

# Interpreter

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## Building a Child's Carriage

by *Laura Arnold*


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Webster's Dictionary defines *serendipity* as "the gift of finding valuable or agreeable things not sought for," a definition that describes the surprise and excitement experienced by researchers from the first days of the Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg. More recently, Acheson Harden, a volunteer working with the coach and livestock department was asked to examine eighteenth-century paintings appearing in the catalogs of Christie's and Sotheby's auction houses for images of "anything with wheels." Those instructions encompassed carriages, riding chairs, carts, and wagons used by every level of society from British royalty to the humble farmer



Sir Thomas Cave and His Family by Arthur Devis, 1749. Private Collection.



Harden's serendipitous discovery of child-sized carriages in a number of paintings resulted in the construction of a copy of the small carriage shown in an Arthur Devis painting of Sir Thomas Cave and his family.



Becoming Americans  
Our Struggle to Build This New Land

### Buying Respectability

The Consumer Revolution in Colonial Virginia

A Resource Manual

Colonial Williamsburg

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Wedgwood Family Portrait by George Stubbs, 1780. By kind permission of the Trustees of the Wedgwood Museum, Barlaston, Staffordshire, England.

Other paintings considered were a George Stubbs portrait of the Wedgwood family and a portrait of the DuCane children also by Arthur Devis.

Before the reproduction of the Cave family carriage could begin, Ron Vineyard, master wheelwright now retired, searched for proof that children's carriages were found in the colonies. The account books of Philadelphia coachmaker William Hunter for the years 1788-90 contained references to customers ordering a "child's coach."

February 20, 1789

*"For Mr. J. Vanderwuke—A Child's Coach, very elegant, painted fashionably."*

October 17, 1789

*"This day shipped on board the ship, Cyrus, . . . A Child's waggon marked E.J.G., painted Green, carriage yellow, 15 pounds" (Pennsylvania money).*

May 4, 1790

*"G. Hunter went on board the Brig James bound to Cape Francois, carried with him Two Child's Coaches complete."*

August 30, 1790

*"Mr. Collette by cash in full for a Child's Coach. 18 pounds."*

The records of a successful Pennsylvania coachmaker who exported children's carriages to Barbados as well as satisfying the needs of his local customers still did not answer the question, "Were these expensive vehicles purchased

for the children of wealthy Virginians?" The visible answer to that question stands out in the John Hesselius portrait of the Philip Grymes children, in which the youngest boy is seated in a child's carriage. Mary Randolph Grymes, daughter of Sir John Randolph (and sister of Peyton and John Randolph), was the mother of these children. Lacking other family portrait documentation, the Hesselius painting with its link to the Randolphs of Williamsburg was sufficient proof that children's carriages were found in Virginia. Because young Charles Grymes is seated facing forward, the painting gives an incomplete view of the design of the carriage. The more complete carriage shown in the Devis portrait of the Cave children was, therefore, a better model.

Production of the child's carriage became a labor of love for the staff of the Wheelwright Shop. Mike Rhodes prepared working drawings that were kept in a notebook along with a copy of the painting for visitors to examine as the work progressed. The William Hunter records provided answers to visitor questions about cost and who would have ordered such a small vehicle. Visitors were surprised to learn that the carriages were pulled by a servant or another child and not by a large dog or a small pony. The intricate turning mechanism, brass-studded leather upholstery, and "very elegant painted fashionably" exterior refuted any comparison to the little red wagon familiar to children today. Work on the child's carriage also enabled the wheelwrights to discuss how eighteenth-century craftsmen coop-

Illustration of children playing in Johann Bernhard Basedow's book *Das Basedowische elementarwerk ein vorrath der besten erkenntnisse zum lernen, lehren, weidenholen and nachdenken*, published by Leipzig Siegfried Labrecht Crusius, 1785. Courtesy, National Library of Education, Washington, D. C.



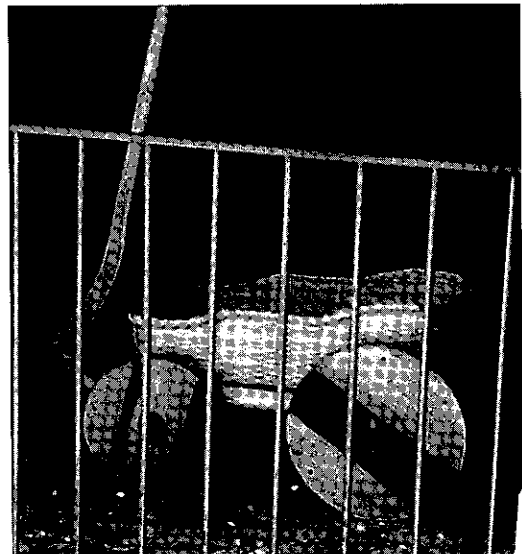
erated to provide a finished product. Then as now, the blacksmith contributed the metal working parts while the harnessmaker provided the thorough brace, the handle piece, and the leather upholstery. The finished cart shows how combining the library's resources with the skills of Colonial Williamsburg's tradespeople can allow us to create a more authentic and historically accurate portrayal of colonial life.

Wheelwright Dick Peeling, who meticulously painted the completed carriage, was assisted by Erik West, former head carriage restorer at the Royal Mews in London and at Windsor Castle. West's contribution was another example of serendipity in this project. His appearance as a guest lecturer at a meeting of the Carriage Association of America coincided with the final painting of the child's carriage, and he was persuaded to add the pineapple cypher and "pick out" the outline of the wheels. Using the child's carriage at the Wythe House and the Governor's Palace added to the interpretive opportunities for the Redefining Family story line and continues to enhance the Buying Respectability story line as an example of the Rolls Royce of carriages for children.

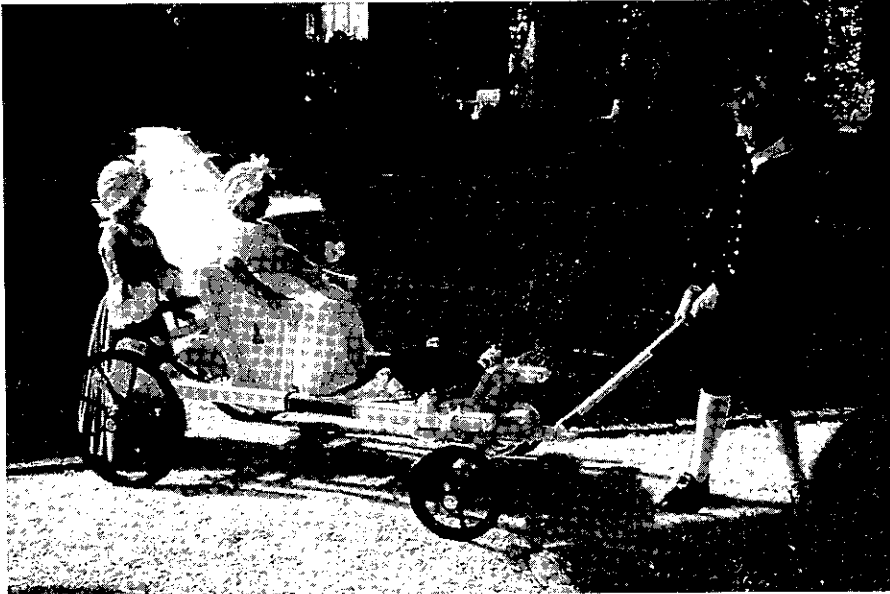
John Boag, master wheelwright, emphasized to visitors that only the wealthiest of families could afford the type of carriage shown in the Cave family portrait. Using a 1785 print by Johann Bernhard Basedow, the wheelwrights turned their attention to the production of a carriage of simpler design. One of the children

at play in this print is a young girl shown pulling a younger child in a child's carriage constructed with wooden wheels and frame and a woven basket body. Again, cooperation between trades was necessary using the skills of basketmaker Richard Carr to create the small carriage often displayed in the stable at the Wythe House.

Harden continues to examine auction catalogs at the Rockefeller Library searching for paintings depicting ferry transportation. As a result of his initial project, the library has established a special database—"Trade Index to Auction Catalogs"—that serves as a guide to paintings in which objects of interest to people working in historic trades are illustrated. What began as a simple request to find "anything with



*This small carriage is a common sight at the Wythe House.*



*The finished cart shows how combining the library's resources with the skills of Colonial Williamsburg's tradespeople can allow us to create a more authentic and historically accurate portrayal of colonial life.*

wheels" has developed into a never-ending project. As long as auction catalogs are published, the potential exists for another craftsman to be struck by serendipity.

The web address for "Trade Index to Auction Catalogs" is: [www.history.org/history/jdr/web/guides/database.html](http://www.history.org/history/jdr/web/guides/database.html)

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## Lewis Hallam: An English Actor in America

by Tom Goyens

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Theater in eighteenth-century Britain had become a business like any other. Its basic unit of operation was the company or troupe, headed by a manager. This troupe consisted of a highly stratified body of actors and actresses, a prompter, doorkeepers, and sometimes a number of servants. Except in London, where the companies were resident, English provincial theater companies were itinerant and rather small, often numbering no more than twenty members. They operated a circuit, such as in Yorkshire or the Wessex region, and performed in makeshift playhouses or commodious theater buildings in the county capitals.<sup>1</sup> Often a strolling company offered an opportunity for talented but destitute locals, but it could also harbor an oppressive atmosphere where jealousy and rivalry reigned. Strolling actress Charlotte Cibber Charke called it "a dirty little war."<sup>2</sup>

Ultimately, the manager bore all responsibilities ranging from public relations to mediating quarrels to securing the patronage of the local gentry. Sometimes performers became quite successful and some started careers in London, the center of British culture and commerce. Inevitably, as competition in England intensified, theater activities spilled over to the colonies, first in the West Indies, and soon thereafter on the American mainland.

Actors and actresses were not freewheeling members within a company. Life in a troupe was quite segmented in the sense that all players occupied a rank within a hierarchical system called the "lines of business."<sup>3</sup> Male and female roles were ranked according to prestige and difficulty: the role of Hamlet, for instance, was a First Tragedian level, whereas Polonius was designated as an Old Man line, three levels below

First Tragedian. Female roles reflected a similar ordering, although there were fewer roles, and thus fewer opportunities. Such a casting system, which was recognized by the players and the public, was possible because most popular plays were constructed along conventional plot lines with familiar characters.

Apart from the roles, other rules characterized the professional companies. A remnant from Elizabethan times, these rules were designed to facilitate the production of an ever-growing number of plays. The two most important principles were seniority and possession of parts. By the latter it was understood that a successful actor or actress could claim a part within a play and "possess" it. Such unwritten regulations often led to bitter rivalries among players, and surely allowed little upward mobility for young actors.

Most of these characteristics were transported to the colonies where theater remained decidedly English up until the early nineteenth century. Indeed, nearly all actors and actresses in America were English or Irish, the plays were English, and the typical provincial playhouse was a copy of English models. The status of theater as a legitimate form of leisure was as much, if not more vigorously, contested in the colonies as in the mother country. On the other hand, colonial theater enjoyed considerable support in the plantation colonies of the south and the Caribbean. Small, semi-professional troupes were active in the colonies as early as the 1720s, but left few records due to short-lived seasons and the absence of a vibrant press.<sup>4</sup> Only with the advent of newspapers and a growing urbanization in the 1750s did professional theater truly mark its presence upon the social and physical landscape in America.

The name most people associate with colonial theater is Lewis Hallam. His father, also named Lewis, was an actor, as were three of his uncles and his grandfather, Thomas, who strolled in the provinces and acted in Dublin and London as early as 1707.<sup>5</sup> (For clarity, this article distinguishes between the two Lewis Hallams by using roman numerals wherever

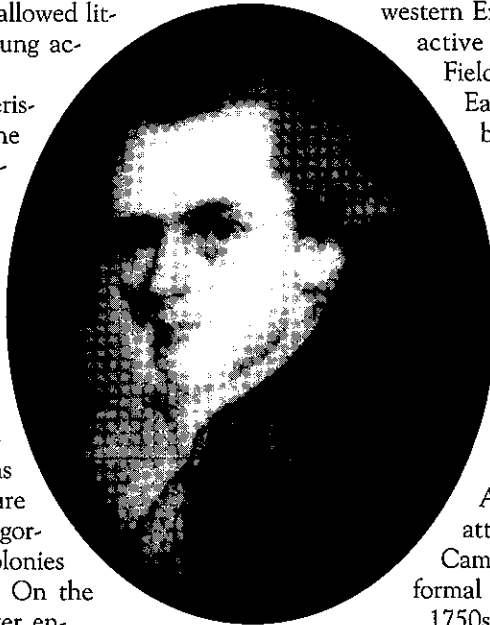
confusion might occur.) Indeed, the Hallams were nothing less than a theatrical clan. Such a family history was by no means exceptional. Many English and Irish performers came from theatrical parentage with roots in the itinerant subculture of the British Isles. Lewis Hallam II's career as an actor spanned fifty-six years, twenty-seven of which he was also a manager, though he was mostly known and remembered as an actor. Although he played a significant role in the post-Revolutionary scene, especially in New York, Lewis Hallam never excelled as a businessperson or builder of theaters as his stepfather David Douglass did.

Lewis Hallam II was born in 1740 and christened on November 8 of that year in Barnstaple, a small market town in Devon in southwestern England.<sup>6</sup> His father became

active in London's Goodman's Field theater, a venue in the East End, five years after the birth of his son. Lewis's mother was also an actress, possibly from the Rich family.<sup>7</sup> It appears that during the 1740s the Hallams were already traveling about. His father was touring the Kent region, which he had been exploring since the 1730s, and during the years before their trip to America in 1752, Lewis II attended a grammar school in Cambridge, apparently his only formal schooling.<sup>8</sup> The 1740s and 1750s often proved to be hard times for peripatetic actors. Since the 1737 Licensing Act theatrical activities in London had been restricted to two patented playhouses—Drury Lane and Covent

Garden. This drove many beginning actors out into the provinces to gain good parts for their résumés. But London was too big to content itself with two theaters. Several shrewd managers and performers circumvented the law by offering plays in disguise, the so-called lectures-on-head. One of them, William Hallam, Lewis II's uncle, ran the "theater" at Goodman's Field.

In January 1745, Lewis Hallam I decided to try his luck at his brother's venue. Soon, the authorities began a campaign to force William Hallam to stop operations. Legal threats increased, and eventually William succumbed, leaving the actors and actresses stranded in Lon-



*Portrait of Lewis Hallam [III], artist unknown. Courtesy, The Hampden-Booth Theatre Library, New York, New York.*

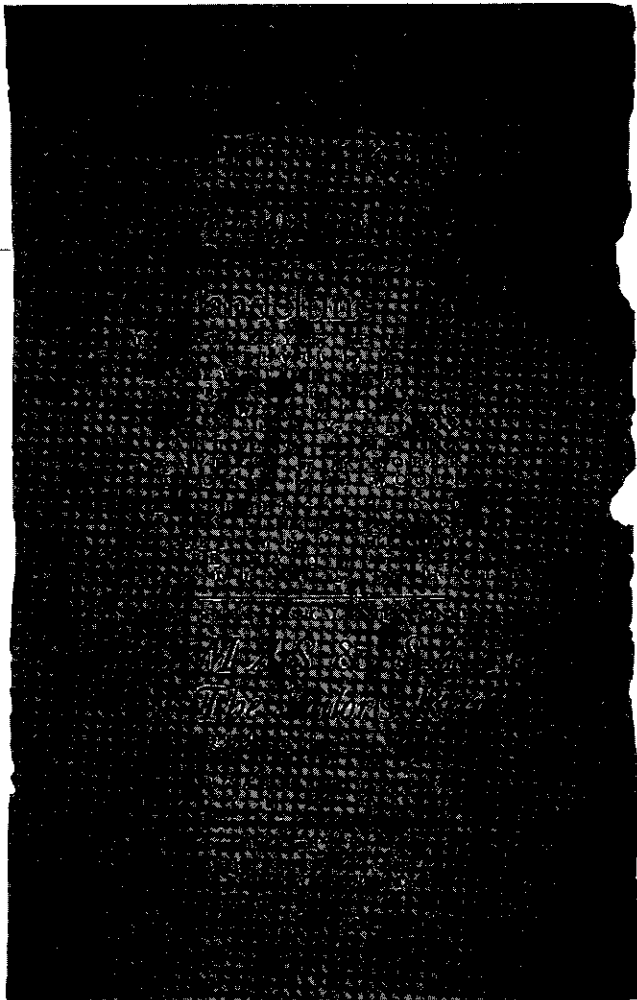
don. The last recorded theater activity of the Hallams in England appears to have been in September 1751.<sup>9</sup> At this point, eleven-year-old Lewis II had two younger sisters, Isabella and Helen, and a younger brother, Adam. The latter two would one day stand on the stage in America as well. The unfortunate situation in London and the news that a theater company led by Irishman John Moody had achieved modest success in the colony of Jamaica caused the two brothers, William and Lewis I, to draw up a plan to send a small company to the mainland colonies. With Lewis I as manager, the company, including players such as the Rigbys, poet John Singleton, the Adcocks, the Clarksons, and the Bells, embarked for Virginia in the spring of 1752. It was by no means unusual to count several couples with children among the members; children often played minor roles or aided with small tasks when preparing for the spectacle.

On June 2, 1752, after a six-week voyage, twelve-year-old Lewis Hallam arrived in the

small port of Yorktown, Virginia.<sup>10</sup> He was one of the youngest members of the troupe, which consisted of about fifteen people. From this time until 1756, young Lewis was probably guided and educated by his parents. He finally made his debut in Williamsburg on September 15, 1752, but when he faced the Williamsburg audience he "stood motionless and speechless, until bursting into tears [and] walked off the stage making a most inglorious exit."<sup>11</sup> The venture to the mainland colonies proved to be troublesome, and Lewis Hallam I never fully established the company as a successful enterprise. Several of his actors fell in debt to local shopkeepers, causing Hallam to lose the playhouse. Their 1754 season in New York was better, and at the end of December they sailed for Jamaica to perform.

