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The Remarkable Virginia Career of Samuel Davies

by Mark A. Noll

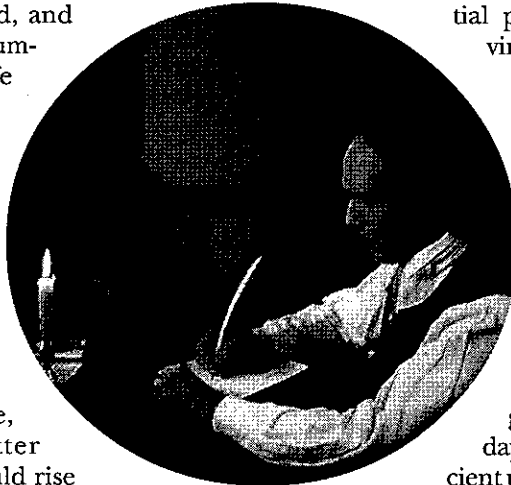
Dr. Noll is the McManis Professor of Christian Thought at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, and is the author of numerous books, including A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada and The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind. Currently, he occupies the chair of Evangelical Studies of the School of Divinity at Harvard University as a visiting professor. During Religion Month in April Dr. Noll was a guest lecturer for Colonial Williamsburg. This article is a result of one of those lectures.

It is hard to imagine someone less likely than the Reverend Samuel Davies to make a lasting mark on the society of mid-eighteenth-century Virginia. Davies's connection with the colony lasted less than a dozen years, his health while he lived in Virginia was always precarious, and he never enjoyed the benefits of belonging to the colony's elite of state or church. Yet make a permanent mark he did, and that in a surprising number of spheres. The life of Samuel Davies is far less known than the lives of near contemporaries such as Patrick Henry, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson. A good case could, nonetheless, be made that in the middle decades of the century he, rather than the better known leaders who would rise to prominence during the Revolution, was the more important figure for Virginia history.

The future Presbyterian minister, author, and educator was born in the Welsh Tract in Pencader Hundred, New Castle County, Delaware, to the farming family of David Davies (whose family name appears also as "David" and "Davis") and his wife Martha (née Thomas). Davies's early education followed the course of his mother's religious

pilgrimage. When she shifted her allegiance from the Baptists to the Presbyterians, the local Presbyterian minister directed her son to the classical academy conducted by the Reverend Samuel Blair at Fagg's Manor, Pennsylvania. Blair, one of America's best teachers of the mid-eighteenth century, trained Davies thoroughly in the classics, initiated him into the experiential piety of revivalistic Calvinism, and prepared him for the Presbyterian ministry.

Although he was located on the Pennsylvania frontier, Blair was putting pupils, including Davies, in touch with probably the best education to be had (outside of Scotland) in the English-speaking world of his day. At a time when the ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge were largely sunk into intellectual stagnation, the Dissenting Academies of ministers such as Blair were leaders in secular subjects like science and contemporary poetry, as well as classics and divinity. As a supporter of George Whitefield and the evangelical movement of the eighteenth century (see the essay on Whitefield by Robert Doares, Jr., in the Spring 1998 *interpreter*), Blair also communicated to his students the age's most dynamic form of religion.



Shortly after Davies finished his studies with Blair, he was licensed for the ministry by the New Side (or revivalistic) Presbytery of New Castle on July 30, 1746. Later that year he married Sarah Kirkpatrick, but she died the next year giving birth on September 15, 1747. On February 19, 1747 Davies was ordained by his presbytery as an evangelist to Virginia, a colony that was then a closed religious society with the Anglican church the only legally recognized denomination. There were in Virginia no permanently placed Dissenting ministers (that is, Protestants who were not part of the Anglican Church). During the spring of 1747 Davies spent one month itinerating in Hanover County, Virginia, but not before obtaining a preaching license from the Virginia General Court. Tubercular symptoms forced him to break off this preaching tour. The next year, with health improved, Davies received another call from the scattered Dissenters of Hanover County and began a permanent ministry. Once again, he took the prudent step of obtaining a license in Williamsburg, this time from Governor William Gooch. On October 4, 1748, soon after settling in Virginia, Davies married a second time. His bride, Jane Holt, was the sister of John Holt, a printer, who later helped Davies publish sermons, poems, and political commentary. The Davies seem to have enjoyed an affectionate marriage; they became the parents of six children, five of whom survived to adulthood. Oddly, only one of the children of this notable minister and educator became a professing Christian. Once settled in Virginia, Davies rapidly became a leader in the life of the colony.

Pioneering Presbyterian minister. Davies's career as a minister, though lasting little more than a decade and regularly complicated by ill-health, was distinctive for its remarkable range. More than anyone else, he was responsible for the growth of Presbyterianism in Virginia and much of the upper South. When he settled in Hanover County in 1748, a handful of Presbyterian families were scattered throughout Virginia north of the James River. When he departed

in 1759, each of his seven preaching stations had become a full-fledged church, a presbytery had been organized for Virginia (established December 30, 1775), nearly ten other ministers had joined him in the work, missionary activity had been carried out in the Carolinas, and the Presbyterians had won a substantial measure of *de facto* toleration from Virginia's Anglican establishment. This remarkable success was the opening wedge in Virginia's history for churches other than the Anglican. Many factors entered into the growth of Presbyterianism in Virginia, but without question among the most important were Davies's religious zeal, political persistence, and patriotic service.

An Effective Preacher. As a New Side Presbyterian, Davies stressed the need for spiritual regeneration. His sermons effectively



Davies petitioning for license to preach. From the Colonial Williamsburg video, "The Gospel of Liberty."

drove home the main themes of revivalistic Calvinism—the desperate condition of the soul without God, the generous freedom of divine grace in rescuing sinners from their plight, the holy privilege of devoting a redeemed life to the service of God. Unlike some revivalist colleagues, however, Davies presented his message with rhetorical sophistication. A sermon from February 1757 on Christ as “the only foundation” well illustrated his skill. His listeners were asked, “Have you been formed into proper stones for this spiritual temple? Has God hewn you . . . by his word, and broken off whatever was rugged, irregular, and unfit to be compacted into the building? . . . Do you feel this divine architect daily carrying on this work in you, polishing you more and more into a resem-

blance of Christ?"¹ Davies's combination of natural diction and affecting rhetoric had its most profound effect in spreading the Christian faith, but it also influenced the style of political speech. The young Patrick Henry often heard Davies preach and later claimed to have been influenced by what he heard. Many of Davies's sermons were printed in his own lifetime. After his death, over eighty were gathered into a collection that was reprinted in London, Edinburgh, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh. (The most recent printing of these sermons occurred in 1993.)

A Political Force. Davies succeeded in Virginia because of his political skill almost as much as his homiletical skill. As a Presbyterian, he was suspect as a rival by most Anglican ministers and as a source of social disorder



Davies and wife leave for Princeton. From the Colonial Williamsburg video, "The Gospel of Liberty."

der by the Virginia government. Davies sought to alleviate these anxieties by emphasizing the civilizing force of the religion he preached. He was also a skilled, patient negotiator. In countless communications to colonial officials, he reiterated two arguments: first, religion of the sort the Presbyterians promoted stabilized society; second, if Virginia wished to enforce the British Act of Uniformity dating from 1711, it also had to enforce the Act of Toleration passed by Parliament in 1689. With these arguments, Davies and his Dissenting colleagues made some legal headway. But they achieved even more for their churches when the Presbyterians took the lead in rousing the population for the defense of Virginia during the French and Indian Wars (also known as the Seven

Years' War.)

During this conflict with France, Davies was a particularly effective orator on behalf of the British cause. An especially memorable sermon in July 1755, after General Braddock's defeat at the hands of the French and Indians, urged Virginians to "REPENT! oh! my countrymen, REPENT!" but also "to furnish yourselves with arms, and . . . put yourselves in a posture of defence."² A month later he told a company of volunteers from Hanover County that "religion and patriotism" were "the constituents of good soldiers."³ This same sermon, when published, included a prescient footnote concerning "that heroic youth, Col. [George] Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country."⁴ Official antagonism to the Presbyterians eased considerably after Davies's indispensable contribution to the war effort.

Educator. Davies also enjoyed a considerable reputation as a teacher. He prepared several young men for academies like the one he had attended, and also for the Presbyterians' College of New Jersey (later Princeton University). He was himself an avid reader of contemporary poetry and British moralists including Samuel Johnson, as well as of theology. Through his contacts in England and

Scotland, he also eagerly assisted his parishioners in their efforts to secure books. The College of New Jersey bestowed the M.A. on Davies in September 1753, and from that point Davies's attachment to this institution grew steadily. From November 1753 to February 1755 he undertook a trip to Great Britain, with Gilbert Tennent, another stalwart of New Side Presbyterianism, to raise money for the college. The two not only succeeded in securing at least £3,000 (which was used to move the college from Newark to Princeton and construct Nassau Hall), but Davies was also able to promote the cause of religious freedom through personal interviews, secure patronage for several educational projects, and meet John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, and many other

religious leaders. Although the Wesley brothers promoted Arminianism (a modified version of Calvinism), Davies the Calvinist carried on a friendly correspondence with them after his trip to the old country.⁵

Champion of Minorities. Of all Davies's labors as a teacher, the most remarkable was solicitude for the education of African-American slaves and native Americans. Davies was not a social radical, and in fact owned at least one or two slaves himself. But he was a determined pioneer in training slaves to read, providing them with books, and urging them to become regular members of the church. A sermon from 1754, "The Duty of Christians to Propagate their Religion Among the Heathens, Earnestly Recommended to the Masters of Negro Slaves in Virginia," defended African-Americans as fully human, especially for the purposes of religion and education. By 1755, Davies had baptised 100 slaves and regularly preached to 200 more. Nearly a century later, the Princeton Seminary professor, Archibald Alexander, who had grown up in Virginia, wrote that he knew personally several individuals "born in Africa, who were baptized by Mr. Davies, and by his care had been taught to read: and have seen in their hands, the books given to them by this eminent preacher."⁶

Poet and Hymn writer. If his public activities were not enough, Davies was also a considerable amateur poet. Like the Puritan Edward Taylor in New England, Davies often wrote hymns or poems related to the biblical texts for which he prepared sermons. Through his wife's brother, he published in 1752 a collection of *Miscellaneous Poems, Chiefly on Divine Subjects*. In form the poems are respectable examples of neo-classical style; in substance they occasionally rise above conventional piety, as when in "Conjugal Love and Happiness" Davies likens his wife to a "noble Vine" who "Round the rough Trunk with loving Tendrils twine,/ And blooms on high, a fair prolific Vine."⁷ After the defeat of General Braddock and the British during the French and Indian War, Davies tried to rally the spirits of the colonists with lines attacking "Gaul" (that is, France) and praising King George:

In vain the fetter'd Gaul prepares his
chains,
For British freedom, ev'n in India's plains.
Great George, born to command the free
and brave,

Shall break his weapons, and chastise the
slave.

