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JOHN MONTOUR: LIFE OF A CULTURAL GO-BETWEEN

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In the stories of Indian-white relations in the colonial era, the Indian headmen and the colonial governors are given a prominent role. And they were key figures. They were the players who signed the treaties, and they were the people who had to persuade their communities to abide by the agreements reached.

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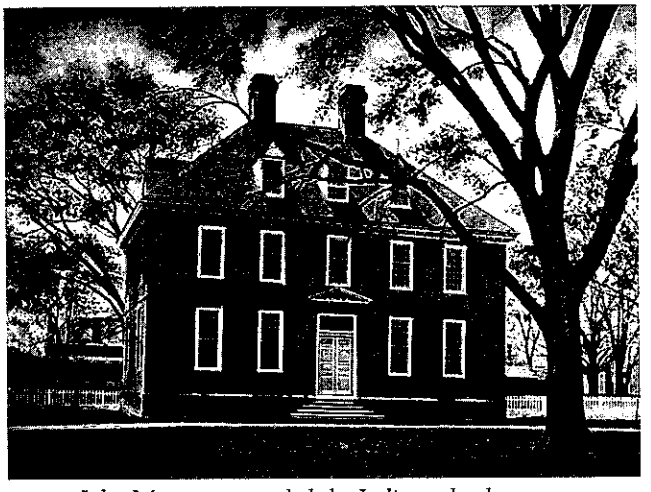
But in the shadows behind these chiefs and governors were other individuals who were equally essential to the success of the relationship between these two very different peoples. In eighteenth-century documents, they are called interpreters because they literally translated the speeches of each into the language of the other. But they did much more. They guided colonists to Indian villages and escorted Indian delegations to colonial capitals such as Williamsburg. They carried news from place to place. They would advise both sides of the cultural divide on what would be acceptable to the other. In other words, they were cultural go-betweens, brokers, mediators, and negotiators.[1]

In the best of times, the cultural go-between was a true bridge between the Indian and colonial worlds. But tension between the two mounted during the 1750s, 1760s, and 1770s. As attitudes of distrust and contempt hardened, the role of the cultural go-between who hoped to keep a foot in both camps grew problematic and perhaps, in the end, even impossible. This is the story of one such go-between. His name was John Montour.

He was born in 1744. His father was Andrew Montour, a well-known métis who had Iroquois and French ancestors. His mother was a Delaware, the granddaughter of Sassoonam.[2] Andrew Montour married twice and possibly three times. His was a large family. Late in the Revolutionary War, reports indicated that John was one of seven brothers or half-brothers.[3] The English names of two are known: Debby, who was schooled in Philadelphia, and Thomas, who was killed during the Revolution. John Montour also had at least two sisters. Kayodaghscroony, or Madelina, was living with the Delaware in 1756, and Polly was cared for in Philadelphia in the late 1750s and early 1760s.[4]

John Murray, earl of Dunmore *by Charles Harris. Courtesy of the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va.*

John's father, Andrew Montour, was one of the most important interpreters and negotiators in the Virginia and Pennsylvania backcountry in the 1750s and 1760s. Authorities in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia employed his services. In the 1750s, Andrew Montour believed it was possible for go-betweens such as himself to truly live in both the Indian and white worlds, and he hoped that his children could too.[5] To



John Montour attended the Indian school at William and Mary.

that end, Andrew Montour enrolled his ten-year-old son in the Brafferton School at the College of William and Mary in 1754 and 1755. John received further education in Philadelphia. As a result of his schooling, Montour could both read and write English and speak it correctly.[6] Undoubtedly, he could speak his native tongue, Delaware, and, because of his close dealings with the Wyandot and the Mingo during the Revolutionary War, he probably spoke those languages as well. Most important, after his many years living with Anglo-Americans, John Montour knew their ways well.

Montour had left Philadelphia by 1762 when his father announced he and John intended to open a trading store at Shamokin on the Susquehanna River. He traveled to western Pennsylvania with his father in 1770.[7] By the mid-1770s, John was living on an island, named Montour's Island, about five miles below the forks of the Ohio. John claimed the island by virtue of his father's claim to it.[8]

When war came to the upper Ohio country in 1774, the demands on cultural go-betweens grew in intensity. John Montour's life as a go-between during the war certainly demonstrates the complexities these individuals faced. Furthermore, his wartime career seemed full of contradictions. It started simply enough during Dunmore's War. After gathering his troops at Pittsburgh, Lord Dunmore set off down the Ohio in September 1774. The Shawnee had led Dunmore to believe they would meet him at the mouth of the Hochoching River. But when he arrived there, only White Eyes, a Delaware chief, and John Montour were waiting for him. They accompanied Dunmore during the resulting assault on the Shawnee.[9] John Montour next appeared at the Pittsburgh Treaty negotiations in the fall of 1775. On September 15, the negotiators learned that two men wearing hunting shirts had shot at White Mingo, one of the important chiefs in attendance. Because this was a serious and dangerous incident, Captain James Wood, John Walker, and two other American delegates were sent out to investigate. Simon Girty and John Montour accompanied them as interpreters.[10]

These activities were not unusual for go-betweens, and they point to Montour's early willingness to assist the colonists. But the situation was very different in July 1776. In the opening year of the war for independence, the Americans were very concerned that the Indians of the Ohio country remain neutral. To that end, William Wilson, an agent for Congress's Indian Commissioners, was dispatched in July to invite the Wyandot to the second Pittsburgh Treaty negotiations scheduled for the fall of 1776. White Eyes agreed to escort Wilson to the Wyandot village near Detroit. As they passed through Wingenund's town, John Montour joined them. They all continued on to Detroit, where British Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton confronted the travelers. He tore up the letter from Congress that Wilson was carrying and cut up the wampum belt Wilson was to give the Wyandot. Hamilton then insulted White Eyes and ordered him and Wilson to leave Detroit without delay. Montour was given no such order. He may have come to Detroit with White Eyes and Wilson, but he did not share their mission. As Hamilton reported, Montour "brought me a great Belt of friendship addressed to his Majesty by the Delaware Nation."[11]

The reason Montour delivered this belt is unclear. At the very least, he signaled his current acute resentment of the Americans. In early spring 1776, while Montour was away from home, Colonel William Crawford surveyed Montour's Island for John Marvie, Charles Syms, and Captain John Neville. This action alarmed the Delaware chiefs because they believed it was in clear violation of the 1768 Fort Stanwix treaty. Richard Butler, the American Indian agent at Fort Pitt, feared that when Montour found out what had happened, he would "paint it [the survey] to our disadvantage."[12] Delivering a belt to Hamilton certainly put Montour at odds with White Eyes. White Eyes, who favored neutrality, was the war chief of the Turtle clan and a powerful figure in the Delaware council at Coshocton. One did not want to earn

his displeasure foolishly. However, that Montour presented "a great Belt" indicated that he spoke for more than just himself. Wingenund, who later openly backed the British, may have sent Montour to inform Hamilton that he and many other Delaware, such as Captain Pipe, war chief of the Wolf clan, were not part of the pro-American faction.[13]

In any case, Montour remained in the northern Ohio area along the Sandusky River for the next year-and-a-half openly supporting the British.[14] Two events during that time make this clear. In the spring of 1777, a Daniel Sullivan, in the pay of Virginia, traveled to the Ohio country on an intelligence-gathering mission. By the end of April 1777, Sullivan had arrived at Detroit. While there he was recognized by a Mingo Indian who suspected he was an American spy. The Mingo reported his discovery to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton. At this point, Montour stepped forward and confirmed Sullivan's identity. Sullivan was immediately imprisoned and was soon sent to Quebec. Again, Montour's motive for backing the Mingo's charge is unclear. But it is worth noting that in 1763, young Sullivan had been captured by the Delaware, who adopted him and raised him for nine years. Moreover, Sullivan's cover story during his travels in the Ohio country was that he had moved back to his Delaware relatives at the start of the war. Montour's action against Sullivan may have stemmed from incidents in their common Delaware past.[15]

The second key event occurred in November 1777. In April of that year, Hamilton had received permission to openly urge the Ohio country Indians to attack the American frontier. The Mingoes, who had been raiding western settlements for more than a year, stepped up their attacks. Other groups, such as the Wyandot nation, were not yet willing to declare war. However, encouraged by Hamilton, individuals and small groups of Wyandot began to raid along the frontier on their own initiative. When the Moravian missionaries among the Delaware heard of such planned attacks, they readily passed that information on to the American military at Fort Pitt. On November 16, 1777, the Reverend David Zeisberger wrote General Edward Hand that on the eighth of that month, fourteen Wyandots and two white men passed through Coshocton on their way to raid Wheeling. Zeisberger also felt compelled to note that John Montour was "in their company."[16] Montour seemed solidly in the British camp.

But suddenly he was not. In late April 1778, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton informed Sir Guy Carleton that in late January of that year, John Montour helped three Virginia prisoners escape from Detroit. They were pursued and recaptured. Had they not been surprised, Montour and the prisoners might have succeeded. They were armed and prepared to defend themselves. The Virginians, "having made so bad a use of the indulgence shown them," were again placed in irons and were to be sent to Quebec. Montour was also confined. Hamilton released him after several weeks only because of the "earnest" solicitation of the Wyandot and Mingo chiefs that he do so.[17]

Why would Montour take such a risk? Even if he had succeeded and had not suffered imprisonment, he would have lost what trust Hamilton placed in him. Perhaps part of the answer can be found in the identity of one of the prisoners. The evidence strongly suggests that John Dodge, an American trader in the Sandusky villages, was one of the escapees. In his narrative of his capture and treatment, Dodge states he was captured on January 15, 1776. After several months of close confinement, he was allowed the liberty of the prison. He further states that on January 25, 1778, he and two other gentlemen had traveled out to visit some Sandusky-bound merchants camped about two leagues (five to ten miles) from Detroit. Although Dodge claims he was on his way back to Detroit, he and the two gentlemen were surrounded by thirty to forty soldiers, seized, and returned to the jail in Detroit. On May 1, 1778, he was shipped off to Quebec.[18]

Although Hamilton did not name the prisoners he claimed Montour helped, the timing of their escape (visit?), the number arrested, and their fate corresponds with what Dodge related. The connection is important because John Montour and John Dodge were friends. When, in January 1779, Montour learned that Dodge had finally escaped from the British, he reportedly jumped for joy, and declared, "My friend, Dodge is alive yet."[19] When Dodge and Montour had become friends is not known, but they had known each other long enough to have developed mutual acquaintances in Detroit.[20] For Montour, the obligations of friendship apparently outweighed the wrath of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton.

John Montour's imprisonment certainly soured him toward the British. In June 1778, Zeisberger wrote Colonel George Morgan, the American Indian agent at Pittsburgh, that John Montour had returned to the Delaware villages on the Muskingum River where he was doing much good. He now spoke in favor of the United

States. He especially spoke against Hamilton "everywhere."[21] Montour did not, however, stay near Coshocton. He returned to the Sandusky River Valley to live with the Wyandot.

The simplest explanation for his return to the Wyandot villages was that he hoped to keep open a line of communication between the Indians and the Americans. For example, General Lachlan McIntosh, General Hand's replacement, wanted to march against the British at Detroit in the fall of 1778. To do that, McIntosh would need Wyandot permission to cross their territory. In the spring of 1779, Montour was instrumental in getting the Wyandot to abandon the British for a while. Meanwhile, the Wyandot were very much at war with America. They assaulted Fort Donnally in western Virginia in May 1778 and later laid siege to Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas River in the winter of 1779.[22] Montour was again living with the enemy.