Perhaps due to climate and illness, Lewis I suddenly died on the island, probably sometime in 1756. The company was forced to disband, but met up with the local company run by David Douglass and Owen Morris, both recruited by Moody. It is possible that Lewis II overcame the trauma of his Williamsburg debut on the island of Jamaica. The death of his father may also have reinforced in the young Lewis the will to become a professional actor. His mother married Douglass, an enterprising Scotsman. During these years, Lewis also studied under William Rigby, one of the older actors in the troupe, following the common practice whereby an older actor took on an apprentice who would later "succeed" to the master's parts. The two companies combined forces, and, with Douglass as manager, they arrived in New York in 1758.

Between 1758 and 1775, Lewis Hallam II became the foremost comedian and tragedian in Douglass's American Company. John Durang, a dancer, remembered that Hallam "was celebrated in all gentlemanly dashing profligateness of young men," as well as in epilogues. He was deemed "correct in Harlequin," and was particularly lauded as Lord Ogleby.<sup>12</sup> Hallam also made a name for himself as the slave character of Mungo in *The Padlock*. According to William Dunlap, early historian of the



CW collections.

American theater and manager of the Old American Company, Hallam's excellence in this role was derived from Hallam's own "study of the Negro slave character."<sup>13</sup> John Watson, in his *Annals of Philadelphia* (1830), quoted a witness who remembered "Old Hallam," who "prided himself on his unrivalled Lord Ogleby in the Clandestine Marriage, and Mungo in the Padlock."<sup>14</sup> And in February 1774, one critic praised Hallam's "extraordinary theatrical talents," when he portrayed Captain Dormer "in a most spirited manner."<sup>15</sup>

Although not a member of the gentry, Hallam certainly portrayed himself as a gentleman. He paid close attention to personal grooming by visiting Edward Charlton's peruke shop in Williamsburg in 1770.<sup>16</sup> William Dunlap described him as being "of middle stature or above, thin, straight, and well taught as a dancer and fencer."<sup>17</sup>

From October 1758 until October of the next year, the company remained in New York. There, eighteen-year-old Lewis and Sarah Perry, daughter of watchmaker Thomas Perry, met. On October 11, 1759, they married in Trinity Church.<sup>18</sup> Although Sarah Perry appeared on stage for a while, she never became a professional actress. By the summer of 1774, when Lewis went to England to recruit new players, Sarah Perry Hallam had decided to settle permanently in Williamsburg and open a dancing school. It has been suggested that from this point on their relationship was only formal and that they never officially divorced. Perhaps Sarah Perry's mild enthusiasm for the acting profession caused them to grow apart. The death of Lewis's mother in 1774 may have brought Lewis closer to his stepfather. Sarah and Lewis had two sons: Mirvan, who became an actor in New York and Philadelphia, and Lewis D., born in 1771, who later decided to study medicine, but died in 1780 in Kingston, Jamaica.<sup>19</sup>

Separated from his wife, Lewis Hallam started a relationship with young English actress Eliza Tuke and designed to make her a top actress.<sup>20</sup> Hallam's attempt to force Tuke into an acting career caused the *Daily Advertiser* of 1787 to voice the criticism that "a manager's partial-

ity has exposed that girl to a profession which to a woman can never be respected but by talent."<sup>21</sup> Lewis promptly married Tuke after Sarah Hallam died in 1793, probably of an illness. A child, Lewis, was born in the same year.<sup>22</sup> Peter Early, a young law student, commented on this affair:

*The old wretch [Lewis Hallam II] has been long under restraint by reason of a wife, from whom he has been parted many years. However, to his great satisfaction no doubt she died about four weeks ago in Virginia and the damned Hypocrite was so affected with the intelligence that he could not act for two nights after. The result is that in about a month's time after her death, the 50-year old Hallam married 18-year-old Miss Tuke. Damn the old Scrawny boned wretch! . . . I'll warrant he's had many a tip of (Tuke) before he was married.*<sup>23</sup>

By the 1770s relations between Britain and her mainland colonies seemed irreparable. When the Continental Congress strongly discouraged any form of diversion, Douglass and his company returned to Jamaica. According to a London report in the *Independent Ledger*, Hallam had received an "intimation from Congress, that he and his company would be dispensed with in America."<sup>24</sup> For the last twenty years Douglass had been successful in establishing theater on firmer ground by building and running several playhouses on the American eastern seaboard, thereby setting the stage for the further development of drama in the new republic. The Scotsman retired from the stage by the 1780s and became quite wealthy.

Nothing is known about the political leanings of Lewis Hallam. Most likely the Hallams were sympathetic to the Loyalists; two close relatives of Lewis Hallam as well as John Henry, his partner in Jamaica and the United States, were officers in the British army.<sup>25</sup> But Lewis had been in the colonies his entire adult life, and his stepfather Douglass was a colonial from Jamaica. An estrangement from his native soil was perhaps not unthinkable, given his long stay in the colonies, and his brief and unpleasant return to England



Portrait of Eliza Tuke, artist unknown. Courtesy, The Hampden-Booth Theatre Library, New York, New York.

in 1775. On September 3, he made his European debut at London's Covent Garden in the role of Hamlet. Unfortunately, like his debut in the colonies in 1752, this performance in London proved to be a letdown. One newspaper dismissed him as an amateur and a colonial, calling him a "theatrical adventurer," and a traveler from "a remote quarter of the globe."<sup>26</sup> Such an assault on his pride may have intensified his disillusionment with his native country and bolstered his resolution to return to America and make a name for himself.

By 1779, Lewis Hallam had left England for Jamaica where he appeared on stage at least until 1782. John Henry, a native of Dublin, led the company and was proprietor of the Kingston playhouse. Hallam's return was followed by some unfortunate events: the wardrobe, sometimes the most valuable property of a company, was stolen at Kingston, and their theater in Charleston burned down.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the American Company remained the biggest attraction on the island. Lewis Hallam also became Master of the Revels in Jamaica (1781–83), an official function overseeing all theatricals within the colony. It was around this time that Hallam, now forty-one, fully cognizant of his standing as foremost thespian in the western theater world, pursued his ambitions with vigor if not always with tact. He pushed Henry out of management, not surprisingly causing friction with the strong-willed Irishman.<sup>28</sup> This breach was repaired when a co-management arrangement was forged in 1781. Hallam and Henry, it seems, differed strongly in character. Henry had all the allures of a military officer, while Hallam had come of age as a rather reserved or even timid individual who was easily intimidated by his peers. Dunlap once characterized Hallam as being "shy and silent" during an interview with an actress.<sup>29</sup>

Two years later, with the Treaty of Paris signed, Hallam traveled to the United States to promote the coming of the American Company, which they soon renamed the Old American Company. In some states, news of the comeback was circulated much earlier. The *Royal Gazette* of Charleston reported the "probability" of the coming of Hallam's company as soon as July 1781.<sup>30</sup>

Hallam's renown in America was considerable. He was, after all, invited "to the direction of three theaters in the principle cities in America, viz, New-York, Boston, Philadelphia."<sup>31</sup> One newspaper called his West Indian exile during the war, "an honorary banishment."<sup>32</sup> He also inherited the property rights to several playhouses in the United States, such as the Southwark

Theatre in Philadelphia and the John Street Theatre in New York, both built by Douglass in the 1760s. The name of Hallam had become associated with theatrical excellence—and not only because of Lewis Hallam's own career. His mother, Sarah Hallam Douglass, had been a well-respected dame of the stage, and the career of Nancy Hallam, Lewis's cousin, was celebrated in Charles Willson Peale's gracious portrait of the actress. When Lewis Hallam appeared on the Philadelphia stage in 1794, *The Diary; or Evening Register* wrote, "if a recollection of the upright character his Father [Lewis I] has for years sustained; can give a double claim to success, he may expect it."<sup>33</sup>

Hallam's status as a top actor did not go unchallenged. Throughout his early career (1758–75) he had amassed the grand roles of English drama and was not keen on sharing the wealth. By the 1780s, the old theatrical principles of seniority and possession were slowly being eroded by the increase in talent and a freer market. In the eyes of younger stars, Hallam must have appeared as a traditionalist, a stubborn old-time actor unwilling to face the sunset of his career. John Durang wrote that "his stile [sic] of acting was of the old school," but added that Hallam performed his roles "with ease and spirit to a great age."<sup>34</sup> John Henry and Thomas Wignell (the latter about thirteen years younger) were outstanding performers and eager to build their own reputation as actors. Wignell eventually left the company to form his own Chestnut Street Company in Philadelphia, and Henry abandoned the profession all together in 1794, selling his interest in the John Street Theatre to Hallam.

The arrival of twenty-five-year-old English actor John Hodgkinson in 1792 forced Hallam to retreat. Hodgkinson's versatility as an actor and his vanity clashed with Hallam's sense of pride and seniority on many occasions. Hallam's relationship with Tuke became a point of contention as well. Hodgkinson, now co-manager, refused to let Tuke appear on stage because of her alcoholism, which embarrassed the company and risked its reputation. The confrontations with Hodgkinson also reveal some of Hallam's character. One fellow actor remembered that "Hallam had declined any negotiation & he was now ready to conclude with us."<sup>35</sup> In 1797, Dunlap observed that Hallam "never speaks out unless thrown off his habitual guard."<sup>36</sup> He also recorded that in 1798 he "had last night a fracas wth his Wife, & fell into fits screaming like a fury or madman."<sup>37</sup> In fact, as a manager in an increasingly competitive theater market, Hallam



was ill-suited. John Durang, for one, deemed Hallam "an inactive manager."<sup>38</sup> In the end, Hodgkinson succeeded in pushing Hallam out of management in 1797, letting the fifty-seven-year-old actor continue on salary as a performer.

During these years Tuke and Hallam—embittered and frustrated—resided (with their son and dog) at 18 John Street in the fourth ward of New York, close to the theater.<sup>39</sup> When, in 1806, Thomas Cooper, another English émigré actor, obtained the lease for the new Park Theatre in New York, he declined to rehire the aging Hallam. Cooper did offer the old actor a benefit every season out of respect. Hallam died a bitter man on November 1, 1808, in Philadelphia. He had outlived most of the pioneers of the early American stage: David Douglass died in 1789, John Henry in 1794, Wignell in 1803, and Hodgkinson in 1805.

Lewis Hallam II was certainly not the only popular actor in the colonies. Many enjoyed success during the colonial era, while an even greater number led humble but inspired lives. Others failed and were forced to return to manual labor. To a large degree, Lewis Hallam's story coincided with (and was a reflection of) significant sociocultural developments in the Americas. Hallam's career, and indeed the success of theater as a whole in early America (despite strong opposition), was made possible by the role and scope of the press as well as the rise of a supportive gentry class during the middle of the eighteenth century. Yet, this does not diminish the role of individual characters who seized the moment and promoted the art of Thespis, and in so doing laid the foundation of modern theater in the United States.

<sup>1</sup> Arnold Hare, *The Georgian Theatre in Wessex* (London, 1958); Linda Fitzsimmons and Arthur W. McDonald, eds., *The Yorkshire stage, 1766–1803: a calendar of plays, together with cast lists for Tate Wilkinson's circuit of theatres (Doncaster, Hull, Leeds, Pontefract, Wakefield, and York) and the Yorkshire Company's engagements in Beverley, Halifax, Newcastle, Sheffield, and Edinburgh* (Metuchen, N. J., 1989).

<sup>2</sup> Pat Twining, *Taverns, Roads, Fairs, Barns, Boats and Prisons: The Strolling Life of Players in 18th Century England and the Colonies* (Williamsburg, Va., 1989), 12. See also Gamini Salgado, *The Elizabethan Underworld* (New York, 1992).

<sup>3</sup> James C. Burge, *Lines of Business: Casting Practice and Policy in the American Theatre, 1752–1899* (New York, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> Peter Benes, ed., *Itinerancy in New England and New York* (Boston, 1986); *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), 30 April 1724; *New York Gazette* (Bradford), 4 December 1732. For an extensive, searchable, but abstracted database, see Mary Jane Corry, Kate Van Winkle Keller, and Robert M. Keller, comps., *The Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers, 1690–1783* [CD-ROM]: text database and index (New York, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Philip H. Highfill, Jr., K. Burnim, and E. Langhans, A

*Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*. 16 vols. (Carbondale, 1982), 7:39–42.

<sup>6</sup> Barnstable Parish Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, A.D. 1538 to A.D. 1812.

<sup>7</sup> *Biographical Dictionary*, 7:39.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 7:34, 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 7:35.

<sup>10</sup> Errol Hill, *The Jamaican Stage, 1655–1900: Profile of a Colonial Theatre* (Amherst, Mass., 1992), 8.

<sup>11</sup> *Biographical Dictionary*, 7:39.

<sup>12</sup> John Durang, *The Memoir of John Durang, American Actor: 1785–1816*, ed. Alan Downer (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1966), 31.

<sup>13</sup> William Dunlap, *A History of the American Theatre* (New York, 1832, 1963), 58.

<sup>14</sup> John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time; Being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes and Incidents of the City and Its Inhabitants, And of the earliest Settlements of the Inland Part of Pennsylvania, From the Days of the Founders*, 1st ed. (Philadelphia, 1830), 1:473.

<sup>15</sup> *Rivington's New York Gazette*, 24 February 1774.

<sup>16</sup> Edward Charlton Account Book, 1769–1776, 39, Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Va.

<sup>17</sup> Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre*, 155.

<sup>18</sup> Trinity Church Parish, New York, Marriages, 1746–1861.

<sup>19</sup> *Biographical Dictionary*, 7:42. Mirvan Hallam was later placatively engaged by Thomas Cooper in New York's Park Theatre. During one season, Mirvan was fired for assaulting a manager during a performance. See Geddeth Smith, *Thomas Abthorpe Cooper: America's Premier Tragedian* (London, 1996), 122.

<sup>20</sup> James Bost, *Monarchs of the Mimic World; or, The American Theatre of the Eighteenth Century Through the Managers—The Men Who Made It* (Orono, Maine, 1977).

<sup>21</sup> Bost, *Monarchs of the Mimic World*, 19.

<sup>22</sup> Trinity Church Parish, *New York, Births and Christenings, 1749–1809*, vol. 90-3. Lewis was christened on November 10, 1793, at Trinity Church.

<sup>23</sup> Bost, *Monarchs of the Mimic World*, 9. Durang, who listed in his memoir the members of the Old American Company, made a point of parenthesizing, that "Hallam [was] 50 and Mrs. Hallam 18." See Durang, *Memoir*, 20.

<sup>24</sup> *Independent Ledger*, 21 April 1783.

<sup>25</sup> Durang, *Memoir*, 31.

<sup>26</sup> *Biographical Dictionary*, 7:40.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Hill, *The Jamaican Stage*, 78.

<sup>29</sup> Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre*, 149.

<sup>30</sup> *Royal Gazette* (Charleston, S.C.), 7 July 1781.

<sup>31</sup> *Independent Ledger*, 21 April 1783.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *The Diary; or Evening Register*, 4 November 1774.

<sup>34</sup> Durang, *Memoir*, 31.

<sup>35</sup> William Dunlap, *Diary of William Dunlap (1766–1839): The Memoirs of a Dramatist, Theatrical Manager, Painter, Critic, Novelist, and Historian* (New York, 1930) 1:43.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:92.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:355.

<sup>38</sup> Durang, *Memoir*, 31.

<sup>39</sup> Dunlap, *Diary*, 1:87, 165; They possessed no slaves. John Hodgkinson and his family lived in the same ward and possessed two slaves. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population Schedules of the Second Census of the U.S., New York County, New York, 1800*.

## Arts and Mysteries

### The Invention of America: Technology and Independence

by Noel B. Poirier

Noel, a journeyman carpenter in the Historic Trades Carpentry Program and member of the Interpreter planning board, begins a new column on the "arts and mysteries" of historic trades. The Interpreter staff thanks Noel for his willingness to author this feature.

*But the question, who commenced the Revolution? is as difficult as that of the first inventors of a thousand good things, . . . Who invented the steamboat? Was it Gerbert, the Marquis of Worcester, Newcomen, Savary, Papin, Fitch, Fulton . . . the fact is, that one new idea leads to another, that to a third, and so on through a course of time until some one, with whom no one of these ideas was original, combines all together, and produces what is justly called a new invention.*

Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, 3 March 1818<sup>1</sup>

It might be surprising to some to read Thomas Jefferson, the foremost proponent of republican virtue through agriculture, comparing the process of the American Revolution with the technological invention of the steam engine. While it often plays a supporting role to the political and social movements of the eighteenth century that influenced America's revolutionary movement, the effect of technology's development deserves closer study in the day-to-day interpretation of the process of Becoming Americans. At least one historian has argued that the single most important point when considering the history of early American technology is that its development occurred simultaneously with the American Revolution.<sup>2</sup> The shops of Colonial Williamsburg's Historic Trades department have, for a long time, spoken to the influence of technology on the events that shaped the lives of eighteenth-century Americans during the Revolutionary period. Perhaps trade shops represent the most efficacious locations for the telling of the story of technology's force, but that does not mean it should be excluded from discussion at other Historic Area sites as well. Before one can determine the true impact of technological inno-



A blacksmith shop, London, 1771. CW collections.

vation and proliferation on the American Revolution, one must first understand how eighteenth-century individuals understood the technology of their day.