My blood I freely spill; rejoic'd to make
The first libation for fair Freedom's sake.
For, as in Greece of old, the warrior's
meed.

For liberty, is nobly thus to bleed.⁸

Davies was also the first Anglo-American to write a body of published hymns, eighteen of which are extant, including at least one still found in some Protestant hymnbooks:

Great God of Wonders! All thy ways
Are matchless, godlike, and divine:
But the fair glories of thy grace
More godlike and unrival'd shine:
Who is a pardoning God like Thee?
Or who has grace so rich and free?

For Davies, it was a particular pleasure that converted African-Americans and Indians enjoyed, and became adept at, singing his and other hymns of the evangelical revival. In 1756, he informed a British correspondent that, after the welcome reception of some hymnals from England, "Sundry of them ["the poor Slaves"] have lodged all night in my kitchen; and, sometimes, when I have awaked about two or three o'clock in the morning, a torrent of sacred harmony poured into my chamber, and carried my mind away to Heaven. In this seraphic exercise, some of them spend almost the whole night."⁹ The preacher, it seems, could be as affected by the religious observances of others as he was effective in his own.

After Virginia. In August 1758, the trustees of the College of New Jersey, having recently lost presidents Aaron Burr (September 1757) and Jonathan Edwards (March 1758) by death, asked Davies to become their head. He refused this first request, in large part because his parishioners could not countenance the departure of one who "has relieved us from numberless distresses as our spiritual father and guide to eternal life; defended us from the formidable confederacy of our numerous enemies, and has been mighty through God, to conquer all who oppose us, and to defend the cause of the Redeemer in this degenerate land." But when the trustees repeated their request, Davies agreed to come. He was in Princeton with his young family by July, and, with characteristic energy, threw himself immediately into college business. He lived in Princeton only nineteen months until his death, but it was long

enough to show that, had he survived, he might have become the most notable American college president before the Revolution.

At the College of New Jersey, Davies placed a new stress on oratory, strengthened the students' work in English composition, inventoried the library, encouraged Benjamin Rush (who became a notable patriot and reformer) to pursue a medical career, trained several post-graduates for the ministry, transferred post-graduations, and regularly urged the undergraduates to seek the New Birth. Worn out by his labors, Davies succumbed to pneumonia only one month af-

ter preaching a memorable sermon on the same text that Aaron Burr had chosen the first Sunday of the year of his demise, Jeremiah 28:16, "This year you shall die."

At his death Samuel Davies had only just turned thirty-seven. During that relatively short span of years, the American colonies were evolving rapidly. In Virginia—through his expressive defense of liberty, his capable leadership of the Presbyterians, his winsome advocacy of the new evangelical form of Christianity, and his memorable verse—Samuel Davies was one of the Americans who mattered most for the changes underway. ■

Endnotes

¹Samuel Davies, *Sermons on Important Subjects*, 3 vols. (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1849), 2:39.

²*Sermons*. 3:25–26.

³*Sermons*. 3:41

⁴*Sermons*. 3:47

⁵The extensive diary that Davies kept during this British trip has been skillfully edited by George William Pilcher as *The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967).

⁶Archibald Alexander, "Instruction of the Negro Slaves," *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review* 15 (Jan. 1843): 26–27.

⁷Craig Gilborn, "Samuel Davies' Sacred Muse," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 41 (June 1963): 74.

⁸"Verses on Gen. Braddock's Defeat," in *Poems of Samuel Davies*, ed. Richard Beale Davis (Gainsville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles, 1968), 220.

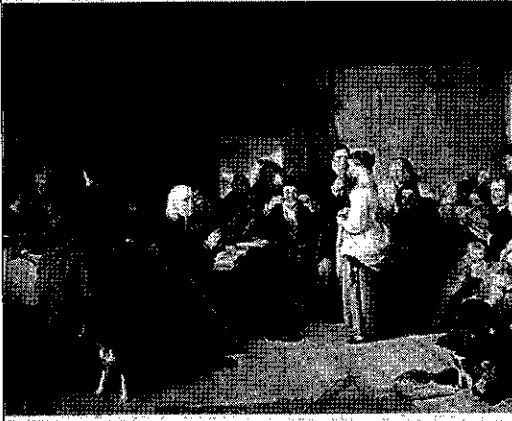
⁹From *Letters from the Rev. Samuel Davies, etc. Shewing the State of Religion in Virginia, particularly among the Negroes* (London, 1757), 16, as quoted by George William Pilcher, "Samuel Davies and the Instruction of Negroes in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of Biography and History*, 74 (July 1966): 298.

¹⁰Quoted in George William Pilcher, *Samuel Davies, Apostle of Dissent* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), 193.

Further Reading

Besides the editions mentioned in the notes, see also Louis Fitzgerald Benson, "The Hymns of President Davies," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 2 (1903): 343–373. Davies's multi-volume *Sermons on Important Subjects* (or similar title) has been reprinted many times, including a 1993 edition by Soli Deo Gloria publishers in Pittsburgh. Students of Davies are especially indebted to George William Pilcher, whose edition of Davies's diary of the British trip and his solid biography are mentioned in the endnotes. Davies's Virginia career is examined in Wesley M. Gewehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740–1790* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1930); Ernest Trice Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South: Vol. I* (Richmond: John Knox, 1963); and William Henry Foote, *Sketches of Virginia: Historical and Biographical* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1850). Foote transcribes many valuable documents. Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind, from the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), is outstanding on the political implications of Davies's oratory. For Davies's career at the College of New Jersey, see Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, *Princeton 1746–1896* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), Douglas Sloan, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1971) and James McLachlan, ed., *Princetonians 1748–1768: A Biographical Dictionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707



Callum G. Brown

Scotland and Churches and Fowk, Oh My!

A Book Review by John Turner

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Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707.
Callum G. Brown, Edinburgh, Scotland:
Edinburgh University Press, 1997.

This book is a substantial re-working of an earlier book by Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1733* (Methuen, 1987), prompted by the recent rise of interest in religious history and general reassessment of its importance by social historians. The author claims that scholars no longer assume that religion declined consistently after the industrial revolution or that a country's religious past is not a legitimate source of information for understanding its character.

Brown's newest treatment of this subject goes both farther back (the Act of Union, 1707) and farther forward (statistics and trends are analyzed up to 1997) than his offering of a decade ago. Scotophiles will appreciate the humor effected by his juxtaposition

of material from a variety of sources, such as James Hogg's statement regarding Scots, that "Nothing in the world delights a truly religious people so much as consigning them to eternal damnation," and Alastair Reid's recent observation, Scots "are supposed to be dour, canny, pawky, coarse, fly, stingy, pedantic, moralistic and drunken all at once."

The theme of religious decline is one that has concerned churches and church leaders since the eighteenth century. Brown poignantly illustrates the ongoing nature of this concern by quoting statements made over a span of almost 200 years. In 1785, one of Scotland's first factories, the Adelphi cotton-spinning works at Dearston in Perthshire, brought high wages to the countryside. A local remarked: "the consequence was very distressing. So many people collected in one house refined each other in all manner of wickedness. The duties of the family were neglected; the Sabbath was profaned; the instruction of youth was forgotten; and the looseness and corruption of manners spread, like a fatal contagion, every where around."

Nearly two centuries later, in 1952, the minister of the parish of Forgan in north Fife reported: "Forty years ago, everyone went to church; now no one goes because it is the thing to do; social convention that compelled the unwilling to come to church on Sunday now pushes them to the cinema on week nights. So preachers address congregations in which the aged outnumber the young, but not as much as women outnumber men: congregations, meagre in the morning, in the evening thin away to vanishing point, and disappear altogether as the day lengthens."

Of general interest is the point Brown makes clear throughout the work, that secularization has not been a snowball rolling downhill constantly gaining size and speed since the eighteenth century. There have been significant peaks and troughs in church attendance, witnessed by the fact that the all-time peak of Presbyterian communicants in Scotland was 1956 (on the heels of a highly visible Billy Graham crusade). It is likely that the information of greatest use to *interpreter* readers, however, is the three chapters that deal most directly with the eighteenth century:

Chapter 2—The Church Structure in Scotland 1707–1997

Chapter 4—Religion in Rural Society

1707-1890

Chapter 8—Religion and Identities since 1707

Scottish church structure became considerably more complex during the course of the eighteenth century, a fact that sometimes makes it difficult to trace Scottish influence on American religious and educational life, which was, nevertheless, considerable. The monarch was not the titular head of the Presbyterian church as was the case with the state churches of England, Ireland, and Wales. Kings and queens rather had "observer status" at gatherings of the General Assembly. This left intact the Lutheran idea of "two kingdoms"—one for the monarch and one for Christ.

Brown notes that at the beginning of the agricultural and industrial revolutions Scotland was not homogeneous in terms of religion. There were significant differences in the interpretation and practice of Presbyterianism between different socio-economic groups. In addition, there were pockets of Catholicism and Episcopacy especially in the Highlands, the Hebrides, and the Lowlands north of the River Tay. How Scottish emigrants to America in the eighteenth century viewed religion varied greatly depending on their economic place in society and where exactly in Scotland they happened to hail from. Brown does a good job in Chapter 2 of delineating these differences and explaining the reasons for their existence.

Possibly most relevant of all to the interpretation of life in eighteenth-century Virginia is Brown's chapter on "Religion in Rural Society." As was the case to some degree in Virginia, the church in Scotland played a major role as intermediary between the state and the family. The established church had not only devotional and educational roles, but judicial and economic ones as well. Unlike Virginia, where the clear documentation for these day-to-day influences is often not available, the Scottish counterparts fortunately are. Brown spells out in some detail the economic arrangements that bound people to the established church. Landowners, through their peer representatives, made certain that their costs connected with running the parish were low, passing on the burden to lower social groups. Schoolmasters' salaries were kept especially low, which helped account for the frequency of Scottish schoolmasters coming to America look-

ing for more lucrative posts.

The church's judicial role was even more significant, according to Brown, and there was, in practice, no limit to the kind of case the church would investigate. In addition to the rather predictable list of drunkenness, swearing, and breaking the Sabbath were cases of theft, assault, wife-beating, and suspicious death. An inordinate number of cases the church (both established Kirk sessions and dissenting Kirk sessions) involved itself with were sexual in nature: "Fornication was the bread and butter of session business with fines passing to the parochial fund for the poor: as one historian put it, 'the lascivious regularly providing for the needy.'"

Life was not easy, especially for women in Scottish rural society. Brown's review of the primary source material makes it clear that a man's word was usually given greater weight in sexual offense cases. Even when the man involved pleaded no contest, sessions tended to find in his favor. In 1733, the Stirling Presbytery of the Antiburgher Church rejected a woman's claim of being raped at gunpoint and further disciplined her for fornication. Similarly, the Presbytery of Dunblane fined Catherine Stewart for adultery, even though the man involved admitted the act was against her will.

In his final chapter, "Religion and Identities since 1707," Brown agrees with Linda Colley (*Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, London, 1996) that the identity of Britain was accomplished (he says largely by Scots) by a shared Protestant culture and general hostility to Catholicism. As to their effect on other countries in the Empire, Scots thought "they took the task of spreading Christianity more seriously than the English, and that Scottish Presbyterianism in general was more morally serious and less corruptible." The successes of Presbyterianism in the first half-century of the American Republic contrasted with the rapid diminution of Anglicanism seem to support their contention.

With the exception of some of the more rabid aforementioned Scotophiles, I am of the opinion that most *interpreter* readers will not find this a quick or easy read. It is, however, an excellent reference source for specifics of church and society in Scotland and, by inference, a good source of information for understanding Scottish influence in eighteenth-century America. ■

Of Prison, Poison, and Other Perils: The Life of the Reverend James Ireland

by Robert F. Doares, Jr.

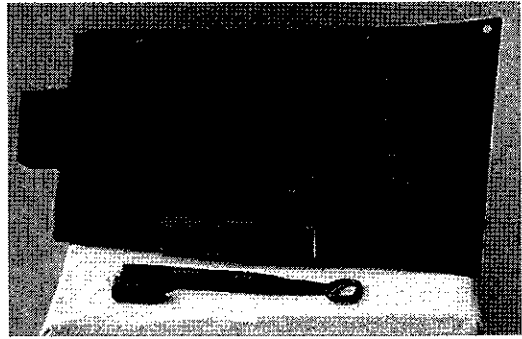
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"But rise and stand upon thy feet, for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness, both of these which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee." Acts 26:16

Anyone who reads the little book *The Murder of George Wythe*, Julian Boyd's account of the poisoning of the eminent jurist, does so with fascination and loathing. Equally riveting is the story of another Virginian, noted Baptist preacher James Ireland, who survived multiple attempts on his life—including two poisonings—and who happened to die about the same time as George Wythe in the spring of 1806.

James Ireland dictated his life's story to an amanuensis while bedridden during the weeks of his final illness. After languishing for more than a decade, the scribe's manuscript was discovered and published in 1819 by J. Foster in Winchester, Virginia, under the title *The Life of the Rev. James Ireland, Who Was, For Many Years Pastor of the Baptist Church at Buck Marsh, Waterlick and Happy Creek, in Frederick and Shenandoah Counties, Virginia*. The Ireland autobiography is a valuable first-person account of an important part of the struggle for religious freedom by eighteenth-century Virginians.

Piety and Pranks. Born in 1748 in Edinburgh, Scotland, into a family of lawyers and military men, James Ireland was reared in the fashionable society of the Scottish gentry during Edinburgh's ascendancy as artistic and intellectual capital of Europe. The family was religious, and little "Jemmy" received from his parents instruction "in the principles of the Gospel according to the Presbyterian plan." The boy's quick mind made him a star at the local parson's biennial catechism examinations. His piety



Original lock and key of the Culpeper jail where Ireland was incarcerated. Reprinted by permission of Virginia Baptist Historical Society, Richmond.

prompted him to distribute the little bit of money he acquired to beggars on the streets of the city. James Ireland, Sr., took his family to hear the sermons of George Whitefield every day for several months, when the famous Methodist evangelist came to the Scottish capital to preach on behalf of the Orphan Hospital there. James, Jr., later credited Whitefield with his father's conversion to "vital" religion.

As the eldest surviving son in a family of seven children, young James Ireland attended for five years the seminary, or Latin School, in Edinburgh, where he received a classical education along with several hundred "noblemen and gentlemen's sons and others, from various parts of the kingdom." The boy proved himself clever at his lessons, but under the influence of wayward classmates became an incorrigible prankster and took up illegal boxing. Twice he nearly drowned while skating on the thin winter ice of Edinburgh's North Loch. Ireland later wrote of this period of youthful shenanigans that his religion had "vanished like the morning cloud and the early dew."

Like many of his classmates, Jemmy Ireland was caught up in the martial spirit that pervaded Edinburgh during Britain's Seven Years' War with France. A close friend and schoolmate became a midshipman in the Navy, and Ireland longed for a like commission. His father agreed to send him on two coastal voyages to London to see how he fared at sea. Despite nearly sinking in a violent 32-hour hurricane on the second voyage, the young man remained undeterred and impenitent. "I never had possessed during the whole storm," he later recalled, "the least sense of the unpreparedness of my soul for eternity; and no thought of Heaven or

Hell, God or Devil, as far as I can recollect, ever entered into my mind."

Ireland's father further attempted, unsuccessfully, to dissuade his son from the life of a seaman by sending him on three whaling voyages to Greenland. On these North Atlantic trips, the boy's "antic, airy, and volatile spirit" made him a favorite of the officers and sailors. The phenomenon of the midnight sun and the excitement and danger of whales, polar bears, and icebergs served only to stimulate the lad. After a near fall to his death from the top masthead of the ship, the boy was "seized with an immediate panic" but confessed that he felt "no gratitude to my great preserver."

It was shortly after returning from this third whaling voyage that the young man emigrated to America. Ireland said that he left Britain because he got himself in trouble with the law through an unspecified "act of youthful indiscretion." At the end of his life, Ireland would describe his removal to America as "the most auspicious and fortunate epoch of my life . . . I was destined to exchange a land of tyranny and sanguinary oppression, for a country of liberty, reason, and humanity."

About 1766 James Ireland settled in Shenandoah County in northwestern Virginia, where the frontier families of that district engaged the cultured and educated lad as a teacher to their children. Though shocked at first at the backwardness and crudeness of life in the hinterland, the 18-year-old Ireland soon adjusted to his circumstances. The young Scotsman charmed his neighbors with his urbanity and conversational skills. Of spare but wiry frame, he dazzled the ladies by mounting a table top to "dance a hornpipe to the greatest perfection." In short, he became the most popular figure in his settlement as teacher, dancing master, poet of no little ability, and general hale-fellow-well-met.

Preparation. Western Virginia at the time appeared to Ireland mostly devoid of religious sentiment. He thus characterized some of the people among whom he lived:

The young men through the settlement in general, appeared to be destitute of every virtuous or moral qualification, and heads of tolerably numerous families were equally as wild and dissipated as the youth. When in companies together nothing was

heard, comparatively speaking, but obscene language, cursing and swearing, drinking and frolicking, horse racing and other vices, with the exception of a few characters or families in that settlement.

Though he maintained high standards of conduct and performance in his schoolhouse, the young master from Edinburgh saw himself as a hypocrite in leading a rather meaningless and dissolute life otherwise. He amused himself with dancing, "profane" books, jests, biting sarcasm, and barbed repartee. "I truly can say," wrote Ireland, "I was not only willing to be wicked, but studied to be so."

Ireland's sentiments evolved gradually, as he encountered several families and individuals whom he regarded as truly pious. There were scattered Quakers, Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Baptists in the Valley of Virginia at that time, and Ireland noted the toleration and charity with which the settlers of various nationalities and religious persuasions treated one another. This he contrasted to the intolerance he perceived in the older counties of eastern and central Virginia, where the Church of England was strongest.

During this period, no one had more influence on the young Scotsman than his friend Nicholas Fane, an older member of the Baptist Society on Smith's Creek, who, Ireland said "possessed what he professed." Fane's patience and persistence with the young man prevailed, and Ireland's slumbering religious nature awakened.

While walking one Sunday morning in 1769 to hear the famous Baptist itinerant John Pickett, Ireland had what he later recognized as his defining conversion experience. He described the moment as he descended a short declivity in the main county road:

When I arrived at the bottom . . . there seemed like a voice from heaven, that echoed into my soul these words—'O love! O light! O glory!' I lost all remembrance of being upon earth, and something appeared to me, although not in a distinct manner, as if I was present with the happy spirits above; how I got upon my knees I cannot tell, but when I came to the exercise of my rational powers, I found myself upon them.

Ireland arrived at the home of his Baptist friends that day only to find that the Reverend Pickett had not arrived as expected. By noon a large congregation had assembled,

and it was determined that someone needed to rise and say some words of exhortation. The task fell to Ireland, who delivered that day his first address in a Baptist meeting house. His text was taken from John 3:3: "Verily verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

Soon after this, Ireland learned of a proposed meeting of the Sandy Creek Association of Separate Baptists in North Carolina and decided to ride the 150 miles in hopes of being baptized there. Such was the press of other business, however, that the Association only had time to ordain Colonel Samuel Harris, former Burgess turned Baptist from Pittsylvania County. Upon returning to Virginia, Harris summoned Ireland to his meeting house in Fauquier. There Harris baptized and ordained the 21-year-old Ireland, who now officially began a ministry that would continue for some thirty-seven years.

Prison and Williamsburg. The new Reverend Ireland's troubles began in November of 1769, on a trip to Fauquier County, where he and Samuel Harris helped John Pickett constitute on Carter's Run the first Separate Baptist church in northern Virginia. Ireland had been invited to preach on his way home at the residence of Captain Thomas McClanahan in Culpeper, where as a layman he had previously had a serious altercation with the local Anglican parson, Mr. Meldrum. Upon his arrival at Captain McClanahan's, Ireland learned that the local magistrate planned to arrest him if he attempted to preach the next day.

"I sat down," wrote Ireland, "and counted the cost. Freedom or prison? It admitted of no dispute. Having ventured all upon Christ, I determined to suffer all for him."

The next day local magistrates yanked Ireland down from the table on which he stood to deliver his outdoor sermon, threatened the assembled Baptists with reprisals, and dragged the youthful preacher to the Culpeper jail. Around the little jail, which stood apart in the center of a field, there gathered a mob of angry citizens, who abused the prisoner verbally and pelted him with rocks and sticks. "A very uncomfortable night," Ireland commented later.

Ireland found the ramshackle, one-room jail already occupied by an illiterate, brutish fellow—a captured runaway of some sort—

who also happened to be a Roman Catholic. For a time Ireland feared that his cell-mate would make good his threats to murder him, but in the end the Baptist made of him a convert, friend, and bodyguard. Over the winter from November until April, the two men endured bitter cold and the overt cruelty of their jailer. Ireland's persecutors filled the jail with sulphurous smoke, exploded gunpowder under it, and even poisoned him. Men on horseback rode down the followers who gathered outside his window. Some "made their water" in his face as he preached through the grate.

All the while, the Culpeper Baptists continued to pay the jailer's fees to visit their imprisoned minister and kept him supplied with food and firewood as best they could. Despite illness and periods of despondency, Ireland achieved such a sense of spiritual peace that he could head his correspondence from prison: "From my Palace in Culpeper."

Ireland's trial in Culpeper was set for the May court term of 1770. In April, after six months of imprisonment, Ireland and his advisors concluded that no further purpose would be served by his continuing in jail until the trial. Baptist elder Elijah Craig co-signed for the bond, and the preacher was released. Ireland decided to use the few weeks before his trial date to travel to Williamsburg to petition the General Court for permission to build a Baptist meeting house in Culpeper. His decision in this regard seems to have stood in marked contrast to the Separate Baptists' usual adamant refusal to submit to the civil authority's provisions for licensing dissenters.

Ireland arrived in Williamsburg with a petition signed by leading men of both Culpeper and Frederick counties. Governor Botetourt, with whom Ireland was favorably impressed, received the preacher graciously and instructed him in the procedure for obtaining his license. The greatest obstacle lay in finding a Church of England minister in the capital who would administer the required doctrinal examination. Ireland finally located a country parson, eight miles from Williamsburg, who granted him an interview and the requisite certificate of orthodoxy. The General Court then issued the license as a matter of course.

At his appearance for trial before a hostile court in Culpeper in May, Ireland in-

stantly threw the court into consternation by producing his license signed by the Virginia governor. He hired a lawyer who informed the magistrates that they were imperiling themselves by attempting to prosecute a man under laws that the Act of Toleration had repealed seventy years before. In the end, the presiding justice picked up his hat and left the courtroom. The remaining magistrates followed, one by one, until the bench was empty.

In the months following his imprisonment, Ireland embarked on an itinerant ministry that carried him east almost to the Chesapeake and west to the Ohio River. In 1771 he married Frances Burgess of Fauquier and began a family, focusing his ministry on a smaller area of western Virginia. Ireland, like virtually all Baptist ministers of the period, supported American independence. He even wrote patriotic poetry. After the Revolution, in 1783, he anticipated the future union of Virginia Baptists by joining his two Separate Baptist congregations with the Kectocon Association of Regular Baptists.

Poison. After the death of his first wife in 1790, Ireland moved to Frederick County where he married Ann Pollard. It was here, in 1792, that Ireland and his whole family fell victim to a murderous scheme. A live-in cook, Betsy Southerlin, and a slave woman, Sucky, would later confess that a hostile neighbor had persuaded them to poison the Irelands. Southerlin acquired a quantity of arsenic from an apothecary in Winchester, large doses of which she and Sucky administered to the whole household in their breakfast beverages. The victims became violently ill, but continued to imbibe the poison for two days before a doctor determined the cause of the malady. The diagnosis came too late for 3-year-old William Ireland, who expired in his step-mother's lap.

The other members of the family gradually recovered from the effects of the poison. The two perpetrators, Betsy and Sucky, were tried and acquitted, despite their full confessions. After the trial, Ireland tried to sell Sucky, but there were no takers. He had little recourse but to lock her in the attic of his house, where in time the slave's own sense of guilt and remorse seem to have transformed her.

James Ireland lived another fourteen years after the poisoning, though he suffered permanent damage to his health. The once sprightly dancer over time came to weigh nearly

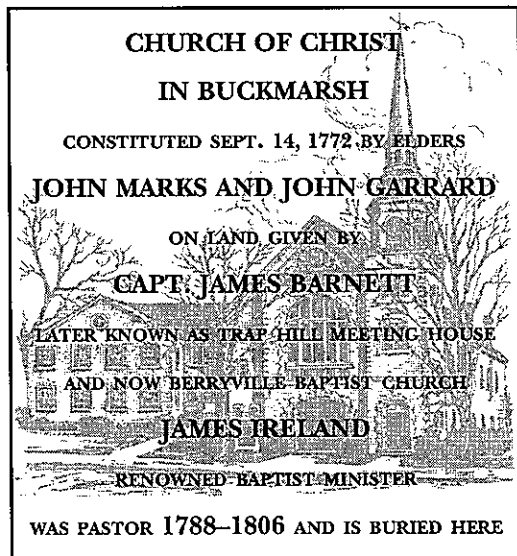
300 pounds, and rheumatism so affected his joints that he could no longer mount a horse. He then continued his ministry from church to church by means of a carriage.

Ireland had become pastor at Buck Marsh in 1788 and served this church as well as two congregations at Waterlick and Happy Creek for the rest of his life. He preached his last sermon at Buck Marsh in January 1806. His carriage overturned on the trip home that Sunday, and he received injuries that contributed to his death four months later. Confined to bed and awaiting his end, the 58-year-old Ireland embarked upon the dictation of his remarkable life's journey.

James Ireland died on May 5, 1806. His passing was noted in the *Winchester Virginia Gazette* on June 17. The newspaper reported:

On Sunday the first instant, a suitable and affecting discourse, was delivered at Buck's Marsh meeting house, the place of his interment, to a numerous and weeping audience, by Elder William Mason, from 2d Timothy, 4th chap. 7th and 8th verses—"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course &c."

Today, James Ireland's flame is kept alive by the Virginia Baptist Historical Society in Richmond, which preserves the key to the old Culpeper jail and has erected a monument to Ireland at Berryville Baptist Church, near Winchester. The Berryville Baptists, who are descendants of Ireland's flock at Buck Marsh, have likewise marked the nearby site of their original meeting house with a plaque that reads:



Line drawing by permission of
Berryville Baptist Church.



Stephen Moore portrays Ireland.

Photo by Chris Geist

Salt and Culpeper: Sweating it Out with James Ireland

by Robert F. Doares, Jr.

Spending ten sweltering hours a week in Colonial Williamsburg's Public Gaol this summer did not faze character interpreter Stephen Moore, who portrays Baptist itinerant preacher James Ireland for the 1998 Freeing Religion story line.

"The gaol is the best of all possible venues for this character," says real-life Stephen. "Besides, I'm from West Texas; heat doesn't bother me."

And seeing is certainly believing when you visit James Ireland in his close cell on a sizzling Sunday afternoon: Moore sweats with aplomb. What astonishes is the willingness of visitors to endure with him. They stay and listen, even on the most brutal of days.

Guests are surprised to encounter a minister in the grimy pokey on Nicholson Street. Nothing about his appearance readily identifies the prisoner as a preacher, since Baptist divines rejected the black habit and falling bands of Virginia's Anglican clergy. Instead, Ireland wears a brown or blue jacket

and breeches with a yellow waistcoat. He does carry an unadorned Bible.

The questions come tentatively, unfocused at first. "Is that the potty?" "How does it work?" "Who are you supposed to be?" "Do you sleep on the floor?" "Doesn't this place have fleas?"

Moore navigates the unseemly and the extraneous, then lands some substantive queries. "How long are you going to be in jail?" "Wouldn't you rather have a church of your own than to travel all the time?" "Why do you have to have a license to preach?" "Well, Mr. Ireland, if the government will give you a license, why don't you just get on with it?"

This last one is Moore's favorite. He always strives to bring a group around to this line of questioning. His responses encompass the key issues of this interpretation: the legal restrictions against itinerants and the licensing of Virginia's dissenting ministers. Undergirding the treatment of these points are references to scripture and to John Locke's concept of freedom of conscience that Moore regards as so central to phenomenon of the Revolution.

Moore's James Ireland does not preach a great deal. He rather focuses his interpretive encounters on discussion of the political situation in which Virginia Baptists found themselves on the eve of the Revolution. Many Baptists came to regard the survival of their religious movement as tied to America's bid for independence and the disestablish-

America, exult in God,
With joyful acclamation
Who has thro' scenes of war and blood,
Display'd to thee salvation.
When armed hosts
With warlike boasts,
Did threaten thy destruction,
And cross'd the main,
With martial train,
To compass thy subjection.
Thy sole resource was God alone,
Who hear'd thy cries before his throne,
Beheld with hate their schemes of blood,
Impending o'er thee like a flood,
And made them know it was in vain,
To make thee longer drag the chain,
That thou should be
A nation free
From their unjust oppression.

—The Reverend James Ireland

ment of the Church of England in Virginia. Thus Ireland and his brethren were to a considerable degree, of necessity, political creatures as well as men of God. President Washington would later acknowledge that Baptists, as a group, had been among the most ardent supporters of the Revolution.

The gaol is not the only place visitors will find James Ireland. On Wednesdays (Lady Dunmore's Arrival), he is footloose in the Historic Area before he gets chased off the Printing Office property and arrested for preaching without a license. Ireland then spends the two days of The Gathering Storm (Thursdays and Sundays) in protective custody at the Public Gaol.

The Ireland character is not included in

programming for *The Sword is Drawn*. He reappears, unfettered, for *Virginia Declares Independence* (Tuesdays and Saturdays) at the Capitol. Here he supports a petition that the Convention allow dissenting ministers to serve as military chaplains. Some of Ireland's closest Baptist associates presented and lobbied successfully for such a proposal in 1775.

With a new 1769 headline event planned for next year, perhaps Ireland will even get a chance to meet Lord Botetourt again, as he did in real life when he came to Williamsburg to get the Governor's permission to build a meeting house in the county of Culpeper.

In the meantime, we'll soon get to see how West Texans fare in cold weather. ■

"God said, Let Newton Be! and all was Light."

—Alexander Pope

by Karen McPherson

Karen, a summer intern for Religious Studies and Programs, is completing a Master's degree in Early American History at George Mason University. A graduate in economics from the College of William and Mary, she also earned an M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from The Catholic University of America. Karen has recently relocated to Williamsburg and this fall is teaching at Woodside High School in Newport News.

It is common to think of the eighteenth-century philosophical movement called the Enlightenment in the context of religion, although observers frequently disagree on the connection between the two. Some scholars stress the challenge to organized religion raised by the rationalism of the Enlightenment, while others emphasize the support to true religion engendered by the Enlightenment's emphasis on the individual.