There may have been other reasons why he was living with them. For example, if his wife were a Wyandot, it would be natural for him to seek alliances with her relatives.[23] He may also have been fearful that his past support for the British made it too dangerous for him to live near Pittsburgh. His friend John Dodge wrote Montour in early January 1779 that his fears were groundless; if he returned to Pittsburgh the Americans would treat him "as a friend now." John Killbuck (Galalemend), the principal chief of the Delaware, told Montour the same thing. Montour may have believed there were other Delaware at Coshocton who wished he were somewhere else. White Eyes would have remembered his action at Detroit in 1776. In fact, it may have been that conduct that the Delaware chiefs deemed "foolish" and for which they said he was made an outcast from the Coshocton villages.[24]

There is a third possible reason for Montour to live with Wyandot on the Sandusky River: He may have been fulfilling a family or a clan obligation. If so, it began in February 1778. In that month, American General Hand set off on an expedition to destroy some British supplies stored at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, but an early thaw prevented him from reaching his goal. As the army was returning to Fort Pitt, it fell upon a Delaware village, Kuskusky, on Beaver Creek, where an old man, four women, and a young boy were killed. Relatives of Captain Pipe were among the dead. Although Captain Pipe refused to take revenge then, another Delaware did.

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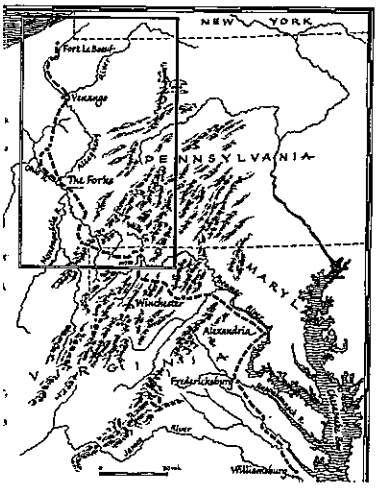
The Delaware chiefs told George Morgan that Ché Chéas, who was driven away from Kuskusky by General Hand, was a "foolish Fellow & for revenge went & joined the Wiandot." Furthermore they identified him as John Montour's brother. At a council held in Detroit in June 1778, a Captain James took up the war ax against Americans from Lieutenant Governor Hamilton for himself and for the sixty Delaware living in his village. George Morgan just assumed that John Montour had persuaded Ché Chéas and Pey,mau,coo,sect, Montour's half brother to join him, but it probably had been the other way round.[25]

For whatever reason Montour chose to live with the Wyandot, he was playing a dangerous game. It seems that he was forced to prove his commitment to the Wyandot by participating in their siege of Fort Laurens. In late January 1779, John Heckewelder informed Colonel John Gibson, the commander at Fort Laurens, that he had heard that when Montour received Dodge's letter telling him he would be welcome at Pittsburgh, Montour remarked that it arrived too late, for if he were to back out of what had been agreed to it would have cost him his life. Montour himself wrote that he could not have gone to Pittsburgh in the winter of 1779 because "the Mingoes were against me." In May 1779, well after the siege of Fort Laurens ended, the Delaware chiefs pointedly informed Colonel George Morgan that the fort had been besieged by 180 Indians, mainly Wyandot, Mingo, Muncee, and only four Delaware, whom they identified as the three Montour brothers and a nephew of Captain Pipe.[26]

The Wyandot called off the siege of Fort Laurens in March soon after news of George Rogers Clark's capture of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton reached the Muskingum River area. At home in their villages, the Wyandot began to assess their situation. The Americans had finally shown some military strength and the British were not the all-powerful protectors they professed to be. It was during these reconsiderations that Montour's long connection with the Wyandot began to bear fruit. In late March 1779, Montour accompanied the Wyandot to Detroit where he helped them deliver a message to the new British commander. The Wyandot told him that unless the British

provided them the strong assistance promised, they would not continue to fight the Americans. In early May, Montour carried letters and speeches as well as three peace belts from the Americans to the Wyandot. On May 28, 1779, he arrived at Coshocton with the news that the Wyandot were willing to make peace with the Americans. Montour's activities among the Wyandot had not gone unnoticed by the British. When he departed for Coshocton, soldiers were sent out to capture him, but gave up after tracking him for nine days without success.[27]

Although the Wyandot did not actually travel to Fort Pitt until September—a delay that called their sincerity into question—the new military commander at Fort Pitt, Colonel Daniel Brodhead, did not hold the delay against John Montour. In June he told John Heckewelder that he trusted Montour's "fidelity." Because of that trust, Brodhead began to use Montour more aggressively in the American cause. In late June 1779, Brodhead learned that tory Simon Girty and seven Mingoes had passed through Coshocton on their way to raid nearby Holiday Cove on the east side of the Ohio River. Brodhead dispatched a party of men under Captain Brady and John Montour to intercept Girty. Unfortunately for the Americans, Girty was able to elude his pursuers. Although the Wyandot had agreed to a nominal peace, the Mingoes had not. They and some Munsies (a group closely affiliated with the Delaware) continued their raids against the frontier settlers. To punish them, Colonel Brodhead decided to strike at the Mingo villages along the upper Allegheny River and recruited Montour to guide the September 1779 campaign.[28]



The Forks of the Ohio.

By 1780, the good effects of Clark's victory at Vincennes began to wear off. The inability of the Americans to adequately supply the Ohio country Indians strengthened the British position. There were, after all, trade goods at Detroit. Throughout 1780, the Wyandot began to renew their ties with the British. The situation among the Delaware was also growing tense. When Captain Pipe relocated his followers to the upper Sandusky region early in 1779, they provided the center around which the anti-American faction could form. During 1780, this growing faction was increasingly vocal. The Delaware who wished to stay neutral lost a strong proponent of peace when White Eyes died in the fall of 1779. Had the authorities at Fort Pitt not covered up the fact that he had been murdered, the neutralists would have been quickly undone. As it was, leadership of the peace faction fell to John Killbuck, chief of the Turtle clan. Although his position made him first among the chiefs, his authority was not strong. This was caused, in part, by the war, which increased the influence of the war chiefs. But Killbuck's continued reliance on the Americans also made him look weak because it was becoming obvious to Indians and whites alike just how weak the American forces were.[29]

Killbuck's loss of influence had begun in the spring of 1779 when, bowing to the hectoring of Colonel Brodhead, he agreed to allow individual Delaware to fight with the Americans against other Indians. Montour undoubtedly approved of the new policy because he took advantage of it. What Killbuck permitted, however, broke with a long, unwritten understanding that Ohio country Indians would not attack each other at the behest of the French, British, or Americans.[30] Many Delaware were uncomfortable with this new policy and their discontent festered. In December 1780, Killbuck and those still loyal to him on the council at Coshocton took an even more drastic step: They openly sided with the Americans and declared war on the Mingo. Montour, now very much on the side of Killbuck, was chosen to lead the attack, but he did not aim solely at the Mingo. On December 7, 1780, Colonel Brodhead wrote, "Captain Montour is now in pursuit of another party of Indians . . . supposed to be either Tory Delaware or Muncies."[31] Delaware were now fighting Delaware.

If Killbuck had hoped his declaration would silence his critics, he badly misjudged their reaction, which rapidly undercut what little authority he had left. His impotence can be seen in the Henry Bawbee affair.[32] In the fall of 1780, Bawbee, a Wyandot, arrived at Coshocton claiming to have valuable information he wanted to give to the Americans. Because of his long association with the Wyandot, Montour knew that Bawbee was no friend and was, in fact, a spy. After Montour unmasked him, Kill-

buck had Bawbee delivered to Colonel Brodhead at Fort Pitt. There he was jailed to await trial for espionage. But in January 1781, Bawbee escaped. He returned to Coshocton where he openly damned Killbuck and Montour with "the most horrid threats." Brodhead was irritated that Killbuck did not have Bawbee retaken and returned to Fort Pitt. But Heckewelder replied that Killbuck could not have laid hold of Bawbee; in fact, had he so much as touched Bawbee, Killbuck would have been killed. [33]

In January 1781, Killbuck was forced to step down as chief of the Turtle clan. His absence from the Coshocton council gave Captain Pipe the opportunity to persuade the Coshocton Delaware to join the British against the Americans. Word reached Fort Pitt by March 4 that the Delaware were at war and that three war parties were ready to move against western settlements. John Montour, the bearer of this information, told Brodhead that he had been pursued by eight warriors and just barely avoided capture. Montour remained at Fort Pitt, while Killbuck took refuge with the Moravians. [34]

Colonel Brodhead decided to go on the offensive immediately. On April 7, 1781, he set off from Fort Pitt with 150 continental soldiers. Montour and four other loyal Delaware went with them. At Wheeling, Brodhead was joined by 150 militiamen. With Montour as his pilot, Brodhead marched his army toward Coshocton, where he took the town with little difficulty, capturing fifteen Delaware warriors and upwards of twenty old men, women, and children. When the warriors could not prove their loyalty to America, Brodhead had them executed. The village of Coshocton was put to the torch.[35]

Upon learning that Brodhead had taken and burned Coshocton, Killbuck left the Moravians and joined the Americans. On the way, he encountered a group of Delaware returning from a raid. In the resulting skirmish, Killbuck killed one of the raiders and brought the scalp to Brodhead. Homeless and facing the certain knowledge that the warring Delaware would seek revenge, Montour had little choice but to join Killbuck and thirty loyal Delaware who sought asylum at Pittsburgh. For the time being, Montour had burned all his bridges to the Ohio country Indians.[36]

Montour, a captain since 1779, continued his military service after his return to Fort Pitt. His duties for the rest of 1781 and the winter of 1782 are not known. There was probably little for him to do. The continental forces at Fort Pitt were too weak to mount any full-scale campaigns; routine patrolling was probably the extent of his service. However, on April 13, 1782, Captain John Montour and five other soldiers addressed a petition to Brigadier General William Irvine that indicated they had been in a recent fight with the Indians during which several brother soldiers had been killed. They specifically requested permission to seek revenge on the "savages" who had caused them harm. General Irvine, unlike Fort Pitt's former commander, Colonel Brodhead, distrusted Montour because he had once been in the British service. In addition, Irvine found Montour far too cunning and went so far as to conclude it had been "very ill-judged to give such a fellow a commission." Rather than granting Montour permission to take revenge, Irvine, on April 16, ordered him to wait on the secretary of war in Philadelphia. Irvine recommended that Montour be sent to New York to serve with the Oneida. Irvine's principal worry was that Montour's superior knowledge of the upper Ohio country would make him extremely dangerous if he returned to the British. It would be safer if Montour were stationed in unfamiliar territory.[37]

Irvine had good reason to suspect that Montour would switch sides. On March 7, 1782, Pennsylvania militiamen murdered more than ninety Delaware Indians at the village of Gnadenhutten on the Tuscarawas River in the Ohio country. Eighty-eight were Moravians, and more than half of those were women and children. The Delaware were outraged. Even those who held little respect for Christianity, such as Captain Pipe, swore they would seek revenge. News of the massacre spread rapidly. There can be little doubt that Montour had heard what happened at Gnadenhutten by April 13, 1782. Furthermore, because of his earlier close association with the Moravian missionaries and their Delaware congregations, he too would have been angry with their killers.[38]

Irvine also had reason to suspect that Montour may have wanted revenge not against the "savages" as he requested but on the frontier settlers. Colonel David Williamson, who commanded the militia that killed the Moravian Delaware, had led an earlier expedition against the Moravian villages in the fall of 1781. When he arrived at them, he found that nearly all the Moravian Delaware had abandoned their towns. Williamson made prisoners of the few Indians who remained and jailed them at Fort Pitt. Because they had committed no crime, they were soon released. Frontier lore records that one family was killed soon after its release. The family was that of a "Mr. Montour," probably a kinsman of John.[39]

Irvine's fears were realized. Montour did not travel to Philadelphia as ordered. Instead, he went to the lower Sandusky villages where, on April 24, 1782, he gave the Moravians more details of the Gnadenhutten massacre. In November 1782, John Montour and his brother brought four scalps and three young female prisoners to the British at Fort Niagara. Montour's victims had lived in the Susquehanna River Valley northeast of the old Indian town of Shamokin. He stated that he had taken revenge upon Pennsylvania settlers because five of his brothers had been killed during the war. For the second time within a year Montour severed ties with a group with which he had earlier cast his lot.[40]

After 1782, John Montour's name dropped out of the public record. Indian agents and the military establishment in the 1780s make no mention of him. There is also no clear evidence of where he may have lived. He may have returned to Montour's Island, but the island was no longer his. In 1783, the Pennsylvania Assembly granted preemptive rights to the island to Brigadier General William Irvine. Furthermore, given the frontiersmen's deep hatred of all Indians, especially those who had killed white settlers, living close to Pittsburgh would have been extremely dangerous for a renegade like John Montour. He may have lived among the Miami Indians in the Indiana territory. The Piankashaw, a group affiliated with the Miami, invited Delaware Indians displaced by the Revolution to live on their land along the White River. Montour may have accepted their offer, or he may have sought refuge with relatives. His great-aunt had lived with the Miami early in the century, and, in 1785, a Piankashaw chief named Montour attended a council held at Louisville, Kentucky.

In any event, John Heckewelder provides closure on this period in Montour's life. On a trip to visit the old Moravian settlements on the Muskingum, Heckewelder learned that two people he had known well had died. One was a Pittsburgh printer, who had hanged himself. The other was John Montour, who had been murdered by some Mingoes while he was out hunting in the winter of 1788. It was not inevitable that Montour would die at the hands of Mingoes, but it is not surprising. John Montour had made enemies.[41]

What are we to make of the strange wartime career of John Montour? Pro-British, anti-American; pro-American, anti-British; friendly with the anti-American Wyandot and anti-American Delaware Wolf clan; loyal to the discredited John Killbuck; a captain in the American army; a vengeful raider on the Pennsylvania frontier. The nature of the Revolutionary War in the Ohio country provides some explanations. Very quickly prewar alliances among the Indians and between Indians and colonists collapsed. The war became what historian Richard White has labeled a contest between villages, both Indian and white.[42] Under the constant pressure to choose sides, even villages fragmented into competing factions. In this world of raids and counter raids and persistent apprehension, neutrality—the ability or desire to walk the middle course—was foreclosed.[43] Yet such a space was essential for a cultural go-between. As the war progressed, John Montour's room to maneuver between Indian and Americans disappeared.

In the chaos of war, where a wide range of options are eliminated, older core values assert themselves and influence how one acts in a confusing situation. Despite Andrew Montour's hope that his son would continue his dream and be at home in both the Indian and white worlds, it was not to be. John Montour remained at his cultural core an Indian. The telling point was when he sought permission to seek revenge. A soldier does not seek revenge, but a warrior does. Sensitivity to slights, reciprocal loyalty to friends, but most importantly, the demands imposed by kin and clan obligations, drove Montour's actions. In a way, it was fitting that he died engaged in a winter hunt. It was a tradition that had defined Delaware men for generations.

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[1] James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York, 1999), 19–41.

[2] *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1851–53), 7: 95 (Hereafter, *Pa. Col. Recs.*).

[3] Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge, 1995), 280.

[4] *Pennsylvania Archives*, 8th ser. (Philadelphia, 1852–), 7: 58, 53 (Hereafter, PA); Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier* (Kent, Ohio, 1991), 228; *Pa. Col. Recs.*, 7: 95; PA, 8th ser., 5: 48, 59–60, 7: 5853.

[5] Merrell, *Into the American Woods*, 75–77. In 1756, the reason given for sending Montour's children to Philadelphia was that they could "be independent of the mother." In Delaware society it was the mother's family who was responsible for raising the children. Removing the children from the mother clearly implies that Andrew Montour did not want his wife's Delaware brothers instructing his children. See *Pa. Col. Recs.*, 7: 95.

[6] Karen A. Stuart, "'So Good a Work': The Brafferton School, 1691–1777" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984), 85; James H. Merrell, "'The Cast of His Countenance': Reading Andrew Montour," in Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Frederika J. Teute, eds., *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1997), 38. On speaking, see "Monforton to Lernonet, 7 May 1779," *Illinois State Historical Library Collections*

(Springfield, Ill., n.d.), 1: 435 (Hereafter, *Ill. Hist. Colls.*); "John Montour to John Dodge, 28 May 1779" in Louise P. Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio, 1778–1779* (Madison, Wis., 1916), 346.

[7] Merrell, "'The Cast of His Countenance,'" 38.

[8] "Richard Butler to Col. James Wilson, April 9, 1776," in Peter Force, comp., *American Archives*, 4th ser. (Washington, D. C., 1837–53), 5: 817–818.

[9] Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *A Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (Madison, Wis., 1905), 302.

[10] Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775–1777* (Madison, Wis., 1908), 28.

[11] Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio: A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley until 1795* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1940), 192–193; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 202; "Hamilton to the Earl of Dartmouth, Sept. 2, 1776," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* 10: 269–270 (Hereafter, MPHC).

[12] "Butler to Wilson, April 9, 1776," in Force, comp., *American Archives*, 4th ser., 5: 817–818.

[13] For information about factionalism among the Delaware during the war, see Gregory E. Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore, 1992), 68–83; C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1972), 282–328.

[14] "David Zeisberger to Col. George Morgan, July 7, 1777" in Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777–1778* (Madison, Wis., 1912), 19.

[15] "Sullivan's Deposition, Fort Pitt, March 21, 1778," Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense*, 230–233.

[16] Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense*, 164.

[17] *Ibid.*, 280–281; Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 82.

[18] "A Narrative of the capture and treatment of JOHN DODGE, by the English, at Detroit," [J. Almon], *The Remembrancer; or Impartial Repository of Public Events For the Year 1779* ([London], 1779), 74, 79–80.

[19] "Narrative," *Remembrancer, . . . 1779*, 81; "John Heckewelder to Col. John Gibson," Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 222.

[20] "John Montour to John Dodge, Cooshackung, May 28, 1779," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 346.

[21] *Ibid.*, 82.

[22] Louise P. Kellogg, "Historical Introduction," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 16–17; "David Zeisberger to Col. George Morgan, June 9, 1778," *ibid.*, 82; "Col. George Morgan to John Jay, May 28, 1779," *ibid.*, 343.

[23] For mention of his wife, see "William Irvine to Maj. Gen. Lincoln, April 30, 1782," in C. W. Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence* (Madison, Wis., 1882), 168–169.

[24] *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, 1: 380; "Galalemend to John Montour, January 18, 1779," *ibid.*, 379; "Col. George Morgan to John Jay, May 28, 1779," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 343.

[25] Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 77; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991), 385; "Morgan to Jay, May 28, 1779," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 343; MPHC, 9: 442–452.

[26] Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 222; "John Montour to John Dodge, Cooshackung, May 28, 1779," *ibid.*, 346; "Morgan to Jay, May 28, 1779," *ibid.*, 343.

[27] Downes, *Council Fires*, 222–223, 238–240; MPHC, 10: 328; "Gulle Monforton to Mr. Belanger Larnoult, Huron Village, May 7, 1779," *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, 1: 435; "John Heckewelder to Col. Brodhead, Coochocking, May 28, 1779," PA, 1st ser, 7: 516–518.

[28] Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Advance*, 359; Consul Willshire Butterfield, *History of the Girtys* (1890; repr. Columbus, Ohio, 1950), 97–98; "The Recollections of Capt. Jesse Ellis," in Louise Phelps Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779–1781* (Madison, Wis., 1917), 58; "Daniel Brodhead to Timothy Pickering, Sept. 16, 19779," in Neville B. Craig, ed., *The Olden Time: A Monthly Publication Devoted to the Preservation of Documents . . .* (1848; repr. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1876), 2: 309–311.

[29] Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 36–39, 59–60; Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 312–314; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 78–83; Downes, *Council Fires*, 262–265.

[30] Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 78.

[31] Craig, *Olden Time*, 2: 378.

[32] It is possible that Henry Bawbee was the "son of the famous Bawbee," that Dr. Thomas Walker placed at the Brafferton School in November 1775. He was back in the Ohio country in 1779 where he spread unfavorable reports about Virginians; John Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware . . .* (1820; repr., New York, 1971), 206.

[33] "John Heckewelder to Col. Daniel Brodhead, February 26, 1781," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Retreat*, 337–338; "Brodhead to the Council at Cooshocking, Nov. 19, 1780," *ibid.*, 295; "Col. Brodhead to John Heckewelder, Jan. 21, 1781," *ibid.*, 321.

[34] Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Retreat*, 339, 343.

[35] "Col. Daniel Brodhead to Pres. Reed, May 22, 1781," PA, 1st ser., 9: 161–162; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 82–83.

[36] Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 314–315; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 82–83; "Brodhead to Reed, May 22, 1781," PA, 1st ser., 9: 161–162. "A few days after the return of Brodhead from Coshocton, eighty hostile Delaware came up the Tuscarawas in search of Captain Killbuck and his band, breathing destruction to all of them," C. W. Butterfield, "Narrative of Brodhead's Coshocton Expedition," in Kellogg, ed., *Frontier Retreat*, 380.

[37] Jack M. Sosin, *The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763–1783* (New York, 1967), 134–137; "To the most excellent James [William] Irvine, . . ." Butterfield, ed., *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, 169; "Irvine to Lincoln, Fort Pitt, April 30, 1782," *ibid.*, 168–169.

[38] Heckewelder, *Narrative*, 309–328.

[39] Alexander Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare: or, A History of the Settlement by Whites of Northwestern Virginia* (repr., 1895; new ed., 1970), 313, 318. If this was actually the family of John Montour, at least one child survived to visit the Moravians in the early nineteenth century. See "John Montour," in Carl John Fliegel, comp., *Index to the Records of the Moravian Mission among the Indians of North America*, vol. 1 (New Haven, Conn., 1970).

[40] Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 280, citing the Haldimand Papers, Addl. MSS, 21762:213. One of the captive women noted seeing a General Otter of Sunbury on the march with 200 militiamen. See also, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 28, 1782, for a report from Sunbury, Pennsylvania, of a raid that took four scalps and three prisoners on the northeast branch of the Susquehanna in late July 1782.

[41] Charles Hanna concludes that he did live on Montour's Island during the 1780s. Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York, 1911), 1: 246, 200; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 1, 1783; "William Clark to the Indian Commissioners, Oct. 5, 1785," Papers of the Continental Congress, M247, r69.156, p. 297; John Heckewelder, "A Short Account, . . ." in Paul A. W. Wallace, ed., *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1958), 220, 222. On the hatred of frontiersmen toward Indians, see White, *Middle Ground*, 387–396.

[42] White, *Middle Ground*.

[43] Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 30–32, 36–39.

The Burwells Move Their Slaves to the Southside

by Julie Richter

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When I read the description of the Ann Powell Burwell Commonplace Book in *The Guide to African-American Manuscripts at the Virginia Historical Society,* I knew I wanted to see the document. The entry in the guide reads, "Contains lists, 1746–1839, of slaves owned by Armistead Burwell and John Burwell, including ages or dates of birth. One list includes names of mothers." I hoped to find information in these lists about slaves who lived in eighteenth-century Williamsburg for my ongoing study of this community. What I found was a puzzle: More than one person wrote the lists in the small notebook, the authors did not always date their entries, and the lists were not in an order that made sense. I turned to a variety of documents (including court records, land and personal property tax lists, and the *Virginia Gazette*) and the jumbled contents of the commonplace book to analyze the information in these lists. The entries in the small notebook provide details that I used to identify several black families owned by three generations of the Burwell family. The appearance of slave families on more than one list helped me to sort the various records into chronological order and to follow the forced movement of Burwell slaves from the Tidewater to the Southside. In addition, the names on the lists enabled me to analyze the reasons the several authors decided to record details about the enslaved men, women, and children whom they owned.

* * * *

The seven lists of slaves recorded by four members of the Burwell family between 1746 and 1839 fill ten pages in the Ann Powell Burwell Commonplace Book. (See table below.) A Williamsburg merchant named Armistead Burwell authored two of the lists in 1746. The first was a record of "Negro's sent to Roanoke [torn]5 march 1746 & seated there." This inventory included the names of four men and an equal number of women. Perhaps "Roanoke" was the name of Burwell's 3,404-acre plantation on the south side of Finney Wood Creek in Mecklenburg County, land for which he received a patent on January 12, 1746/7.[1]

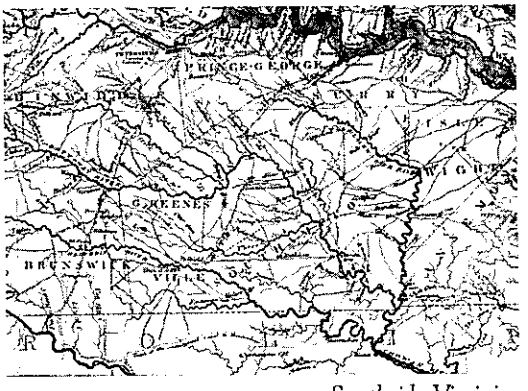
Order of Slave Lists as They Appear in the Commonplace Book

[p. 2, front]	slaves born between 12 February 1798 and 1820
[p. 2, back]	slaves born between 1819 and August 1839
[p. 17, front]	"List of John Burwell's Negro's"
[p. 17, back]	"[List] of my house Negro's in Wmsburg 14 July 1746 vizt"
[p. 18, front]	list of slaves with ages and slaves born between 5 September 1789 and 25 April 1797
[p. 18, back]	"Account of Negros given by B Powell & L Burwell to A Burwell & her Children 26 November 1789"
[p. 19, front]	"[List] [of] Negro's sent to Roanoke [torn]5 march 1746 & seated there"
[p. 19, back]	undated and untitled list of slaves
[p. 20, front]	undated list with slave names and appraised values
[p. 20, back]	"a List of Tithables"

Proposed Reordering of Slave Lists in the Commonplace Book

List 1	"[List] [of] Negro's sent to Roanoke [torn]5 march 1746 & seated there" [p. 19, front]
List 2	"[List] of my house Negro's in Wmsburg 14 July 1746 vizt" [p. 17, back]
List 3	undated, untitled, and torn [p. 19, back]
List 4	"a List of Tithables" [p. 20, back]
List 5	undated and untitled [probably "List of Lewis Burwell's Negro's"] [p. 20, front]
List 6	"List of John Burwell's Negro's" [p. 17, front]
Lists 7 to 10	"Account of Negros given by B Powell & L Burwell to A Burwell & her Children 26 November 1789" and list of slaves born between 28 October 1790 and August 1839 [p. 18, back; p. 18, front; p. 2, front; p. 2, back]

Source: Ann Powell Burwell Commonplace Book, Mss5:5B9585:1, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.



Southside Virginia.

Burwell moved enslaved men, women, and children from his plantations in King William County and King and Queen County in the Tidewater region to his new land south of the James River in the Piedmont section of the colony.[2] While the move to the Southside gave Burwell the chance to develop a plantation for his sons, it did not represent an opportunity for this merchant's enslaved men and women. Will, Jupiter, Andrew, Simon, Judy, Sarah, Nancy, and Moll were taken from their homes and forced to create new family and friendship ties in Mecklenburg County. Burwell made no mention of the connections that the move severed or if his enslaved laborers were able to stay in touch with family and friends in the Tidewater.[3]

Next, on July 14, 1746, Armistead Burwell listed the names of nine slaves—four women, two boys, and three children—who were his "house Negro's in Wmsburg."[4] The order in which Burwell noted his slaves makes it possible to determine some family relationships because he listed a young child after his or her mother. Sarah Hampton was the mother of Beck and Hampton. Sam was the son of Priscilla. The fact that Daniel and Jack do not appear after a woman's name suggests that they were about ten—old enough to be separated from their mothers and be put to work. It is possible that Daniel was the son of Sarah Hampton because she and her known children, Beck and Hampton, became the slaves of Lewis Burwell, Armistead's oldest son. Lewis Burwell also gained possession of Daniel. Jack might have been the son of Betty Evans—a Jack Evans and Betty Evans were among the slaves who descended to Armistead's younger son, John.

The list of bond laborers sent by Burwell to his new plantation and the record of his Williamsburg slaves provide a look at the number of enslaved men, women, and children that the second son in a prominent gentry family owned in his early adulthood. Burwell was twenty-eight years old and the father of an infant son when he wrote the two inventories in the little notebook. Perhaps the birth of his son Lewis in 1745 prompted Burwell to make plans for the land and laborers that his eldest son would inherit. The enslaved men and women sent to "Roanoke" developed the plantation that Lewis inherited. The Williamsburg merchant might have noted the names of his household slaves as he anticipated the birth of a second child in late 1746.

A fragment of a third list of enslaved men, women, and children written by Armistead Burwell survives; perhaps he noted the date of this inventory on the portion that has been lost. He made this record of thirty-seven individuals at some time between March 1746 and his death in February 1754. The five men, eight women, thirteen boys, and eleven girls lived on his Southside plantation. Extant tithe lists detail the increase in the number of Burwell's slaves in Mecklenburg County after he moved a portion of his labor force to this part of Virginia. In 1748, Burwell had seven tithes on his new plantation, an indication that one of the eight slaves moved to the Southside two years earlier had died. In 1750, the merchant's overseer, James Thompson, turned in a list of twelve tithes. Thompson reported the same number of tithable slaves at Burwell's quarter in 1751 and 1752. The count of tithable slaves in Mecklenburg grew from twelve in 1752 to thirty-five in 1764. There were three overseers on the 3,003 acres of land in St. James Parish that belonged to Burwell's estate in that year. John Westbrook reported fifteen tithes, John Oliver turned in a list with the names of ten slaves, and George Tureman counted nine individuals over sixteen years of age.[5] That each of the three overseers turned in a list of tithes indicates that there were three quarters on the plantation by the early 1760s.

Christian Burwell (daughter of John Blair, president of the Council) took over the responsibility of keeping track of the domestic slaves in Williamsburg and the rural slaves in Mecklenburg County when her husband, Armistead, died in Williamsburg in 1754 at the age of thirty-six. Their son Lewis was eight years old, and John was a year younger than his brother. Christian Burwell added notations to two of the lists her husband had written and recorded three lists of her own in the small notebook. First, the widow Burwell noted the births of five children born to four of her enslaved women in Williamsburg between March 1754 and May 1756.[6] She made

these entries on the same page that Armistead Burwell used to list "my house Negro's" in July 1746. There is no evidence that either Armistead or Christian Burwell purchased slaves for their Williamsburg household. The number of urban slaves grew through natural increase. Christian Burwell added a comment below her husband's 1746 list of "Negro's sent to Roanoke." She noted, "The Negroe's in Lunnenburg 1764 are 18 men and 17 Women." There were also an unknown number of enslaved children on the family's Southside property.

The first roll that the widow Burwell began was a "List of Tithables." Perhaps she recorded the date of her list at the top of the page that is now torn. It is known that Burwell made these notes sometime after the birth of Kate's daughter Agathy in October 1757. Christian Burwell also included the names of slaves who were under the age of sixteen and made note of some family relationships. The "List of Tithables" includes both Williamsburg slaves and enslaved laborers in Mecklenburg County.

The document has three sections. First, the widow Burwell noted the names of eight female slaves with their children; Great Sarah, Young Sarah, Hannah, Kate, Sue, Esther, Alice, and Betty lived in Mecklenburg County with their children.[7]

The next group included seven adult women. The first three females—Moll, Nanny, and Judy—were sent to "Roanoke" in March 1746. Priscilla, Betty Evans, and Betty Guinea were among the Burwells' Williamsburg slaves in July of the same year. It is likely that Betty Guinea's child who was born on March 29, 1756, had died by the time that Christian Burwell wrote this list because the child's name does not appear on the document. This roll is the only reference to a woman named Bridget.

The third portion of the "List of Tithables" included seventeen male slaves. Jupiter, Andrew, Will, and Simon were the four adult males whom Armistead Burwell moved to "Roanoke" in March 1746. Jack Evans and Daniel were two of the boys in Armistead Burwell's house in Williamsburg in 1746. This list is the first reference to slaves named York, Ned, Dick, Robin, Ben (two men with that name), Jack, Morris, Jacob (a boy), Mingo, and Dick.

The order of the slaves' names on the "List of Tithables" suggests that Christian Burwell moved the sons born to urban slaves—Jack Evans, Daniel, Hampton, Sam, Abraham, and Joseph—to Mecklenburg County when they were old enough to work in the tobacco fields. Perhaps she relocated the enslaved boys because she wanted to have the several quarters on the Southside plantation well established before her sons, Lewis and John, turned twenty-one.

Christian Burwell probably consulted all of the lists of slaves when it was time to divide her husband's estate after Lewis and John turned twenty-one in 1766 and 1767, respectively. She entered two more lists of enslaved men, women, and children in the small notebook in the 1760s. A comparison of an undated and untitled list with one headed with the phrase "List of John Burwell's Negro's" suggests the untitled list was a record of the slaves Lewis Burwell received when he reached his majority. Lewis Burwell inherited forty-three men, women, and children valued at £1,581.10.[8] The "List of John Burwell's Negro's" included the names of forty slaves whom John Burwell inherited from his father's estate. The total value of John Burwell's slaves was £1,601.10. Each brother gained possession of slaves from the Williamsburg household and the plantation in Mecklenburg County.

The "List of John Burwell's Negro's" was the last entry that Christian Burwell made in the notebook. Ann (née Powell) Burwell, daughter-in-law of Christian Burwell, recorded the next list in the Commonplace Book in November 1789. Perhaps Ann, the daughter of Williamsburg's Benjamin and Annabelle Powell, gained possession of the small book when she married John Burwell in December 1771.[9] Christian Burwell might have given the volume to her son and daughter-in-law as a family keepsake when they left Williamsburg and moved to Dinwiddie County by August 1776.[10] Burwell's decision to leave Williamsburg for the Southside had an impact on the lives of his domestic slaves. The move took Burwell's household workers from an urban area where it was easier to develop ties to other slaves and to free people of color. Ann Burwell's dower slaves also experienced disruption in their lives when the family, black and white, relocated to Dinwiddie County.

Benjamin Powell House, Williamsburg, where Ann Burwell (née Powell) grew up.

The Burwells, their daughters Elizabeth (born circa 1772) and Ann (born 1775), and their slaves made their new home on a 635-acre plantation that was about twenty-four miles from Petersburg. In 1777, Burwell noted that the property had "a new dwelling house, not quite finished, with other necessary houses for a family."[11] Five years later, in 1782, Burwell had nineteen slaves over the age of sixteen and twenty-two slaves under sixteen in Dinwiddie County. He moved some of his enslaved laborers to nearby Greenville County. In 1785, a white overseer supervised the work of Burwell's fourteen adult slaves and fifteen slaves under the age of sixteen in Greenville County. Burwell had a labor force of eleven adults and thirteen enslaved persons under sixteen years old in Dinwiddie in that year.[12] The white and black families grew during the 1780s. Ann Burwell and four enslaved women—Lucy, Kate, Betty Banks, and Lizzy—bore children in this decade.

John Burwell experienced financial problems in the mid-1780s. In June 1787, John Burwell mortgaged eighteen slaves—Joe; Morris; Jack; Kitt; Michael; Johnny; Liza; Young Kate; Lucy and her children Daniel, Dilcia, Lewis, Johanna, Lucy, and Ephraim; and "Banks Betty and her Children Richard and a Girl just born"—to his brother Lewis who was his security for several bonds that were due to creditors on January 1, 1789. If John Burwell did not pay his obligations by that date, Lewis Burwell would gain possession of his brother's slaves.[13]

Extant documents indicate that John Burwell did not meet all of his financial obligations before he died in the spring of 1788.[14] He left a number of debts for his widow, Ann, to pay. The proceedings of a chancery case reveal the extent of his financial problems. Benjamin Powell, Burwell's executor and father-in-law, informed the judge that John Burwell gave his wife the "use of all his estate after the payment of his just debts, during her widowhood, and empowers his executors, with the consent of his wife, to sell the land whereon he lived at the time of his death, or any part thereof, to assist in paying his debts." Powell noted "that the slaves and personal estate of his testator will not be sufficient for the payment of his debts: that he conceives it his duty to sell a part, if not the whole of the land, whereon the testator lived, as aforesaid, and has applied to the said Ann Burwell for her consent to make such sale. But now so it is, that the said Ann Burwell, whom your orator prays to be made a defendant to this, his bill, refuses to consent thereto."

Ann Burwell appeared before the judge of the Chancery Court and stated "that the assets in the hands of the complainant are not sufficient of themselves to pay the debts of the testator: that the complainant hath applied to this defendant for her consent to the sale of the land in the bill mentioned that she hath refused and still doth refuse her consent to such sale. She therefore prays that she may not be compelled to relinquish her title and claim to the said land; but may be hence dismissed &c &c."[15]

The widow Burwell maintained possession of the Dinwiddie plantation. However, there was a sale of some and possibly all of John Burwell's slaves. The sale took place between the probate of his will in April 1789 and November of the same year. Among the purchasers were her father, Benjamin Powell, and her brother-in-law Lewis Burwell. They returned to her a total of twenty-three slaves in November 1789. She recorded an "Account of Negros given by B Powell & L Burwell to A Burwell & her Children on 26 November 1789" in the small notebook that she received from her mother-in-law. Burwell noted the names and ages of these twenty-three men, women, and children. First, she recorded the five enslaved men she received—Robin (age sixty-one), Sam (age forty-four), Michael (age thirty-six), Ephraim (age thirty-two), and Kit (age twenty-two). The adult women—Lucy (age thirty-three), Kate (age nineteen), and Lizzy (age twenty-one)—followed the men. Will Pigeon (age sixteen), Billy (age eighteen), and Betty (age not given) were next on the list. The twelve remaining slaves were boys and girls. The widow Burwell listed Lucy's children—Johannah (age eight), Lewis (age nine), Little Lucy (age five), and Little Ephraim (age two)—as a group. Betty was the mother of the last two children—Richard (age five) and Nelly (age two)—on the list. Kate was the mother of Aggy (age three) and Betsy (born on September 5, 1789). Sally (age seven), Lucy (age five), Charlotte (age three), and Armistead (age two) were Lizzy's children. Burwell wrote "lent" after the names of four of the slaves: Kit, Will Pigeon, Billy, and Betty. Benjamin Powell purchased these four individuals at the sale of John Burwell's estate and lent them to his daughter. Kit, Lucy, Kate, Lizzy, Will Pigeon, Billy, and Betty might have been Ann Burwell's dower slaves.[16]

Ann Burwell added to the list that she wrote in November of 1789. She drew a line after Nelly's name, the last person on the list of slaves she received from her father and brother-in-law. Then, she wrote the names of thirteen children born to her enslaved women and their

Lewis Miller Sketchbook.

birth dates at the bottom of this list. The enslaved boys and girls were born between October 28, 1790, and February 14, 1799. Ann Burwell's record of slave births filled the rest of the page. She continued her list of slave births on an additional page.

The widow Burwell carried the notebook with her when she and her family left Dinwiddie County in late 1794 or early 1795. In June 1795, Burwell purchased 333 acres in Mecklenburg County.[17] She moved nine adult slaves to her new home: Sam, Michael, Ephraim, Peter, Will Pigeon, Betty, Lucy, Kate, and Lydia. Johannah and Sally were between the ages of twelve and sixteen in 1795. Unfortunately, the personal property tax list did not include the names or numbers of slaves under twelve years of age.[18] Ann Burwell lived in Mecklenburg County until her death sometime between June 28 and October 13, 1800. Her household included her three unmarried daughters, her son Armistead, and eight tithable slaves—Michael, Billy, Will Pigeon, Ephraim, Lucy (two women with this name), Kate, and Sally. Five slaves were between twelve and sixteen years old—Armistead, Richard, Ephraim, Charlotte, and Nelly. It is likely that Ann Burwell also had some enslaved children on her property.[19]

According to the terms of his mother's will, Armistead Burwell inherited her property in Mecklenburg County. He also gained possession of her domestic slaves. Burwell married Mary Cole Turnbull in December 1800 and moved his family—white and black—to Dinwiddie County early the next year. The year 1801 also marked the time that Mary Burwell began to record slaves births in the small notebook.[20] Mary Burwell recorded the births of thirty-one children and the names of their mothers between March 6, 1801, and August 1839.[21] The entries made by Ann and Mary Burwell provide details about four generations of a family headed by an enslaved woman named Lizzy. Mary Burwell gave birth to thirteen children between 1802 and 1823. She shared the joys and heartbreaks of childbirth with eight of the family's female slaves: Kate, Lucy, Lydia, Sally, Charlotte, Mary, Annabella, and Aggy each bore at least one child between 1802 and 1823.

Mary Burwell entered her last note about the family slaves in August 1839 when Lizzy's granddaughter Amy gave birth to Caroline. It is possible that Armistead and Mary Burwell left their home to live with their son-in-law and daughter, Hugh Alfred and Ann Powell (née Burwell) Garland in that year. The Garlands and their nine children lived at Mannsfield, a house near Petersburg that still stands. Armistead Burwell died at Mannsfield in 1841. The widow Burwell moved to Vicksburg, Mississippi, to live with her son Armistead sometime between 1841 and her death in 1860. There is no evidence that Mary Burwell took slaves with her when she relocated to Vicksburg.[22] When Mary Burwell left Virginia, she took the small notebook first owned by her husband's grandfather in 1746. This document is an important part of Burwell family history for the Burwells and of the enslaved men, women, and children they owned.[23]

* * * *

Three generations of the Burwell family recorded notes about the lives of their slaves. The first notations of the four authors can be connected to important events in their lives. Armistead Burwell noted the names of the enslaved men and women he sent to open a new plantation. A month after she became a widow, Christian Burwell recorded the birth of a child. The fact that she did not make an entry after the mid-1760s suggests that Christian Burwell felt that her role as manager of the family slaves

ended with the division of her deceased husband's estate. Ann Burwell also began her entries in the notebook as a widow. It is likely that Ann Burwell passed on the record book to her daughter-in-law Mary Cole Turnbull when she married Armistead. Three months after her marriage, Mary Burwell entered the birth of Annabella to Kate in March 1801. Ann and Mary Burwell's notes provide some details about the growth of the family's labor force. However, none of the authors provided any details about the person behind the name entered in the notebook. We are forever left wondering about the lives of these enslaved people who tended the fields, cooked meals, cleaned, helped to raise children, and who endured years of separation from their own families and friends.

[1] Nell M. Nugent, *et al.*, eds., *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants*, 6 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library and the Virginia Genealogical Society, 1934–98), 304. The patent noted that the land was in Brunswick County. Burwell's land was in the part of Brunswick that became Lunenburg County in 1745 and then part of Mecklenburg County in 1764. I will use Mecklenburg County as the location of Burwell's Southside plantation throughout this paper. Evidence suggests that Burwell held his land in Mecklenburg County before he gained his patent. At the end of the June 1746 court session of the Lunenburg County Court, the clerk noted "that the court be adjourned till the court in course and held next month at Burwell's Quarter on Butcher's Creek." Landon C. Bell, *The Old Free State: A Contribution to the History of Lunenburg County and Southside Virginia*, 2 vols. (Richmond, Va.: The William Byrd Press, Inc., Printers, 1927), 1: 114.

[2] After the death of Armistead Burwell in February 1754, his brothers Lewis and Nathaniel advertised the sale of his land in King William and King and Queen Counties. *Virginia Gazette*, June 6, 1755.

[3] Gail S. Terry details the ways in which slaves owned by the Cabell and Breckinridge families adapted to their relocation from Albemarle County, Virginia, to Kentucky at the turn of the eighteenth century and the ways in which the enslaved men, women, and children kept in touch with family and friends living in different states. See Terry, "Sustaining the Bonds of Kinship in a Trans-Appalachian Migration, 1790–1811," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 102 (1994): 455–476.

[4] A 1782 Williamsburg census and the extant Williamsburg Personal Property Tax Lists (1783, 1784, and 1786) indicate that most Williamsburg residents had more adult female slaves than adult male slaves in their households. Michael L. Nicholls notes that Williamsburg's gentry residents had female slaves do domestic work in their homes and that the many tavern keepers in the city depended on enslaved women to cook, wash, and clean. See Nicholls, "Aspects of the African American Experience in Williamsburg and Norfolk," unpublished report, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, (1990), 3–5, 12–13.

[5] Landon C. Bell, ed., *Sunlight on the Southside: Lists of Tithes, Lunenburg County, Virginia, 1748–1783* (Philadelphia, 1931; repr., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), 71, 158, 176, 190, and 261–262.

[6] Milly gave birth to Sally in March 1754 and Rachel on May 28, 1756; Priscilla was the mother of Joseph born in May 1754; Betty welcomed Abraham on March 7, 1756; and Betty Guinea's child, C[illeg], was born on March 29, 1756.

[7] Great Sarah was the mother of Elley, Ben, Milly, and Sally; Agathy, Judy, Jimmy, C[illeg], and Betty were Young Sarah's children; Hannah's children were Patty, Lucy, Moses, and Aaron Docke; Kate was the mother of Judy, Betty, Michael, and Agathy; Sue had two sons (Davy and Charles) and two daughters (Fanny and Amy); Esther had one son, Jimmy, and one daughter, Phoebe; Alice's son was named Sawney; and Betty was the mother of Abraham.

[8] This list has two sets of lines that divide the slave names into groups. First, the document includes solid lines below the appraised value of several of the enslaved individuals on the list. Christian Burwell used a second set of dashed lines that run the width of the column (from slave name to appraised value). It is likely that the dashed lines indicate family groups of two and possibly three generations. It is difficult to determine all of the relationships among the enslaved men, women, and children because this list is the first record of several of these individuals.

[9] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), December 5, 1771. Note that Annabelle Powell's given name is also spelled "Annabella" and "Hannahbella" in local records. All three variants turn up in the names of generations of white and black females in this family.

[10] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), August 30, 1776. John Burwell inherited 1,490 acres of land in Mecklenburg County from his father. However, he decided to sell the property and announced his intention in April 1771. Burwell, his wife, and his mother conveyed the land in May 1777. The deed noted that the property "was devised to him by his father Armistead Burwell Gent & farther asurred to him by Lewis Burwell the younger oldest son & Heir at Law of the said Armistead & an Indenture executed by the said Lewis (and recorded in the honble the General Court the 29th October 1767)." *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), April 18,1771; Mecklenburg County Deeds Book 5: 74–76, dated [blank] May 1777 and recorded August 11, 1777.

[11] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), April 18, 1777. Burwell informed readers of the *Virginia Gazette* that he wanted to sell the property. He did not, however, sell the land and lived on the plantation until his death in 1788.

[12] Dinwiddie County Land and Personal Property Tax Lists 1782 to 1788; Greenville County Personal Property Tax Lists 1785, 1787, and 1788; originals at the Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

[13] Robinson Family Papers, Mss1R5685d24-33, Section 7, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

[14] John Burwell wrote his will on February 26, 1788, and his widow, Ann, paid the annual personal property taxes on June 16, 1788. Robinson Family Papers; Dinwiddie County Personal Property Tax List 1788.

[15] Robinson Family Papers.

[16] In his November 1790 will, Powell noted that he lent his daughter "all the Slaves and personal Estate which I purchased at the sale of her late Husband John Burwell deceased (except a Negro Girl named Pegg and a Bay Horse called Stephen) which I have now in my Possession, during her natural life and after the death of my said Daughter Anne I give and bequeath the said Slaves and personal Estate to be equally Divided among the Children of the said Anne Burwell or the survivors of them." York County Wills and Inventories 23, 222, dated November 17, 1790, codicil dated November 19, 1790, and recorded January 17, 1791. A comparison of the list of slaves John Burwell inherited from the estate of his father and the "Account of Negros given by B Powell and L Burwell to A Burwell & her Chil-

dren 26 November 1789" provides some clues about the identity of Ann Burwell's dower slaves. John Burwell gained possession of men named Robin, Sam, Michael, and Ephraim at his majority. There is no evidence that the other adult slaves on the 1789 list—Kit, Lucy, Kate, Lizzy, Will Pigeon, Billy, and Betty—were owned by the Burwell family before the 1780s.

[17] Mecklenburg County, Deed Book 8: 526, dated and recorded June 8, 1795.

[18] Mecklenburg County, Personal Property Tax List 1795.

[19] Mecklenburg County, Personal Property Tax List 1800; Mecklenburg County, Will Book 4: 232–234, dated March 1800 and recorded October 13, 1800. The widow Burwell used her will to provide for her three unmarried daughters.

In March 1800 she wrote, "I further Give devise and bequeath to my Said Son Armistead Burwell and his heirs forever in fee Simple The tract of land lying in the County of Mecklenburg, on which I now reside Reserving however to my three Daughters Anne Burwell, Hannah Burwell and Annabella Burwell, so long as they shall remain unmarried as full and ample a right to the use of the dwelling house and other houses on the land as he the Said Armistead Shall have It being my intention that my Said daughters Anne, Hannah and Annabella may each of them there have a home so long as the[y] remain unmarried and chose to reside there. Fifthly It is my Will and Desire that all my unmarried Children be well and Comfortably Cloathed Out of the proceeds of the Crop made on the land the year of my death and the amount of Such Cloathing is not to be Charged to them in the Division of my Estate."

It is interesting to note that three of her children married within a year of her death: Armistead to Mary Cole Turnbull on December 13, 1800, Hannah to Thomas Pelham on September 9, 1801, and Annabella to John E. Dawson on September 17, 1801. It is likely that Armistead and Mary were courting before Ann's death. Perhaps both Hannah (age nineteen at her marriage) and Annabella (age sixteen at her marriage) chose marriage at a young age because they did not receive large legacies from their mother or because they knew that their brother Armistead planned to move back to Dinwiddie County and they did not want to stay in Mecklenburg on their own. The two daughters whom Ann Powell Burwell did not mention in her will—Elizabeth and Frances—married before March 1800, the date that she wrote her will. It is possible that the financial problems that John Burwell had before his death in 1788 had reduced the family's wealth and that his widow could not afford to leave a bequest to their married daughters. It is also possible that Ann Powell Burwell felt that Elizabeth and Frances did not need any financial support from her.

[20] It is likely that Ann Burwell gave the small commonplace book to Mary Cole Turnbull before her death. Armistead Burwell married Mary Cole Turnbull in December 1800 and it is likely that Armistead and Mary were courting before Ann's death.

It is also probable that Ann Burwell knew Mary Cole Turnbull's mother when they were young girls. Perhaps they drew on this connection when they were mothers who lived in Virginia's Southside in the 1770s and 1780s.

Ann Powell was the daughter of Benjamin and Annabelle (1732–82) Powell. It is likely that the Powells moved to Williamsburg from Warwick County in the early 1750s. Ann's older sister, Hannah, was born in 1753. Ann was born a year or two later. Ann Powell married John Burwell, son of Armistead (son of Lewis Burwell) and Christian Burwell (daughter of John and Mary Blair), in December 1771. It is probable that the Reverend James Horrocks performed the wedding ceremony. The Burwells lived in Williamsburg during the first few years of their marriage. Their daughters Elizabeth (circa 1772–1804) and Ann (1775–) were probably born before the family moved to Dinwiddie County. It is known that the Burwells were residents of this county by 1776. Armistead (1777–1841), Frances (1781–), Hannah (1782–1806), and Annabelle (1785–1855) were born in Dinwiddie.

Mary Cole, daughter of Reverend Roscow and Rachel Cole of Warwick County, was born on November 10, 1751. Her brother William was born on January 17, 1753. Roscow Cole was the son of William and Mary (née Roscow) Cole of Warwick County.

Rachel was the daughter of Anthony and Diana (Tabb) Robinson of Charles Parish. Rachel's sister Diana was the wife of Thomas Everard, the clerk of the York County Court. Rachel would have made some visits to see Diana who was six years older than she was. Perhaps she met her future husband, Robert Turnbull, a Scots merchant based in Petersburg, on a trip to Virginia's capital. Mary married Turnbull on September 16, 1770, most likely in Williamsburg because the Reverend James Horrocks performed the service. Horrocks was also the husband of Mary's cousin, Fanny Everard Horrocks. Robert and Mary Turnbull lived at White Hill in Prince George County. They had eight children: Charles (1772–1811), Anne (1775–circa 1840), Thomas Crawford (1776–), Robert (1778–1839), William (1780–1780), Mary Cole (1782–1860), Margaret Stephenson (1783–1836), and William Cole (1786–).

Robert Turnbull also owned land in the same part of Dinwiddie County where John and Anne Burwell lived. Perhaps the two women who had grown up in the Tidewater region of Virginia visited each other and watched their children play together. Mary Cole Turnbull was dead by 1790, and her daughter and namesake was less than eight years old. Robert Turnbull married twice after Mary's death. He was the husband of Sarah Buchannan of the county of Baltimore by March of 1790. An act to annul this marriage was passed by Virginia's General Assembly in December of the following year. Turnbull married Hannah Jones Minor (daughter of Peter Jones and the widow of Peter Minor) in 1792. He died in 1803.

Possibly Mary Cole Turnbull and her younger sister, Margaret Stephenson Turnbull (1783–1836) spent some time at the Burwell house in the years after their mother's death. Their older sister, Anne (1775–1840), married in 1792, and perhaps they learned about housewifery from Ann Powell Burwell (it is certainly possible that they could have learned from their second stepmother). Mary Cole Turnbull and Armistead Burwell saw each other when they were in their teens and early twenties, respectively, and fell in love. Her engagement to Armistead Burwell, the only son, guaranteed that she would be in charge of the management of the family slaves. Perhaps Ann Powell Burwell gave her future daughter-in-law her commonplace book before her marriage. This would explain why she signed her name as Mary Cole Turnbull, not Mary C. Burwell, in the Ann Powell Burwell Commonplace Book.

[21] There are two gaps in Mary Burwell's entries, the first from 1806 to 1812 and the second from August 1830 to March 1836.

[22] For details about members of another branch of the Burwell family who moved enslaved laborers to the southern frontier in the Antebellum Period, see Joan E. Cashin, *A Family Venture: Men and Women on the Southern Frontier*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 128–129.

[23] Mary L. Garland, a descendant of Ann Powell Burwell, donated the small notebook to the Virginia Historical Society in 1945.

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: *New at the Rock*

Becoming American Story Lines

Note: Rockefeller Library call numbers appear in brackets.

Freeing Religion

Davis, Derek H. *Religion and the Continental Congress, 1774–1789.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. [KF 4783.D385]

As a political body, the Continental Congress confronted many difficult issues concerning religion. Many of the delegates were later involved in writing the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Davis answers the question, "How can the actions of the Continental Congress concerning religion help us interpret the original intentions of the framers of the Constitution?"

Dreyer, Frederick. *The Genesis of Methodism.* Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press, 1999. [KF 4783.D385]

The early relationship between Methodism and the Moravian United Brethren is explored, especially the influences of German doctrine on John Wesley.

Fawcett, Arthur. *Cambuslang Revival: The Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century.* Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1971 (1996 printing). [BR 785.F39]

"The first time that ever I heard the Word with power, was on a Sabbath, about Martinmas, 1741," wrote a young weaver. Fawcett analyzes firsthand accounts of ordinary people touched by the spark of religious revival and puts them into the context of the eighteenth-century Scottish church.

Buying Respectability

Goodwin, Lorinda B. R. *An Archaeology of Manners: The Polite World of the Merchant Elite of Colonial Massachusetts.* New York: Kluwer Academic, 1999. [F 67.G664 1999]

The author uses the merchant class of colonial Massachusetts to show how mannerly behavior was employed and exhibited—how taste in architecture, clothing, and furnishings created, expressed, and sustained social status.

Rozbicki, Michal J. *The Complete Colonial Gentleman: Cultural Legitimacy in Plantation America.* Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1998. [F 229.R86 1998]

Among wealthy colonial Americans, the pursuit of gentility (as defined by European society) was tempered by values from the New World. These values, called "bourgeois materialism and a business mentality" by European gentlemen, co-existed with the pursuit of classical education, European art, and family coats-of-arms.

Thompson, Peter. *Rum Punch & Revolution: Tavorngoing & Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia.* Philadelphia, Pa.: University Press of Pennsylvania, 1999. [F 158.4.T46 1999]

The colonial tavern influenced the social, political, and economic life of its community. Conversely, the heightened political discussions in the last days of colonial America changed tavern society. Thompson analyzes this relationship using account books, legal and governmental sources, and contemporary diaries.

Choosing Revolution

Butler, Jon. *Becoming America: The Revolution Before 1776.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000. [E 188.B97 2000]

Here are Britain's mainland American colonies after 1680, in the process of becoming the first modern society—a society the earliest colonists never imagined, a "new order of the ages" that anticipated the American Revolution.

Ferling, John. *Setting the World Ablaze: Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and the American Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. [E 302.5.F47 2000]

Ferling shows in detail how these three conservative men were transformed into radical revolutionaries. He illuminates not only the genius of these leaders, but also the remarkable transformation of the American colonies into the United States.

Gregg, Gary L., II, ed. *Vital Remnants: America's Founding and the Western Tradition.* Wilmington, Del.: ISI Books, 1999. [E 302.1.V58 1999]

A series of lectures presented at a conference held at Colonial Williamsburg in 1998 formed the basis of this volume on the European and classical influences—intellectual, spiritual, and occupational—that shaped the founders of our country.

Taking Possession

Crane, Eva. *The World History of Beekeeping and Honey Hunting.* New York: Routledge, 1999. [SF524.C736 1999]

A fascinating volume on honeybees, "the white man's fly," which were first sent to Virginia in the 1620s. Once here, they multiplied quickly. By 1648, George Pelton of Virginia, was making thirty pounds a year from his bee colonies. Pioneers took bees to Kentucky in the 1760s.

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

Special Collections

The John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library has recently acquired the following materials in its Special Collections section:

John Ward, *Compendium of Algebra* (London: Daniel Browne, 1724). Contains signature of Governor William Gooch.

London Magazine (June 1781). Includes brief description of Williamsburg.

Hugh Blair Grigsby, *Discourse on the Life and Character of the Hon. Littleton Waller Tazewell . . .* (Norfolk, Va.: J. D. Ghiselin, Jr., 1860).

Gov. Littleton Waller Tazewell (1774–1860), manuscript journal ("My Dear Children") with reminiscences concerning family history. Tazewell was the grandson of Benjamin Waller of Williamsburg.

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

"His wild heart long'd for the Blood of our Savr.": Religious Convergences and Indian Identity in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania

by Jane T. Merritt

Jane is an assistant professor at Old Dominion University. This article is from a lecture she presented for Colonial Williamsburg's Religion Month in April 2000. Excerpts appeared in the October 1997 issue of The William and Mary Quarterly.

Within the past decade, there has been a resurgent interest in religious encounters in early America between Christian missionaries and native peoples. These encounters are not always easy to understand. The sources are tricky at best, downright biased and impenetrable at worst. They are at once rich with descriptive information on Indian lives and activities, but also rife with loaded language. The historian has to turn the sources on their heads, trying to get to the other side—the Native American side of the story.

The title of this article is a good example of the difficulty in "reading" missionary records and their interpretations of encounters with Native Americans. While celebrating a communion feast with a group of recently baptized Delaware Indians near Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1749, a German Moravian missionary noted of a woman's unbaptized brother "his Wild Heart long'd for the Blood of our Savr." For he had heard that the "Blood of our Savr. Cod. Wash & make one free [and] his Heart long'd so much after it."[1]

This is certainly a comment written with hope, purpose, triumph, and assurance. But it is also a phrase full of assumptions about Delaware culture (that it was "wild," "untamed," uncontrolled, ungrounded in religious belief or faith) and assumptions about how Indians approached or interpreted Christianity (they longed for Christ, for communion, for baptism, for spiritual connections to a Christian God—they "long'd for the Savior's blood").

Let's examine some of these assumptions and try to get at an Indian interpretation of Christianity in the face of an increasingly dominant white presence in their communities. By the eighteenth century, native peoples had already experienced tremendous changes, whether fueled by European contact or internal cultural development. Unknown diseases had taken their toll on populations, and new technologies had introduced different patterns of hunting and daily living. The social dynamics within Indian communities had also shifted as Native Americans debated new religious traditions and spiritual expression, kinship and gender roles, and their increasing participation in the cross-Atlantic market economy. White colonization and settlement simply provided another precarious element to what James Merrell has called "The Indians' New World."[2]

That Indians, in the midst of these changing circumstances, "long'd for the Blood of our Savior" is actually half true—the sentiment, the longing was there—but what Moravians didn't get quite right was why. Why did Indians, in this case, Delawares and Mahicans in Pennsylvania, respond to and express longing for Christian baptism and a connection to Christ?

The simple answer is: for their own reasons. Indians had complex motives for adopting Christianity, and Christianity had a variety of effects on their religious and cultural identities. Some effectively used Christianity as a political tool, to protect themselves through alliances with white Christians. Yet, Indians also saw Christianity as a way to make sense of the immaterial world. This new religion could become, and did become, an alternative means to express their faith in supernatural beings or even to rejuvenate traditional religious practices. In the mid-eighteenth century Indians were experiencing a Great Awakening, a revitalization of religion in the same sense that white colonists were.

Whether motivated by politics or religious inspiration, Native Americans found ways to adapt this new faith without entirely giving up or letting go of a familiar worldview. They interpreted Christianity through the lens of native family traditions with some surprising results.[3]

* * * *

By the late seventeenth century, the Forks of the Delaware, recently abandoned by Susquehannock Indians, attracted many migrant groups, both Indian and white. Since its location provided access to major waterways, including the Delaware, Lehigh, and Susquehanna Rivers, many Indian peoples came to the region to hunt, trade, or take refuge.[4] Delaware Indians, in particular, displaced by Euro-American settlement

in New Jersey, became one of the earliest and largest groups of migrants into the region by the turn of the eighteenth century. These Delaware River natives incorporated three language groups. The Lenni Lenape, whose name translates as "a male of our kind" or the "real people," lived on the western shores of the lower Delaware River, where Philadelphia was eventually built. The Unalachtigos (or Northern Unamis) inhabited the eastern bank of the Delaware in central New Jersey, while the Munsees lived farther north at the Delaware Water Gap.[5]

Whatever their linguistic or self-designated clan differences, these native peoples shared similar family and community structures.[6] They lived in matrilineal kinship groupings, where clan descent was passed on through the women, although men held political power and status.[7] By the 1720s, a group of Northern Unamis had settled in several small towns along the Delaware River and at the Lehigh Water Gap. One of the more prominent Delaware families, led by chief Nutimus and his nephew, Teedyuscung, settled at the edges of the Blue Ridge Mountains on land that would be later known as Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Lehighton.[8] These were fiercely autonomous communities, but continually pressured by the Six Nations in New York to move into their sphere of influence, to become "props of the Longhouse" or to become politically dependent on the Iroquois.

CW Collections.

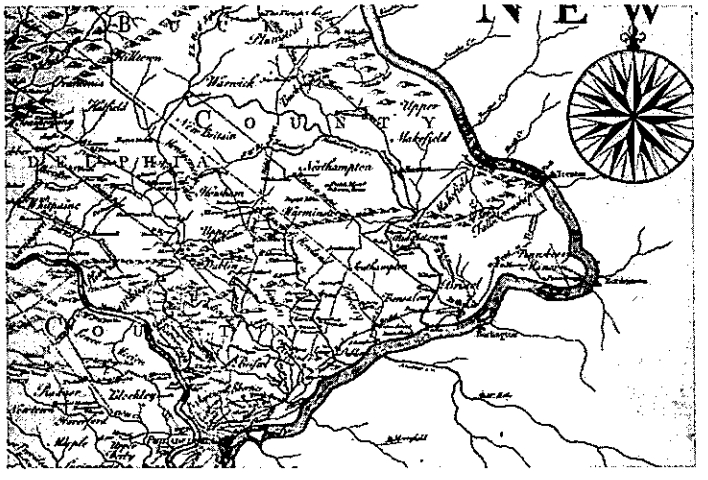
Not surprisingly, the same region that drew Delawares became a magnet for white settlers as well. Quaker William Penn, granted proprietorship of the area in 1681, envisioned Pennsylvania as a "holy experiment" where religious and social tolerance prevailed.[9] To fulfill his dream, Penn encouraged immigration, but wanted to control all aspects of land distribution and settlement. Various Euro-American groups came to the Forks of the Delaware with Penn's blessing. By 1728, Scots-Irish had established Craig's Settlement and Hunter Settlement very close to the already existing Delaware towns.[10]

Perhaps more important to this story, German Moravians, relative latecomers to the Forks of the Delaware, also settled along the Lehigh River. The Moravians, or United Brethren as they often called themselves, were members of a protestant pietist sect who emigrated from the German province of Saxony in 1740 to settle first at Nazareth, Pennsylvania. They then moved to a more permanent site at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1741.[11]

Besides forming their own religious community free from the persecution they had experienced in central Europe, the Moravians hoped to proselytize Indians in the region. Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, the Moravians' spiritual and secular leader, believed North American Indians to be "partly Jews of the 10 lost Tribes," and thus a part of God's chosen people.[12] In an attempt to reincorporate them back into the Christian world, the Moravians established several mission communities at the Forks of the Delaware: Gnadenhutten for Christian Delawares and Mahicans newly arrived from New York, and Meniolagomekah, an existing Delaware town to which missionaries were invited by the inhabitants.

Indian people in Pennsylvania had a mixed response to the Moravians. For example, for the Delaware leader Teedyuscung and his extended kin group, baptism and a religious alliance with Christians were both politically useful, but also became avenues for spiritual expression. The family had struggled for decades to keep hold of their lands between the Lehigh Water Gap and the Delaware River. The Pennsylvania government had taken 500,000 acres of Delaware land when they enforced the questionable Walking Purchase of 1737. Faced with this loss, the Delawares petitioned the governor in 1742, arguing that because they had adopted Christianity (at that point, several had been baptized by the Presbyterians), they wanted to be given a reserve of land "where they may live in the Enjoyment of the same Religion & Laws with the English."[13] Richard Peters, the provincial secretary, denied their request, and even looked at their religious affiliation with skepticism.

In the late 1740s, Teedyuscung and his family met the Moravians and perhaps thought an alliance with them might help to substantiate their claim to land at the Forks of the Delaware. But, there were also family members who seemed to be drawn to the religious message of the Moravians.



Forks of the Delaware River.

In 1749, Teedyuscung's half brother was impressed that the Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten "were very happy & contented in their Hearts, & that they liv'd no longer like other Indians, doing bad Things."[14] He may have been reiterating a formulaic confession similar to those that many Delawares had made before him when he told the Moravians that he "had led an extraordinary wicked Life & drank very hard." Yet he insisted on being baptized and assured the Moravians and his family that "his Heart had begun to feel that which he heard of our Sav.r." He and another brother were baptized before Teedyuscung consented in March 1750. The three brothers and their families then moved to the mission town of Gnadenhutten to live.

Still, baptism did not necessarily indicate that Indians had surrendered their past culture to the religious pressures of white Christians. Once baptized, Pennsylvania Indians put their own spin on Christianity. There were many Delawares and Mahicans in the region who, like Teedyuscung and his brothers, were baptized by the Moravians. By the end of 1745, the Moravians had baptized 73 Mahicans and Delawares, and by 1764, there were some 505. By comparison, David Brainerd, a Presbyterian missionary preaching in the same region, boasted of baptizing 47 Indians (mostly Delawares) by late 1745—about half the number. I estimate that up to 20 percent of the Indian population in eastern Pennsylvania were baptized by the Moravians.

The reasons for the "success" of Moravian missionaries were many. (I put "success" in quotation marks, because whether missionaries were successful in "converting Indians" to their brand of Christianity is debatable, even an unanswerable question. More important were the ways that native people incorporated or interpreted Christianity.) But, the Moravians' methods and the content of their message both prompted Indians to request baptism.

Moravians hoped Indians would experience a heartfelt longing for connection to Christ through baptism. To reach this goal, they attempted to create more personal social attachments with their potential converts. They lived among the Indians whom they hoped to convert; they shared their physical burdens and showed concern for their spiritual well-being. Most of the missionaries learned native languages, into which they translated hymns, scripture, and prayers. From these translations they taught German to baptized Indians, who could then preach the Moravians' message to their own communities.[15]

The missionaries, usually married men and women, moved to Indian towns where they took part in the daily social and economic life of the inhabitants.[16] Indians were impressed by this commitment to their communities. Native American women were especially affected. You can see this again in the number of baptized. Between 1742 and 1764, the Moravians baptized at least 276 Delaware and Mahican women and girls, while many more expressed interest in Christianity. During the same period, 229 men and boys were baptized.[17]

The Moravians' success in baptizing Indian women counters recent scholarship that describes native women as traditionalists who held out against Christianization and its patriarchal structure. Some historians assert that most women became marginalized by the introduction of Christianity and the growing importance of men's roles in the fur trade. Thus, Indian women actively or passively resisted missionary activity, since the latter supposedly threatened their traditional community authority. However, in Moravian mission towns, Indian women's status was not diminished or threatened. Instead, Christianity and Moravian religious practices in particular could become a source of power that enhanced native women's spiritual authority.[18]

Indian women typically had some role as spiritual leaders within their communities. They were often the spiritual centers of their households, passing on gods, totems, and traditions to

their daughters. In addition, Delaware and Mahican women in the northeast assisted shamans or powwows and, as herbalists or physicians, performed healing rituals themselves.[19]

As Natalie Zemon Davis recently suggested about seventeenth-century Iroquois women, some eighteenth-century Algonquians used Christianity "to find a voice beyond that of a Shaman's silent assistant." When Delaware and Mahican women encountered the new cultural choices of Moravian communities in the eighteenth century, they, too, found ways of asserting themselves through "Christian forms and phrases," while still framing their spirituality within familiar native contexts.[20]

Some baptized Delaware and Mahican women became elders (*Arbeiter Schwestern*) in native congregations, a role similar to that of a lay minister. Already a forceful social presence within matrilineal kinship groups, they preached to unconverted neighbors, blessed newly baptized children, and listened to and translated other native women's professions of faith.[21]

Perhaps among the primary reasons that Indian women found some spiritual authority in the Christian teachings of the Moravian church were its theological underpinnings and its use of female imagery. Within the choir system, men and women were separated. Single sisters, for instance, lived and worked separately. They took communion together and spoke of themselves, Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Holy Ghost in ways that celebrated femaleness. They likened themselves to brides of Christ, their "eternal husband." Yet, they also identified with the virginal state of his mother, Mary, and her creative powers in giving birth to Christ. Finally, perhaps most important to this female piety, "was the characterization of the Holy Spirit as Mother."[22] All these representations gave Mahican and Delaware women a powerful religious language to express their personal piety.

Besides female imagery, the Moravian's theological focus on the wounds of Christ—the side wound and the blood that flowed from the body—was particularly powerful to Native Americans in Pennsylvania. The power inherent in the body and blood of Christ seemed to be the most attractive aspect of the Moravian faith for Indians.

But the images and rhetoric of blood had very different meanings for women and men. For men, the imagery of a bleeding Christ may have evoked certain connections to the powers of hunters and warriors. Christian Indians at their hunting lodges in the fall often talked, prayed, and sang verses about and to the Lamb of God—calling on Christ as they might a deer or bear spirit to help them in the hunt.[23] The Lamb of God, or the crucified Christ, was also a warrior who stoically withstood torture when captured. One young Nanticoke, while visiting Bethlehem in March 1753, was awed and impressed by pictures of the crucifixion, and exclaimed to another Indian: "do but look, how many wounds he has, how much blood flows forth! I have also heard lately from the Brethren, tht he was very sick, & prayed, & then sweat very much; tht his sweat ran like blood from his body."[24] Stoicism under torture was thought to be the height of bravery. They could easily place Christ into a familiar context of Indian warrior culture.

For women, blood also had physical implications. But when their bodies bled every month, native women did not simply come into contact with a potentially powerful being, they *became* powerful beings. Menstruating women were thought to embody this force and, therefore, were isolated from their families and forbidden to prepare food or take part in community ceremonies. Native men avoided coming into contact with menstruating women for fear the females' potent energy might damage their own power.[25]

The religious testimonies of Delawares and Mahicans who chose to be baptized reflected their awe of and reverence for the power of blood. When the newly baptized Indians of Meniolagomekah visited Gnadenhutten in the summer of 1749, many expressed a deep longing to partake in the Moravian rituals of blood—baptism in the wounds of Christ and communion. "My Heart again hungers very much after the Flesh & Blood of our Savr.," said Augustus, the community leader. A Delaware woman exclaimed how she was "right hungry after the Savrs. Blood." Anna Benigna admitted, "her Heart lov'd the Side Hole very much, & wish'd to sink yet deeper into it." This summer celebration of the wounds of Christ culminated with the baptism of Verona's brother, whose "wild Heart long'd for the Blood of our Savr." He had heard that the "Blood of our Savr. cod. wash & make one free [and] his Heart long'd so much after it."

According to these converts' recorded statements, their hearts longed and bodies hungered to be washed with, dipped in, or satiated by Jesus' blood. We might wonder whether Moravian missionaries put their own words into the mouths of Indians. But there are other indica-

tions that Indians revered blood's power and incorporated Christian rituals for their own purposes.

Moravians and Indians shared assumptions about the connections between spiritual and physical well-being. What was good for the soul was also good for the body. The Moravians commonly practiced bloodletting as a way to rebalance the humoral fluids—blood, phlegm, choler, and melancholy—and thus rebalance the physical well-being of an individual. They used bloodletting to cure a variety of ailments, including fevers, convulsions, and the complications of pregnancy. Moravians believed that it would ward off or even prevent smallpox.

For Native Americans, the potential protective powers of bloodletting, like the powers present in the blood of Christ at communion, were very attractive. Native communities in the Northeast had been devastated by smallpox, and they welcomed new medicines and medical practices that might help alleviate its symptoms or prevent it altogether. At the Forks of the Delaware in the summer of 1746, an epidemic struck the Indian and white communities both. "Within 5 hours time," wrote the Bethlehem Diarist on July 17, "3 of our brown Brethren [died] of the smallpox in the house." By August, more had died and many more were sick. That summer, twenty-two baptized Indians died in the mission communities. Christian Indians—both the sick and the dying—turned to white missionaries for assistance, assurance, medicine, and ritual bleeding.

Even non-Christian Indians came to the Moravians asking for supernatural assistance. Indeed, Indians looked to Moravians as they would powerful shamans. Because missionaries officiated over the rituals of baptism and communion, dispensing a source of spiritual power to their followers, they created a link between Indians and the spirit of the Lamb. Like their native counterparts, the missionaries were also expected to provide medicines and prayers for the sick.

When missionaries visited native communities along the Susquehanna, for example, bloodletting offered a diplomatic way to preserve good will between whites and Indians. On a trip to visit the Iroquois in New York in June 1745, Moravian leader Joseph Spangenberg bled the sister of their chief interpreter, and upon reaching the Iroquois in Onondaga he "let the blood of our house host, the King [Canassatego]. There also came many sick people and demanded some medicine from Br. Joseph, which he also gave them, and the Lord blessed it." Six days later, when Spangenberg returned to Onondaga, Canassatego saw him approaching by boat, "built a fire, and prepared food. When Bro. Spangenberg landed, he requested [that he] bleed him." What an intriguing scene! An Iroquois chief sought the services of a white missionary (shaman) by offering a ritual feast, and the missionary made blessings or incantations over medicines to be taken to cure white diseases.

Epidemic diseases and the increased presence of white Christians did not necessarily "shatter" native belief systems, but these new circumstances often pushed Indians to find innovative solutions. When faced with far-reaching social, economic, and political changes, Native Americans had to make choices. Like their white neighbors, Indians turned to new spiritual practices and beliefs to make sense of their changing world. Christianity offered one religious choice among many for Indians in the northeast, but, in many ways, they managed to make it their own.

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[1] June 4/15, 1749, extract from Bethlehem diary, English version, reel 26, box 211, folder 19, item 1, Moravian Records.

[2] James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1989) first suggested that Indians, too, had to adjust to a "new world" now peopled with Europeans. Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore and London, 1992); Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1992); Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1992); Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York, 1991); Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, eds., *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1998).

[3] Jane T. Merritt, "Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awaking in Pennsylvania," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 54 (October 1997): 723–746, explores these religious trends in more detail.

[4] Barry C. Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, Anthropological Series, no. 6 (Harrisburg, Pa., 1984), 8 and 22; Francis Jennings, "Susquehannock," in *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger, *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 15 (Washington, D. C., 1978), 364–365.

[5] Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 91; Frank G. Speck, *A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1931), 14; Ives Goddard, "Delaware," in *Northeast*, ed. Trigger, *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. Sturtevant, 214 and 225. These are the terms that Munsees used for Delaware River peoples. Eighteenth-century Englishmen sometimes distinguished the three groups as Delawares, Forks Indians, and Munsees.

[6] Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 94.

[7] Marshall J. Becker, "Cultural Diversity in the Lower

Delaware River Valley, 1550–1750: An Ethnohistorical Perspective," in Jay F. Custer, ed., *Late Woodland Cultures of the Middle Atlantic Region* (Newark, N. J., 1986), 94; Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1990, orig., 1949), 8–9.

[8] Barry C. Kent, Janet Rice, and Kakuko Ota, "A Map of 18th-Century Indian Towns in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 51 (1981): 8–11 and map.

[9] Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681–1726*, new ed. (Boston, 1993), 4, 47.

[10] John Cunningham Clyde, *The Scotch-Irish of Northampton County, Pennsylvania* (Easton, Pa., 1926) 13; Alfred Mathews and Austin N. Hungerford, *History of the Counties of Lehigh and Carbon, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1884), 4 and 6; Maps: "the Forks of the Delaware in Pennsylvania an English Province in America under the Penn Proprietaries, 1681–1783," compiled by A. D. Chidsey, Jr. (Northampton County Historical and Genealogical Society, 1938).

[11] July 16/27, 1746, "Register of Inhabitants of Nazareth" [extracts from Nazareth Diary translated to English], Church and Meeting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (hereafter cited as HSP); Vernon H. Nelson, trans., "Peter Boehler's Reminiscences of the Beginnings of Nazareth and Bethlehem," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 27 (1992): 2–3.

[12] William C. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1870), 18–19.

[13] Petition from Titami, *et al.*, presented Nov. 20, 1742, in *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government*, vol. 4 (Harrisburg, Pa., 1851), 624.

[14] [*WMQ* article, footnotes 23 and 24.]

[15] No date, English version, *Records of the Moravian Mission Among the Indians of North America*, ed. Carl John Fliegel (microfilm), 40 reels (New Haven, [1978?]), reel 24, box 315, folder 3, item 7, from original materials at the Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa. (hereafter cited as Moravian Records); Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs*, xvii; Johann Jacob Schmick (1714–78), *"Miscellanea linguae nationis Indicae Mahikan dicta cura suscepta,"* no date [circa 1760], 2 vols., American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, Pa. (hereafter cited as APS).

[16] Quoted in Earl P. