liturgy as set forth in the *Book of Common Prayer*. Thus the minister and his clerk conducted the same basic service of Morning Prayer most every Sunday of the year. The Church of England observed many of the same holy days and sacraments (baptism and communion, for example) that Catholics kept.

English Puritans, many of whom settled in New England, stridently objected to most of these Anglican practices as "popish" remnants of the Catholicism they had discarded in the Reformation. Puritans and related sects sought to "purify" the Church and return worship to the simplicity of the original practices of Christ and his disciples. The practices of Virginia's dissent-

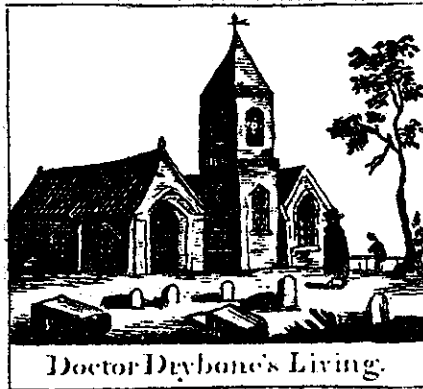
ing Christian groups depended upon where they fell along the spectrum between the Anglican and the more extreme Puritan ideas about worship and structure.

Presbyterians were about one notch down the organizational scale from the Church of England. Though considered dissenters in Anglican Virginia, the Presbyterians were the established church in Scotland.

Their worship was simple, orderly, and dignified, with an emphasis upon preaching the word of God. Like Church of England priests, Presbyterian ministers underwent rigorous seminary training and regular ordination. Again, the name *Presbyterian* does not refer to their theological beliefs but rather to their form of governance.

Individual congregations grouped themselves into a regional governing council called a "presbytery" (from "presbyter," a word meaning "elder" in the early Christian Church). Presbyteries from a given region sent representatives to larger deliberative gatherings called "synods." Presbyteries and synods were composed of clergy and laypersons. Eventually, Presbyterians met nationally in a general assembly. Thus, a form of representative government quite different from episcopal polity took shape in this denomination.

Presbyterian worship departed significantly from Anglican practices. With origins in Puri-



Doctor Dybbone's Living.

Catch-Penny Print of English Church

tanism and the Reformed teachings of John Calvin, who held that salvation was limited to the elect few, Presbyterians in colonial times eschewed observance of the holidays.

Using their *Directory of Publick Worship* as a guide, they were not strictly bound to follow a printed liturgy as in the Church of England. Presbyterians observed communion several times each year, and access to the rite was tightly regulated. During the days just before an announced communion service, those wishing to participate underwent close questioning by their minister in order to determine the individual's spiritual fitness. Those who passed the examination were given a metal token or paper ticket to be presented for admission to the table where communicants sat to receive the sacrament (as opposed to kneeling at the altar in Anglican parish churches).

Far less structured than the Presbyterians were the Separate Baptists, the fastest growing denomination in Virginia on the eve of the Revolution. In this denomination, authority rested in the individual congregation. This "congregational" approach to church governance was similar to that adopted by the Puritans of New England, whose denomination came to be called "Congregationalist."

Separate Baptist ministers based their platform on the Bible and their own personal conviction of being called by God to the ministry. Many Baptist ministers did not undergo formal seminary training like the Anglicans and Presbyterians, though the regional Baptist Associations did devise ordination ceremonies. Unlike the more law-abiding Presbyterians, most Baptist ministers in Virginia did not acknowledge civil authority in religious matters and refused to apply for permits to preach and establish meetinghouses.

Arising from the Great Awakening, Separate Baptists believed in direct leadership by the Holy Spirit and that true commitment required a person to be an evangelist for Christ. Separate Baptists' emotional preaching style and itinerancy enabled them to touch Virginians from all walks of life. Baptists believed in baptism for only conscious believers; thus they did not baptize infants and small children.

The least structured Virginia denomination arising out of the English Reformation was the Society of Friends or Quakers. Friends were called Quakers because of the spiritual "trembling" experienced during their meetings. Quakers worshipped without a set liturgy or prearrangement of any kind. The denomination's founder, George Fox, subscribed to the Reformation idea of a universal priesthood of all believ-

ers, in which every person has direct access to God. Therefore, Quakers did not even have appointed ministers. At Quaker meetings, women and men spoke when moved by the inner light of Christ. Quaker missionaries to America from England included a few women.

At this juncture, it is important to note that there was within the Church of England an evangelistic movement known as Methodism, begun in England by John and Charles Wesley in the 1730s. As members of the Church of England, Methodists did not oppose the church's organization or establishment, but they criticized Anglicans who went through the ceremonial motions without experiencing sincere spiritual renewal.

Methodist evangelical tenets and "awakenings" were very different from mainstream Anglican experience. Methodists made great inroads in Virginia in the 1770s and 1780s and established their own separate denomination after the Revolution, first in America (1784) and then in England.

Besides the groups with British origins summarized above, the western parts of colonial Virginia hosted a number of smaller denominations with German roots, such as Lutherans, German Reformed, Dunkers, Moravians, and Mennonites. Also, French Protestants or Huguenots were a tiny presence in the early eighteenth century, but they soon conformed to the Anglican establishment.

For more information on these minority groups from continental Europe, please refer to the denominational profiles in the "Dissent and Enlightenment" portion of the "Freeing Religion" story line resource book of 1998.

Question: *How much door-to-door ministering was there?*

Answer: In eighteenth-century Virginia there probably wasn't much, if any, door-to-door proselytizing for converts as practiced by modern-day Mormons, for example. The established Church of England had little need for proselytizing, as its members were born into it. Yet ministers of the Church called on parishioners privately and even conducted some religious ceremonies in domestic settings. The *Book of Common Prayer* includes orders for visitation of and communion for the sick.

In the 1720s, Hugh Jones wrote about how Virginians had developed the custom of holding weddings, funerals, and baptisms in their homes. Virginia parish ministers officiated on such occasions, though their bishops in England repeatedly pressed them to bring the celebration of such sacraments back into the parish church buildings where they belonged.

Outside the Church of England, home ministry took different forms depending on denomination and circumstance. Detailed accounts of itinerancy such as the autobiography of Virginia Separate Baptist minister James Ireland shed light on practices among dissenting denominations in rural Virginia.

Rather than canvassing door-to-door, itinerant ministers traveling to a particular area usually found lodging with members of their own denomination or other sympathetic supporters. Those supporters spread notice of the preacher's planned appearances, to which the residents of the district made their way. If no separate meetinghouse existed, such preaching often took place in a private home or outdoors on the property of an adherent. In areas where the appearances of recognized ministers were few and far between, dissenters gathered privately, read scripture, and prayed together on a regular basis, usually in someone's home.

Question: *What was the order of worship in the Church of England and in the Presbyterian denomination?*

Answer: Church of England: If you want a basic idea of order of worship in the Church of England, you need only familiarize yourself with

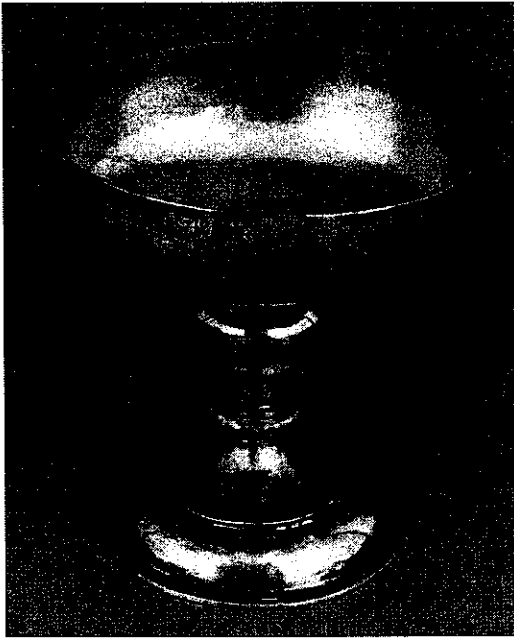
the service of Morning Prayer in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Appropriate for any day of the year, Morning Prayer began the Sunday service in Virginia parish churches and in England. Usual Sunday worship consisted of Morning Prayer followed by the Litany, the first part of the Communion liturgy through the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant (warring against the powers of evil) here on earth, concluding collects (short prayers), and the blessing. David Holmes in his *Brief History of the Episcopal Church* estimates the length of Sunday service to be about seventy-five to ninety minutes, except for the four times a year when the celebration of Communion or Holy Eucharist added about half an hour.

Instructions for the conduct of Morning Prayer were pretty straightforward as printed in the prayer book. The service opened with a selection of scriptural verses read aloud by the minister or officiating clerk. Then the congregation repeated a general confession of sin, which was followed by pronouncement of absolution by the minister. The rest of Morning Prayer consisted chiefly of the reading or repeating of various prayers, psalms, canticles, some of which varied according to the date or occasion, and the Apostles' Creed.

Plate V of Hogarth's 1735 Rake's Progress (CWF 1972-409, 45) shows a marriage taking place in a London church, a setting advocated by the Church of England but one that many Virginia couples avoided in favor of marriages in private dwellings.





This silver communion cup (CWF L1997-67) was one of four made between 1644–46. The cups were used at Newbattle Kirk near Dalkeith in Midlothian for communion in the Church of Scotland.

The minister or clerk led the congregation in the chanting or lining out of several psalms appointed for that particular date and read both an Old Testament and a New Testament lesson, as ordered in the church calendar. Further prayers, including those for the king and his family, rounded out Morning Prayer.

Morning Prayer was followed by another group of prayers and supplications called the Litany. Then came the Ante-communion (this was left out of the spring Q & A description of Morning Prayer) consisting of prayers, collects, the commandments, the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel appointed for each Sunday, the Nicene creed, the announcements, a sermon of about twenty minutes on average, the offertory, and the blessing. On certain Sundays in March, April, May, September, and October there were one or more acts of assembly to be read after divine service respecting the suppression of vice; servants and slaves; murdering bastard children; registering births, christenings, and burials; and the trial of slaves committing capital crimes (from George Webb, *The Office and Authority of a Justice of the Peace*, p. 79). Only at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Michaelmas did the minister then lead qualified (judged by the minister to be free of malice and hatred, not a “notorious” evildoer, etc.) members in the complete liturgy of Holy Communion, whose proceedings are clearly outlined in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Presbyterians: Presbyterian worship during the eighteenth century was not constrained by a particular liturgy like the Church of England’s prayer book. Instead, the *Directory of Publick Worship*, adopted by the Puritan assembly at Westminster in 1640, served as a general guide for the conduct of a simple, decorous Presbyterian service.

The order of service recommended by the *Directory* began with an opening prayer by the minister, followed by the public reading of portions of both the Old and New Testaments by the minister or elders. After the reading of scripture, a psalm was to be sung. The minister next offered up a series of prayers and supplications, according to his own discretion, designed to make the congregation mindful of their sins, as well as to ask blessings on particular persons or situations.

After these prayers came a sermon based on scripture, and after that other prayers and the optional singing of another psalm. The *Directory* made provision at this point for the insertion of other rites as needed, such as baptism or Communion. With or without such additions, Sunday worship concluded with the minister’s blessing.

Question: *Were baptisms part of the service or were they performed at home? Were there adult baptisms?*

Answer: In colonial Virginia, baptisms were sometimes conducted at home instead of the parish church, against the rules of the Church of England.

Recent scholarship suggests that baptisms took place in the parish church more frequently than formerly thought, however. This revised view is based upon entries in surviving parish registers that show several baptisms (sometimes as many as fifteen) on the same day, often a Sunday, too many private homes, plantations, and farms for the parish priest to reach in a single day.

This is not to say that many Virginians did not arrange to have their parish ministers perform baptisms in their homes. There is clear evidence that they did. English bishops were frustrated by Virginians’ penchant for celebrating rites of passage such as weddings and funerals at home instead of at church.

Though we cannot be certain that all slave baptisms, including the many documented cases in Bruton Parish, actually took place in the church building, plenty of people, both free and enslaved, were indeed baptized as part of the Sunday worship service. Reverend Jonathan Boucher and other Anglican ministers in Virginia wrote about baptizing slaves in the church, but only after conclusion of divine service, so as not to offend the whites. Public records and pri-

vate accounts refer to the baptism of both adult slaves and their children.

The *Book of Common Prayer* contains three services of baptism: "The Ministration of Publick Baptism of Infants, To Be Used in the Church" and the alternative, "The Ministration of Private Baptism of Children in Houses" contain rubrics (rules for the conduct of religious services) stating that baptism of infants ought to take place in church on the first or second Sunday or other holy day after a baby's birth. Other arrangements based on the undefined "necessity" such as illness of baby or mother were permissible. On average, Virginians followed the spirit if not the letter of the rubric, waiting several weeks or months before having a new baby baptized.

The question of adult baptisms in the Anglican Church in Virginia is problematic. Surviving colonial parish registers show that by the eighteenth century, most children in the free population were baptized within a few months of birth, but a third service of baptism in the prayer book, "The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of riper years, and able to answer for themselves," makes provision for anyone who reached adulthood without having been baptized. The Bruton Parish register contains adult baptisms only for slaves. That presents another difficulty in knowing just what "adult" means in that context: over sixteen years of age—the age slaves became tithable? It may signify that the slave exercised a measure of choice in the matter, as the prayer book suggests. Research is continuing.

Most Protestant denominations adopted the original Catholic understanding that baptism was appropriate for infants. Christening of babies by sprinkling with water was standard practice in the Church of England and among Lutherans, Presbyterians, and many other groups.

A notable exception was found among the Baptists, who derived from the Reformation group known as the Anabaptists ("who baptize again"). Their faith stressed baptism of conscious believers only. Therefore Baptists did not baptize the very young. Baptist ceremonies often took place outdoors, near a lake or river, where believers could be completely immersed in water at baptism.

Question: *What is the purpose of the church (liturgical) calendar?*

Answer: The purpose of the liturgical calendar is to commemorate or relive the major events in Jesus' life in everyday life and real time.

Question: *What is Shrove Tuesday and what is its connection to Lent?*

Answer: Shrove Tuesday (the exact date in February or March depends upon the date of Easter) is the day before the beginning of Lent. Often treated as a last "feast" before the somber Lenten season, scattered references in eighteenth-century sources tell us that some Virginians observed the day in the traditional manner—eating pancakes. Pancakes remained the traditional food of the day, harking back to a time when the last of a family's butter, eggs, and milk—forbidden foods during the once stricter Lenten observance—were used up in the making of pancake batter.

James Gordon of Lancaster County, in 1758, recorded in his journal that he accompanied his wife to a nearby school where she treated the scholars to pancakes and cider "it being Shrove Tuesday." Fithian reported on this day, "I have a call this morning from Bob & Harry for a Holiday, for Shrove Tuesday; I shall dismiss them at twelve o'clock." And from Landon Carter in 1777, "This it seems is Shrove Tuesday . . . and all must go to Old Beale's to eat pancakes." The February calendar in the 1774 *Virginia Almanack* contains these lines:

*You Friends, who late on Pancakes Far'd,
For Fasting now must be prepar'd,
'Cause 'tis the holy Time of Lent;
Of all your Sins you must repent,
And you will find your Time well spent.*

Question: *What is Lent? Is there a Lenten "ritual"? Could colonial Virginians have meat on Sundays?*

Answer: Lent is the forty-day period before Easter that begins on Ash Wednesday and ends on the Saturday immediately preceding Easter Sunday. Good Friday, the Friday before Easter, memorializes the crucifixion and is called "good" because of the beneficial effects of Jesus' sufferings—the sins of the penitent washed clean by his death. Easter always falls on a Sunday in March or April, so the Lenten season shifts a bit from year to year, depending on the date of Easter. Sundays do not count in calculating the forty days, because every Sunday in the church year commemorates Jesus' resurrection and is, therefore, a feast day, not a fast day.

Lent originated in the very earliest days of the Christian church. It came to be seen as a preparatory time for the yearly celebration of Easter and the resurrection. By observing the forty days of Lent, the individual Christian imi-

tates the occasion when Jesus went into the wilderness for forty days of prayer and fasting.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Church of England had no Lenten ritual as such, although the *Book of Common Prayer* designates prayers and Bible readings for the Lenten period. Believers were encouraged to participate in this season of repentance and reflection, which could include the spiritual discipline of fasting. Fasting did not involve starvation or dehydration; neither was it a public act like a hunger strike. During this type of religious fast, one still eats but refrains from certain foodstuffs. Traditionally, luxury items such as meat were eliminated from the diet during Lent.

The absence of references in eighteenth-century Virginia sources to special fast days or Lenten meals suggests that, by colonial times, going meatless during Lent was not strictly observed and largely a matter of personal choice. Philip Fithian noted in 1774, "Good Fryday—a general Holiday here," suggesting a mix of secular and sacred during the week before Easter. Some Virginians observed fast days including Good Friday, or else Hannah Glasse would not have collected meatless dishes (fish and vegetable dishes) in the chapter "For a Fast-Dinner, a Number of good Dishes, which you may make use of for a Table at any other Time" in the 1747 edition of *The Art of Cookery*. (Glasse's dishes suitable for fasting contained plenty of eggs and butter!)

In the 1796 edition of her cookery book, Glasse noted, "Lent is not kept so strictly as it was in former times." Nonetheless, she kept fish and vegetable dishes together and changed the chapter title to "For LENT, or a FAST DINNER" for the dutiful Lenten observer and for the "convenience of those persons who may . . . find it easier to get fish and vegetables than meat." The *Book of Common Prayer* also appoints other fast days such as ember days and Rogation Days, as defined in its "Tables and Rules," and all Fridays, except Christmas day. Incidentally all Fridays are "mini Good Fridays" commemorating the crucifixion.

Early in the Christian era, Lent also was a period when the faithful rededicated themselves and recent converts received instruction in preparation for baptism. In keeping with that tradition, many Anglican parsons in colonial Virginia, including James Blair of Bruton Parish Church, held catechism classes for girls and boys in the parish on the Sundays in Lent. He also read prayers at the church every Wednesday and Friday during the Lenten season.

Question: *Who were the churchwardens and how did they operate?*

Answer: Although we have the names of the twelve vestrymen of Bruton Parish Church in 1774, which two were elected churchwarden is not known. The parish was the local unit for administration of church and religious affairs in the community and the promotion of moral health in the community.

Broadly speaking, the vestry had several important duties: to appoint the clergyman of the parish; to investigate cases of drunkenness, adultery and fornication, Sabbath-breaking, and other moral offenses; to assess the parish levy; and to keep a record of births and baptisms in the parish. These responsibilities required the year-round attention of two churchwardens elected annually from among vestry members.

Churchwardens were authorized to investigate breaches of the moral code and to present well-founded charges to the county court for final judgment. Part of this process also gave churchwardens authority to protect the parish from charges for the upkeep of bastard children born in the parish by collecting a sum of money from the mother, requiring the father to post bond, or accepting payment from the master if the mother was an indentured servant. If none of these funds was forthcoming, churchwardens could "sell" the woman into a period of bound servitude to the highest bidder to recover expenses the parish incurred.

Churchwardens were authorized to bind out bastard children whose financial support fell to the parish. They also were supposed to make sure these children were decently treated during their servitude and subsequent apprenticeship. Churchwardens could present cruel or neglectful masters to the county court.

The vestry usually met twice a year. One of these meetings was scheduled for October or November for the laying of the levy. To figure the parish budget, the vestry needed information about all sorts of expenses including the needs of poor and disabled people of the parish, the existence of illegitimate children born in the parish, and the names of parishioners willing to take—or who had taken—indigent persons into their homes. Churchwardens could supply most of these details.

In some colonial Virginia parishes, churchwardens collected the church tax from parishioners. In Bruton Parish, county sheriffs collected church taxes along with county and colonial taxes.

Question: What is the order of the processional at the beginning of a service in parish churches in colonial Virginia?

Answer: Based on the few accounts of services in Virginia's parish churches, it is clear that a fixture of services in modern Episcopal churches—a formal ecclesiastical procession before the service from the prayer book begins—was not the custom in colonial Virginia. There was no solemn parade down the aisle with a crucifer (person carrying a cross) in the lead followed by a robed choir with the minister bringing up the rear. About all we know is that in some parishes at least, the minister was in position at the reading desk below the pulpit, ready to read the opening sentences and prayers, before the parish clerk summoned the men of the parish inside to take their seats.

Question: How did you purchase a seat in the church?

Answer: According to some authorities, all seating in Anglican parish churches in Virginia was free. However, that did not stop vestries from assigning seating by rank; neither did it stop influential and well-to-do parishioners from negotiating with the vestry for particular pews or permission to build their own pews or private galleries at the place of their own choosing in the church. Placement of preferred seating varied from parish to parish depending upon the layout of a given church and local judgment about the best seating.

Question: What was the ritual of and the length of the burial service?

Answer: The service for the burial of the dead from the *Book of Common Prayer* takes probably thirty or forty minutes. The service could take place in the parish church, and burial was sometimes inside the church (under the floor, for example). More commonly, the interment was outside in the churchyard. Governor Botetourt's funeral was quite elaborate (see an account in Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 326–328). Sometimes a person's remains were interred in a family burial ground near a dwelling with the parish priest in attendance reading the burial service from the prayer book.

The funeral for *Virginia Gazette* editor William Rind, who was a member of the Masonic lodge in Williamsburg, included a procession by his fellow brothers, bedecked with emblems of the order, from the lodge to the Rind dwelling whence they accompanied the body to Bruton Parish Church where the minister (also a brother) conducted the Anglican service for the burial of the dead and preached a sermon before interment in the churchyard.

Records show that, occasionally, days or weeks could separate a burial (usually done as quickly as possible after the death) and a funeral service.

(Q & A was compiled by Bob Doares, training specialist in the Department of Interpretive Training, and Linda Rowe, historian in the Department of Historical Research.)



COOK'S CORNER

by Laura Arnold

Laura is a member of the Interpreter Planning Board and is a volunteer for this publication.

New acquisitions of the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library add to its already fine collection of books of interest to those researching eighteenth-century foodways. Two books worthy of review are *Eat, Drink, & Be Merry: The British at Table, 1600–2000*, edited by Ivan Day (London: Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd., 2000) and *Food and the Rites of Passage*, edited by Laura Mason (Totnes, Eng.: Prospect Books, 2002).

Eat, Drink, & Be Merry was compiled to accompany an exhibition that traveled to York, London, and Norwich in 2000 and 2001. Using English paintings as the primary source of illustrations, the editor also included prints and photographs to provide a visual record of 400 years of British eating habits. A bibliography, glossary, and index complete the book.

In spite of a long-standing reputation for poorly prepared food, cooks in Great Britain have a legacy of early cookbooks, inventories, and period kitchens to prove that theirs is a rich culinary history. The illustrations for the first chapter, "Feasting and Celebrating," reinforce that rich history by displaying the grandiose celebrations of the wealthy as well as the humble repasts of lesser folk. The photograph of the re-creation of the second course of the Duke of Newcastle's Feast (1698) matches the diagram of the table plan for this meal printed in Patrick Lamb's *Royal Cookery* (1710). The black-and-white diagram transformed into a colorful table setting lacks only the aroma of the foods depicted.

Throughout the remaining sections of the book (describing customs for dinner, breakfast, teatime, and outdoor eating), the depictions of food and tableware compete with clothing and household furnishings in the settings of the illustrations. Social history and foodways become inseparable when contrasting the plight of the poor in James Loble's painting *The Dole at Stowe Church* (1869) with photographs of pieces from the silver-gilt service ordered by the notoriously extravagant George IV.

By the time of the king's death in 1830, the gap between rich and poor had widened. The availability of goods resulting from the Industrial Revolution had helped generate these excesses. Food historian Colin Spencer cites the loss of a self-sufficient rural economy, low wages, and abysmal working conditions for the majority of English citizens as the basic causes of the decline in the preparation of British food in the nineteenth century.¹

Fortunately, Colonial Williamsburg's staff interprets and re-creates the foodways of the eighteenth century before this decline took place. The photographs of tableware and the paintings of family groups at mealtime are an invaluable resource for the foodways staff.

Without words, *Eat, Drink, & Be Merry* invites readers to make a close examination of its illustrations. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the photograph of *A Picnic for the Millennium*. You will find pomegranates, grapes, figs, prawns, a pork pie, and cheese among the contemporary dishes of sushi, hummus, and filled tortillas. In a book whose purpose is to show British eating habits from 1600 to 2000, this photograph depicts food that would appeal to the subjects of both Elizabeth I and Elizabeth II whose reigns serve as bookends for those 400 years of English history.

Food and the Rites of Passage is a collection of six essays by British food historians who examined the culinary traditions associated with the significant milestones in a person's life: weddings, childbirth, and funerals. A separate essay is devoted to Irish weddings and wakes, and the book concludes with recipes, a bibliography, and an index. Ivan Day, editor of *Eat, Drink, & Be Merry*, contributed the essay on wedding feasts, and, while the information is similar, he includes more details about wedding customs.

Serving cake to guests has its origin in religious celebrations as well as personal family events. Wedding processions in the seventeenth century were elaborate affairs in which bride cakes were carried by ushers as part of the procession.

Usually these cakes were heavy, pastry-covered plum cakes whose large, flat, oval shape

was dictated by the eighteen-inch-wide oven in which they were baked. The cakes were admired by the guests before being broken into pieces and served with a wine-based beverage at the end of the wedding feast.

By the time Elizabeth Raffald printed her recipe for a bride cake in 1769, the finished cake was smaller, round in shape, and covered with almond paste and a sugar icing. At royal weddings individually decorated wafers baked in molds were distributed to the guests.

Equally important were the beverages served at weddings. Posset, a mixture of alcohol, eggs, cream, sugar, and spices, was a popular drink. Hippocras and muscadine were considered "luxury" drinks, each a complicated mixture of wine, spices, and sugar. Lower-class weddings no doubt used ale rather than wine in their recipes for posset.

Once the feasting was over, the bride and groom were sent on their way with a custom that continues today, that of throwing grain at the departing pair. Wheat (rather than rice) was the grain of choice, although there are records of corn and sugarcoated nuts (comfits) being used. This custom was believed to ensure fertility and prosperity to the newly married couple.

The essay on childbirth describes the unusual beliefs concerning diet during pregnancy. The most curious traditions revolved around the consumption of food and drink while the mother labored to deliver her child.

"In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, female friends and relatives were known collectively as 'gossips,' originally God-sibs or 'siblings in God.'"¹ They brought ale, an aptly named groaning cake, cheese, sweetmeats, and cordials to celebrate the eventual birth of the baby.

When the birthing process had a happy ending, the mother was given caudle to drink, a strange potion of oatmeal, water, Jamaica pepper, sugar, and gin or beer. Sadly, many of the premature celebrations by the gossips were transformed into funeral rituals when either the mother, baby, or both did not survive childbirth.

For many households, the food at funerals or wakes was the most expensive meal ever served. Some families knowingly went into debt to provide a lavish feast accompanied by large quanti-

ties of ale or other alcoholic beverages. Naples biscuits and wine were traditional funeral foods along with roasted meats, poultry, oysters, and bread.

Wealthier families served funeral biscuits baked in decorative molds that were purchased from a commercial baker. The biscuits were wrapped in paper that had religious sayings printed on it along with an ad for the baker who provided them. For the re-enactment of Lord Botetourt's funeral, Colonial Williamsburg's foodways staff created similar decorated biscuits. Wealthy families also provided penny loaves from the baker to be distributed to the poor in the name of their deceased loved one.

The essay "Food and Drink at Irish Weddings and Wakes" focuses on the customs of the middle and lower classes of rural Ireland in the nineteenth century. Wedding food, prepared at home, consisted of a simple meal of meat and vegetables along with a seemingly never-ending supply of whiskey and beer. The wedding cake was actually more like a bread than the rich cakes of England, oatcakes and soda bread being popular choices of Irish brides. Often, the cake was broken over the bride's head and the pieces were distributed to the guests to eat. If the cake was reduced to crumbs, the crumbs were thrown at the bride and groom instead of grain or comfits.

Food was less important than drink at Irish wakes. Funeral buns and funeral biscuits, probably purchased from a baker, were served along with butter, jam, and sweet tea. The reputation of the deceased depended upon the quantity of alcoholic beverages dispensed to the mourners. Many Irish who lived on the edge of poverty set aside sums of money to provide for "a fine send-off." The provision of free drinks was intended to express hospitality to those who came to mourn, and overindulgence in alcohol has given Irish wakes an unfortunate reputation.

¹ Colin Spencer, *British Food: An Extraordinary Thousand Years of History* (London: Grub Street, 2002), 244-248

² Mason, *Food and the Rites of Passage*, 71.

A Chronology of John Murray (1730–1809), Fourth Earl of Dunmore

by Pete Wrike

Pete is a historical interpreter for the Department of Educational Program Support, a member of the Interpreter Planning Board, and author of numerous books and articles.

I first met John Murray, fourth earl of Dunmore, in 1966. Ivor Noël Hume introduced me to him through his book *1775, Another Part of the Field*. Several years later, under Professor Ron Hoffman at the University of Maryland, Lord Dunmore became part of my final undergraduate history study.

In the mid 1970s, as part of a regional history study, I began extensive research on Lord Dunmore and his floating town. In 1993, the Gwynn's Island Museum published *The Governors' Island*, my study of Dunmore and his floating town. That research has continued unabated. One example is a lengthy study of the floating town's blacksmith ship.

I hope this timeline will provide a broader view of Dunmore until such time as I complete the final manuscript on His Excellency's life.

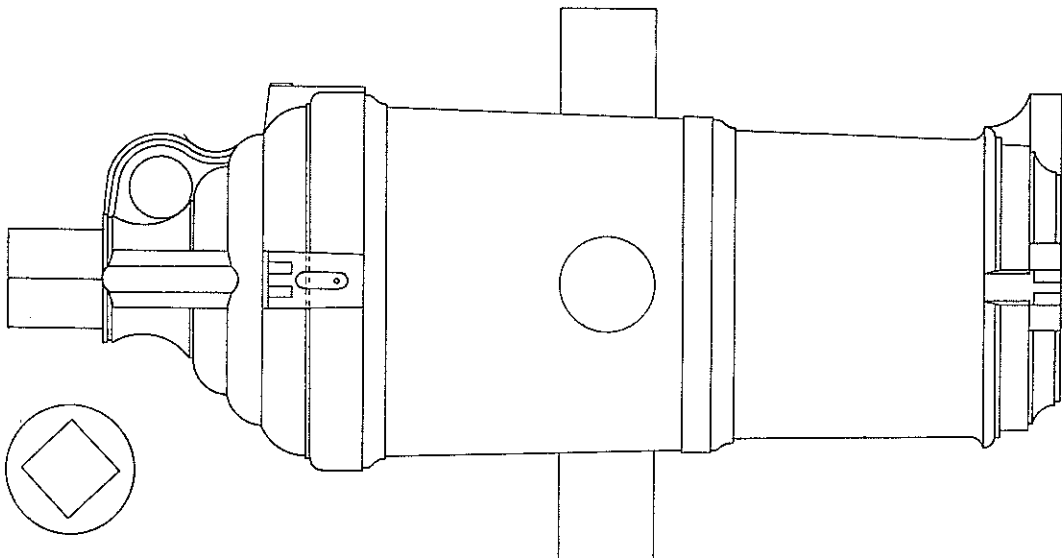
Phil Shultz, training specialist and Colonial Williamsburg's longest running royal governor, kindly read this and offered some good suggestions. Spencer Chestnut generously prepared some of the early word-processed versions of the timeline.

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| <p>1728 Father, the Honorable William Murray (brother of Brig. Gen. John Murray, second earl of Dunmore), marries Catherine, daughter of William, Lord Nairne, and his wife Margaret Nairne. Acquires estate Taymount in Perthshire as part of marriage settlement.</p> <p>1730 John Murray, the future fourth earl of Dunmore, born at Taymount, Perthshire, Scotland, eldest son and heir of the Honorable William Murray and wife, Catherine.</p> <p>1731 Uncle John (second earl of Dunmore) appointed lord of bedchamber to King George II.</p> <p>1732 Brother Charles born (dies shortly after 1751).</p> <p>1733 Uncle Thomas made major in army.</p> <p>1734 Brother William born.</p> | <p>1735 Uncle John appointed major general of foot (army).</p> <p>1736 Sister Margaret born.</p> <p>1737 Uncle Robert appointed brigadier general of foot (army).</p> <p>1738 Uncle Robert dies.</p> <p>1739 Sister Catherine born. Uncle John appointed lieutenant general of foot (army).</p> <p>1740 Visits London.</p> <p>1741 Sister Jean born. Uncle John reelected to House of Lords.</p> <p>1742 Attends Eton.</p> <p>1743 Sister Elisabeth born.</p> <p>1744 Finishes Eton.</p> <p>1745 Becomes page of honor to Prince Charles Edward Stuart, "Bonnie Prince Charlie," and his father joins the prince as vice chamberlain. Father and son fight on the side of Charles Stuart at battles of Prestonpans, Falkirk, and Culloden. (Brothers remain loyal to the House of Hanover.) Uncle Thomas commands opposing British regiment of foot at Prestonpans. Uncle John appointed general of foot and commander in chief of British and allied armies in Austrian Netherlands. Uncle Charles dies.</p> <p>1746 Goes home after Culloden. Family under "house arrest." Father confined in Tower of London. Father tried for treason; pleads guilty.</p> <p>1747 Father receives conditional pardon; imprisoned in Carrisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight.</p> <p>1748 Father moved and put under house arrest at Beverly, Yorkshire, and joined by family. Brother William becomes midshipman in Royal Navy.</p> <p>1749 Applies for commission in army. King rejects commission.</p> <p>1750 Accepted as ensign in Third Foot Guards (Scots Guard), commanded by Uncle John, general of foot.</p> <p>1751 Serves as adjutant to uncle, General Murray. Regiment in London.</p> <p>1752 Uncle John dies in London. Father, William, becomes third earl of Dunmore but remains under house arrest, now in Lincolnshire.</p> |
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- 1753 Granted extended leave to visit family. Regiment in London.
- 1754 Purchases property in Stirlingshire, later named Dunmore Park. Aunt Katherine, countess of Nairne and wife of John, master of Nairne, dies in exile (loyal to Charles Stuart) at Versailles. Uncle Thomas appointed major general of army.
- 1755 Regiment in London. Promoted to lieutenant. Maintains correspondence with William Petty (future earl of Shelburne).
- 1756 Father dies in Lincoln. Becomes fourth earl of Dunmore.
- 1757 Assigned to Gen. Sir John Mordaunt. Took part in unsuccessful raid on French coast at Rochefort.
- 1758 In (another) unsuccessful raid on French coast. King George II refuses request for service in Germany. Promoted to captain. Uncle Thomas appointed lieutenant general of foot.
- 1759 Marries Charlotte Stewart, youngest (of six) daughter of the sixth earl of Galloway and his wife, Catherine Cochrane, daughter of the fourth earl of Dundonald.
- 1760 Daughter Catherine born. Resigns commission in Third Foot Guards. Admitted to Select Society, a prestigious Edinburgh Club. Attends the coronation of King George III and Queen Charlotte.
- 1761 Daughter Augusta born in Scotland. Elected one of the "representative peers" from Scotland to the House of Lords (Act of Union of 1707 set a limit on the number of Scottish peers allowed to sit in the House of Lords). Purchases land near Glenfinart. Brother William becomes captain, Royal Navy. Sister Catherine marries John Drummond of Logie Almond.
- 1762 Son George (future fifth earl) born in Scotland. Joins Poker Club, a politically active informal association.
- 1763 Son William born in Scotland. Friend William Petty (Lord Shelburne) resigns as president of Board of Trade. Sister Elisabeth marries Rev. John Murray (distant cousin), dean of Killaloe.
- 1764 Son Alexander born in Scotland. Visited by Lord Shelburne at Dunmore Park. Uncle Thomas dies.
- 1765 Envisions future home on the Ohio River in America. Portrait painted in regimentals.
- 1766 Son John born in Scotland.
- 1767 Daughter Susanna born in Scotland. Supports upper house leader Lord Chatham and asks for audience with king.
- 1768 Begins business and investment relationship with Carron Iron Works. Returned unanimously by election to the House of Lords. Begins firm support of the duke of Bedford's faction in government.
- 1769 Travels to France as guest of the duke of Richmond; dines in company of French king Louis XVI's mistress. Sir Henry Moore, royal governor of New York, dies; news reaches London late November. On December 4, John Murray's name put forth as next governor.
- 1770 Son Leveson Granville Keith born in Scotland. Commission as royal governor of New York signed by king on January 2. Assigned Capt. Edward Foy, Royal Artillery, as private secretary. Sails to New York aboard HMS *Tweed*, 32 guns, Capt. George Collier. Arrives New York October 19. Becomes embroiled with former acting governor and elements of the contentious New York Council of State. Made president of St. Andrew's Society in New York.
- 1771 New York frontier and Indian matters major concerns. Appointed by king to be royal governor of Virginia to fill vacancy left by death of Botetourt in October 1770. Leaves New York (July 10); tours his newly acquired lands (54,000 acres) east of Lake Champlain. Arrives Williamsburg, Virginia, September 25. Sister Jean dies at Taymount, Perthshire.
- 1772 Firmly governs and deals effectively with tidewater planters' issues while examining western lands and Indian policy. Promotes opening of western lands to settlement. Encourages active Royal Navy interdiction of illegal Chesapeake Bay commerce.
- 1773 Grants western lands to veterans of French and Indian War. Petitions king for 20,000 quitrent-free acres of western land for each of his five sons. This petition would later be denied. Purchases property, Porto Bello, near Williamsburg. Son William dies in Great Britain. Mother dies in Scotland. Father-in-law dies in France. Wife and all but youngest child begin journey to Virginia.
- 1774 Lady Dunmore and six children arrive in Virginia. Dunmore dissolves General As-

- sembly before their business completed. Leads successful military expedition against Shawnee Indians. Lady Virginia born at governor's residence.
- 1775 Not renominated for election as representative Scottish peer (see 1761) to House of Lords. Orders powder and some arms removed from public Magazine and removal discovered. Family flees to warship and then returns. Vacates governor's residence second and last time (June 8). Sends family to Great Britain. Gathers naval and loyalist vessels in a "floating town." Raids along Virginia's coast for supplies and deprives rebels of arms. Seizes printing press and issues proclamation (November 7) to free slaves and bondsmen of rebels. Loses battle with rebels at Great Bridge and relocates all supporters and supplies to floating town. Daughter Anne born in Great Britain.
- 1776 Attacks and burns a portion of Norfolk, Virginia. American militia allows fire to engulf town. British blamed for destruction. Meets unsuccessfully with senior Council member Richard Corbin to explore mediation with colony. Reinforced by naval vessels and armed privateers and receives weapons from Great Britain. Establishes post and fortifications at Portsmouth (Tucker's Point). Under rebel pressure, relocates base to Gwynn's Island, Virginia. Vacates Gwynn's Island under fire. Relocates temporarily to St. George's Island, Maryland. Evacuates Chesapeake Bay and sends several escorted convoys to Florida, Bermuda, West Indies, England, and New York. Accompanies naval vessels and some exiles to New York. Volunteers under General Howe and hoists (British) flag over New York. Returns to Great Britain. Reelected to House of Lords.
- 1777 Begins new construction at Dunmore Park. Resides temporarily at "Cally," sister-in-law's home. Continues as royal governor of Virginia at £2,000 per annum, £1,000 for expenses, and £15,000 draw against "possible claim" (if the colony is lost). Becomes de facto representative for American exiles in Great Britain. Strengthens business associations with Carron Iron Works and their new weapon—the carronade, a short-barreled cannon that fired larger shot at short range. Carronades were used as secondary weapons on ships.
- 1778 In the House of Lords, strongly supports Lord North's administration. Serves as chief mediator for crown during Seaforth (Regiment's) Rebellion. Petitions for post as colonel of regiment (Scottish) to be raised; king denies petition. With brother Hon. William Murray and brother-in-law Hon. Keith Stewart, both captains in the Royal Navy, promotes use of carronades on privateers and Royal Navy warships. Son John becomes midshipman in Royal Navy.

Twenty-four-pounder carronade, cast by Carron in 1779. Length 32 inches, weight 11-25. From Adrian B. Carrana, The History of English Sea Ordnance, 1523-1875 (Rotherfield, Eng.: Jean Boudriot Publications, 1997), II:167.

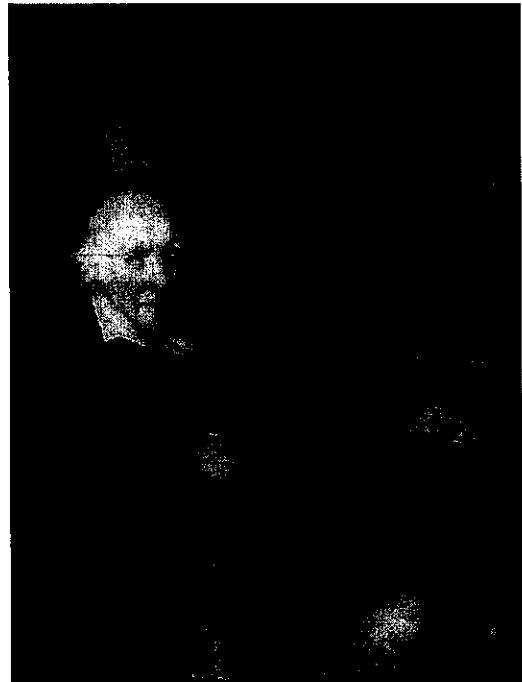


- 1779 Secures royal review and testing of carronade at Royal Arsenal. Government approves general use of carronades on Royal Navy warships. (By 1781, more than 400 naval vessels mount carronades.) Carron Iron Works renames their largest armed vessel in their private navy the *Earl of Dunmore*, which mounts 32 carronades.
- 1780 Presses for post and support to retake Virginia in conjunction with Lord Cornwallis's campaign. Carron Iron Works casts largest standard caliber carronade—sixty-eight pounder. Prototype cast and named on breech *Dunmore*. (Still exists.) *Earl of Dunmore* replaced in Carron fleet with the *Lady Charlotte*, 22 carronades.
- 1781 Reelected to the House of Lords (see 1761). Authorized by king to lead expedition to retake Virginia. Requires all Virginia exiles on government pensions or anticipating pensions to join expedition or default pensions and claims. Receives Royal Navy transports, arms, and largest caliber carronades. Sails in September. At sea learns of Cornwallis's surrender. Redirects convoy to Charleston. Reconnoiters Hampton Roads for invasion site. Son Hon. John made "supernumerary lieutenant" by Adm. Sir George Rodney on HMS *Flora*, 36 carronades.
- 1782 Arrives New York and unsuccessfully attempts to interest Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Guy Carlton in renewed campaign against America. Returns to London. Lobbies crown interest to open campaign in disputed (Great Britain/Spain) areas of southwestern United States—the lower Mississippi Valley. Calls for army of 10,000 blacks for campaign in addition to Loyalists. Daughter Catherine marries Hon. Edward Bouverie. Awarded £600 pension for life.
- 1783 Becomes heavily involved with Loyalist claims and the Claims Commission. Supports scores of claims and files own claim for losses. Opposes the Shelburne administration and the Fox/North coalition. Daughter Catherine dies.
- 1784 Supports the new Pitt administration.
- 1785 Purchases interests in vessels that supply arms to Indian agents in lower Mississippi Valley. Begins association with Miller, Bonnamy and Company to trade in that region.
- 1786 Appointed royal governor of Bahama Islands. Becomes (silent) partner in Miller, Bonnamy and Company. Brother Capt. William (Royal Navy) dies.
- 1787 Arrives in Nassau in October. Appoints newly arrived Loyalists to key government positions. Begins construction of massive Fort Charlotte to replace Fort Nassau. Issues proclamation (November 7) that gives amnesty to runaway slaves but also allows reenslavement of former slaves without "free papers."
- 1788 Grants numerous tracts of land to Loyalists. Examines papers of slaves and free blacks to ascertain ownership and status. Daughter Susanna (Susan) marries Joseph Tharp in Great Britain. Encourages adventurer Augustus Bowles to take action against commercial interests in lower Mississippi Valley. Appoints son Alexander agent for Turks and Caicos Islands (generally regarded as provinces of Bermuda). Establishes tribunals on outer islands in the Bahamas to examine blacks' claims to freedom.
- 1789 Names son deputy governor (without permission of home office). Supplies Bowles with vessels, arms, stores, and intelligence for campaign in lower Mississippi Valley. Appoints former New York associate Delancey as attorney general.
- 1790 Bowles fails. Encouragement to other similar ventures continues. Youngest daughter, Ann, dies at 15. Not nominated for reelection to House of Lords.
- 1791 Begins bitterest debates with Assembly (sitting since 1784) and prorogues it several times over the next two years. Begins measures to minimize slave insurrections after huge uprising in nearby Haiti. Builds small, elegant mansion named the Hermitage. Sister Catherine dies.
- 1792 Begins new barracks for troops. Assures Secretary of State Durdas that his islands are secure from slave rebellion. Son Leveson Granville Keith enters Madras (India) civil service.
- 1793 At outbreak of war with France, begins construction of batteries at Society Hill and finances privateers against French. Lady Dunmore and daughter on Grand Tour in Italy. Without King George III's knowledge or consent, daughter Lady Augusta marries the king's son Prince Augustus in secret in Anglican ceremonies, first in Rome, later in London.

- 1794 Ordered by British ministry to dissolve the Bahamian Assembly and hold new elections. Son John promoted to captain, Royal Navy. Lady Dunmore before Privy Council in England over daughter's marriage in contravention of 1772 Royal Marriages Act (members of royal family cannot contract valid marriages without the sovereign's consent). Grandson Augustus born to Augusta and Prince Augustus. King George III orders dissolution of their marriage. They continue to live together.
- 1795 Duke of Portland (old political adversary) joins ministry. (Brother-in-law Earl Gower earlier left ministry.) Dunmore recalled to Great Britain from Bahamas.
- 1796 Returns to Great Britain and unsuccessfully requests hearings before king for reinstatement as governor of Bahamas. In spite of royal displeasure over her marriage, the crown provides pension of £1,200 per year for Lady Augusta.
- 1797 Continues as governor of Bahamas but not allowed to return to Bahamas.
- 1798 William Dowdeswell appointed as new governor to the Bahamas. Dunmore acquires residence in Ramsgate, County Kent. (Many American exiles/Loyalists eventually take up residence in Ramsgate, as well.)
- 1799 Large amount of correspondence between prince regent (Augustus's elder brother, the future George IV), Lady Augusta, Prince Augustus, and family to allow marriage to continue despite royal order.
- 1800 Son John, a captain in the Royal Navy, and prince regent correspond over Lady Augusta's marriage and finances. Son George becomes member of Parliament from Liskeard, Cornwall.
- 1801 Granddaughter Augusta Emma born to Augusta and Augustus. After agreeing to a final separation, Prince Augustus provides £2,000 annually for Lady Augusta and children. He later remarries.
- 1802 Dunmore has one of last audiences with King George III, largely over daughter's financial situation.
- 1803 Former sister-in-law Sarah Murray, wife of brother William, deceased, now wife of George Aust, writes and publishes book on travel in Scotland. Son George, Lord Fincastle, marries Susan, daughter

of Archibald, duke of Hamilton and Brandon.

- 1804 Grandson Alexander Edward Murray (future sixth earl of Dunmore), son of George and Susan, born. Emma Hamilton (mistress of Admiral Nelson and wife of Duke of Hamilton) visits "old friend" Lady Dunmore at Hastings.
- 1805 Son Hon. Capt. John Murray, HMS *Franchise*, 36 carronades, dies during blockade of Curaçao in the Netherlands Antilles.
- 1806 Son Alexander becomes lieutenant colonel in army. After final dissolution of her marriage, Lady Augusta authorized by "royal license" to take surname de Ameland, rather than Murray. Eventually children of Prince Augustus and Lady Augusta given ancient family name D'Este (from ancient House of Hanover): 1) Sir Augustus Frederick D'Este (1794–1848) and 2) Augusta Emma, Mademoiselle D'Este (1801–66).



Shown in old age, Lord Dunmore appears in this portrait (painted by an unknown artist) wearing a tartan with his Scots bonnet on the table by his side (Private Collection).

- 1807 Miniature portrait in old age painted by unknown artist.
- 1808 Son Leveson Granville Keith marries (second time) Anne, widow of John Thursley of Madras civil service.
- 1809 Dies on February 25 at Ramsgate, in his seventy-eighth year, "certainly the most

- zealous and active of his Majesty's Governors during the whole of the (American) revolutionary war."¹ Succeeded by son George as fifth earl of Dunmore. Daughter Susan marries (third time) the Rev. Archibald Edward Douglas of Carnalloway and Outragh, rector of Drumgoon, Ireland.
- 1810 Administration of estate performed.
- 1811 Son Alexander marries Deborah, daughter of Robert Hunt, commissioner in chief of Bahamas.
- 1812 Probate of will and settlement of estate completed.
- 1815 Grandson Lt. Augustus Frederick D'Este of Royal Fusiliers (army) appointed aide-de-camp to Maj. Gen. Sir John Lambert and present at Battle of New Orleans.
- 1818 Charlotte, Countess of Dunmore, dies in Ramsgate.
- (The earl and countess are buried in the Church of St. Lawrence in Ramsgate, Kent. Their grandchildren Sir Augustus Frederick and Mademoiselle D'Este are buried there also.)

¹ Annual Register, 1809.

BRIEF MISCELLANY ON JOHN MURRAY, FOURTH EARL OF DUNMORE

Principal Sources of Personal Revenues

	£ per annum (average)		
Lands (in Scotland, mainly Stirlingshire), 1754–1809			3,000+
Shareholder—Carron Iron Works, circa 1768–1809			2,000+
Partner (silent)—Miller, Bonnamy and Company, circa 1785–circa 1799			1,500+
Partner—shipping, 1787–92			500+
Partner—privateers, 1792–circa 1798			500+
	Salary	Emoluments	Total £ per annum
New York (1770–71)	1,500	2,000+	3,500
Virginia (1771–83)	2,000	3,000+	5,000
Bahamas (1786–98)	1,000	3,000+	4,000
Pension for life from crown (1782–1809)			600

(His Lordship's daughter Lady Augusta received a crown pension of £1,200 per annum from 1796 and, after 1801, an additional £2,000 from Prince Augustus. See chronology 1796, 1801.)

Hereditary Titles

The Earl of Dunmore, 1756–1809

Viscount Fincastle, 1730–62 (eldest son, George, heir presumptive, 1762–1809)

Baron Murray of Blair, Moulin, and Tillemot (sometimes spelled Tillemet), 1756–1809

Significant Crown and Government Posts

Officer (eventually captain) third regiment of foot (Scots Guards), 1750–60*

Royal Governor of New York, 1770–71[†]

Royal Governor of Virginia, 1771–83[†]

Royal Governor of Bahama Islands, 1786–98[†]

Member, House of Lords, 1761–74[‡]

Member, House of Lords, 1776–90[‡]

Titles as Governor

Governor, Captain General, and Vice Admiral of New York/Virginia/Bahamas

Governor and Captain General of New York/Virginia/Bahamas and Vice Admiral of same

*Appointed by king and commander

[†]Appointed by king

[‡]One of the sixteen elected representative peers from Scotland specified in 1707 Act of Union

A Reverend's Life: "How Much History . . . in One Short Chapter?"

by Noel B. Poirier

Noel is a journeyman carpenter/joiner in the Department of Historic Trades and a member of the Interpreter Planning Board.

What a glorious morning for a hunt on this day in 1770! The August mist lay heavy across the woods and numerous rivulets that dotted the shoreline, obscuring their feathered residents. The reverend would miss these summer morning hunts when he finally moved permanently to his little Presbyterian haven in Virginia. The summers in Brookhaven, Long Island, lacked the oppressive heat and humidity of tidewater Virginia, and the breeze off the sound brought the pungent smell of the sea. Before leaving the house, he had asked his wife, Elizabeth, to have his dinner ready at one o'clock.

He walked a while longer, absorbing the sights, smells, and sounds of Long Island, wanting to keep them fresh in his memory before his exodus to Virginia. Setting his gun aside, he reattached a damaged fence rail just as his neighbor, Captain Strong, came upon him. Shortly after they parted as Captain Strong approached his home, a shot rang out in the distance, but unfortunately, it had not been aimed at any game. Apparently as he primed his pan with powder, the reverend turned his gun around and rested the butt on the ground with its short barrel pointed towards him, thus allowing him to load charge and shot down the muzzle. As he began to jerk the ramrod from its nest under the barrel, there was a crash and a flash of light and smoke as the gun discharged its deadly contents into the reverend's chest! The reverend's intentions for the Presbyterian community of Providence Forge, Virginia, the focus of the last two years of his life, died with him that morning.¹

Born to wealth in 1740, Charles Jeffrey Smith, the future reverend, would need no other source of income and, as his family was deeply religious, he was enrolled at Yale College in Connecticut. Graduating in 1757, he decided to devote the rest of his life to the Presbyterian Church and the ministering of God's teachings.

At the time, across Long Island Sound and on a branch of the Thames River in Connecticut, Eleazer Wheelock had begun ministering to and educating Native American boys. Smith traveled to the school, known as the Indian Charity School, and began serving as one of Wheelock's

instructors and closest advisors. While at the school, he served as a teacher and student, learning the Mohawk language from the young, Christianized Joseph Brandt.

Missionary work called out to Smith, yet the situation along the colonies' frontier was no place for novices. The Seven Years' War, pitting Britain and France against one another, led to an increase of violence on the part of the parties' native allies. Both sides unleashed their Native American allies on one another, resulting in destruction of the European American frontier settlements and Native American communities alike. Smith, however, could not be restrained from undertaking his first mission of God: travel to the Mohawk villages and preach the Gospel to the unconverted.²

Expecting ordination as a minister any day, Smith left the comforts of Wheelock's school behind and began his mission to the Mohawks in early 1763. While his study of the Mohawk language with Joseph Brandt had been fruitful, the young missionary hardly felt fluent in the tongue of his future flock. Luckily, Brandt was eager to demonstrate the seriousness of his studies and conversion; the young Mohawk brave would continue to instruct the missionary in the Mohawk language and would receive in return instruction from the missionary in English.

Plans for their undertaking continued throughout the spring, but rumblings from the frontier grew louder and louder over the ensuing months. Unaware that the actions of the Ottawa Chief Pontiac had set alight the frontier, the two were under way by July 1763, traveling up the Hudson River Valley and preaching to any Native Americans who would listen. The pair reached Johnson Hall, the home of Sir William Johnson, and was informed that, for their own safety, they would not be permitted to continue their mission. Crestfallen, the pair separated, the reverend returning to Connecticut and Brandt remaining with William Johnson.³ Smith's aborted mission to the tribes of the Iroquois did not deter the reverend from his strong desire to carry the Gospel to the far reaches of settlement. His solution was to become an itinerant preacher traveling throughout the colonies to spread the Word. His wanderings carried him from the isolated farms of the hills of Connecticut to the flat tidewater of Virginia.

In 1765 Presbyterians in and around Williamsburg, Virginia (including York and James City Counties), informed a local court that they would be using a house on the property of George Davenport in Williamsburg for a meetinghouse. The congregation did not have a permanent minister, so they planned on holding

services only when one happened to be passing through the city.⁴

The Reverend Smith's travels found him in Virginia at the home base of the eloquent Samuel Davies's Hanover Presbytery. Having ministered to Presbyterians in Hanover County for more than a dozen years, Davies died in 1761, after leaving Virginia in 1759 to assume the presidency of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University). Hanover Presbytery continued to train and ordain Presbyterian ministers, a few of whom they sent on an interim basis to the Williamsburg Presbyterians. With its makeshift meetinghouse and leaderless congregation, Williamsburg was a logical destination for the drifting reverend.

The following advertisement appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* in July 1766: "And to be SOLD at Mr. Holt's store, next door to the Printing Office, Williamsburg, THE Nature and Necessity of Regeneration, considered in a discourse delivered at Williamsburg, in Virginia, with a dedication to the Episcopal Church in that city [Bruton Parish Church], containing an apology [a written defence] for Presbyterians. By Charles Jeffrey Smith, A.M." A copy of this sermon, published in 1765 in New Jersey, is preserved in Special Collections at Swem Library at the College of William and Mary. It shows that Smith preached the sermon in Williamsburg on July 25, 1765, just a few weeks after the local Presbyterians petitioned the court for a meetinghouse. Presbyterian Charles Jeffrey Smith had arrived in the capital city of one of the most Anglican colonies in North America.⁵ He may even have delivered the sermon in the "house on part of a lot belonging to George Davenport."

The Mr. Holt in question here was a Williamsburg merchant whose daughter Jane Holt had married Presbyterian Samuel Davies in the late 1740s. The above advertisement hints at a partnership between Reverend Smith and William Holt. On one side there was the Reverend Smith who, in his short life, had devoted himself to the propagation of the Gospel. Holt, on the other hand, was a Virginia merchant, diversified and successful in his business ventures. Holt had been conducting business in the city since 1760, before which he had overseen a warehouse in Yorktown for Francis Jerdone. The Holt family operated an iron forge and gristmill in New Kent County in the 1750s and 1760s and had acquired substantial amounts of land in New Kent and Charles City Counties.⁶

Holt appears to have conformed to the established (Anglican) church, but he was open to Smith's idea for a Presbyterian community in the area around William Holt's iron forge in New

Kent County. The Reverend Smith, with William Holt's assistance, determined to sell his land holdings in New York and invest the income in Holt's Forge and to establish a Presbyterian academy and meetinghouse. The income from the forge and other plantations was to be used to fund the academy, the meetinghouse, and missionaries to the frontiers of Virginia and North Carolina. Upon the formation of the partnership between Holt and Smith, the name of the forge was changed from Holt's Forge to Providence Forge, and the two men also constructed a mill in York County called Kennon's Mill. The Reverend Smith, meanwhile, without seeking permission or assistance from the Hanover Presbytery, embarked on his plans for Providence Forge.⁷

The plans for Smith's Presbyterian village moved forward considerably in 1769 when he purchased lands adjoining Providence Forge in Charles City County for the construction of his church and academy. Smith opened a subscription for the construction of a Presbyterian church, seventy feet long and forty feet wide

This copy of Smith's sermon is in the Manuscript and Rare Books Department, Special Collections, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

Samuel Bush THE Book 1767
NATURE AND NECESSITY
 OF
REGENERATION,
 Considered in a
DISCOURSE
 DELIVERED
 At WILLIAMSBURG, in VIRGINIA:
 WITH
 A DEDICATION to the Episcopal Church
 in that City:
 CONTAINING,
 An Apology for PRESBYTERIANS.

By CHARLES JEFFERY SMITH, A. M.

So much as in me is, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you that are at Rome also, for I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ: for it is the Power of God unto Salvation, to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.
 St. Paul.

WOODBRIDGE, in New-Jersey:
 Printed by SAMUEL F. PARKER.
 M.DCC.LXV.

with galleries and a steeple, at Providence Forge in February 1769.

Adding to his lands in adjacent New Kent County, the reverend purchased another 1,700 acres of land in Charles City County from William Holt in July 1769.⁸ He also began planning the construction and organization of the academy and what subjects it would teach. While he had not sought the support of the Hanover Presbytery, he did want to make sure he had the support of the predominantly Anglican population. The best way to reach them was through the *Virginia Gazette*, and the Reverend Smith devoted an entire page of that paper to his proposal.

Smith asserted that, while "William and Mary . . . will . . . shine in the Republic of Learning," there was "full room in this extensive colony, and real need of more seminaries of education." He then described the advantages of the location of the academy in Providence Forge, stating that it was "between those two capital rivers, James and York, and on a public road" halfway between Williamsburg and the Falls of the James. The distance from city life, rather than a detriment, was an asset because the students would be "sequestered from the daily temptations, and numerous avocations . . . which endanger the morals, and interrupt the studies of youth."

The Reverend Smith planned to erect a house "with good accommodations for the entertainment of fifty, or an hundred students, if necessary" and the "tutors and pupils" will both reside there providing "no interruption to study." The school would have two tutors initially to instruct the students: men of "liberal education, unblemished morals and indubitable scholastic merit."⁹

According to Smith, the intention of employing instructors with "unblemished morals" was because the "morals of the pupils . . . will be watched with pious vigilance, and formed with unremitting assiduity." No matter how fashionable certain activities were considered, they would not be permitted on the campus of Smith's academy.

The "amusements" to be prohibited included card playing, horse racing, cock fighting, and wrestling. The Reverend Smith asserted that all of the pupils would be considered as "his own children" and receive "parental affection and tenderness." Those students who proved especially incorrigible would be exposed to mild "corporal punishment" or expulsion.¹⁰

The reverend planned the curriculum of the intended academy around two branches: English and languages, arts and sciences. The former would educate the students in reading, writing,

and basic arithmetic, with an emphasis on the accurate teaching of the English language. The latter would provide a liberal studies curriculum including Greek, logic, rhetoric, philosophy, and astronomy. Smith stressed the importance of teaching the pupils the "art of speaking" so that they would appear as "reputable speakers in the pulpit, senate and at the bar." The academy's course of instruction would also include Latin, theology, law, physics, and politics. Smith ended his public proposal with the announcement that he had written a pamphlet describing, in detail, his "Plan for an Academy Dedicated to His Excellency Lord Botetourt."¹¹

In order for his Virginia mission to succeed, Smith continued to divest himself of his Long Island properties. This required that he travel frequently between Virginia and Long Island. He was at his home in Brookhaven, New York, in June 1770, when he attended a Masonic procession and had the opportunity to share his grandiose Virginia vision with his friend Ezra Stiles.

Stiles found Smith's "scheme . . . full of good Intention, but . . . wondered to see so good a mind so carried away." He observed to Smith that this new enterprise "would involve him in new cares & solitudes of a Worldly kind which would interfere with Spiritual & divine Life."¹² The Reverend Smith, however, "tho't otherwise" and continued to espouse the advantages of his planned academy and meetinghouse. That was the last time that he and Ezra Stiles spoke, for the reverend was dead two months later.

What would Providence Forge, Virginia, look like if the Reverend Charles Jeffrey Smith had succeeded in constructing his meetinghouse, academy, and Presbyterian community? There is little doubt that it would have been more than the tiny crossroads it is today. Unfortunately, Smith's untimely death also killed his dream of a Presbyterian academy in New Kent County. He composed his will at the height of his planning for the academy; thus, it resonates with his positive attitude toward the project. One of the most interesting aspects of his will is that portion relating to his properties in Virginia. It stated:

I leave to the Trustees of the College of New Jersey, commonly called Nassau Hall, all that certain messuge [sic] or parcel or tract of land that I own in James City, New Kent County, Virginia, in partnership with Mr. William Holt, with all the appurtenances, to propagate the blessed Gospel of Christ, in the manner following, viz.: 1. Out of the income there shall be yearly paid 6 Spannish [sic] milled Dollars to each of the Colleges at Cambridge, in

*New England [Harvard], New Haven [Yale], and Princetown [College of New Jersey, now Princeton], to support three annual Lectures, to be preached by some able, pious minister before the students of each of the said colleges, on the following subjects: The Nature and Necessity of Regeneration; The Nature and Necessity of Justification by Faith Alone; The Dignity, Utility, Greatness, and Importance of the Gospel Ministry. 2. As soon as the income is sufficient, the Trustees are to support and maintain an able orthodox Godly minister; to itinerate three years in preaching the Gospel to the white people and negroes [sic] in the Southern Colonies that most need it and are least able to support it. And let none be employed but those who will engage to serve three years in the Cause. 3d. After the above is performed, the rest of the income is to be expended in such manner as will most effectually promote Christian knowledge among the poor heathen of the Aboriginal natives of America.*¹³

The Reverend Smith named as his executors in Virginia Julius King Burbridge and Bartholomew Dandridge. They placed Smith's portion of the partnership with Holt up for public auction along with Smith's own properties, which included a large brick dwelling house stocked with a "large and valuable collection of books."¹⁴ Francis Jerdone purchased Reverend Smith's interest in the forge and mills, and, together with Holt, the Jerdones ran the Providence Forge ironworks throughout the Revolutionary War.

At the time of Reverend Smith's death, the Providence Forge operation consisted of "a well built Forge . . . two well built Water Grist Mills . . . a Bolting Mill . . . a well built Saw Mill . . . several Dwelling houses with Brick Chimnies [sic], a large Storehouse, Granary, Smith's Shop, and many other convenient Houses . . . all newly built, in the best manner; and a good fishery."¹⁵ Smith had invested a considerable amount of money in his Virginia venture.

Although the reverend passed away before he could complete his plan to convert the little crossroads of Holt's Forge into a thriving Presbyterian community, his legacy lived on in the name now assigned to that fork: Providence Forge. Smith, in his short life, touched the lives of countless people. Many of these, like Joseph Brandt, Eleazer Wheelock, and Ezra Stiles, are familiar while others are not.

Smith, in his thirty years, had instructed Mohawk children in Connecticut, preached to Iroquois warriors in the Hudson Valley of New York, roamed the middle colonies as an itinerant minister, and developed a plan to establish the first Presbyterian institution of higher learning in Virginia. Upon hearing of Smith's death, Ezra Stiles confided in his diary: "How much History comprized [sic] in one short Chapter!"¹⁶

¹ Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College*, vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 62–63; *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 1 November 1770, 1–2. The true circumstances surrounding the shooting are still unknown. One source claims that, years later, a slave admitted to killing the reverend. There was also some discussion that the reverend may have committed suicide. I have chosen to present the death as it was presented at the time, as a hunting accident.

² Katherine L. Brown, "The Role of Presbyterian Dissent in Colonial and Revolutionary Virginia, 1740–1785" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1969), 255–260; Robert J. Taylor, *Colonial Connecticut: A History* (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1979), 163; Isabel Thompson Kelsay, *Joseph Brandt, 1743–1807, Man of Two Worlds* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 87–88.

³ Kelsay, *Joseph Brandt*, 88–94.

⁴ Lyon G. Tyler, *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 5 (1924; reprint, New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1967), 66–67.

⁵ James H. Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians* (Louisville, Ky.: Geneva Press, 1996), 53–54; Randall Balmer and John R. Fitzmier, *The Presbyterians* (Westport, Conn., and London: Greenwood Press, 1993), 148–149; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 4 July 1766.

⁶ George William Dilcher, *Samuel Davies: Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia* (Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), 35. Holt's Forge is recorded on the Fry-Jefferson Map (1755). Kathleen Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era* (New York and London: The Century Company, 1931), 19–20.

⁷ Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 63; "Providence Forge," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, n.s., 5 (June 1896): 20–22; Howard Miller, *The Revolutionary College: American Presbyterian Higher Education, 1707–1837* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 124–125.

⁸ "Providence Forge," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 20; "Records from the Charles City County Deed Book," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 22 (December 1914): 436.

⁹ *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 1 March 1770, 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 55–56.

¹³ Will of Charles Jeffrey Smith as found in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society, Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York*, vol. 7 (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1898), 327–329.

¹⁴ *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 24 January 1771, 3, col. 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 62.

NEW AT THE ROCK



Becoming Americans Story Lines: New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

Buying Respectability

Berg, Maxine, and Elizabeth Eger, eds. *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*. New York: Palgrave, 2003. [HC 52.5 .L89 2003]

The latest contribution to the literature of eighteenth-century consumerism, this book is a collection of essays that address the political, economic, and moral effects of the increase in production and consumption of luxury goods. "Vase mania" and working-class clothing in England are two of many ideas explored.

Davis, John D. *Pewter at Colonial Williamsburg*. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2003. [NK8415.G7D382003]

More than 400 objects from the Colonial Williamsburg collections illustrate the complete range of goods available in the Chesapeake from the seventeenth until the early nineteenth century, no small task given the ubiquitous nature of pewter in colonial life. This comprehensive catalog is divided into six sections based on use (lighting devices, dining wares, drinking vessels, tea and coffee equipage, household and personal accessories, and religious objects) and arranged chronologically within each section. An exhibition of this once-common material can be seen in the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum until February 5, 2005.

Donald, Diana. *Followers of Fashion: Graphic Satires from the Georgian Period; Prints from the British Museum*. London: Hayward Gallery Pub., 2002. [NC 1316 .G7 L65 2002]

Just when expendable income was available to support the English upper- and middle-classes' desire to be fashionable and in good taste, along came the satirical print to poke fun at the extremes and extravagances. These eighteenth-century cartoons mock hairstyles, cosmetics, clothing, eating habits, manners, and body language.

Faris, William. *The Diary of William Faris: The Daily Life of an Annapolis Silversmith*. Baltimore, Md.: Maryland Historical Society, 2003. [NK 7198 .F37 A2 2003]

Trained in Philadelphia, William Faris practiced silversmithing, and watch- and clockmaking in Annapolis from 1757 until his death in 1804. He kept a diary from 1792 to 1804 in which he recorded daily weather, activities of family and friends, and his preoccupation with his gardening activities.

Rangstrom, Lena. *Modelejon Manligt Mode: 1500-tal, 1600-tal, 1700-tal; Lions of Fashion: Male Fashion in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries*. Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 2003.

A catalog of royal clothing from the Swedish Royal Armouries in Stockholm, the hundreds of color illustrations only serve to reinforce the notion that "clothes make the man." While working-class men could only imagine clothes like these, the aspiring gentry possessed at least a few

New Items in the Rockefeller Library's Special Collections Section

Letter: John Tarpley Jr., Richmond, to Robert Carter, October 25, 1726, concerning escheated land in Richmond County, Virginia.

Petition: "Case of Norborne Berkeley, Esq., in relation to the Barony of Botetourt" (London, 1764).

This request to the king for grant of the barony outlines the history of this noble title, then in abeyance, from John de Botetourt in the reign of King Edward I through the female line to Sir Maurice Berkeley of Stoke from whom the petitioner (later Virginia's governor) was descended. Also included is a pedigree chart showing the line of descent.

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

comparable items to proclaim their status in life. An English translation is provided.

Freeing Religion

Mapp, Alf J., Jr. *The Faiths of Our Fathers: What America's Founders Really Believed*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. [E 302.5 M26 2003]

Eleven founding fathers, including Virginians Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Marshall, Henry, and Mason, are examined for their attitudes toward religion. Surprisingly, their religious views neither were held in common nor remained static throughout their lifetimes. One radical became a fundamentalist, one conventionalist refused to take communion, one conservative abandoned monotheism, and two writers authored legal documents ensuring religious freedom to all Americans.

Taking Possession

Clarke, Charles G. *The Men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: A Biographical Roster of the Fifty-one Members and a Composite Diary of Their Activities from All Known Sources*. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. [F592.7 .C57 2002]

Every schoolchild is exposed to the rudiments of the Lewis and Clark expedition. But few adults could name two people who made the trek to the Pacific Ocean alongside the famous duo or know that journals from no fewer than six of these adventurers survive. This book sets out to discover who these 51 men were and to rescue them from oblivion. Who was court-martialed for sleeping on guard duty? Who was the blacksmith? Who was chased by a grizzly bear? Who had the language skills to act as an interpreter with Native Americans? This book is filled with fascinating details often overlooked in the quest for the "bigger picture."

Desmond, Ray. *Great Natural History Books and Their Creators*. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2003. [QH 13.45 .D47 2003]

Our fascination with, and systematic cataloging of, the natural world went hand in hand with the exploration of hitherto unexplored lands, particularly in the Americas. Brief chapters chronicle the lives of individuals who sought to collect, identify, and publish information about natural specimens, and whether their interests were insects or iris, fossils or fruit, birds or beasts, "tenacity in the face of difficulties" is described as their common ground.

Hone, E. Wade. *Land & Property Research in the United States*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Ancestry, 1997. [REF CS49. H66 1997]

Land ownership was a clear and compelling idea that drove migration, both to the colonies from Europe and also from the first settlements westward across North America. Starting with the premise that the more you know about land records the more you know about the people of the past, this book is exhaustive in its efforts to explain how to find and interpret these important documents. Spanish, British, French, and Mexican possessions are all covered for the colonial era; state land, federal land, and Native American records are examined after the Revolutionary War.

Mauriès, Patrick. *Cabinets of Curiosities*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2002. [AM 221 .M38 2002]

Natural and manmade wonders—items recognized for their intrinsic worth because of their rarity or beauty—were gathered together and displayed to enlighten and excite the viewer in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Whether a shelfful or a roomful, these collections of objects that pushed the frontiers of man's knowledge of the world were the precursors of modern museums. Charles Willson Peale's museum in Philadelphia was an early American example. While not mentioned in this book, Jefferson's Monticello display of artifacts from the Lewis and Clark expedition was very much in the same tradition of collection and exhibition.

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

New Titles in the Janice McCoy Memorial Collection for Youth

Ahiagble, Gilbert "Bobbo," and Louise Meyer. *Master Weaver from Ghana*. Greensboro, N.C.: Open Hand Publishing, LLC, 1998.

A contemporary male weaver from Ghana explains how his people maintain the tradition of weaving and relates the strip weaving of Kente cloth and its importance in the Ewe culture.

Benjamin, Rachel. *Learn About the Past*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Compass Point Books, 2004.

The author briefly introduces activities popular in the past, such as quilting and candlemaking, in a text that incorporates phonics instruction and rebuses.

DeMar, Gary. *America's Heritage*. Fort Lauderdale, Fla.: Coral Ridge Ministries, 2002.

This book was adapted from Gary Demar's *American Christian History: The Untold Story*.

Fleischman, Paul. *The Animal Hedge*. Cambridge, Mass.: Candlewick Press, 2003.

After being forced to sell the animals he loves, a farmer trims his hedge into their likenesses and teaches his sons about following their hearts.

Kalman, Bobbie. *The Blacksmith*. New York: Crabtree Publishing Company, 2002.

The author introduces the tools, activities, and importance of the blacksmith in colonial communities.

———. *The Colonial Cook*. New York: Crabtree Publishing Company, 2002.

The foods, methods, equipment, and places used by cooks in colonial America are discussed in this book.

———. *The Woodworkers*. New York: Crabtree Publishing Company, 2002.

The author relates the importance of wood in colonial times and describes how trees were cut down and made into lumber and how apprentice carpenters, cabinetmakers, coopers, and wheelwrights were trained.

Moore, Eva. *Good Children Get Rewards: A Story of Williamsburg in Colonial Times*. New York: Scholastic Inc., 2001.

As a brother and sister follow the directions in a rebus letter they discover in their father's shop, they are led to help people in various places throughout eighteenth-century Williamsburg.

Nixon, Joan Lowery. *Will's Story: 1771*. New York: Delacorte Press, 2001.

Childhood in eighteenth-century Virginia and crime and punishment are shown through the eyes of Will Pelham, son of the keeper of the public gaol and organist at Bruton Parish Church.

Rinaldi, Ann. *Finishing Becca: A Story About Peggy Shippen and Benedict Arnold*. San Diego, Calif.: Harcourt Brace, 1994.

Fourteen-year-old Becca takes a position as a maid in a wealthy Philadelphia Quaker home and witnesses the events that lead to Gen. Benedict Arnold's betrayal of the American forces during the Revolutionary War.

———. *Taking Liberty: The Story of Oney Judge, George Washington's Runaway Slave*. New York: Simon & Schuster Books for Young Readers, 2002.

After serving Martha Washington loyally for twenty years, Oney Judge realizes that she is just a slave and must decide if she will run away to find true freedom.

St. George, Judith. *John and Abigail Adams: An American Love Story*. New York: Holiday House, 2001.

As partners, spouses, and friends, Abigail and John experienced great triumphs as well as devastating setbacks in both their private and public lives.

Salas, Laura Purdie. *The Wilderness Road, 1775*. Mankato, Minn.: Bridgestone Books, 2003.

This story relates colonial America's need for a route to the west, how the Wilderness Road developed, and the impact the road had on western expansion. It also discusses early explorers and the settlements that grew along the road's path.

Sanders, Nancy I. *A Kid's Guide to African American History*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press Incorporated, 2000.

This book comprises seventy hands-on activities, songs, and games that teach kids about the people, experiences, and events that shaped African American history.

Shaw, Janet Beeler. *Meet Kaya: An American Girl*. Middleton, Wis.: Pleasant Company Publications, 2002.

In 1764, when Kaya and her family reunite with other Nez Perce Indians to fish for the red salmon, she learns that bragging, even about her swift horse, can lead to trouble. The book includes historical notes on the Nez Perce Indians.

Smolinski, Diane. *Battles of the French and Indian War*. Chicago: Heinemann Library, 2003.

———. *Soldiers of the French and Indian War*. Chicago: Heinemann Library, 2003.

Taylor, Maureen A. *Through the Eyes of Your Ancestors*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999.

This book about genealogy, the study of one's family, examines how such an interest develops, explains how to get started and use family stories and keepsakes, tells where to get help, and shows the positive effects of such study.



EDITOR'S NOTES . . .



Cicadas Then and Now

There may be guests in the Historic Area mentioning the emergence of cicadas this year. If so, you can make a connection with the eighteenth century. The following statement from Thomas Jefferson's *Account Book of 1775* speaks to the appearance of "locusts" (cicadas as we know them) on four different occasions.

*Dr. Walker sais he remembers the years 1724 & 1741 were great locust years. We all remember that 1758 was and now they are come again this year 1775, it appears then that they come periodically once in 17 years. They come out of the ground from a prodigious depth. It is thought that they eat nothing while in this state, laying their eggs in the small twigs of trees seems to be their only business. The females make a noise well known. The males are silent.**

*In actuality, that last statement is false. Only male cicadas have a pair of sound producing organs. Females are the silent ones.

(Thanks to Phil Shultz, training specialist in the Department of Interpretive Training, for researching this phenomenon.)

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