The language that defined eighteenth-century technology included such phrases as *mechanic arts*, *manufactures*, *useful knowledge*, *industry* and a variety of other similar terms.<sup>3</sup> Occasionally one would have even heard the term *engineer* applied to an individual skilled in industrial arts. The pursuit of knowledge, be it mechanical (industry) or theoretical (science), tended to be considered the same *useful knowledge*.<sup>4</sup> Today, of course, the term *technology* is used to describe the "tools, skills, and knowledge needed to make and do things."<sup>5</sup> It is important to note that this definition takes into account knowledge and individuals skilled enough to put that knowledge to work. This knowledge, or process, brings us once again to Thomas Jefferson's comparison of the fomenting of the American Revolution to the technological process of invention. The celebrated architect Benjamin Latrobe, upon being referred to as an engineer, lamented that he was being deemed the same as "an overseer of men who dig."<sup>6</sup> Latrobe's negative viewpoint of the value of the engineer notwithstanding, the importance of technology (or mechanical arts, etc.) was well appreciated among the Founding Fathers. A brief examination of the events lead-

ing up to and following the American Revolution demonstrates this clearly.

During the revolutionary era (1763–87), some of the most groundbreaking technological innovations of all time occurred. A sampling of these advances includes the mechanization of the textile industry, canal building in Britain, steam engine development, and radical changes in the iron industry. The political leaders of Britain's American colonies keenly observed these technological advances and their implications for economic prosperity and independence.<sup>7</sup> Benjamin Franklin, in 1743, founded the American Philosophical Society with his *Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge* that argued for, among other things, the development of technology to drain land and dispense water.<sup>8</sup> Thirty years later, the American colonies, in their effort to express their displeasure at British taxation, formed nonimportation and nonconsumption agreements. These agreements obviously limited the importation of British luxury goods, but there was another important *intended* consequence. In order for the American colonies to unburden themselves from their unhealthy (and perceived anti-republican) addiction to British goods, they needed to encourage the development of technology and industry in the colonies themselves. This encouragement came from organizations such as the Boston Society for Encouraging Industry and Employing the Poor, the New York Society for the Promotion of Arts, Agriculture, and Oeconomy, the United Company of Philadelphia for Promoting American Manufactures, and the Williamsburg Manufactory. The United Company of Philadelphia, presided over by Dr. Benjamin Rush, employed some five hundred people in the production of various textile commodities. It was not only private organizations that encour-

aged the development of pre-revolutionary America's industrial base, colonial legislatures also provided a variety of stimuli to American production, including bounties and tax exemptions. Inhabitants of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, answered the call for domestic production and created nearly 30,000 yards of linen during 1770.<sup>9</sup> Benjamin Rush, in a paper presented to his United Company in 1775, argued that the encouragement of American manufactures and new technology was crucial to an independent America.<sup>10</sup>

This call for proliferation of technology was heard in Virginia as well. Virginia's patriot organizers publicly called for the encouragement of manufactures in Virginia as early as 1769. Following the dissolution of the House of Burgesses in May of that year, leading patriots met at the Raleigh Tavern to draft their protests in the form of a nonimportation agreement. This accord urged Virginians to "promote and encourage Industry" as well as discouraged the colonists from their obsession for British "Luxury and Extravagance." The former burgesses also called for a halt to the killing of newborn lambs in order to maintain the numbers of sheep that would be needed for the production of native woolsens.<sup>11</sup> On the heels of this agreement, Virginia's patriot propagandists quickly began to publicly encourage American industry in the *Virginia Gazette*.<sup>12</sup> Calls to encourage industry were heard in later versions of the agreements, and when the Convention of 1774 met, delegates determined to cultivate "a proper Basis for Manufacturers of all Sorts, which we will endeavor to encourage throughout this Colony to the utmost of our Abilities."<sup>13</sup> The propagation of new technology and the people skilled in it was deemed essential to curb Virginia's reliance on British manufactures. Virginians were not alone in their under-

*Imported tools available for sale are listed in this Virginia Gazette ad.*

***Just Imported, and to be SOLD, by the Subscribers in  
WILLIAMSBURG,***

**A** LARGE Assortment of Carpenters, Joiners, and Cabinet-Makers Tools, consisting of *White's* Steel Plate Saws of all Sorts, Glue Jointers, long Planes, Bench Planes, Tooth and Smoothing ditto, Moulding Planes of all Sorts, Plane Irons, Chisfels, Formers, Scribing Gouges, Rasps, Files, *Turkey* Oil-Stones, German Slates, and Variety of other Things.

*Christopher Ford, Jun.  
Anthony Hay.*

standing of the importance of domestic manufacturing. Alexander Hamilton wrote in 1774 "if . . . manufactures should once be established among us . . . they will pave the way . . . to the future grandeur and glory of America, and . . . render it still securer against the encroachments of tyranny."<sup>14</sup>

The Second Virginia Convention of 1775 continued to demonstrate the importance of technology to the patriot leadership. March 1775 saw the Convention appointing a committee to "prepare a Plan for the Encouragement of Arts & Manufactures in this Colony." Its prominent members included Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, and George Washington. The resulting plan included the encouragement of textile manufactures, gunpowder, and nail making. The committee's members also resolved that Virginia should promote the production of steel, paper, and glass.<sup>15</sup> The Convention's attendees recognized that none of these lofty resolves could be implemented without technology, in the form of tools, practitioners, and process.

Once the actual shooting war with Britain erupted, discussions of the need for American technological advancement and manufacturing ceased to be academic; such advancement became essential. The Continental Congress rushed through legislation, penned by John Adams, impressing on every colony the importance of establishing organizations for the improvement of American manufactures.<sup>16</sup> While some non-British goods were imported to America during the war, British blockades made it difficult for those imports to supply the new nation on their own. While the new nation needed domestic production of virtually every item, textiles were of vital importance to the military and civilian populations alike. Domestic textile production increased dramatically, despite the fact that most of it occurred in the homes of individuals rather than in large textile mills. One Maryland gentleman announced that he had established sixteen looms in a single house, ready to meet the needs of his state.<sup>17</sup> Williamsburg established a Manufacturing Society that focused on the production of textiles and advertised often for apprentices and raw materials in the *Virginia Gazette* during the war years.<sup>18</sup> The Virginia Convention, in May 1776, also resolved to provide subsidies for private ironworks and to create a public iron foundry.<sup>19</sup> During the course of the war itself, production in America increased dramatically as the nation turned from manufacturing raw materials (pig and bar iron) to finished products like cannon, ammunition, and firearms.<sup>20</sup> At the height of

the war, George Washington believed that the "coup de grace to the British hope of subjugating the continent" could only occur if the United States could effectively encourage domestic manufactures.<sup>21</sup>

Inevitably, conflict leads to strides in the arena of technology, and the American Revolution was no exception. The Revolution provided opportunities for Americans to experiment with new forms of technology. Technological innovators like David Rittenhouse and David Bushnell developed the means to rifle cannon, use telescopic sights, and enclose ammunition compartments in firearms. They also experimented with the use of offensive submersibles. The war also encouraged a fourteen-year-old Massachusetts boy to start his own nail-making business in a shed on his parent's farm. His name: Eli Whitney.

The turbulent years preceding the Revolution found Virginians critically examining their political, social, and economic relationship to Great Britain. This relationship was firmly rooted in an economic system that discouraged technological development and proliferation in the colonies. In order for the American colonies to truly separate themselves from Great Britain, they first had to be in a position to provide those manufactures and technology for themselves. The founding fathers of Virginia, and other colonies as well, recognized this early and attempted to remedy the situation by encouraging technological development. American independence created further debate about the role of technology and manufacturing in the future of the new nation. Disagreements between Republicans and Federalists are beyond the scope of this brief essay, but suffice it to say that technology continued to concern America's leadership as the new nation emerged. No better evidence of this can be found than President George Washington's First Annual Address to Congress in January 1790:

*The advancement of Agriculture, Commerce and Manufactures by all proper means, will not I trust need recommendation. But I cannot forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home.*<sup>22</sup>

Once again we return to Mr. Jefferson's question "Who commenced the Revolution?" It would appear that the list of names should include the likes of Eli Whitney, David Rittenhouse, David Bushnell, and the countless thousands of name-

less tradesmen who assisted in the creation of a *technologically* independent America.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, 3 March 1818, as found in Andrew A. Lipscombe, ed., et al., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 15 (Washington, D. C.: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association of the United States, 1903), 162–164.

<sup>2</sup> Carroll Pursell, *The Machine in America: A Social History of Technology* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 35.

<sup>3</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1990), 155; John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776–1900* (New York: Penguin Books, 1976), 6.

<sup>4</sup> Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine*, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Judith A. McGaw, ed., *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press 1994), 6–7.

<sup>6</sup> David Freeman Hawke, *Nuts and Bolts: A History of American Technology, 1776–1860* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harper and Row, 1988), 27.

<sup>7</sup> Pursell, *Machine in America*, 35.

<sup>8</sup> McGaw, ed., *Early American Technology*, 130–131.

<sup>9</sup> Bridenbaugh, *Colonial Craftsman*, 116.

<sup>10</sup> Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine*, 9–10.

<sup>11</sup> Nonimportation Agreement of the Former Burgesses, 18 May 1769, cited in Robert L. Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1973–83), 1:75–76.

<sup>12</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Rind, 6 July 1769.

<sup>13</sup> Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia*, 1:233.

<sup>14</sup> A Full Vindication of the Measures of the Congress, &c., cited in Harold Syrett, ed., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 1: 1768–1778 (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961), 56.

<sup>15</sup> Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia*, 7:376–383.

<sup>16</sup> Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine*, 11.

<sup>17</sup> Don Higginbotham, *The War for American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763–1789*. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983), 306.

<sup>18</sup> *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie, 18 April 1777.

<sup>19</sup> Scribner, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia*, 7:11.

<sup>20</sup> Higginbotham, *War for American Independence*, 5.

<sup>21</sup> George Washington to James Warren, 31 March 1779, cited in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1944), 14:312.

<sup>22</sup> First Annual Address to Congress, 8 January 1790, cited in Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, 30:491–494.



## The Bothy's Mould

by Terry Yemm

*Terry, longtime gardener, historical interpreter in the Department of Historical Interpretation, and member of the Interpreter planning board, shares the best dirt (mould) from the gardener's hut (bothy).*

The technical language of eighteenth-century British gardening contains many similarities and surprising differences with the gardening vocabulary of more recent times. A sample glossary has been collected to demonstrate some of these similarities and differences.

The preparation of soil mediums before planting involved many steps and varied from one plant crop to another. A mixture of materials combined to grow a crop was a *compost*. Any material that was added to existing soil to help plants grow was a *manure*, and the most common form of manure used in gardening was *dung*, animal waste or decayed plants.

There were several terms used for the planting of seed to distinguish one method from the other. The general term for planting seeds was *sowing*, but more specifically seeds could be sown in lines or *drills*, or *broadcast*—spread evenly over the surface of the bed. Besides sowing seeds on the surface, they could be placed into individual holes—*drilled* into the ground—or in shallow trenches known as *furrows*. The soil between a bed or *drill* was known as an *alley*.

Once seeds began to grow into plants, they sometimes required specialized techniques to reach maturity. Some tender plants grown in pots were encouraged to grow in harsher climates by *plunging* the pots in artificially heated beds, putting the pot into the heated bed up to the pot's rim. Some garden plants needed support to mature, and may have been *stuck*, trained upon a stick.

### Glossary

**alley** (noun)—a walk or path in a garden, or the space between rows or beds of plants.

*“The best method is to water the alleys between the beds, which will soak through to the roots to the plants, and thereby supply them with moisture.” Philip Miller, The Gardeners Kalendar (1775), 122.*

To **blow** (verb)—to blossom.

"Shade your choice Tulips, Ranunculuses, Anemonies, and other curious flowers now blowing from the sun, during the heat of the day, which will continue them in beauty much longer than if fully exposed." Miller, 106.

To **broadcast** (verb)—to scatter seeds evenly over the surface.

"In sowing these seeds, either in beds or otherwise, let them be sowed on the rough surface broad cast [used here as an adverb]." John Abercrombie, *Every Man his own Gardener* (1791), 119.

**compost** (noun)—a mixture of various ingredients for enriching soil; a prepared manure.

"The compost used by the Dutch and German gardeners, for Melons, is of hazel loam, one 3d part, of the scouring of ditches, ponds, &c. the same, and a 3d part of rotten dung all mixed together, and mellowed by being frequently turned over and kept 12 months." [John Randolph], *A Treatise on Gardening* (1793), 36.

**drill** (noun)—seed sown in a straight line.

"To have them fine in the spring, sow them in drills about two feet distance, for the convenience of weeding them, about the latter end of August." [Randolph], 15.

**dung** (noun)—excrement; (rarely) decayed vegetable matter.

"Every spring they ought to be dunged [used here as a verb]; Sheeps dung and ashes are not only the best for that purpose but also for preparing your ground for them." [Randolph], 3.

**furrow** (noun)—a small trench made in the earth, especially for the receiving of seed.

"If, when you plant, it should be a dry season, water the furrows or trenches before you drop the seed in." [Randolph], 8.

To **manure** (verb)—to add materials to soil to increase its fertility.

"but where the beds want manuring, which they should have annually, there should be some very rotten dung laid over them after the weeds are cleaned off, and the earth of the alleys spread thereon." Miller, 202.

To **plunge** (verb)—to sink a pot containing a plant; (rarely) to sink a plant itself into some medium.

"Those who are curious to have early Strawberries, should now plant them in pots filled with good earth, and place them in a sheltered situation till they are rooted; after which the pots should be plunged into a moderate hot-bed, which will bring them forward in a short time." Miller, 12.

To **sow** (verb)—to scatter or deposit seed on or in the ground so that it may grow.

"You may now sow such annual flowers in the borders, as do not require any artificial heat to bring them forward . . . therefore they should be sown thin in patches upon the borders of the pleasure-garden." Miller, 83.

To **stick** (verb)—to drive a stake into the ground for the purpose of supporting a climbing plant.

"The Dutch sort, which is the common kind, should be stuck, otherwise they lie on the ground and rot. This sort, if stuck, grow to a great height and afford a constant succession." Randolph, 8.



by Frank Clark

## COOK'S CORNER

### Ale, Beer, Porter, and Mum: A Description of Eighteenth-Century Malt Beverages

*Frank is supervisor in the Historic Foodways program.*

*(This article was created with the intention of explaining the brewing process and some of the products that were created by it. It is hoped that it gives you a better understanding of the various types of malt beverages available to our colonial forefathers.)*

Malt beverages are made from grain. This grain is sprouted and then put into a kiln to stop the plant from growing. This process, called "malting," begins the process of converting the natural proteins of the grain into sugars. Sugar is vital to any fermented beverage. The malted grain is then cracked and combined with hot water in a process called "mashing." Mashing continues the production of the enzymes that convert proteins into sugars. The mashing lasts for at least an hour, while the sugars and flavors are extracted from the grains. The mash is then strained, and the resulting sugar water is called "wort." The next step of the brewing process is to boil the wort with the hops. The hop is the flower cone of the female hop plant, which adds bitterness and helps preserve the beer. The last step of the process is to cool the wort, remove the hops, and then add the yeast. The yeast converts the sugars into alcohol and carbon dioxide. A wide variety of beverages can be produced by this process. These beverages differ depending on the type of grain used and how long and at what temperature it was kilned.

The oldest type of English malt beverage was known as *ale*. Ale was usually made from barley, although wheat and oats were sometimes used as well. During medieval times it became common to add a wide variety of spices and herbs to enhance the flavor of ales. The biggest problem with ales is that they go bad very quickly. During the 1400s, a new plant began to find its way into the English brewing process. This plant was the hop. The drink that combined malt and

hops was called *beer*. At first the hop was viewed with some suspicion. However, the preserving qualities of the hop won over most Britons. By the 1700s, most ales also contained hops, and the distinction between ale and beer began to blur. Often more than one batch of malt liquor was made from the same batch of grain. Some people began to refer to the stronger first batch as ale and the weaker second and third batches as beer and small beer.

The eighteenth century saw the creation of a new type of malt liquor in England—porter. Porter was made from malt that was kilned at a higher temperature and had a dark color. The invention of this new beer is generally credited to Ralph Harwood, the brewer at a London tavern called The Bell. It is widely believed that Harwood was trying to simplify the popular common practice of blending three different beers together. It seemed that he decided to brew one beer that combined elements of brown ale, strong ale, and old or stale ale. He probably combined normal malt with some that was burnt black. The result was then aged until it began to sour. Porter was first created in the 1720s. As its popularity grew, it also gained new ingredients such as molasses, licorice, and *cocculus indicus*, the dried poisonous berries of the *Anamirta cocculus* plant, originally used to stupefy fish. Brewers in England found that the berries increased the intoxicating effect of beer and porter. Because it required long periods of aging, porter was the perfect product for London's newly emerging large industrial brewers. Small brewers could not afford to tie up their casks for up to two years while aging a beer. Whitbread's and Guinness both got their start as eighteenth-century porter brewers.

Along with the usual ales, beer, and porter there was another type of malt liquor popular at

this time called *mum*. Mum came to England from northern Germany. This beer was different from most English beers at the time for a number of reasons. First, it was made from three different grains: barley, wheat, and oats, and sometimes, beans. These grains were kilned at a very low temperature, and the result was said to be as clear as old wine. Second, mum contained a number of spices much as old-style ales had. Spices included fir bark, fir tips, anise, marjoram, grains of paradise, thyme, and cardamom. The oddest thing about mum, however, is that all the "receipts" (eighteenth-century term for recipes) for it called for 10 newly laid eggs to be placed in the cask with the beer. Interestingly, mum was described as a very healthful and refreshing beverage.<sup>1</sup>

Williamsburg inventories often listed large amounts of imported ale, beers, and porter, but Virginians also produced their own beers. Actually the local beverage was not technically a beer, because its source of sugar was sugar cane not grain. Virginians brewed what they called small beer from molasses, wheat bran, and hops. This mixture was boiled with water and then fermented with yeast. The production of this molasses beer is confirmed by inventories of York County during the colonial period (York County Project, Department of Historical Research). There are eighty-four references to hops but only five to malted barley. This molasses beer was even brewed at the Governor's Palace. The household accounts of Governor Botetourt list money spent for hops and yeast

for small beer, but none for malt. There was a great deal of molasses already in the cellar.<sup>2</sup> This type of beer was common throughout the southern and middle colonies. There is even a molasses beer "receipt" that was written by George Washington.

It is clear that no matter what form they took, malt beverages were the beverage of choice for most Englishmen and the colonists. This love of beer is summed up in a happy little rhyme:

*Beer! Happy produce of our isle,  
Can sinewy strength impart,  
And wearied with fatigue and toil  
Can cheer each manly heart.*

*Labour and art upheld by thee,  
Successfully advance,  
We quaff thy balmy juice with glee,  
And water leave to France.*

*Genius of health! Thy graceful taste  
Rivals the cup of jove,  
And warms each English generous breast  
With liberty and love.<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> From an article on mum in *Qymurgy Magazine*.

<sup>2</sup> From the accounts of Governor Botetourt, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

<sup>3</sup> John Bickerdyke, *The tales of ale and beer*.

## Taking the Powell Temperature

(Submitted by Jim Hollins, a historical interpreter in Group Interpretation.)

Date	7/19/00	8/7/00	8/9/00
Time	1:15 PM.	1:30 PM.	1:45 PM.
Temperatures			
Outside	87°	96°	93°
Dairy	80°	83°	83°
Kitchen	100°	104°	91°
			(no fire)
Dining Room	84°	86°	88°
Parlor	86°	88°	90°
Bed Chamber	84°	86°	89°

### Details:

The main purpose of the temperature study was to determine just how much cooler the dairy was in comparison to the temperature outside and inside the house.

The Powell House was chosen for the analysis because it is not air-conditioned, and it is open daily.

The temperature was taken with a standard thermometer.

The study was only for three days because of unusually cool weather during the summer of 2000.

The temperature in the kitchen was taken six feet from the fireplace.

### Conclusions:

The difference in temperature between the dairy and the house ranged from 3 to 7 degrees.

The difference in temperature between the dairy and the kitchen ranged from 20 to 21 degrees when cooking and 8 degrees when not cooking.

The difference in temperature between the dairy and the outside temperature ranged from 7 to 13 degrees.



## From a Brief and True Report Concerning Williamsburg in Virginia by Rutherford Goodwin

(from Chapter 4)

*The following excerpt about the early years of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation comes from Rutherford Goodwin's A Brief & True Report concerning Williamsburg in Virginia: Being an Account of the most important Occurrences in that Place from its first Beginning to the present Time. Published sixty years ago (1941), it remained in print for more than forty years. The book tells the story of Williamsburg from the founding of Middle Plantation in 1633 through the early phases of the twentieth-century restoration of the town and is a handy place to find primary documents associated with early Williamsburg (acts directing the building of Williamsburg and the city charter, for example).*

*Goodwin was the son of Dr. W.A.R. Goodwin, the man who interested John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in restoring Williamsburg. Rutherford Goodwin began working for the Foundation in 1928 and was named director of the "interpretation division" in 1944, which at the time included research, publications, curatorial and museum activities, interpretation of exhibition buildings, and group tours. He later headed up the research department until he left the Foundation in 1947.*

There are those who hold, with little or greater Insight, that if History moves in Cycles, then Progress may be made along either of its Courses—and much Effort saved by those who but stand still.

When its Restoration was undertaken, Williamsburg (as has been intimated) displayed abounding Evidence of the architectural Implications of the philosophical Confusion. In a few short Years it had ceased to be an isolated and pleasingly decayed colonial City. Outwardly it had become a Highway Town in which the Ancient and the Modern were mingled in an Effect of peculiar Aggravation.

The early Plan of the City was unchanged, and, even in its makeshift Modernity, Williamsburg preserved a Proportion of its colonial Buildings which, in Relation to its eighteenth Century Size, was perhaps greater than that possessed by any English-American colonial City. Yet, the intruding modern Buildings were substantial in Number, if, as in many Instances, they were un-substantial in aesthetic Conception.

A theatre which now stood upon the Site of

a colonial Dwelling evidenced its Safety from Flames, if not from the Advance of Time, in its Construction of unpainted galvanized Iron. A Garage, also of corrugated Iron, displayed on its rusted Doors a facetious Acknowledgement to Archaeology in the Form of a Sign reading "Toot-an-kum-in"—in timely Recognition of the Opening of the Tomb of Tutenkhamon, a Pharaoh of the fourteenth Century before Christ.

Some thirty Structures of varying Purpose and Design, ranging from a National Bank to a Pig Sty, had arisen upon the southern Part of the Market Square, obscuring the Powder Magazine and a small brick structure misnamed by tradition the Debtors' Prison. At the Foot of the Duke of Gloucester Street the original Foundations of the Capitol were outlined by a Concrete Covering in a rolling Field of Weeds. Two School Houses, one a monstrous Structure, stood at the Head of the Palace Green, while a Dwelling of the Victorian Era closed what had been the Vista at its Foot. Two modern Brick Stores occupied the Site of the Raleigh Tavern. The Greater Building of the College stood (after three Fires and as many Alterations) supported chiefly by Necessity and its own good Balance. On the new-columned Portico of the Court House of 1770 Orange-coloured Benches bore, in large black Letters, the hospitable Inscription "Rest here in a Garner Suit."

Here and there a leaning Dormer or a handsome Chimney Cap offered the only visible identifying Features which marked Instances in which colonial Buildings had been swallowed up in successive Renovations, Alterations, and Repairs. At Intervals appeared colonial Buildings which had been little changed or partially restored. Old Structures and new stood Side by Side in a Confusion in which each detracted from the other. The Concrete Sidewalks of the Duke of Gloucester Street were shaded by Trees, but its Center was lined with heavy Poles from which Wires and Cables radiated. There was a Beauty, too, of a Kind which cannot be gained by conscious Effort; but this was available only to those who, looking out of half-closed Eyes, were able to see those Things which they valued, to the Exclusion of all else.

Such, then, was the Dilemma which the City



Looking east on Duke of Gloucester Street about 1928.

of Williamsburg presented in 1926. There was much of the Worst that was new; there was much of the Best that was old—very old.

In 1927 Mr. Rockefeller commissioned Dr. Goodwin to purchase the Property necessary to the Accomplishment of the Restoration. In the Course of this buying Program, most of the Properties which had composed the more important colonial Areas of the City proper were acquired. Much of this Property was purchased outright, though in certain Instances Properties were purchased subject to the Life Right or Tenure of Individuals whose Age or whose Associations with the Properties made such Procedure desirable.

The Areas thus secured were turned over to two Corporations which were now formed to carry the Undertaking forward. The *Williamsburg Holding Corporation* (later *Williamsburg Restoration, Incorporated*) became the administrative Organization in Charge of the Project and acquired Title to much of the Property which had been purchased. *Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated*, was formed to hold Title to Properties traded or presented to the *Restoration* by the City of Williamsburg, the *Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities*, and by individual Donors. This Corporation has since held Title to and managed Properties, Buildings, and Activities devoted and restricted to historical and educational Purpose. Colonel

Arthur Woods was the first President of both Corporations.

Meanwhile, the Firm of Perry, Shaw & Hepburn was retained to have Charge of the architectural Development of the Plan; Arthur A. Shurcliff to have Charge of Landscape Restoration and the Work of City Planning; and the Firm of Todd & Brown, Incorporated, Engineer-Contractors to develop and control the Organization which executed the Plans developed by the Architects and Landscape Architects, when approved by the executive Corporations.

Operations were prefaced by exhaustive Studies of the City, in Order that those engaged in the Work might familiarize themselves with the practical Intricacies of the Problem before them. A complete Property, Utility, and Topographical Survey of the City was made, and a Map prepared which, so far as possible, recorded every Detail of Interest. Engineering Specialists were employed to study the Water System, sanitary System, and the Light and Telephone Facilities, in the Knowledge that these would have to be improved, extended, and obscured. A zoning Expert was retained to prepare Recommendations for Codes and Ordinances which would assure an ordered Development. Tree Surgeons were employed to protect and revive failing Vegetation. A Survey of Fire Prevention and Protection was made. Committees of Specialists and Authorities in many of the Fields involved were

formed to aid in a critical and advisory Capacity. These included a Committee of Advisory Architects, a Committee of Historians and Scholars, and several Committees on Decoration and Furnishings.

At its Beginning, the *Restoration* was considered to be primarily an architectural Problem. In Consequence, a Division of Decoration was formed to serve under the Architects, as was a Department of Research and Record. Under the Department of Research and Record a Division of archaeological Investigation was established.

The Properties purchased within the colonial Area of the City were at first divided, roughly, into two Areas. One of these was designated for immediate Restoration, the other being looked upon at the Time as a protective Area, concerning the Restoration of which no Commitments were made. The first Endeavors were therefore confined to the more prominent colonial Sections of the City, including the original Yard and Buildings of the College, the full Length of the *Duke of Gloucester Street*, the *Capitol Square*, the *Market Square*, and the *Palace Green*.

Within the Area thus defined, the architectural Problems were classified under four general Types of Work:

- I. The Removal of all modern Buildings.
- II. The Restoration of existing and partially existing eighteenth-Century Buildings and Outbuildings.
- III. The Reconstruction of certain Buildings and Outbuildings which had disappeared.
- IV. The Decoration of Buildings thus restored and reconstructed, and the Furnishing of those to be exhibited to the Publick.

The first of these Divisions of the Work (the Removal of modern Buildings, which is to say, those wholly of the nineteenth and twentieth Centuries) has proved to be the simplest, though perhaps the most protracted and trying. At the present Writing, all but a few of them have been removed from the Area of historic Restoration or have been torn down. Yet, throughout this Process, the Ideal has been that in no Instance should a Tenant be left without a Home, and that no Business should be asked to vacate its Quarters without the Offer of a new Location.

The Accomplishing of the second Division of the Work (the Repair and Restoration of existing colonial Buildings) was prefaced by a comprehensive and detailed Study of existing colonial Buildings throughout *Virginia*, espe-

cially in the *Tidewater* Section surrounding *Williamsburg*, and more especially within the City itself. This Study was made in Order that original structural Features and architectural Details which had been effaced by successive Repairs and Alterations might be replaced upon the Basis of definite contemporary sectional or local colonial Precedent.

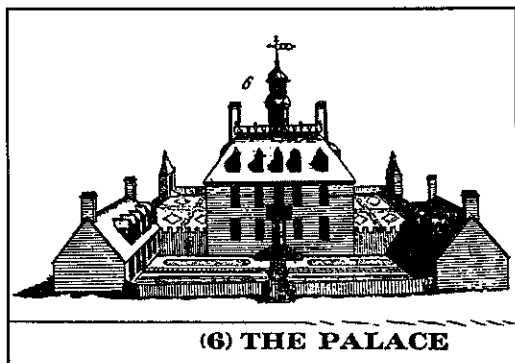
As to this, it should be pointed to that the eighteenth-Century Buildings of *Williamsburg* and its surrounding Countryside were built by a limited Number of Master Builders, Mechanics, Artisans, and their Apprentices, representing but a few Generations of Time and Tradition. Again, these Builders were to a considerable Degree limited by the Implements and Materials which were readily available. So that the judicious Use of contemporary Precedent was resorted to with more than reasonable Assurance of Authenticity.

Moreover, it should be noted that from its Findings the Research Department was frequently able to supply specific documentary and pictorial Evidence in Cases in which more tangible Indications were lacking.

By such and similar Processes more than eighty existing or partially existing early Buildings have been restored or extensively repaired up to the present Time.

With Regard to the third Division (the Reconstruction of colonial Buildings which had disappeared) the Solutions were attained through the foregoing Processes, as outlined, but with especial Emphasis laid upon the Evidences contributed by the Department of Research and Record and by its archaeological Division.

Here it should be explained that the Department of Research and Record, throughout the first Years of its Activity, was concerned primarily and principally with the Collecting of Source Data relating to the architectural, landscape, and decorative Problems of the *Restoration*. In seeking this Type of Information, every conceivable Source of pertinent colonial *Virginia* was untiringly investigated. Governmental Archives, military Records, and commercial Accounts were carefully studied. The Collections and Archives of Libraries, historical Societies, and Museums were searched. Family Records and personal and publick Papers in private Hands were sought out. Early Newspapers, old Insurance Policies, local Tax and Court Records were especially fruitful. Paintings, Prints, Sketches, Maps, and old Photographs were minutely studied. Such Investigations were conducted in every Section of this Coun-



Palace from the Bodleian plate.

try, and were pursued as assiduously in England and in France.

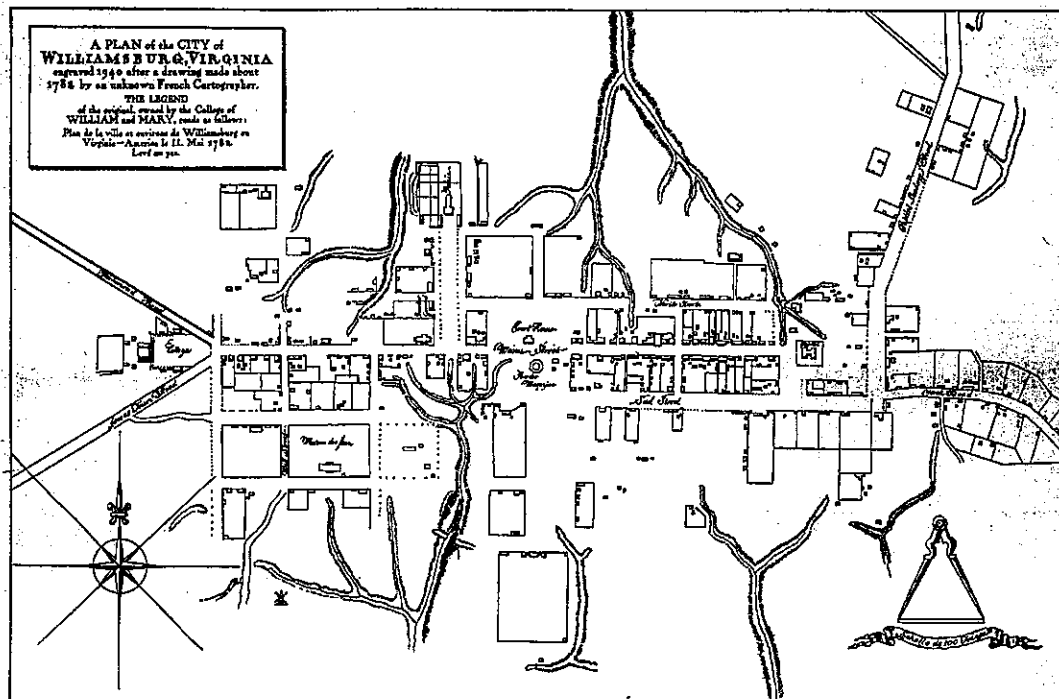
Thus, by Way of Example, in the Case of the Governor's Palace, the Department of Research and Record was able to provide a Report composed of more than three Hundred Pages of Source Material relating specifically to the Palace, its Grounds, Buildings, and outlying Lands. It was also able to provide Prints from a provably accurate Engraving in Copperplate (located in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, England, and afterwards presented by that Institution to Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.) which depicted the principal Façade of the Palace, together with its flanking Offices and a Portion of its Gardens. This Information was further supplemented by a

detailed Floor-plan of the Palace proper (located in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society) drawn by Thomas Jefferson, who once lived in the Palace as the Governor of the Virginia Commonwealth.

It should also be explained, in Connection with the Reconstruction of Buildings, that the archaeological Division of the Research Department located, excavated, and recorded Score upon Score of colonial Foundations, not only establishing the Location of early Buildings and Outbuildings, but also discovering from Evidences and Indications, and to varying Degrees, their Size, Plan, Purpose, and general structural Character. In this Work the so-called "Frenchman's Map," believed to have been drawn by a French Army Cartographer in 1782, was of inestimable Assistance. This Map, the original Draught of which is preserved in the Library of the College of William and Mary, presents the Plan of the City proper and outlines, roughly, the Shapes, relative Sizes, and Positions of its Buildings and many of their Outbuildings as they appeared at the Close of the American Revolution.

The Foundations thus located and excavated were, naturally, of primary and fundamental Importance to the Reconstruction of Buildings which had disappeared. Yet, it should be mentioned that, as successive Foundations were excavated, Ton after Ton of Objects and Fragments of Objects were recovered from the Earth re-

The Frenchman's map, as it appeared in Goodwin's book.



moved from within and around them. Such excavated Relics provided not only contributory structural and architectural Evidence, but provided also, within obvious Limitations, a remarkable Record of the Life and Activities which the original Buildings had sheltered. Viewed as a whole, the Collection, accumulated from so large a Number of Excavations of widely varying Types within a single Community, indicates Modes, Fashions, and general Trends, thus affording an interesting Insight into the social, domestic, and economic Life of the entire City and, to a Degree, of the Times.

To use the Palace again as an Example, archaeological Investigation revealed the entire original Foundations and Basement of the Palace proper, with its Stone Floor intact, and with its Partition Walls, Chimney Bases, Wine Bins, and vaulted Cellars existent or clearly indicated. Investigation also revealed the Foundations of its flanking Offices, its Outbuildings, Walls, Wall Piers, Gates, Garden Steps, Walks, Wells, arched Drains, and many other interesting and significant Indications of the early Plan of the Place.



*The ruins of the Palace's west advance building held important clues. This photograph was taken shortly after the Civil War.*

In the Seeking out of such fundamental Information, loose Objects and Fragments encountered in digging, or screened from the Earth removed, provided a Variety of useful Knowledge, including: Indications of the general Calibre and Character of interior and exterior Handware and of decorative wrought Iron; invaluable Evidences pertaining to the Design and Material of many Mantle-pieces, sculptured Mantel Panels, Fireplace Facings, Underfires, Firebacks, and Hearth Stones; Evidences establishing certain Types of Stone Embellishment, such as Caps for Wall Piers and the Design and Detail of Entrance Steps; Examples of Wall Copings, Paving Tiles, Watertable Bricks, ground or rubbed Bricks for Ornamentation, Gutter Bricks, Well Bricks. Even a large Section of the original exterior Wall of the Palace was recovered, which Section had fallen intact and which established the Size of the Face Brick employed, the decorative Use of glazed-head Brick as the header Bricks laid in *Flemish Bond*, and established also the Texture of the Mortar and the Tooling of the Mortar Joints.

Thus, with such extensive Information available and with, in this Case, the Assistance of both *Virginia* and *English* Precedent (for the Building was unusually pretentious for the Colonies), it was possible for the Architects to evolve a Conception of the Palace which, it is believed, would be convincing to the colonial Governors themselves, could they return to look upon it.

And the Palace, while it is one of the major Accomplishments of the *Restoration*, is but one of several hundred Buildings reconstructed on ancient Foundations in Reproduction of Structures long or late destroyed.

In the Accomplishment of the fourth Division of the Work (the Decoration of restored and reconstructed Buildings, and the Furnishing of those to be exhibited to the Publick), the Architects' Division of Decoration also had Recourse to the voluminous documentary Records assembled, to the

specific and generalized Findings resulting from archaeological Investigation, and to the Use of *Virginia* and *English* Precedent.

The Question of Paint Colours for decorating Exteriors and Interiors presented a Problem of particular Subtlety. In Case of existing Buildings, Information could often be had by scraping through successive Paint Coats, with a View to discovering the early Colours employed. A Wealth of similar Precedent was provided by the Investigation of Paint Coats on Buildings throughout the Section. Yet, if a true Appreciation was to be attained, it was necessary that these Colours be envisaged in their original Condition and Appearance, with the Effects of Age, Decay, Soilage, and of the contiguous Coats discounted. Again, though explicit Records existed concerning particular Colours employed in certain of the restored and reconstructed Buildings, the Shades and Tones of these Colours had to be arrived at through studied Conjecture. When, as in the Majority of Instances, specific Records of Colour were lacking, the prevailing Practices of the Section and of the Period were pursued, these being established not only by the Examination of more or less defaced Examples of actual Paint, but also through the careful Study of import Manifests, Merchants' Advertisements, and the Order for Paints, Pigments, and kindred Supplies placed by the Colonists with their *London* Agents. Thus, in the Solution of the Problem, it was necessary to bring to bear a Combination of Knowledge, Reason, and advised good Taste; for Partialities in Colour and Shade, in itself, has been a Phenomenon which has sorely perplexed Artisans, Artists, and Philosophers in many Ages.

It was, perhaps, in their Bearing upon Furniture, Furnishings, and Accessories that the documentary Records, as first assembled, made their most generous Contribution to the physical Restoration of *Williamsburg*. For these Records contained the Enumerations of a Time when a Man's cracked Punch-bowl, his Bolster, Bed-feathers, and Parcels of damaged Pewter were carefully itemized in the Inventory of his Estate—a Time when a Merchant would not spare the Mention of a Hat-pin or a Pound of Thread in advertising his latest Shipment just imported from *London*.

Thus, when the Furnishing of the Palace was undertaken, two extensive Inventories were available, outlining not only the Belongings of two colonial Governors (*Fauquier* and *Botetourt*), who died while residing in the Palace, but also indicating the Distribution of these Belongings within the Building and its Offices.

Moreover, one of the Inventories listed also the "Standing Furniture" in the Palace, which was owned by the Colony and remained in the Building from one Administration to another.

For the Furnishing of the reconstructed Capitol, the precise Records of the Assembly were to be had from the Journals and Statutes of Government, these specifying the Furniture and Accessories required for the various Rooms, and ranging in their Detail to the Measurements of Tables, the Colour and Material of Table Carpets, and the Colour and Material of the Tape and the Type of Nails to be used in upholstery in Benches in the Hall of the *House of Burgesses*.

In the Case of the *Raleigh* Tavern, the detailed Inventories of two of its colonial Keepers existed, these indicating an Elegance which its unique Function and persistent Tradition demanded, and which its exacting Patronage required.

On the Basis of such Records, contemporary Furniture and Furnishings were purchased in *Virginia*, in various other Sections of the *Atlantic* Seaboard, and in *England*, in Keeping with the Practice of the *Virginia* Colonists. Also many valued Gifts were received. In some Instances, original *Williamsburg* Pieces were traced and purchased; and yet others have been lent by the General Assembly of *Virginia*. In Cases in which old Pieces could not be had, careful Reproductions of contemporary Originals were made. This last Procedure was especially indicated in the Case of the Capitol, the original Furniture of which was doubtless for the most Part destroyed in the Fire of 1747, and was of a cumbersome, institutional Type not readily come by.

Again, the detailed Findings and general Conclusions resulting from archaeological Investigation were of great Assistance. It is (or should be) common Knowledge among Antiquarians that the ordinary Possessions of the People of a given Age, while generally existing in great Quantity, are often accorded little Thought and less Care—and so survive in ever diminishing Numbers among the Possessions of their Posterity. Thus, in Time, these once-common Things may even come to be looked upon as the extraordinary, if they survive at all. On the other Hand, the unusual, the fine, the unique Possessions of that same Day, accorded at first the Protection of locked Cupboards and higher Shelves and later entrusted to the Keeping of Museums of Art and History, come in Time to be (and therefore seem) the more usual and representative Articles of the Time. Against such Distortions the Tons of stained and cor-

roded Fragments recovered from the local Soil provide, for *Williamsburg*, an admirable Assurance. Here, within the Limitations of the Collection, are the Possessions of the Period, in Fact and in Proportion. Moreover, in the many Instances in which such tangible Evidences can be applied in Conjunction with documentary Records, a high Degree of Authenticity is attained; for then the "2 Doz. Large Plates" lifted in an Inventory associated with a given Site become Plates of a specific Ware, Colour, and Design, and so it is with various other Types of household and general Paraphernalia.

By such Methods, and by countless others too intricate and varied for Inclusion in Generalizations such as these, have the restored and reconstructed Buildings of *Williamsburg* been decorated, and its Exhibition Buildings refurnished. Many Buildings are privately tenanted, and others adapted to the Reception of the considerable Concourse of People who again resort thither; yet these, more often than not, are furnished by their Occupants after a Manner which their Decoration and Design all but demand. And other Buildings of every Type continue to materialize, as will be told.

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## Q & A

*For 1774 and 1775 are there militia laws more recent than those listed in Hening and Webb? If so, what are they? (submitted by Jay Templin, historical interpreter)*

The answer for 1774 is no. The answer for mid-1775 is yes.

During the eighteenth century, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed a series of militia laws. In 1771, the members enacted a militia law that continued in force for two years. *An act for further continuing the Act, intituled an Act for the better regulating and disciplining the militia* was based on the 1757 militia law, which had been continued and amended four times by the General Assembly between 1757 and 1771.

On May 26, 1774, Governor Dunmore dissolved the General Assembly before its members could agree on a new militia law to replace the expired law of 1771. Virginia was left in a poor state of readiness, and there was a great deal of concern regarding the adequacy of the colony's defenses—especially during the escalating conflict with England. With no active militia law on the books, a number of counties began to form their own Independent Companies in the fall of 1774.

As tensions with Great Britain continued to mount, Virginians discussed and debated Virginia's ability to wage war and what the posture of defense should be. In March 1775, the Second Virginia Convention met in Richmond to deter interference by British forces. During the fourth day of the Convention, Patrick Henry put forward a resolution—"That a well regulated Militia, composed of Gentlemen and Yeomen, is the natural Strength, and only Security, of a free Government." (This was Henry's

"Give me liberty, or give me death!" speech.) After his resolution was passed by a close vote, a committee was appointed to prepare a "Plan for the embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose."

The plan proposed and accepted by this Second Virginia Convention in the spring of 1775 put the Militia Law of 1738 into effect. It was similar to the 1757 Militia Law, but the advantage of the 1738 law was that it had passed without the customary expiration provision. This meant that the local Independent Companies, under the direction of the county committees of safety, were technically operating under the resuscitated law of 1738.

A bit later, in July and August of 1775, the Third Virginia Convention met in Richmond and passed an ordinance setting up a three-tiered army. First, two battalions of regulars were authorized. Second, sixteen minuteman battalions were set up. Finally, county militias were formed for men not enlisted as regulars or minutemen. All the Independent Companies that had been operating under the revived 1738 Militia Law were dissolved, and the officers and men enlisted in the minuteman battalions.

*(Answer provided by John Caramia, program manager)*

*I have recently been trained to cook at the Powell House and would like to know about the Church of England's influence on what was being cooked here in Virginia. (Submitted by Terry Richey, historical interpreter)*

The Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer* regulated the lives of its members in Britain and the colonies in a number of ways. The chief influence of the Church on diet was in its recommendations concerning fasting, or the curtailing of normal food consumption at certain

times. At the front of the prayer book were calendars and tables listing the many holy days throughout the year, some designated as feast days and others as fast days. The list of fast days in the prayer book included all Fridays (except Christmas) and the forty-day season of Lent, as well as a number of other solemn occasions.

Though fasting was neither extreme in form nor strictly enforced by the Church of England, conscientious and devout housewives made concessions to the more than one hundred fast days in the Anglican calendar as they planned family meals. Though little specific documentation relates to the practice in Virginia, fasting in the colony seems usually to have meant consuming just one meatless meal, late in the day, instead of eating three regular meals spaced throughout the day. Cookbooks used in Virginia contained plenty of recipes suitable for fasting days. These recipes were not strictly vegetarian, because they included eggs, dairy products, and seafood in addition to the many fruits, vegetables, and grains listed as ingredients. Only poultry and other red meats were inappropriate for a fasting meal.

Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* devoted a whole chapter to the preparation of special meals for fast days. Chapter 14 was subtitled "For Lent, or a Fast Dinner, a Number of good Dishes, which may be made use of for a Table at any other Time." Although the suggested recipes were meatless, they were not tasteless: They consisted of hearty meals of soups, breads, vegetables, seafood, and baked desserts.

E. Smith's *The Compleat Housewife: Or Accomplished Gentlewoman's Companion* offered this recipe for "A Fasting Day Soup":

Take spinach, sorrel, chervil, and lettuce, and chop them a little; then brown some butter, and put in your herbs, keep them stirring that they don't burn; then, having boiling water over the fire, put to it a very little pepper, and some salt, a whole onion stuck with cloves, a French roll cut in slices and dried very hard, some Pistachia kernels, blanched and shred fine, and let all boil together; then beat up the yolks of eight eggs with a little whitewine and the juice of a lemon; mix it with your broth, toast a whole French roll, and put it in the middle of your dish, pouring your soup over it, garnish your dish with ten or twelve poached eggs and scalded spinach.

Title page of E. Smith's *The Compleat Housewife: Or, Accomplished Gentlewoman's Companion*.

*How common is the white or "Irish" potato in the American diet in the 1770s and in the Virginia diet in particular? (Submitted by Jay Templin)*

Cultivated in the Andes as early as 3000 B.C., the white potato went first to Europe and then to North America. One tradition has the white potato being brought by the Irish to Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1719. However, in 1705, Robert Beverley describes both white and red potatoes in his *History and Present State of Virginia*. Despite its early introduction into North America, the Irish potato was not much in evidence until late in the eighteenth century.

White or "Irish" potatoes were grown in Virginia in the 1770s as a patch crop to be both served at table and fed to livestock. It is difficult to know what quantity of potatoes colonial Virginians produced, because references to the crop often do not distinguish between white, red, and sweet potatoes. Virginia diarist Mary Ambler records the eating of potatoes but did not say what kind. Landon Carter referred to white potatoes in 1766, as did Robert Carter in 1773. In 1772, Thomas Jefferson specifically reported eating Irish potatoes from his garden.

English cookbooks of the period contain recipes for white potato dishes, so one could assume that all classes of Virginians ate them. It is quite possible that northern colonies were growing white potatoes in greater abundance because of the more suitable cooler climate.

Information provided by Rob Brantley and Jim Gay (*Historic Foodways*), Wesley Green (*Landscape*), Wayne Randolph (*Rural Trades*), Terry Yemm (*Historical Interpretation*), and compiled by Phil Shultz (*Staff Development*).





**What are the prices for some common consumer goods in colonial Virginia, such as paper, coffee and tea, liquors, and such?** (Submitted by Jay Templin)

Prices vary, of course, from place to place and from time to time, but here are a few averages of documented references to prices for some household items. Keep in mind that there were 12 pence to the shilling and 20 shillings to the pound.

Brown sugar: seven pence (7d) per pound  
 Refined sugar: one shilling, two pence (1/2) per pound  
 Bohea tea: seven shillings (7/0) per pound  
 Hyson tea: one pound, ten shillings (1..10..0) per pound  
 Molasses: one shilling (1/0) per quart  
 Coffee: one shilling, eight pence (1/8) per pound  
 Paper: one shilling, 3 pence (1/3) per quire  
 Beef: 3 pence (3d) per pound  
 Pork: twenty-five shillings (25/0) or one pound, 5 shillings (1..5..0) per hundred-weight  
 Mutton: five pence (5d) per pound  
 Fowl: one shilling (1/0) each  
 Gunpowder: two shillings (2/0) per pound  
 Shot, drop: four pence (4d) per pound  
 Shot, goose or swan: five pence (5d) per pound  
 Beer, Virginia middling: three and three-quarter pence (3¾d) per quart  
 Beer, London and Bristol: one shilling, three pence (1/3) per quart  
 Ale, Virginia Brewed: seven and one-half pence (7½d) per quart  
 Virginia Wine: five shillings (5/0) per quart  
 French Brandy: four shillings (4/0) per quart  
 Red & White Lisbon or Claret Wine: three shillings, one and one-half pence (3½d) per quart  
 Madeira Wine: three shillings (3/0) per quart  
 Rum and Virginia Brandy: two shillings (2/0) per quart  
 Virginia cyder: three and three-quarter pence (3¾d) per quart  
 Arrack punch: ten shillings (10/0) per quart

(Information provided by John Caramia)

**How standardized are weights and measures in colonial Virginia?**

Just as in England, weights and measures were closely regulated by law in the colony. A good reference for the laws pertaining to

weights and measures is George Webb's *Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace*, published in Williamsburg in 1736. Here are excerpts from the section of Webb's manual titled "Weights and Measures" (pp. 357-361):

After 10 June 1736, no Goods may be bought or sold in this Colony, by other Weights and Measures than the *English* standard only, on Penalty of 20s. for every Offense. . . .

Every County Court must provide, at the County Charge, Brass Weights of Half-hundreds, Quarterns, Half-quarterns, 7 Pounds, 4 Pounds, 2 Pounds, and One Pound Weight; Bushel, Half-bushel, Peck, and Half-peck, dry Measure; Gallon, Pottle, Quart and Pint, Wine Measure; with proper Scales for the Weights; all according to the Standard of the Exchequer in *England*. . . .

These Weights, Scales, and Measures, are to be kept, from Time to Time, by some Person in every County, appointed by each Court respectively; All persons must resort thither to have their Weights and Measures tried by the County Standard, and stamp'd with a Seal, to be like Manner provided at the County Charge. Tried Steelyards may be used in buying and selling, where both Parties consent. . . .

The *English* Standard,  
 Has Two Sorts of Weights, *viz.*

Troy Weight.

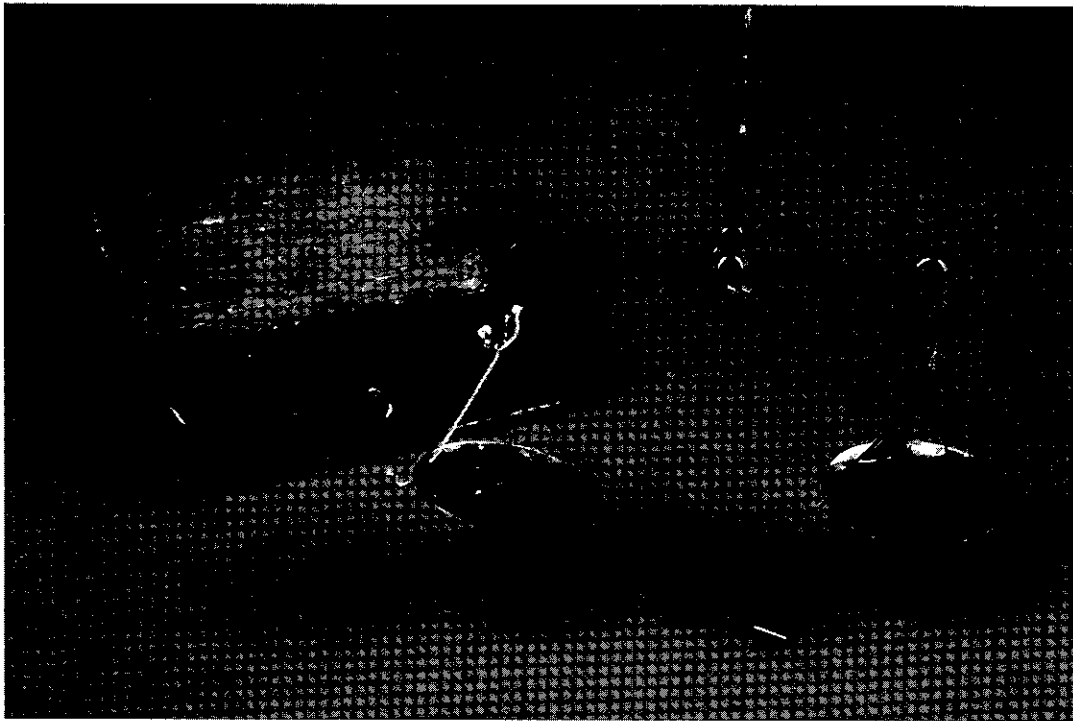
24 Grains, make	1 Penny-weight.
20 Penny-weight,	1 Ounce.
12 Ounces,	1 Pound.

By this, are weigh'd Gold, Silver, Pearl, Jewels, Silks, Bread, and Wheat.

Averdupois Weight.

16 Drams, make	1 Ounce.
16 Ounces,	1 Pound.
28 Pounds,	1 Quartern.
4 Quarterns,	1 Hundred.
20 Hundreds,	1 Ton.

Hereby are weigh'd Butter, Cheese, Flesh, Flax, Drugs, Grocery, Hemp, Iron, Steel, Lead, Tin, Tallow, Tobacco, Wax, Wool, and all Commodities which are garbled, or of which any Refuse is made; to every Hundred there is an Allowance of 12 Pounds, and so in Proportion.



Scales in box, England, circa 1775. CW collections.

Of Measures there are divers Kinds, viz.

Wine Measure.

2 Pints, make	1 Quart.
2 Quarts,	1 Pottle.
2 Pottles,	1 Gallon.
63 Gallons,	1 Hogshead.
2 Hogsheads	1 Pipe.
2 Pipes, or	} 1 Ton.
252 Gallons,	

Wine, Oil, Spirits, and all Liquors, except Beer and Ale, are thus Measured.

Ale Measure.

8 Gallons, make	1 Firkin.
2 Firkins, make	1 Kilderkin.
2 Kilderkins, or	} 1 Barrel.
32 Gallons,	

If Butter, or Soap, are sold by Measure, it must be as Ale.

Beer Measure.

36 Gallons, make	1 Barrel.
Smaller cask in proportion	

Dry Measure.

2 Gallons, make	1 Peck.
4 Pecks,	1 Bushel.
8 Bushels,	1 Quarter.

Corn, pease, Beans, Salt, and all

other dry Goods which are sold by Measure, must be thus accounted, and it must be strike Measure, and not heap'd.

Cloth Measure.

4 Nails, make	1 Quarter.
4 Quarters, or	} 1 Yard.
36 Inches,	
5 Quarters, or	} 1 Ell.
45 inches,	

Wrought silks, Linen, Woolen, and all Commodities whatsoever, which are sold by long Measure, must be by these Contents.

[Our own Mark Hutter, tailor, adds this information about cloth measure:

A "nail" is a standard unit of cloth measure equivalent to  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches or  $\frac{1}{6}$  of a yard. This is based on the quarterly divisions of the yard:  $36/4=9$  inches,  $9/4=2\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The yard plus a quarter (9 inches) is 45 inches or the English "ell," and another quarter added to that makes the French ell of 54 inches. There are several other ells in use in the eighteenth century, each generally based on the width of linen produced in a certain place. The usual ell in Williamsburg was the English ell of 45 inches.]

## Land Measure.

3 Barley Corns, make	1 Inch.
12 Inches,	1 Foot.
16½ Feet,	1 Pole, Perch, or Rod.
40 Poles,	1 Furlong.
8 Furlongs, or 1760 Yards, or 5280 Feet, }	1 Mile.
An Ox-gang, is	13 Acres.
A Yard Land,	20, 24, or 30 Acres.
Plough Land, or }	was 100 Acres formerly.
Hide of Land, }	now 80 Acres.
1 Handful, or	
1 Hand high, is	4 Inches.
1 Fathom, is	7 Foot.
Paper,	
24 sheets, make	1 Quire.
20 Quires,	1 Ream.
10 Reams,	1 Bale.
Parchment,	
50 Skins, or }	1 Roll.
5 dozen }	
Hides,	
10 Hides,	1 Dicker.
20 Dickers,	1 Last.
Herrings,	
32 Gallons,	1 Barrel.
10000 - - -	1 Last.
Timber hew'd and squared,	50 Foot 1 Load.

All our Weights have their first Composition from the ancient Penny Sterling, which ought to weigh 32 Wheat Corns, of a middle Sort, Twenty of which Pence make an Ounce, and Twelve such Ounces a Pound Troy or Trone.

Compiled by Bob Doares, instructor in Staff Development and member of the Interpreter planning board.

## Arming America: A Disarming Argument

A book review of *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture* by Michael A. Bellesiles (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000).

Reviewed by Richard R. Frazier, Jr.

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In his book, *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture*, Michael Bellesiles amasses an impressive amount of research in support of his thesis that gun ownership was rare in early American society. He argues that, contrary to popular myth, gun ownership and proficiency with firearms was not a central feature in the life experiences of most people. It is possible that fewer colonial Americans owned guns than is widely believed. Most early communities were at peace most of the time, and some people may have felt little need for a gun for reasons of security. And in those communities, a relatively few guns could arguably suffice for hunting and for controlling farm pests and predators. If Dr. Bellesiles had addressed the evidence in a balanced way, his work could be a valuable addition to the literature on early American society and its material culture.

Bellesiles addresses a period beginning with the establishment of English colonies in America and continuing through the Civil War. This review considers only his handling of the colonial and Revolutionary periods while examining problems with the way Bellesiles addresses specific issues that are illustrative of problems with the whole of his book.

Bellesiles says his subject is the normative, the experience of the average person, most of the time. By implication the non-normative is unimportant. But those who did not have guns depended on and benefited from those who did. In a society where armies were not maintained in peacetime, where police forces were not employed to patrol communities, the armed private citizen bore the duty of protecting his neighbors and his community's institutions. Although Bellesiles says his subject is the normative, he focuses most on military concerns. The numerous quotes containing complaints of arms shortages reflect wartime conditions. Peace was the norm. It should not surprise anyone that communities with agrarian economies and small populations had difficulty arming for war, especially when, at the end of the colonial pe-

riod, the new antagonist was the superpower of the age. To clothe, feed, and pay American soldiers was as daunting as arming them. There were many complaints about supplies and soldiers' pay, but Bellesiles does not deduce from them that Americans were normally naked, starving, and destitute.

Bellesiles conveniently ignores the battles of Point Pleasant and King's Mountain, in which self-armed military units, recruited from local militias, demonstrated that they could be effective. He characterizes General Forbes's campaign against Fort Duquesne in 1758 as a "victory without combat" (p. 164). This has been the view of some historians, but it is important to note the Indian point of view as reported by their captive James Smith:

*They [the Indians] met his [Forbes's] army near Fort Ligonier, and attacked them, but were frustrated in their design. They said that Forbes' men were beginning to learn the art of war, and that there were a great number of American riflemen along with the red-coats, who scattered out, took trees, and were good marks-men; therefore they found they could not accomplish their design, and were obliged to retreat. When they returned to Fort Duquesne, the Indians concluded that they would go to their hunting. The French endeavored to persuade them to stay and try another battle. The Indians said that if it was only the red-coats they had to do with, they could soon subdue them but they could not withstand Ashalecoa, or the Great Knife, which was the name they gave the Virginians.*

The Indians left. Without allies, the French had to abandon and destroy Fort Duquesne.<sup>1</sup> The Indians' assessment is supported by Colonel Henry Bouquet, the Swiss-born second-in-command of the British force, who assumed command upon Forbes's illness: "The provincials seem to have done very well, and their good men are more suitable for this warfare than the regular troops."<sup>2</sup>

Bellesiles's handling of material relating to military weaponry and tactics is simplistic. Emphasizing the ineffectiveness of firearms, he sees little reason other than psychology and wounding power to justify the transition to firearms from earlier types of weapons. This gives too little credit to the intelligence and judgment of those who made the change and others who later declined to revert to earlier technology.

Gunpowder-propelled missiles replaced mechanically propelled missiles such as arrows. The reasons for this change were certainly many and complex, involving both culture and economics, but without question the effectiveness of the new technology was the critical factor. The longbow seems superior to Bellesiles, who says of it, "the English longbow had established distance combat and given military status to the common yeoman, the gun returned combat to relatively close quarters and placed command of weaponry back in the hands of professionals. It turned out that the gun was not quite so simple to use, requiring much time, money, training, and care" (p. 20). The longbow of Agincourt fame had a draw of up to 120 pounds. To use it required strength and skill acquired through considerable training easily lost without constant practice. By comparison, the novice could become effective with a musket with much less training. The transition from bow to gun reduced firepower in terms of missiles-per-man-per-minute, but more manpower could be brought to the battlefield. The longbow was significant only for England and for a relatively short period of time. By the time of the Spanish Armada's threat in 1588, there were no longbows in the English military establishment.<sup>3</sup>

Bellesiles generally ignores or misreads the agendas and the perspectives of his primary sources. The following example, however, is an exception. He quotes Robert Beverley, writing in 1705: "The people here are very Skillful in the use of Fire Arms, being all their lives Accustom'd to shoot in the Woods. This, together with a little exercising would make the militia little inferior to Regular Troops." Bellesiles notes that later Beverley states that the work of indentured servants and slaves "is no other than what Overseers, the Freemen, and the Planters themselves do." Bellesiles notes that historians have discounted the latter statement because Beverley had an agenda. He "has heard how strangely cruel, and severe, the Service of this Country is represented in some parts of England." He was defending Virginia's labor system. As for the statement concerning firearms, Bellesiles correctly recognized that Beverley also had an agenda for this statement. He was reassuring British authorities of the security of Virginia so that there would be no need to send British regulars (p. 71).

Skepticism concerning both of Beverley's statements is appropriate. This is merely the proper skepticism of the historian, but when Bellesiles quotes sources from the Revolution-

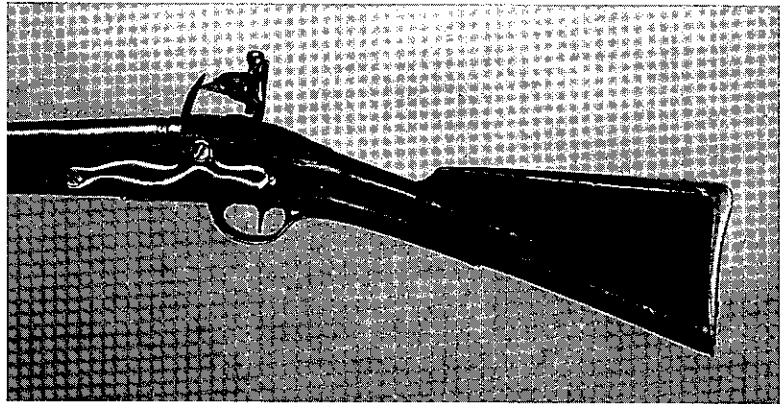
ary period that suggest widespread gun ownership, he dismisses them as bluster, false hope, or propaganda. Moreover, when Bellesiles notes that colonial authorities complain of scarcity of guns, he does not test the witnesses or consider the scarcity of arms relative to particular situations. When appealing for help or bemoaning their situations in times of emergency, for example, colonial authorities were understandably prone to exaggeration. Bellesiles should have examined how their agendas and perspectives may have influenced their statements with the same care as he does with Beverley. Bellesiles does make it clear that colonial authorities consistently encouraged gun ownership by people who were thought to be full members of society, i.e., free, adult, white, Protestant, and male.

The authorities may also have been deceived. It is appropriate to consider motives for concealing gun ownership. Bellesiles shows that military service was unpopular and that those who lacked arms could sometimes avoid such service, but he ignores the possibility that guns may have been concealed when they were being confiscated for public service. Or, once called to service, a person might be reluctant to leave home with the household gun, thereby disarming the household in a period of high tension. To conceal gun ownership could have been a strategy to obtain another gun from the government.

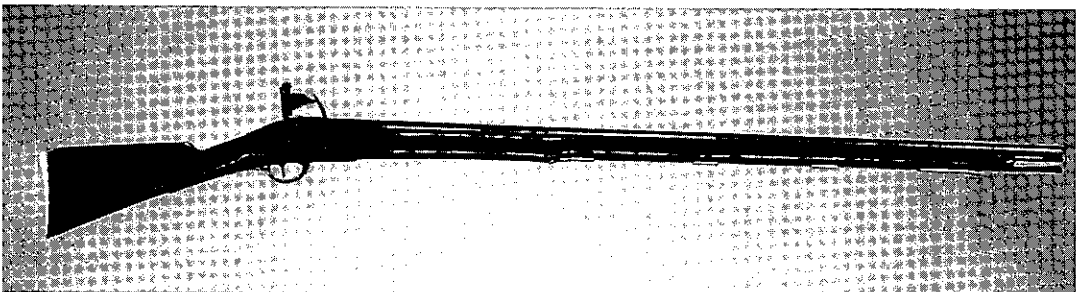
Bellesiles cites several colonial gun surveys that lend apparent statistical support to his thesis. He says that in the 1765–90 period, between 14 to 18 percent of colonial and early national probate inventories sampled list firearms (p. 445). “It is vital to emphasize that these probate inven-

ories scrupulously recorded every item in the estate,” he says (p. 109, 484, endnote 132). But most historians who spend time with probate records recognize some significant problems with them.<sup>4</sup> Judith McGaw also used probate inventories to study what people in the mid-Atlantic owned. However, she concluded that 50 percent of households in established communities owned guns, 60 percent in frontier communities. She also noted that, among farmwomen, about 20 percent made do without a pot or a kettle and that guns were more common than Bibles.<sup>5</sup> Two of the four communities studied were in Pennsylvania, the only colony that was reluctant to require gun ownership. (For an excellent analysis of probate records and gun ownership, see James Lindgren and Justin Lee Heather, “Counting Guns in Early America,” Northwestern Law & Econ Research Paper, No. 01-1 [papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=268583]. Other replies to Bellesiles’s book can be found at [www.ccrkba.org/pub/rkba/general/GunsInEarlyAmerica.htm](http://www.ccrkba.org/pub/rkba/general/GunsInEarlyAmerica.htm).)

According to Bellesiles, “In 1775 the Virginia powder magazine in Williamsburg, which contained most of the guns in the province, held 108 new muskets without locks; 157 trading guns; 527 old muskets in various states of disrepair; 1500 cutlasses; 150 old pistols, ‘some without locks;’ and ‘a lot of gunpowder in poor condition’ ” (p. 180). How can Bellesiles assert that these 942 guns are “most of the guns” in



*Two views of a musket,  
Virginia, circa 1776. CW  
collections.*



1750 July

Acc<sup>t</sup> of Stores of War at Williamsburg.

<i>Magazine</i>	
Muskets, Bayonets & Cartridge boxes	364
Box of Powder	59
Cases of Ball	50
Tents	53
2 Muskets w <sup>th</sup> 562 & 326	
<i>Governors House</i>	
Muskets	276
Carabines	100
Pistols	193
Swords	264
2 brass Ordnance w <sup>th</sup> each 1588 - 9 bound	5
1 M <sup>ch</sup> of 16 lb. (the Church.)	
4 Iron 16 lb. (the Church.)	
each musket abt 200	

Williamsburg 12 July 1750.  
 President Lee.

By A. O. C.

Inventory of arms in the Williamsburg Magazine and at the Governor's Palace, July 1750. Original in the Public Record Office, CO5/1338 f. 53, England.

Virginia? According to the committee of safety ledger, covering only the seven months between October 31, 1775, and June 5, 1776, the committee purchased 3,325 muskets and 2,098 rifles from sources in Virginia. Bellesiles, referring to the same ledger, incorrectly says this represents three years of purchases<sup>6</sup> (p. 185).

Bellesiles criticizes historians' "blithe" statements that the British colonies were the most heavily armed society in the world. "If we exclude the military . . . and addressing only firearms in private hands still leaves the eastern woodland Indians as the most heavily armed societies, followed by New England and then a few of the Italian city states. But the only way the southern British colonies could be included on such as list is by refusing to count slaves as people" (pp. 152-153). Slaves were indeed people, but does Bellesiles seriously believe that it promotes a better understanding of eighteenth-century America to factor the slave population into gun-owning statistics? If slaves are to be factored in, then certainly include indentured servants, women, children, the disabled, and the very aged. The resulting estimated percentage of those who own guns may seem quite low when in fact it conceals a high percentage of gun ownership among the population of active, adult, free males.

Bellesiles ignores cultural context. He says, "Those firearms made for private use tended to be works of great beauty, products of skilled Eu-

ropean craftsmen creating luxury goods for the rich. Few of these guns found their way to North America in the seventeenth century" (p. 84). To support this he cites *Decorative Firearms* by Wallace Gusler and James Lavin. The focus of that book is the high decorative art in English and European guns. The ordinary is excluded. The subject is irrelevant to firearm availability or use in North America. The guns in everyday use in colonial America relate to the guns in *Decorative Firearms* in the same way that housing in colonial America related to Blenheim Palace.

Bellesiles ignores the economic context of early America. Emphasizing the inability of Americans to produce guns, he says, "How a society lacking a single gun manufacturer could be the best armed is never explained" (p. 152). Most consumer goods were imported. This is the very nature of mercantile economics. Labor costs were lower in England than in the American colonies, and in England, labor was more abundant and concentrated. This was conducive to specialization and resulting efficiencies. Transatlantic shipping costs for non-bulky items were low. Colonial American gunsmiths were, as a result, primarily in the repair business. The author says no one in colonial America prior to the Revolution could make a gunlock. They could and did make any gun part when the occasion justified their higher costs. "Gunsmiths sought income elsewhere, it appears, because there was just not a sufficient

market for their services in colonial North America" (p. 109). Gunsmiths, repairing guns in situations where parts were not interchangeable, were of necessity workers in iron, steel, brass, silver, and wood. Income derived from non-gun work in these materials would be of obvious interest. Artisans generally served local areas containing small populations. In such circumstances diversification was often an effective business strategy.

The author states that American iron production in the decade before the Revolution "was hardly sufficient for a large gun manufactory" (p. 190), but other sources estimate American iron production in 1775 at third in the world behind only Sweden and Russia. In 1770, the American colonies exported to Great Britain and to the West Indies 5,747 tons of pig iron and 2,452 tons of wrought iron (the type of iron needed for gun manufacture), with a total value of £66,010 sterling. In 1775, there were eighty-two furnaces in the colonies; seventy-seven in England and Wales. There were 175 forges in the colonies (necessary for converting pig iron into wrought iron). In England and

Wales, there were 135. The American iron facilities were also efficient by the standards of the time. The production of the American facilities—30,000 tons of crude iron<sup>7</sup>—exceeded the British production.<sup>8</sup> It was not for the lack of iron that accounts for the lack of a gun manufactory.

Bellesiles says guns were expensive. This is hard to argue in general terms. Firearms made obsolete the more expensive armored knight and the steel crossbow. By the seventeenth century, the efficiencies of early capitalism armed enormous European armies.<sup>9</sup> Within the context of the early American household the argument is also difficult to support. According to Bellesiles:

*In an age when £3 a month was considered a very good income for any trade, skilled artisan or prosperous farmer, and the average wage for a worker was £18 a year, a flintlock cost £4-5. In addition, the American colonies were cash poor, and most merchants insisted on cash payments for firearms, which were among the most expensive items they could carry. For the*

*An iron forge, London, January 15, 1773. CW collections.*



*average free American in the colonial period, who devoted half of his income to diet alone, a gun easily represented the equivalent of two months' wages and could easily claim all his currency (p. 106).*

This deserves a detailed response. One source estimates private physical wealth per free man in the thirteen colonies at £276 sterling.<sup>10</sup> Ninety to 95 percent lived on farms although not all heads of households owned the land they occupied. Thomas Purvis writes, "Considering that their fields, garden, orchard, and livestock provided families with nearly all their diet, fuel, and even some fabric for clothing, such household wealth is nevertheless impressive by twentieth-century U. S. standards."<sup>11</sup> A rifle, produced in 1770, in an American gunsmith's shop, where labor costs were higher than in England, did cost £4-5. But most farmers favored the more versatile shotgun, called a fowling piece, or else what might be best called a utility musket, both of which merchants imported and retailed for around £1.<sup>12</sup> For comparison, estimated per-capita consumption of spirits in the colonial period is 3.7 gallons.<sup>13</sup> Rum, the cheapest, was 7 shillings 5 pence a pint.<sup>14</sup> Annual cost was 18 shillings 6 pence, almost the cost of a gun. Most farmers sold crops to and purchased goods from merchants with whom they had ongoing business relationships based on credit.

According to Bellesiles, "Firearms made of iron rusted and decayed quickly if not carefully serviced" (p. 78). The guns of the colonial period were no more vulnerable to rust than most modern guns. The modern exceptions are those made of stainless steel. These remain a small percentage of total gun production. While black powder residue is corrosive, it is easily removed and is arguably less corrosive than the primers used from the 1820s through the middle of the twentieth century. The very durability of firearms helps to account for relatively low numbers of gun sales. Most of the guns surviving from early America show extended campaigns of repair. Archaeology from the Geddy gun shop in Williamsburg, reveals that during the Revolutionary period parts of gunlocks that had been obsolete for as long as a century were being discarded as the guns themselves were being repaired.<sup>15</sup> Bellesiles wrongly assumes that civilian-owned guns had a life span no longer than the eight years estimated by British Ordnance to be the average life of a gun in military service (p. 149). Obviously war is hard on materiel as well as men. On the other hand, peace can ensure a gun's survival for generations.

To further his argument that gun ownership

was uncommon, Bellesiles dismisses hunting as being inefficient and unimportant. But the scenario he paints of colonial rural life to prove his point distorts its reality. Of course most meat consumed at home was domesticated, but game was valued on the farms where 95 percent of the people lived. Hunting was typically done in those times when agricultural chores were not so pressing. Furthermore, the whole of the family labor force did not have to be diverted to hunting.

Bellesiles also asserts that, "Hunting is and always has been a time-consuming and inefficient way of putting food on the table. People settling a new territory have little time for leisure activities, and hunting was broadly understood in the European context to be a upper class activity" (p. 103). The European social context of hunting was and is irrelevant. On the frontier, game was of critical importance not just for food, but as a source of income. Joseph Dodderidge writing in the early nineteenth century captures the importance of hunting to frontier communities. "For some years the woods supplied them with the greater amount of their subsistence, and with regard to some families, the whole of it; . . . Fur and peltry were the people's money. They had nothing to give in exchange for rifles, salt and iron, on the other side of the mountain." Deer were of sufficient economic importance to Virginia, and were so diminished by "unseasonable" hunting that Virginia legislated a hunting season in 1699.<sup>16</sup>

Before concluding this review it must be pointed out that Bellesiles has little understanding of early firearms technology and is incompetent to evaluate the quality and the relevance of his sources relating to that technology. Some examples:

1. He mistakenly ascribes a reduction in gun weight to developments in ignition systems.
2. He says, "Obviously too much priming powder could explode in the face of the shooter" (p. 42). What seems obvious to Bellesiles is simply wrong. The largest of priming pans are the size of a baby's spoon. If too much powder is used, the lid is propped open. The priming may be lost, but if the gun does function, the user will be unhurt.
3. Also, "Modern tests on flintlocks reveal that even in dry weather, with flints replaced every fifteen shots, they misfire one-fourth of the time" (p. 42). This low reliability may be explained in part by the low quality of modern reproductions in unskilled hands. Despite the expectations of many, expressive



of modern hubris, factory-made reproductions (and flints), made to sell in a competitive market to an uncritical and frequently uninformed buyer, are generally inferior to eighteenth-century firearms. For possibly related reasons, researchers in material culture often fail to factor in their own undeveloped skill levels. The experience of skilled users of these arms demonstrates a higher reliability.

4. Bellesiles says, "Muskets should be cleaned after every four shots." He appears to be relying on contemporary advice on black-powder rifle use. This is not relevant to musket use. Even with a rifle, cleaning every four shots is unnecessary.
5. "The famous Kentucky rifle took, on average, three minutes to load" (p. 43). A skilled person can load a rifle properly in approximately thirty seconds.
6. Bellesiles casts doubt on the accuracy of the rifle by citing hyperbole: "I have got a boy at home that will toss an apple and shoot out all of the seeds as it is coming down" (p. 178). This is intended to cast doubt on other claims. James Madison is quoted, "You would be astonished at the perfection this art [of shooting] is brought to. The most inexperienced hands rec[k]on it an indifferent shot to miss the bigness of a man's face at the distance of 100 Yards." (p. 178) This is an easy shot for a skilled person. In practical terms, within two hundred yards, the accuracy of the skillfully loaded flintlock rifle is restricted by the limits of human vision. It can be as accurate as the modern hunting rifle, disallowing the telescopic sight on the latter.

What can be accurately said of private gun ownership in colonial America?

Official policy throughout the colonial and Revolutionary periods was to encourage gun ownership through all levels of society except those at the bottom who were disenfranchised or who were being exploited. These latter groups—slaves, servants, the poor—were seen as a potential threat to the established order. This is in direct contrast to the situation in Great Britain and Europe where both policy and economic realities limited gun ownership to the landed classes.

The society as a whole benefited from and relied upon private gun ownership.

Gun ownership had a high utility value for significant numbers of Americans.

The French and Indian War militarized the frontier subculture, and from that time the people of the frontier were aggressively expansion-

ist. Government policy tended to be reactive to this development.

People owned fewer things (including, probably, guns) in the seventeenth century than would be the case later in the eighteenth century. And given current standards of living, which we all take for granted to some degree, we should be cautious in our assumptions about the amount of personal property owned in the past.

Finally, one quote from Bellesiles, at least, can be taken at face value, "one cannot make sweeping generalizations about colonial America's relationship with firearms" (p. 153).

Bellesiles himself has an agenda. He begins his introduction with an account of the killing of children and a teacher by children at a school in Jonesboro, Arkansas, in 1998. He poses questions. How did we get here? Why are guns the weapons of choice for 70 percent of murders? The tone is emotional, which is the humane and appropriate response to the tragedy in Jonesboro. But to establish this tone as the basis for a historical analysis of a period ending in the 1860s is inappropriate. It has forced him to give weight to evidence that supports his view, and dismiss or ignore contrary evidence. It has also produced an ideological polemic disguised as history.

Bellesiles's thesis that the national gun culture is a historical development deserves proper consideration. Without doubt there are too many people who accept uncritically the assumption that gun ownership was at the very center of early American life. But *Arming America* is bad history. The material is treated carelessly. The analysis is limited and lacking in objectivity. The analyses and assumptions naively reflect modern cultural assumptions and are replete with oversimplifications. Context is slighted or is misleading. There are too many inconsistencies and factual errors. Endnotes relate ambiguously to their referents. It seems Bellesiles's technique is to convince with sheer quantity: five hundred or so pages of selected material. As a result, a comprehensive and detailed response is forestalled. This is a demagogic rhetorical technique. Bellesiles does what he accuses others of doing: accepting material that supports his view and dismissing material ignoring the inconvenient.

For the professional or amateur interpreter of history, what lessons are to be learned? For the sake of credibility and of intellectual honesty, admit to and guard against personal bias. It is too easy to be confident of one's own objectivity. It can be quite difficult to be conscious of one's own ideology and its influences on one's

understandings and judgments. Avoid Bellesiles's errors of historical method. He does not know how common gun ownership was in colonial America and neither does anyone else. Given the available evidence, to conclude or to assert that gun ownership was universal is as inappropriate and historically irresponsible as to assert that gun ownership in colonial America was rare, as Bellesiles has done.

<sup>1</sup> James Smith, *An Account of The Remarkable Occurrences in The Life and Travels of Col. James Smith, During His Captivity With The Indians, In The Years 1755, '56, '57, '58, & '59* (Robert Clarke & Co., 1870), 103-104. (At the time Smith wrote his memoirs, he was also attempting to persuade U. S. authorities to adopt Indian methods of warfare against the Indians themselves.)

<sup>2</sup> S. K. Stephens, Donald H. Kent, and Autumn L. Leonard, *The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet, II: The Forbes Expedition* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951), 23:326.

<sup>3</sup> Robert O'Connell, *Of Armies and Men: A History of Weapons and Aggression* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) 103-105.

<sup>4</sup> Judith McGaw, *Early American Technology: Making and*

*Doing Things From The Colonial Era to 1850* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 340n.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 332.

<sup>6</sup> Harold B. Gill, Jr., *The Gunsmith in Colonial Virginia* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1974), 34.

<sup>7</sup> Paul A. C. Koistinen, *Beating Plowshares Into Swords: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1606-1865* (Topeka, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 1996), 21.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas L. Purvis, *Almanacs of American Life: Revolutionary America, 1763 to 1800*, Facts on File (1995) 84-86.

<sup>9</sup> O'Connell, *Of Armies and Men*, 134.

<sup>10</sup> Alice Hanson Jones, *Wealth of a Nation To Be: The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press), 61.

<sup>11</sup> Purvis, *Almanacs of American Life*, 111-112. See also, Jones, *Wealth of a Nation To Be*, 326-341.

<sup>12</sup> Harold B. Gill, Jr., unpublished data, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

<sup>13</sup> W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 7.

<sup>14</sup> Gill, unpublished data, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

<sup>15</sup> Ivor Noël Hume, *James Geddy and Sons: Colonial Craftsmen* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1970), 18-19.

<sup>16</sup> William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large; being A Collection of all the Laws of Virginia* (1823), 3:180.

## Mysteries of the Well

(Submitted by Jim Hollins, a historical interpreter in Group Interpretation.)

Just about every school group that I take to a well asks the same questions. They want to know the depth of the water, the distance from the well door to water level, and the water temperature. Since I did not have these answers at hand, I decided to get them. The following is what I was able to determine:

Well	Grissell	Levingston
	Hay	
Date	9/7/00	9/7/00
Time	10 A.M.	12:10 P.M.
Air Temperature	80°	75°
Water Depth	20' 2"	12' 8"
Well Door to Water	19' 2"	17' 4"
Well Door to Brick	3'	3'
Water Temperature		
Water Level	60°	59°
Well Bottom	60°	58°

### Details:

The depth of each well was determined by putting weights on the end of a string and lowering them into the well until they hit bottom. The string was then pulled up and measured with a tape measure. The wet section of string indicated the water depth and the dry section of string indicated the dis-

tance from the well door to the water level.

The temperature of the water was determined by pulling up buckets of water and putting a thermometer in the water. Two samples were used from each well. One bucket contained water from the surface and one bucket contained water from the bottom of the well. To get water from the bottom, a bucket was lowered into the well and allowed to sink to the bottom where it remained for five minutes. Then it was pulled up and the temperature was taken. (This method was used because I had to borrow a meat thermometer, which could not be safely lowered into the well.)

### Conclusions:

1. Wells vary in depth.
2. Water temperatures are considerably lower than air temperatures.  
Grissell Hay Well—20°  
Levingston Well—18°
3. There does not appear to be any substantial temperature differences in water at the surface and the water at the bottom of the well.

Wendy Goodwin and Joan Lamberson assisted on this project.

## Commander-in-Chief without Command: The Disappointing Military Career of Patrick Henry

by Mark Couvillon

*Mark, an expert on Patrick Henry, is a historical interpreter in the Department of Historic Sites.*

When war broke out between England and her colonies on April 19, 1775, Virginia had not been caught completely off guard. A month before blood was spilt at Lexington and Concord, the Second Virginia Convention, meeting at St. John's Church in Richmond, adopted a resolution presented by Patrick Henry that called for the colony to be placed into an immediate "state of defence." Five months later, while Henry was attending the Congress in Philadelphia, the Third Virginia Convention decided to strengthen Virginia's military posture by raising sixteen minute-battalions and two standing regiments to consist of 1,020 privates "rank and file." The Convention also reinstated the militia act, which required all remaining eligible males in the colony to participate in their county militias.

On August 5, 1775, the Third Virginia Convention elected Patrick Henry colonel of the First Virginia Regiment and commander-in-chief of all the forces raised in Virginia. His election to this post was not without opposition. Concerns over his lack of military knowledge and experience produced a heated debate among the delegates. "Such a person," his opponents argued, "was very unfit to be at the head of troops who were likely to be engaged against a well disciplined army." In response to these criticisms, one of his supporters replied that "Mr. Henry solicited the appointment, which he supposed he would not have done if he did not think himself qualified to command."

The most experienced candidate for the position was Hugh Mercer, who had served under Bonnie Prince Charlie at Culloden and later as an officer in the Seven Years' War. Mercer, however, was born in Scotland and, because of that fact, undue suspicion was cast upon his loyalty. Thomas Nelson of Yorktown and William

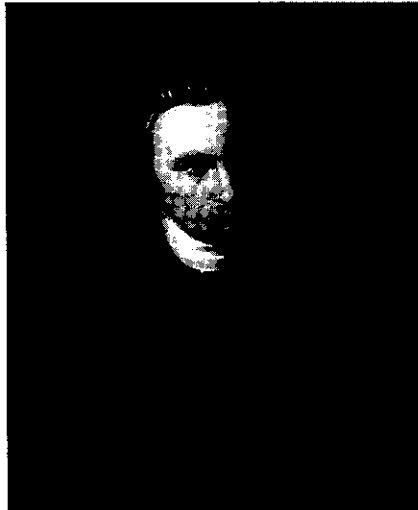
Woodford, who served as a junior officer in the French and Indian War, were the remaining candidates. Yet they were no match for Patrick Henry, whose name was synonymous with Virginia's struggle against British tyranny.

Still fresh in the minds of the delegates was Henry's recent and bloodless expedition against Lord Dunmore, in which he successfully obtained compensation for the gunpowder that the governor had removed from the public magazine

in Williamsburg on April 21, 1775. By proclaiming Henry a traitor, Dunmore "conferred upon him a degree of military prominence" unequalled in the colony. As there were few experienced officers in Virginia at the outbreak of the war, the Convention was compelled to rely principally on those elements of character that were indispensable in a soldier. Bold, charismatic, and "universally loved," Henry was a natural choice for commander. John Adams, who had lately served with Henry in Congress agreed. "In the beginning of war," wrote Adams to his wife,

Abigail, "in colonies like this [Pennsylvania] and Virginia, where the martial spirit is but just awakened and the people are unaccustomed to arms, it may be proper and necessary for such popular orators as Henry and Dickinson to assume a military character. But," declared Adams, "I really think them both better Statesmen than soldiers, though I cannot say they are not very good in the latter character."

Command of the Second Virginia Regiment went to Thomas Nelson, but he declined the position a few days later in order to take a seat in Congress. Rumor had it that the real reason for his refusal was that he "would not serve under Henry." With Nelson out, command of the second regiment fell to Woodford, neighbor and friend of Edmund Pendleton, who presided



Patrick Henry by Thomas Sully, 1815.  
*CW collections.*

over the Committee of Safety, an eleven-man body that oversaw the daily operation of the army when the Convention was not in session.

After taking care of some personal business at his home in Hanover County, Henry arrived in Williamsburg on September 21, 1775, and by the 29th had picked out a campsite behind the College of William and Mary. Journeying with him from his home at Scotchtown was his sister Anne, wife of Henry's second officer, Lieutenant Colonel William Christian. He was also accompanied by his sister Elizabeth who would fall in love and marry one of his captains, William Campbell of King's Mountain fame. With Henry's wife recently deceased, his sisters took on the role of hostesses and housekeepers at his headquarters, which, according to tradition, was located at a home on England Street.

As commander-in-chief, Henry was allotted twenty-five shillings per day, a secretary, a marquee, and several horses. On the basis of purchases from the public store, Henry's uniform consisted of a blue coat with green facings, green or blue small clothes, and a pair of "Ribed Hose." Around his waist he wrapped a "Scarlet Gartering" (sash) to denote rank. On his side hung his sword, which to one observer looked like "a crooked case knife."

General orders issued by Colonel Henry during the first weeks of his command reflect the same problems confronting General Washington with the newly raised Continental army to the north. With upwards of 2,000 men encamped around Williamsburg by the end of October, discipline was a constant concern, especially among the free-spirited rifle companies arriving from western counties. Orders to his officers to see to the cleanliness, proficiency, and decorum of their men, along with routine courts martial, show that Henry was trying to keep on top of the situation. On December 13, 1775, the mayor of Williamsburg praised him in the *Virginia Gazette* "for the care and vigilance shown him to keep up the most precise order and discipline among the troops now quartered here under his command, and the good effects whereof we have already abundantly experienced."

With General Howe's troops bottled up in Boston by the Continental army, the only threat to Virginia was from her royal governor, Lord Dunmore. Since his hasty departure from the Palace in June, Dunmore had collected a small flotilla with which he was raiding the coastal counties, plundering plantations for provisions, stopping boats and molesting their passengers, and carrying off slaves. His depredations were especially damaging in the Norfolk area, where

there was a strong Scottish element disposed to submit to the governor's authority. Under pressure from Congress to check Dunmore's actions, the Committee of Safety decided to send a force against Norfolk. In what would be the first of many apparent signs of disregard for Henry's rank, the Committee gave command of the expedition to Colonel Woodford. Before his departure, news reached Williamsburg on October 26 that the town of Hampton was under naval attack. The Committee of Safety immediately dispatched Woodford along with Culpeper riflemen from the first regiment to defend the town against the enemy.

Meanwhile, Henry, who had desired the field command, was ordered to prepare his regiment for winter quarters at Williamsburg. Though it was true that enemy vessels had twice come within a few miles of the capital before being driven off by riflemen, there was no question that the real fighting lay ahead at Norfolk. Angered at not having been selected to make the advance against the enemy, the officers of the first regiment confronted the Committee of Safety without their colonel (Henry) present, to question the "judgment" of that body. Such "irregular" proceedings produced from the Committee a strongly worded letter to Henry that indirectly criticized him for having officers subordinate to him acting in so insubordinate a manner. The actions by the Committee made it apparent to Henry that that body did not mean to trust him with any enterprise, but rather intended to keep him dormant at Williamsburg until he could be superseded by a general officer sent from Congress to take command of Virginia's forces.

Smarting from this slight, Henry was subjected to a further indignity at the hands of Colonel Woodford who ceased to report to him after being sent against Lord Dunmore. After not hearing from Woodford in four weeks, Henry wrote the colonel on December 6, anxious for news about his situation. In an arrogantly worded letter, Woodford replied that he was under no obligation to report to Henry when sent on an independent assignment and that it was his "indispensable duty" to address his intelligence to the Committee of Safety "whenever that body, . . . or the honorable convention is sitting." Though there was nothing in any ordinance that required Woodford to correspond through Henry when not under his direct command, before leaving Williamsburg he had been given explicit orders by the Committee to report to them and "to the commanding officer here" such matters as "shall appear necessary to

be communicated." As neither the Committee nor the Convention was sitting between November 15 and December 1, 1775, Woodford had clearly disregarded Henry's commission.

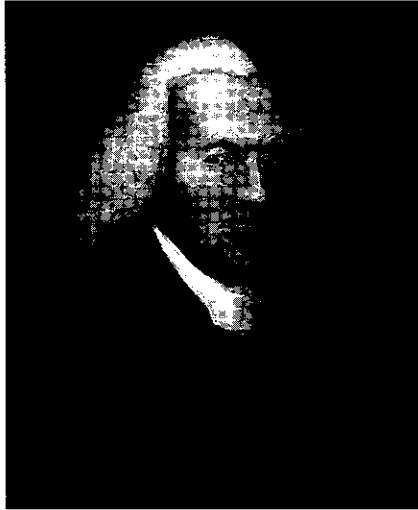
Feeling himself "ill-treated," Patrick Henry placed Woodford's letter before the Committee of Safety and insisted that Woodford be required to report to him as his commanding officer. The Committee waited to act on Henry's request until after new elections to the Committee were held by the Fourth Virginia Convention. On December 16, the Convention plainly indicated dissatisfaction at the treatment of Colonel Henry by Pendleton, who fell from first place in the balloting for Committee seats four months earlier to fourth place. Despite this setback, Pendleton was once again chosen chairman of the Committee of Safety in addition to being president of the Convention.

Conservative and cautious by nature, Pendleton looked upon his old political rival as little more than a "demagogue." Though Pendleton never had an open break with Henry, "each of them saw in the character of the other something which they condemned." This distrust "might have," according to Thomas Jefferson, "incorporated itself with his judgments on the military

merit of Mr. Henry." Just what Pendleton thought about Henry's "military merit" is revealed in a private correspondence to Woodford on December 24, 1775, in which he wrote, "Believe me, sir, the unlucky step of calling that gentleman from our councils, where he was useful, into the field, in an important station, the duties of which he must, in the nature of things, be an entire stranger to, has given me many an anxious and uneasy moment." This "mistaken step," he added, "cannot be retracted or remedied, for he has done nothing worthy of degradation, and must keep his rank." Though there is no doubt Pendleton held unwarranted doubts about Henry's military capacity and often disregarded his military title when corresponding with him, it would be unjust to attribute his part in thwarting Henry's military career solely to envy or pettiness. A number of Patrick Henry's allies held similar views. George Washington, who "respected and esteemed" Virginia's fore-

most statesman, believed his "countrymen made a capital mistake, when they took Henry out of the Senate to place him in the field." Charles Lee, whom Henry had nominated for major general while in Congress, wrote Benjamin Franklin on December 10, 1775, urging him to instruct his fellow associates in Congress to have someone supersede Colonel Henry as commander-in-chief.

*I wish you would send some man who has the reputation of being a soldier to Virginia. I think Virginia is our weak vulnerable part. I have the highest opinion of Mr. Henry, but it is inconceivable how necessary it is in order to inspire the common people with confidence that a reputed soldier should be at their head. They cannot be persuaded that a man who has never seen no service (although of the first abilities) should lead them to victory. This, I know, is folly and superstition, but it is a folly and superstition You must give way to.*



Edmund Pendleton by Charles Willson Peale. CW collections.

While waiting for a reply from the Committee concerning the Woodford affair, Henry gained his one military victory—the creation of Virginia's navy. Upon spying two suspicious looking merchant vessels in the bay while on a routine inspection of Hampton, Henry dispatched a boat armed with twenty men under the command of James Barron to apprehend the ships. Over the next ten days, nine more enemy prizes were captured. So successful were Barron's endeavors that the Committee approved Henry's recommendation of keeping a permanent patrol boat on the James River, thus putting an end to England's free range of Virginia's waterways. On his return home from Hampton, Henry received word that the Committee had passed a resolution requiring Colonel Woodford to correspond with him when acting under a separate command. It further stated that Woodford was subject to his orders when the Convention or the Committee of Safety was not sitting. What seemed like a victory for Henry was in reality a hollow one. On December 15, 1775, Colonel Woodford, who had just won a major victory over Dunmore at the Battle of Great Bridge, was superseded in com-

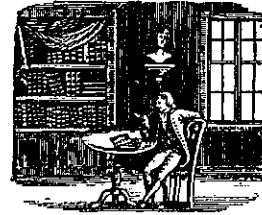
mand in Norfolk by Colonel Robert Howe of North Carolina, who brought with him 340 soldiers and a colonel's commission from the Continental Congress. Consequently, Colonel Henry saw the authority that was denied him yielded to an officer of another colony who was under direct supervision of the Convention.

The final straw, however, would not come from Woodford or the Committee of Safety, but from Congress. On December 13, 1775, the Fourth Virginia Convention voted to raise seven additional regiments for Virginia. Later that month, Congress agreed to incorporate six of Virginia's nine regiments into the continental line. When it came time to choose field officers, Congress, heeding General Lee's advice, appointed the same men who had been appointed by the Virginia Convention. Thus—although Colonel Henry was reappointed colonel of the First Virginia Regiment—he was in reality degraded in rank. Instead of being commander-in-chief of the Virginia troops, which was the command of a brigadier general, his command was confined to

that regiment only. He would also lose his headquarters, aide de camp, secretary, and other trimmings as commander-in-chief as soon as a continental general was sent to Virginia.

At this time, Henry was urged by his friend Phillip Mazzei to quit the service and stand for election to the Fifth Virginia Convention where the question of Virginia's independence would be discussed. On February 28, 1776, Patrick Henry placed his continental commission before the Virginia Committee of Safety and "without assigning any reasons," said he could not accept it. Later, he told his cousin Colonel George Dabney that he resigned his command "partly because he convinced himself injured in consequence of Col. Woodford being appointed with the command in the expedition against Dunmore . . . but principally because he believed he would render to his country more affordable services in the Cabinet than the field." His predictions were accurate. Four months later, the Fifth Virginia Convention elected Patrick Henry the first governor of the free and independent state of Virginia.

## BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: *New at the Rock*



### Becoming Americans Story Line New Book List

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library

#### Taking Possession

Fabel, Robin F. A. *Colonial Challenges: Britons, Native Americans and Caribs, 1759–1775*. Gainesville, Fla.: University Press, 2000. [E 93.F23 2000]

Fabel reveals the flaws in British imperial policies. Had the British learned certain lessons from their experiences with native populations, he argues, they might have been more successful in their dealings with American colonists. He describes, too, how even small tribes could diplomatically—and successfully—play British and French imperial rivals against each other.

Love, William DeLoss. *Samson Occum and the Christian Indians of New England*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2000. [E 99.M83 L68 2000]

First published in 1899, Love's biography of

the eighteenth-century Algonquian leader (1723–92) reflects the times in which it was written. His research included relevant manuscripts, as well as interviews with surviving descendants, and he wrote from the point of view of civilizing native tribes. Raised in a wigwam, yet comfortable in a two-story house; a native speaker of Mohogan, yet fluent in English and literate in Greek, Latin, and French, Occum was an intermediary between the cultures of his time and place.

Curtin, Philip D., Grace S. Brush, and George W. Fisher, eds. *Discovering the Chesapeake: The History of an Ecosystem*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2001. [GF 504.C54 D47 2001]

Edited by a historian, a paleobiologist, and a geologist at Johns Hopkins University and written for general readers, this book brings together experts in various disciplines to consider the truly complex and interesting environmental history of the Chesapeake and its watershed. Chapters explore a variety of topics, including land use and settlement patterns, gardens and botanical frontiers; the ef-

fects of human interventions ranging from Indian slash-and-burn practices to changing farming techniques; and the influence of the land and water on the people who settled along the Bay.

### Choosing Revolution

Conway, Stephen. *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. [DA 510.C66 2000]

While Americans were choosing Revolution, their British counterparts were also choosing to fight for their colonies with patriotic fervor. Conway explores the social, political, religious, and economic impact of the colonial wars on the British at home.

Eicholz, Hans L. *Harmonizing Sentiments: The Declaration of Independence and the Jeffersonian Idea of Self-Government*. New York: Peter Lang, 2001. [E 221.E48 2001]

What were the primary reasons underlying America's resolve to declare independence? What was the context that made the move to independence necessary? Eicholz approaches this topic by looking at the very different notions of social order held by those Americans who supported independence and those who contended against it.

Ellis, Joseph J. *Founding Brothers*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000. [E 302.5.E45 2000]

After the successful conclusion of the American Revolution, the early political leaders had a new nation to form. Ellis describes this process through six crucial moments, including a secret dinner at which the seat of the nation's capital was determined—in exchange for support of Hamilton's financial plan; Washington's precedent-setting Farewell Address; and the Hamilton/Burr duel.

### Freeing Religion

Othow, Helen Chavis. *John Chavis: African American Patriot, Preacher, Teacher, and Mentor, 1763–1838*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2001. [BX9225.C516 084 2001]

Chavis descended from a free African-American land-owning family in North Carolina, and as a teenager fought with the Fifth Virginia Regiment. After the Revolutionary War, he was educated at Princeton and Washington College (Lexington, Virginia), and in 1800, ordained as a Presbyterian minister. His religious and moral ideas, his precarious place in black-white society, and his skills at survival make a moving biography.

White, Henry Alexander. *Southern Presbyter-*

*ian Leaders, 1683–1911*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 2000. Reprint of 1911 ed. [BX 9220.W55 2000]

White recounts the challenges and achievements of men inspired by faith to preach, convert, and flourish in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Kentucky. Beginning with Francis Makemie, a Scots-Irish minister educated in Glasgow who settled in Onancock in the 1680s, the author describes the establishment and growth of the Presbyterian faith in the Southeast.

### Redefining Family

Crawford, Alan Pell. *Unwise Passions: A True Story of a Remarkable Woman—and the First Great Scandal of Eighteenth-Century America*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000. [CT 275.M6397 C73 2000]

Young Anne (Nancy) Cary Randolph was said to have become pregnant by her sister's husband, Richard Randolph, and with him, to have murdered their child. Richard's death in suspicious circumstances further damaged Nancy's reputation. The family tangle of aristocratic Virginians, reflects the ideals of honor and reputation and the realities of property and the condition of women.

Ellis, William. *Country Housewife's Family Companion*. Totnes, Devon: Prospect Books, 2000. [TX 705.E4 2000]

This manual of country living first published in 1750 was intended for the wives of farmers and country gentlemen. Recipes, management of the farmyard, preserving foods, brewing beer and strong liquors, management of the dairy, medicines for humans and animals, and warnings of dishonest traders are some of the topics addressed by Ellis.

Grassby, Richard. *Kinship and Capitalism: Marriage, Family, and Business in the English Speaking World, 1580–1720*. New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and the Cambridge University Press, 2001. [HQ 615.G73 2001]

This empirical study reconstructs the public and private lives of British urban business families during the period of England's emergence as a world economic power. A database of 28,000 families has been constructed to tackle questions such as demographic structure, kinship, and inheritance. Much of the book, however, focuses on issues such as courtship and relations among spouses, parents, and children, which can be studied only through those families who have left intimate records.

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

## New Items in the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library's Special Collections section:

### Manuscripts:

- Letter: June 27, 1715, William Byrd II, London, to Sir William Blathwayt concerning Byrd's recent arrival in England from Virginia and the Virginia Council's position on quitrents.
- Letter: October 16, 1716, William Byrd II, London, to brother-in-law John Custis IV concerning tobacco crop and family matters.
- "The Crisis" [London: T. W. Shaw, 1775] a weekly newspaper containing political discussion. Library has issues including Numbers VIII, IX, XI, XII, XV, XVII, XVIII, XXI, and XXV.

**Books:** (These materials were all donated through the generosity of Edward A. Chappell, director of the Architectural History department at Colonial Williamsburg, who found them when Dr. W.A.R. Goodwin's son Howard dispersed his father's personal library.)

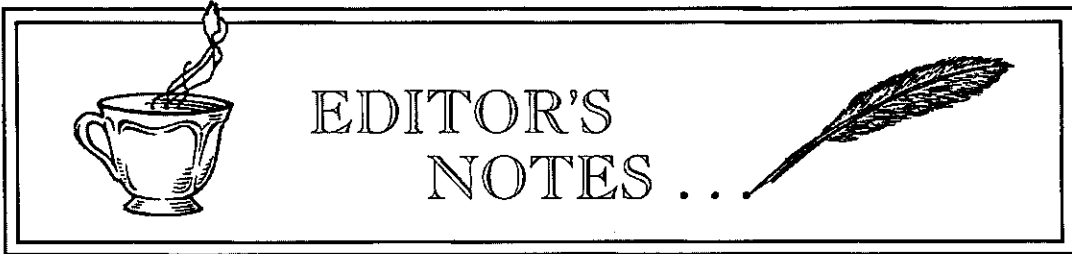
- Goodwin, Edward L. *The Colonial Church in Virginia*. Milwaukee, Wis.: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1927. A thorough coverage of the development of the Anglican Church in the colony, which includes brief biographical sketches of colonial clergy. Definitive coverage is given to the first six bishops of the dio-

cese; illustrations of them and the Jamestown church are included.

- Massie, Susanne W. *Homes and Gardens in Old Virginia*. Richmond, Va.: Garrett & Massie, 1931. A gift to Dr. Goodwin from the Jewish congregation at the College of William and Mary in 1932, this volume includes historical information regarding historic buildings throughout the commonwealth. Commentaries are written by owners and authorities of the period. Illustrations of properties are included.
- Rowland, Kate M. *The Life of George Mason, 1725-1792*. New York: Putnams, 1892. This book bears the bookplate of, and is inscribed by, R.T.H. Halsey, a leader in the American Colonial Revival movement, whose advice was sought in the earliest days of Williamsburg's Restoration. This is volume 1 covering Mason's life through 1780 and includes an appendix containing important documents written by Mason from this period.
- Wertenbaker, Thomas J. *The Planters of Colonial Virginia*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1922. Inscribed to Rutherford Goodwin from Harold R. Shurtleff, the first director of the Foundation's Research Department, this classic work covers Virginia's social, economic, and political life through the late eighteenth century. Notes to the chapters and index are included.

Compiled by George Yetter, associate curator for the architectural drawings and research collection.





Good News! You can now access the Index to the *Interpreter* on the Internet. Entries will be added as each issue is published.

<http://www.history.org> will bring you to Colonial Williamsburg's website. Click on History, then The Libraries of Colonial Williamsburg, then John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library. Once in the library's website, click on Collection Guides. Listed under Colonial Williamsburg Publications Indexes is the Interpreter Index.

The Index is in PDF format and you will need Adobe Acrobat to read it. If you do not have this software on your computer, you can download it for free by clicking on the "Get Acrobat Reader" icon at the top of the Collections Guides page. Then follow the instructions to download Acrobat Reader free.

Once the document has appeared, click on the binoculars icon and a "Find" box will appear. Type your keyword in the box and click Find.

For assistance, call Juleigh Muirhead Clark, Public Services Librarian, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, (757) 565-8511, Monday-Friday.

The staff of the *Interpreter* thanks Ms. Clark for her assistance in adding the Index to Colonial Williamsburg's website.

## Addition to Board

The staff of the *Interpreter* welcomes Betty Leviner formerly of the Department of Collections and currently objects specialist, history with the Department of Historical Research to the editorial board. Because of her in-depth knowledge of Colonial Williamsburg's collections, Betty has agreed to be the "image guru" for this publication. We appreciate her willingness to be part of our team. Welcome aboard, Betty!

*The Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter* is a quarterly publication of the Division of Historic Area Presentations.

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