The roots of the Enlightenment can be traced to two developments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the emergence of modern science and the development of divisions within Christianity. We know that the possibilities inherent in the emerging world of science intrigued eighteenth-century thinkers. Thomas Jefferson, for example, illustrated his passion for science by display-

ing three portraits on the walls of his home at Monticello and the office he used as Secretary of State: Sir Francis Bacon, who is credited with developing the scientific method; Sir Isaac Newton, whose theories of physics revolutionized people's understanding of the cosmos; and John Locke, who sought to apply to human society the concepts of balance and order underpinning Newtonian physics.

At the same time the scientific revolution spurred people's imaginations, the Roman Catholic Church—a source of support and legitimacy for most European governments—began fragmenting. Church corruption and Church politics generated increasing criticism in the early sixteenth century from, among others, Martin Luther in Germany, John Calvin in Geneva, and Henry VIII in England, all of whom eventually separated from the Catholic Church. Because the Church was important politically throughout Europe, challenges to the authority of the Church played out during the Protestant Reformation as challenges to secular authority. As a result, the seventeenth century saw a series of Wars of Religion that both impoverished and exhausted nation after nation.

The emergence of the techniques of modern science gave people new ways of analyzing their world at the same time that the fracturing of the religious verities sent them on a search for something firm to believe in. Modern scientific method seemed to prom-



Isaac Newton by Sir G. Kneller.
Colonial Williamsburg collection.

ise definitive answers to the enduring questions about being and purpose that had occupied philosophers since the Greeks. Just as Newton had identified seemingly immutable laws (until Einstein got his hands on them) about the mechanics of the universe, so philosophers hoped to use the same scientific approach to identify immutable laws of human behavior.

By the end of the chaotic seventeenth century, Europeans were beginning to realize the futility of government attempts either to prescribe or proscribe religious belief and practice. The new science suggested that God's creation, more orderly and wonderful than anyone had previously perceived, could be better understood through the power of human reason than through government fiat. People could finally know how they should act toward one another and how rulers should behave, without having to rely on government imposition of the often contradictory dictates of religion. Because religion involves matters of faith rather than of evidence, the sectarian

violence of the seventeenth century had not really resolved anything.

How does this affect what the visitor encounters in Colonial Williamsburg? First of all, historians of the Enlightenment emphasize that enlightenment is a process, not a product. In the eighteenth century educated people in Western Europe and the Americas were obsessed with questions about such things as human nature (and nature in general), God, ethics, purpose, knowledge, aesthetics, and power. It would be surprising if Williamsburg, the capital of the richest and largest of the English mainland colonies in North America, was not affected by the ideas percolating throughout the Western world. Despite regional and national variations, the Enlightenment focused on individualism, reason, and order, characteristics that are identifiable throughout Williamsburg. Bruton Parish Church, the Courthouse, the Governor's Palace, the Capitol, and the College provided arenas in which enlightened ideas about individual rights regarding religion, justice, government, and education were tried out.

My extended assignment was to support site-specific talking points that will enable interpreters to refer to elements of the Enlightenment in their presentations. The rest of this article, however, will focus on the relationship between religion and the Enlightenment, appropriate for discussion in many places in the Historic Area.

Religion and the Enlightenment. Enlightenment thinkers valued the individual, whom they believed to be endowed with natural rights simply by virtue of being human. This led them to demand individual autonomy in the areas of religion and education and to value equality among individuals encountering the political or judicial system. This section expands on the first of these ideas, generally referred to as freedom of religion.

It was commonplace a generation ago for historians to describe the eighteenth century in secular terms and to conclude that the emergence of enlightened rationalism signaled the end for religion. That some of the leaders of the revolutionary era, including Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and George Wythe, were commonly (although perhaps inaccurately) described as "Deists," reinforced this historiographic ap-

proach. However, as is so often the case with history, reliance on elite sources was misleading. Recent, more broad-based scholarship supports the opposite conclusion: that religion, rather than waning during the eighteenth century, was waxing, and that the two Great Awakenings, of the 1740s and the early nineteenth century, characterized religion in early America more accurately than the purported rationalism of the Enlightenment did.

Not only did historians misunderstand the role of religion in the colonies—they frequently misunderstood the Enlightenment as well. The Enlightenment gets its anti-religious reputation from a number of sources. First, there is the simple issue of nomenclature. It is hard not to assume that a period frequently called the Age of Reason would question fundamentally unreasonable events including miracles and supernatural concepts such as the Virgin Birth, the Trinity, and the Resurrection. However, most of the leading thinkers of the Enlightenment (including Jefferson's triumvirate of Bacon, Newton, and Locke) never questioned the importance of Christianity to human society and lived out their lives as ardent Anglicans.

For many enlightened thinkers, the emergence of the rule of reason simply illustrated the greatness of God; God could create a universe that was so perfect that it did not need miracles to operate! (This is the point of view illustrated by the Alexander Pope epigram that provides the title for this piece.) For a rationalist like Jefferson, the miraculous tales told in Scripture were unnecessary to his belief system—although if they helped other people, he had no objection to them. This was the source of the religious toleration of the era; to paraphrase Jefferson, he did not care if someone held different beliefs than his, as it neither picked his pocket nor broke his leg.

Second, some variants of the Enlightenment were, in fact, threatening to religion. In France, for example, the Enlightenment took on a decidedly anti-clerical flavor. But although Voltaire and Rousseau were widely read in the colonies, their skepticism and even atheism had little impact. French radicalism was suspect throughout the century;



John Locke by Sir G. Kneller.
Colonial Williamsburg collection.

the Revolution in France in the 1790s was proof enough to Americans that the French example was not one they wanted to follow.

A strong argument can be made that the religious enthusiasm of the Great Awakening and the rationalism of people like Jefferson, rather than being at odds with each other, were both rooted in the Enlightenment's insistence on the power of individual reason. The passage of the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom in 1786 illustrates the common interest of these otherwise disparate groups. Evangelicals and rationalists opposed an established church. Rationalist Jefferson clearly hoped that most Americans would move with him as his beliefs slowly evolved into something akin to Unitarianism. The fact that Virginians joined evangelical sects in droves did not prevent these strange bedfellows from combining their efforts to guarantee religious freedom in Virginia. ■



COOK'S CORNER

by Laura Arnold

Laura is a member of the interpreter planning board and is a volunteer for this publication.

One of the frequently asked questions of our Foodways staff is "Where do you find the recipes you use?" Because Historic Foodways strives for authenticity in all aspects of their work—kitchen design, equipment, and methods of food preparation—the recipes or "receipts" as they were known in the eighteenth century come from primary documents such as surviving personal papers, diaries, and cookbooks. From the variety of cookbooks available, two published during the eighteenth century and one during the early nineteenth century are almost the equivalent of today's *Joy of Cooking*.

Seventeenth-century colonists coming to these shores no doubt brought family receipts as well as cookbooks available in England at that time. By mid-eighteenth century, the two most popular cookbooks were Eliza Smith's *The Compleat Housewife. Or Accomplished Gentlewoman's Companion* and *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* by Hannah Glasse. Smith's book is particularly significant because a 1742 edition was printed by William Hunter in Williamsburg, and the Foundation Library owns two copies of this rare work.

The frontispiece advertises "A collection of upwards of Six Hundred of the most approved Receipts" covering all aspects of food preparation, preservation, and presentation at the table. The book's suggestions for bills of fare for every month of the year are a fascinating glimpse not only into the seasonality of available ingredients, but also into how tastes have changed over the years. How many twentieth-century cooks want to make a dish of "Roasted Tongues and Udders" or one of "Teals and Larks"? Helpful advice provided by the author is contained in her "Directions for Marketing" and in over 300 receipts for home medicines, including a "Cure for Poison" and a "Cure for Rattlesnake Bite" attributed to Caesar, a slave.

However, the facsimile of the 16th edition, (Arlon House, Kings Langley, 1983) cautions against using any of the remedies or cures because "they could be dangerous and a threat to health."

Examination of the various editions of Hannah Glasse's *The Heart of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* shows that plagiarism was not a concern. Many of the receipts are word for word copies of those found in Eliza Smith's cookbook (who probably copied just as many of her receipts from someone else).

The facsimile of Glasse's 1st edition published in 1747, is organized for convenience. Chapters are arranged for specific uses such as "Of Puddings" or "Of soops and Broths." Like *The Compleat Housewife*, an index is provided, but the most helpful component is the book's "Glossary". Here the mystery of eighteenth-century cooking terms is revealed; particularly important to twentieth-century cooks is the section on "Measures." Although most ingredients are measured by weight rather than cups, today's cooks can't help but wonder how much is in a "gill" or a "spoonful" and how long is "cook until done"?

Later editions of Hannah Glasse contain many more receipts than the 1st edition, as well as menu suggestions and a list of available foods for each month. Mrs. Glasse was obviously a hands-on cook, and clues to her personal expertise are found in her descriptions of transforming ingredients into a dish worthy of a cook's pride. A facsimile of the 1st edition is available from Prospect Books, London, and a photographic reproduction of the 1796 edition is available from Archon Books, Hamden, CT.

The value in using *The Virginia Housewife* by Mary Randolph is twofold. First, her connections to the Custis, Lee, and Randolph families provide us with the knowledge of the kinds of food enjoyed by Virginia's gentry families. Second and more important, is the book's publication date—1824. By that time, Virginia cuisine had absorbed some of the culinary tradition of Native and African

Americans, and the bounteous ingredients found in the Tidewater region added variety to traditional English receipts.

Mary Randolph's reputation as the best cook in Virginia during the 1790s was due to her willingness to experiment with the new and unfamiliar ingredients that made her a creative, experienced cook. The hard work in the kitchen was performed by slaves, but even as Mrs. Randolph taught them to make the dishes she desired, she learned from them how to include cornmeal, garlic, pumpkins, and Creole seasonings in her cooking.

She did not reject English cooking techniques entirely, but like the new government under which she lived, she kept the best of the old traditions while perhaps unknowingly creating the beginnings of an American cuisine. A facsimile edition of the 1824 1st edition is available from the University of South Carolina Press, Columbia. ■

Information for this article was provided by Dennis Cotner and Wendy Howell of Historic Foodways, and from the examination and use of the cookbooks cited.

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE:
Feature Article



Warriors returning with a captive.
French copy of Iroquois pictograph, circa 1666.
Reprinted with permission of the Archives Nationales, Paris

Leading a Captive Home:
A Woodland Indian
Prisoner Halter, Its
Acquisition and Context

by Richard Guthrie

Rick is a longtime student of Eastern Woodland frontier culture. His interest concentrates on the study of Indian and white relations in the Ohio Valley and the southeastern interior prior to the American Revolution. He is presently engaged, along with Dr. R. S. Stephenson, in organizing an exhibit, "Crossroads of Empire." Hosted by Colonial Williamsburg, this exhibit will examine Indian, French, and English ambitions, accomodation, and warfare, within the Ohio Valley between 1740 and 1775.

Pennsylvania Gazette, 26 July 1753:
[Charleston, SC, 14 May] This day some Northern Indians, lately taken and brought to town by Capt. David Godin's Company of Militia, were examined before his Excellency in Council. . . . [They are] Savannahs or Schawanoes, and say they live on the Ohio River. . . . Several of them had rifled guns, and they were all well armed. A belt of black wampum, string for tying of slaves, a cross, and several bracelets of silver, were found in the bundle belonging to the head man, or Captain of the gang.

A Shawnee war party escorted into Charleston? An unlikely and unanticipated destination. More likely, the warriors' path pointed toward the upcountry Catawba towns or possibly other Piedmont or mountain Indian settlements. A number of these groups were

old enemies of the Shawnee, and the practice of raiding the Carolina interior offered many potential laurels for northern Indians. One ambition the warriors carried to the field, judging by the string for tying slaves, was to return to their homeland with prisoners.

His Excellency, South Carolina's royal governor James Glen, "examined" these Shawanoes (Shawnee) with considerable interest that spring of 1753. The atmosphere in the Carolina backcountry and the distant Ohio Valley, the home of the warriors, was heating up politically and militarily. The Shawnee in this instance were most probably pursuing their own affairs, but the constant fear of hidden intrigue was woven into Anglo-Indian politics. James Glen would have understood the presence of the prisoner ties in the Indian captain's bundle and how capturing and detaining this party might benefit his relations with the Catawba or other potential victims of these northern raiders. The governor's immediate concerns, however, were for the stability of the Carolina interior, which was threatened by French presence among the Alabamas to the west. Additionally, Glen's diplomacy and treatment of these Shawnee might well affect possible future alliances with tribes as far north as the Ohio.

Since the late-seventeenth century, the practice of northern Indians (Iroquois and their allies) raiding southern Virginia and the Carolinas had become regular, if not frequent. The response of the southeastern native groups, including Catawba, Cherokee, and Muscogee, was to foray north in return, and avenge their losses suffered from enemy invasions. This style of Indian warfare was incessant, generally seasonal, and seriously conducted. The fighting, however, could by no means be considered an all-out war; this was, rather, a bush war, a war of military insurgency. For a party of Carolina Catawbas to penetrate any of the Iroquoia (Six Nations confederacy) demonstrated their skill as warriors and enabled them also to reaffirm their identity and independence. As one Iroquois captain stated, this was "a way to exercise our young men." The necessity and willingness to perpetuate this long distance raiding was seemingly accepted, and even relished, by those Indian groups engaged in it. This sort of campaigning differed in both tactics and objectives com-

pared with the large scale-intertribal wars and the Anglo-European-Indian wars that characterized the eastern woodlands in the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries.

These raiding parties characteristically were small, usually six to ten men and seldom more than twenty. They were organized by individual war captains, with warriors who were drawn from single villages or factions within principal towns. The warriors often represented smaller factions within a tribe or town, a clan, or extended family, and sought booty, captives, scalps, experience, and fame.

The purpose of this article is not to explore the character of forest warfare North and South, but to focus on one element of native woodland warfare: captives. Certainly the practice of taking prisoners was not unique to Indians. All nations have some convention to remove and hold prisoners taken in a military action. Many native groups in the East, however, held to customs and motives quite different from Anglo-Europeans in regard to their captives' significance. The taking of prisoners was considered one of the great achievements in warring. Other more complex differences lay in how the captives were treated from the moment they were taken until their captors decided either to put them to death or adopt them into the tribe. Much was recorded about Indian captivity through period accounts and depositions of captured whites who later escaped or were released through treaty agreements. These accounts of adoption and incorporation into Indian society are, by their nature, more intimate than colonial diplomatic and commercial records of Indian and white interaction. However, as with most historical witnessing, caution must be used with regard to their accuracy and objectivity. The obstacles, of course, were cultural prejudice and simply the degree of understanding the captives gained while immersed in a foreign environment. Geographically, the stories are also unbalanced, as the majority of captive narratives describe encounters with northern Indians. We should also remember that the vast majority of captives—whether Indian, African, or white—never recorded their experiences.

It would be helpful at this point to discuss the thought and atmosphere that cloaked Indian and white interaction in the early to mid-eighteenth century. The intertribal con-

lict pervasive throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth century that affected the region from the Eastern to Central Great Lakes and south into the Ohio Valley was brutal in complexion. The effectiveness and devastation of these campaigns was driven by the fierce and ever building inter-tribal competition in the hide and fur trade. Geographical advantage and rivalry between Indian groups encouraged some to become middlemen in the trade. This role would better ensure Indian brokers steady access to European merchandise and military security—both major factors in sealing alliances or provoking war between European empires and other Indian powers. Subordinate or less influential native factions attempted to maintain some autonomy and avoid subjugation. Often this was achieved by the alliance of compatible Indian groups for mutual support and defense. In addition Colonial governments were certainly ingrained in the manipulation of forest politics to their own advantage, at least within the regions of their influence.

In addition to military encounters, the impact of European disease reached deep into the interior, affecting even those well removed from the theater of circulating black war belts (woven belts, usually of purple wampum, used to solicit support for an impending war). The cultural fracturing this produced was immense. The fabric and underpinnings of the societies affected were changed forever; symbols, hierarchy, economies, all emerged with a different countenance. Heavy loss of population promoted, more than ever, the demand within Indian communities, for captives to replace their dwindling ranks. The outcry from within the Iroquois Longhouse was especially thunderous. Paul LeJeune, a French missionary writing in the mid-seventeenth century, suggested that there were "more foreigners than natives of the country" residing in Iroquoia. Other observers of the mid-1660s believed that two thirds of some Iroquois communities were adoptees (Richter, p. 66). The Ohio Valley landscape would become repopulated by the close of the seventeenth century with remnant bands of refugees fleeing Iroquois raids or disease. Parallel upheavals were occurring in the South and the Illinois country to the west. Wars initiated or provoked through British and French trading interests in this region displaced many across the

Southeast, though not to the same extent as in the North. With English exploration and commercial interest expanding beyond the Carolinas into Alabama and Louisiana, disease followed on the heels of the white traveler and soldier.

By the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century, Woodland Indian culture had learned the fundamental rule of survival and sustainment: accommodation. The sharing or borrowing of customs and social practices among decimated or remnant populations was extensive. Some native groups disappeared as distinct societies. Those that remained were all diminished in some fashion; none went unaffected. The reconstruction of a village society from the fragments of broken or disrupted communities became the cultural fabric. Yet within the fabric of these amalgamated bands, there remained some notion of identity by tribal or band name. In this period, forest politicians, both Indian and white, continually struggled to distinguish just who it was they were speaking with and who in fact the Indians before them represented. Colonial negotiators learned a difficult lesson when they discovered that tribal affiliation had many layers, and that few actually had the authority to speak for their countrymen. Linguistics was only one of the barriers. The complexities of native protocol were in themselves a sobering baptism in forest politics. This was a world in flux, one that would reconstruct itself many times over by the dawn of the nineteenth century.

But the contact period wars and epidemics that washed across the Indian country were not the catalyst for the practice of taking prisoners. Certainly the practice predates European contact, although substantiating this in detail is difficult. However, during these years of war and accommodation, these captives took on a new significance for white and Indian cultures alike.

The world that Indian captives entered was characterized by unsteady convictions, but one that provided amazing cultural latitude by white standards, yet one comprised of definite rules and taboos. Some prisoners were put to death upon arrival at their captors' town. For some the end was sudden. Death for others was slow by torture and burning, intended to appease the community anguish for lost relatives of the captors. Still other captives were chosen for assimila-

tion, and "were adopted and incorporated [within the tribe] and served to make good their losses" (Richter, p. 66). The decision that determined who died and who was adopted into Indian society seemed at best arbitrary to most whites who witnessed the passage.

David Menzies, a surgeon attached to the expedition led by South Carolina's governor, William Henry Lyttelton, was captured by Cherokees in north Georgia in 1759. Arriving at his captors' town, he was told he would be introduced to the "chief's mother." He recalled that: "I was overjoyed, as knowing that I thereby had a chance not only of being secured from death and torture, but even of good usage and caresses. I perceived however that I had over-rated much my matter of consolation as soon as I was introduced to this mother of heroes." Rather than the reprieve and possible adoption Menzies had hoped for, the Cherokee woman "fixed first her blood-shot haggard eyes upon me, then riveting them to the ground, gargled through her throat my rejection and destruction." Through providence and his drunken tormentors' distraction, Menzies escaped. In this and many other accounts, there seems to be no rationale to white perceptions of what guided native behavior or turned a decision. Henry Timberlake's journal relates this starkly, saying "they can, with the wave of a swan's wing, deliver a wretch condemned by the council and already tied to the stake" (Hatley, p. 57).

The method of adoption was quite varied, ranging from an informal announcement to elaborate ceremonies and rituals. This served to ease the passage and erase cultural ties to the world the captive came from and to enter a new life washed clean. To the Indian mind this was a consummate transformation: the adoptee became one of their own, possessing, based on one's behavior, all the individual rights they themselves held so dear.

In the selection of captives, there was apparently no bias with respect to race, sex, or age. In contrast to David Menzies's near fatal baptism into the Indian world, many captives were treated kindly from the moment they were taken. As noted in the *South Carolina Gazette*, October 11, 1760: "Indians were very liberal of their provisions to the prisoners, gave them the best and told them they were not slaves." From the beginning many

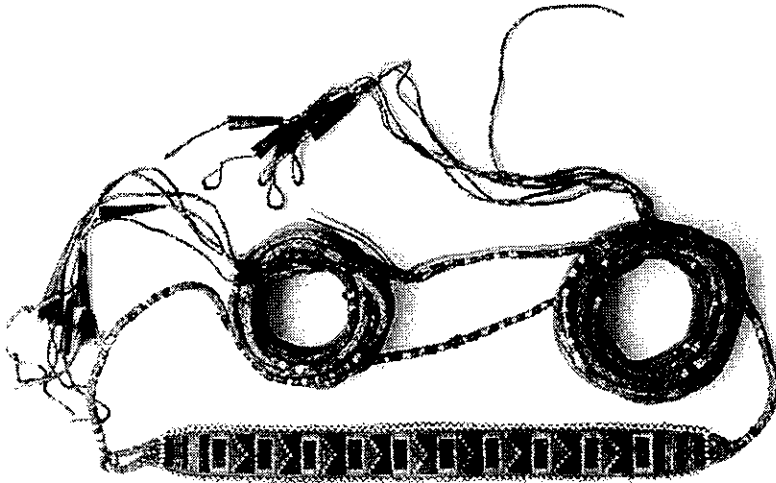
subtleties of Indian behavior and treatment of their captives were clearly meant to create a bond between prisoner and captor.

Reverend David McClure left the following account in 1772:

There is an unknown charm in the Indian life, which surprizingly attaches white people; those especially who have been captivated in early life. Whether it is, that uncontroled liberty, which is found among savages,—or that freedom from all anxiety and care for futurity, which they appear to enjoy, or that love of ease, which is so agreeable to the indolence of human nature, or all these combined, the fact is established by numerous instances of english & french captives, who have resisted the most affectionate and inviting allurements to draw them, and chose to spend their days among their adopted Indian friends.

Seven-year-old Eunice Williams and her father, the Reverend John Williams, were among the captives carried away from Deerfield, Massachusetts, the morning of February 29, 1704. The raiding expedition of French soldiers and Caughnawaga Mohawks on returning to New France absorbed the captives in various ways. Reverend Williams "was ransomed from Quebec after years of negotiations," but his "daughter elected to remain," and married a Caughnawaga man named Amrusus (New England Begins, p. 71). Her choice to remain was unique only in that she had it to make several times. Repeated efforts to persuade Eunice to return to her home, to return to salvation, resulted in repeated refusals. This response "shocked the Puritans of the River Valley and became a psychological burden they never overcame" (New England Begins, p. 71).

The experience of adoption and potential acculturation may have offered a refuge to some. Many captives expressed, with behavior if not words, rejection of their parent society. Writing for the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1765, Henry Timberlake described a woman who, with others, was taken hostage in the Cherokee raids of 1759. By the time the postwar exchange of prisoners was arranged, she had "become so habituated to the Indian manners" that she refused to return and live as before. Timberlake continues with an account of another "woman whose husband had been murdered and who after-



Prisoner Halter, Kanien'kehaka Mohawk of Kahnawake, Quebec, Canada, ca. 1746
Courtesy Memorial Hall Museum

ward married his murderer. The Indian, though reluctant, was disposed to comply with the terms of the treaty, but she absolutely refused to return with the treaty . . . [to] her countrymen" (Hatley, p. 149).

As troublesome as this second woman's choice may appear to us, by being unfaithful to the memory of her first marriage, she was expressing the full measure of autonomy that characterized much of Indian society. The individual freedoms and choices open to them may well have been one reason why those whites who embraced Indian society did so wholeheartedly.

Those who stayed despite attempted redemption by their blood relatives or countrymen troubled white society. On one level, colonial society worried about the religious salvation of the lost ones, considering them seduced by a pagan world. Anglo-American society remained troubled by a captive's choice to remain with the Indians, viewing this as a rejection of white convictions and behavior. In addition there was the fear that those in captivity would reveal political, military, or moral weaknesses within the colonies.

In contrast to the wide range of adoption practices and protocols, one custom seems to have been common to many prisoners' initial capture and return march: a cord or tie was used to bind the captive around the neck and arms. The cord was intended in most instances for restraint, but its use also extended to the ceremonial aspects of Indian captivity. John Fitch, taken on the Ohio River in 1782, left this account:

After this [the capture] was done we was

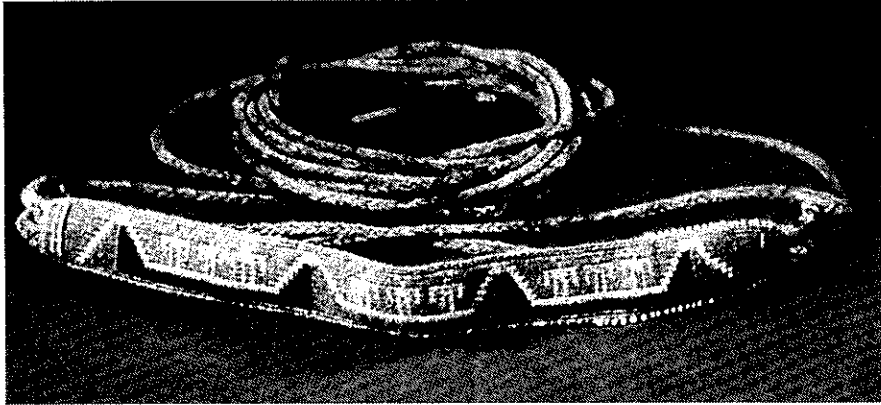
all tied I think as a Badge of Captivity rather than for use . . . I with a piece of Bark not thicker than a Goose quill which I could [have] readily snapped with one figure and our arms nearly as much at liberty as if not tied at all. We marched on till sun about an hour high when we came to camp where we all of us ate hearty and sat very friendly about the camp till Bed time. As soon as they thought it was time to lie down we was all of us pionioned fast with good cords they brought from the boats.

These "good cords," those intended to bind prisoners for actual restraint, were fashioned in several styles and materials and methods of decoration. The examples contained in the Shawnee war bundle examined by James Glen were of spun and plaited buffalo hair. Although rare today, examples of this type do survive. They are plaited into cords fifteen to twenty feet in length and generally decorated with wraps of dyed hair or porcupine quills and tassels of metal cones.

Another halter style woven of vegetable fiber (Dogbane) incorporates a collar: a center band, about a foot long and twine-woven, tapering at both ends to long braided cords like the collarless examples.

In "Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians, Alanson Skinner includes this description:

When the warriors returned from a raid, their captives were bound with prisoner ties which are found in many bundles . . . These are called t' súpap when made of plaited Indian hemp, and when made of



The Colonial Williamsburg Prisoner Halter (1996-816)

leather thongs, *pisha'gûn*. They are often ornamented with porcupine quill tassels. The prisoner's arms were folded behind his back and tied fast with rope at the elbows, while another, usually light and ornamental, was placed around his neck to lead him by, his captor going in advance shaking a gourd rattle and singing. The method of tying captives and the hempen ties themselves strongly suggest Iroquois or other eastern influences. (Skinner, pp. 71-72).

The burden strap, slightly different in form, is thought by many to have been strictly used for carrying loads but, in fact, it may have seen mixed use as a prisoner halter. One example of this particular type was collected from the Mohawk delegation visiting London in 1710 and was "Described by Sir Hans Sloane, the one who preserved it, as 'for tying their prisoners'" (Handbook of North American Indians, p. 306). This type, usually called a burden strap, was described in great detail within the 1790 captivity narrative of Charles Johnston:

The *hoppas* is a strap, fourteen or fifteen feet long, by which the pack is secured to the back. It is about two and a half inches wide in the middle, and gradually narrows towards each end to the width of one inch, or three-fourths of an inch. A length of near two feet, in the middle, or broadest part, is very closely woven, and neatly ornamented with beads and porcupine's quills, stained of various colours, and tastefully wrought into fanciful forms. The *hoppas* is so tied to the pack, that this ornamented portion passes over the breast and upper part of the

arms, and is all that can be seen in front. It is curiously plaited by the hand, and is made from the bark of a wild plant closely resembling hemp, and quite as strong.

In the fall of 1996, Colonial Williamsburg's Department of Collections purchased a Northern Woodland prisoner halter. It is certainly the rarest of the types surviving; probably less than a half dozen eighteenth-century examples remain. It has a short collar in the center with a loop or buttonhole at one end and long rope-like strands extending from each end of the center band.

During the process of considering the halter for purchase, Dr. Ted Brassler, former curator of the Museum of Man, Ottawa, Canada, was commissioned to evaluate the halter's authenticity, significance, and date. For those interested in the halter's specifics, the following is from Dr. Brassler's report:

The strap is made of carefully prepared string and thread of vegetable fiber; the warp made of inner-bark fibers of elm or basswood; the weft of Indian hemp, most probably *Apocynum cannabinum*. The latter is sometimes referred to as milkweed, though it is actually a dogbane. Except for the outer ridges the surface of the strap is decorated with dyed and non-dyed moosehair in a brocading technique called 'false embroidery', in which the colored hair is wrapped around the weft element during the process of weaving. In addition to (now faded) red and black dyed hair also the natural off-white winter hair is utilized to create a repeating pattern of rectangular and triangular designs. The strap is edged with white trade beads in a technique called 'two-bead edging',

whereby the beads are placed in alternating positions, vertical and horizontal. The two cords are braided to form a square section, at intervals wrapped with red and yellow porcupine quills. They terminate into five looped strings with red-dyed hair tassels in tin cones at the ends.

No provenance for the Colonial Williamsburg halter is known; it is simply said to have come from an English collection. Therefore, Dr. Brassler's assessment of the object's origin was made by comparing it with four other extant examples, ranging in background from the Eastern Great Lakes to Illinois. Based on style, color, and design motifs, the halter is believed to have been made between the Central Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley between about 1740 and 1780, possibly by Iroquois or Algonquians. Artifact assessments of this sort may seem rather vague to those working with more mainstream types of Anglo-European material culture about which much more is known. Yet it should be understood that American Indian material culture was collected in the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century usually as curiosities, rather than as cultural documents. As a result, documentation of early ethnographic material from colonial America is vague at best, and origins as to tribal affiliations or region are very difficult to establish, let alone date accurately. Surviving labels on artifacts often read "Indian, North America." To complicate the effort further, fashion within Indian society was anything but static due to intertribal and inter-European contact and influences. Reconstructing this movement is very much a new field of scholarship. Due to the fragmentary nature of sources and collection histories, much of the reality of Woodland Indian material culture is irretrievable.

The prisoner halter acquired by Colonial

Williamsburg is not the first Woodland Indian object to be considered by Collections, although it is among the first of predominantly Native materials, design, and decoration. I had the privilege of presenting the halter to the curatorial staff, explaining its use and context, as well as arguing for its place and relevance to the Foundation's collections. I believe the discussion that ensued and the ultimate accession of the prisoner tie is a clear statement of our stretching and maturing as a museum; certainly it states Colonial Williamsburg's willingness to include the indigenous cultures beyond eighteenth-century Tidewater and Piedmont Virginia. To anchor this expanded social landscape in the museum's future interpretation will require a clearer understanding of the Indians' social environment and material culture, which attracted the eye and imagination of period travelers and collectors. Of course, this is the first and easiest step in re-examining a people who remain as distant and shadow-like players in our past.

The more encompassing challenge is to reconsider the Woodland Indians' place in our history, to include their cultures as more than simply scattered artifacts. As a nation, we have inherited an unsettled sense of Indian identity, especially concerning those parts of the indigenous population that so tenaciously have held to their native theologies. Furthermore, public attempts to comprehend Native American cultures have too often been flawed by a lack of patience and acceptance. The social distance we have maintained has left us with a certain uneasiness with respect to Indians, a feeling that is difficult to explain or resolve. To look deeply into this Indian world, a world which historically we chose to engage in selectively, will most certainly offer us a richer understanding of our character as Americans. ■

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BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE:

News from the Museums

by Jan Gilliam

Jan is associate curator for exhibits and toys in the Department of Collections and Museums.

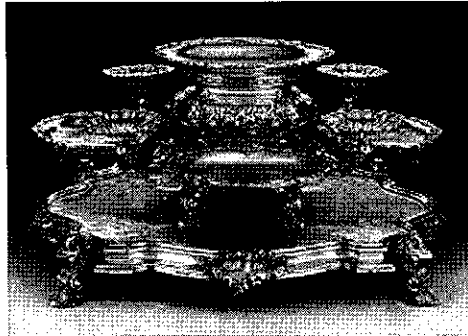
The last major exhibit change at the museums was this past November when we opened a series of exhibits highlighting the arts of the South at the Wallace Gallery. These exhibits, featuring furniture, portraits, needlework, and drawings, have been very popular. We opened two exhibits at the Folk Art Center in time for Christmas last year. Since then we have been planning and preparing for new exhibits.

Because visitation slows down just after Labor Day, it is a good time to close exhibits and install new ones. This year "TOYZ!," "Child in Fashion," and "Covered in Glory," closed at the AARFAC, and "Virginia Samplers" and "The Owl and the Pussycat" ended at the Wallace Gallery. These will be replaced in February and December respectively.

The first exhibit to open this fall at the Wallace Gallery is in a newly renovated space. A very generous donation in honor of silver collector Mary Jewitt Gaiser made it possible to reconfigure a portion of furniture storage into a gallery devoted to the display of silver. This new space allows us to exhibit several hundred silver objects in specially designed cases. The premier exhibit focuses on silver objects that have come to the Colonial Williamsburg collection from donors including Mary Jewitt Gaiser, John Hyman, Dr. Kirby, and others. An example of the wonderful pieces on display is the magnificent rare English silver epergne with its matching plateau that Mrs. Gaiser purchased in 1943. If Mrs. Gaiser had not bought the piece when she did, it might have been lost forever. The ship on which it was sup-

posed to have been sent to England was torpedoed at sea.

The Mary Jewitt Gaiser Silver Gallery is located off the area that used to exhibit "The Owl and the Pussycat." This exhibit has been replaced with "Miniature Masterpieces from the Hennage Collection." Many of you know Joe and June Hennage as friends and neighbors of Colonial Williamsburg. Portions of their wonderful collection of American antiques have been displayed at the Gallery before. "Miniature Masterpieces" highlights their collection of miniature furniture from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They are displayed amid creative backdrops that give visitors a sense of scale. These finely crafted pieces are not miniatures that furnish dollhouses but are slightly larger and made for children and their dolls to play with. Children will enjoy seeing pieces that they might have played with had they lived over two hundred years ago. Visitors who have been to the Historic Area will recognize many of the furniture forms represented in these scaled-down pieces.



English silver epergne donated by Mary Jewitt Gaiser.

Also at the Wallace Gallery, the textile gallery will reopen in December with "British

Embroidery: Curious Works from the 17th Century." This exhibit, guest curated by Kathleen Epstein, needlework expert and publisher of Kim Ivey's "Virginia Sampler" catalog, will feature more than 100 examples of seventeenth-century embroidery, lace, knitting, and needlework tools including boxes, cabinets, gloves, and purses, many on display for the first time. The exhibit text will explore needlework as a domestic activity, as a profession for men, and as the product of cottage industry. It will focus on how embroideries also reflected the makers' and owners'

religious, political, and social concerns. The seventeenth-century focus was chosen for this year's textile rotation to complement the celebration of the establishment of Williamsburg in 1699 and a comprehensive exhibit, "1699: When Virginia Was the Wild West," which will open at the Gallery on May 1, 1999. More about this exhibit will appear in later issues of the *interpreter*. The textile exhibit will close in September 1999.

At the Folk Art Center we will be getting ready for Christmas and a major exhibit opening in February. This year's Christmas exhibit is displayed in the 1957 building. The popular dollhouses and dolls from our permanent collection are on display. Additional cases displaying nineteenth- and early twentieth-century toys from our collection are in other rooms of the building. New this year will be the decorations on the annual AARFAC Christmas tree. The Society of Deco-

rative Painters, a national group of painters committed to their art, offered to create original ornaments based on the art of Edward Hicks. This group has decorated trees at the Smithsonian, the Library of Congress and, closer to home, the St. George Tucker house. At the beginning of February, just in time for Antiques Forum, the long-awaited exhibit, "The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks," will open with paintings from several institutions and private collectors. Look for more information in the next issue.

There are many exciting opportunities at the museums for our visitors as well as our staff. Please make a point of coming to see our new exhibits and revisit some old favorites. You'll find it is worth your time. Some of the exhibits will have special programming associated with them so watch the local papers and the CW News for listings of these events. ■

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE:

New at the Rock

by George H. Yetter

George is associate curator for architectural drawings and research collection. He is author of the book Williamsburg Before and After: The Rebirth of Virginia's Colonial Capital (Williamsburg, 1988).

Known familiarly among its sister institutions by this whimsical soubriquet, the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library has recently acquired the rare books and manuscripts listed below in its Special Collections section.

1. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493). Created for the public at large, this work, together with similar early world histories, translated classical Graeco-Roman historians and humanist scholars into vernacular languages. This unique example of incunabula, or book printed during the early years of movable type, is popularly called the "Nuremberg Chronicle" and contains woodcuts by the master artist to whom Albrecht Dürer was apprenticed.

2. Louis A. Starr Manuscript Collection. This

group includes ten legal documents—estate inventories and appraisements—from Westmoreland County, Virginia, that date between 1780 and 1784. Furniture, household items, tools, foodstuffs, livestock, and slaves are described and evaluated.

3. John Farmer's "Paybook" covering the years 1790–1805. Research shows that Farmer was the son of Lodwick Farmer and Sarah Cheatham of Lunenburg County, Virginia, and that he married Nancy Crymes in 1797. They later moved to Nelson County, Kentucky where his will was probated in 1809. Pages in the manuscript pay book are used going in both directions—a common practice at the time. One section concerns money or items paid out from July 1798 to April 1805, while the other portion documents items received from January 1790 through April 1805.

4. W.A.R. Goodwin, *Historical Sketch of Bruton Parish Church* (Petersburg: Franklin Press, 1903). This piece contains a 1906 autograph inscription, in his typically lacy script, from

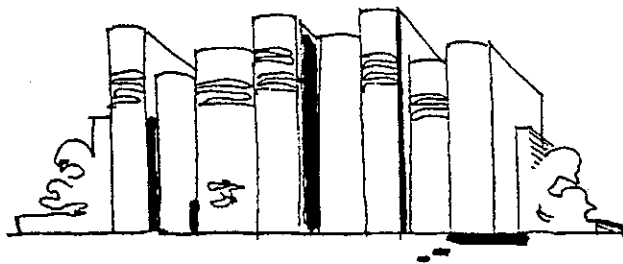
Dr. Goodwin to Mr. and Mrs. Percival Bisland, then owners of Carter's Grove.

5. Rutherford Goodwin, *Brief and True Report Concerning Williamsburg in Virginia* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1940). This is a presentation copy given to Commander H. F. Ransford at a dinner held at the Williamsburg Inn by officers and staff of the Foundation for the officers of Camp Peary on May 2, 1944. Similar books, inscribed by Singleton Moorehead and autographed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Kenneth Chorley, and other department heads of the period, were given to all the naval officers.

6. Page Laubach Warden Collection. The six items constituting this group relate to the Vandegrift family, as well as other Williamsburg personalities, and include: *William and Mary College Quarterly*, Vol. III (January, 1895); *Official Guide to the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition* (1907); *Blackwood's Magazine*, Vol.

CCXXII (September, 1927); *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Contemporary Portraits of Personages associated with the Colony and Commonwealth of Virginia* (1929); *Official Guidebook of the Yorktown Sesquicentennial Celebration* (1931); and *The Southern Literary Messenger* Vol. III, new series (November, 1941).

7. Dennis Montgomery Collection. This group comprises unedited versions of "A Link Among the Days: the Life and Times of the Reverend Doctor W.A.R. Goodwin, the Father of Colonial Williamsburg" and "W.A.R. Goodwin Chronology" (both items include disk versions). The first work is Montgomery's forthcoming Goodwin biography due for publication this fall. It is the first life history of one of Colonial Williamsburg's founders and includes much previously unpublished material from private collections still in family hands. The latter work provides pivotal dates and events in Goodwin's career juxtaposed with world happenings that give historical perspective.





EDITOR'S NOTES . . .



Historical Trivia: In Mark Noll's lead article on "Samuel Davies," it mentions (on page 4) that in 1758 the College of New Jersey (Princeton) had "recently lost presidents Aaron Burr and Jonathan Edwards by death" asking "Davies to become their head." Did you know that Jefferson's Vice President Aaron Burr (born in 1756) who later killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel was the grandson of Jonathan Edwards and the son of college president Aaron Burr?

Beginning October 9 a new department, Production Services, will be responsible for the typesetting and printing of this publica-

tion. The editorial staff would like to thank Deanne Bailey, our typesetter, for the excellent job she has done for us over the past three years. It has been a joy working with such a creative and accommodating colleague. Thanks, Deanne! You're the best! We'll miss you! We wish you success in your new position as editor of the *Visitor's Companion*.*

We would also like to thank Valda Anderson and the rest of the multilith staff for the great job they did in printing the *interpreter* over the last seventeen years. Thanks for a job well done!

In Memory of Barbara Beaman, the first editor of this publication, who died on June 23, 1998 in New Braunsfels, Texas.

Barbara was a friend and mentor to many of us at Colonial Williamsburg. She was a gifted artist, writer, interpreter, and teacher whose enthusiasm for any subject was infectious. As a friend at the Heritage Society of New Braunsfels wrote in a note to Barbara's family, "She was an amazing person. I'm sure she is already helping the angels organize some heavenly projects."

The Editorial Staff



**Many, many thanks to the editorial staff for a great three years. You've been a delight to work with and I'm really going to miss the interpreter. Will be seeing you!*

—Deanne

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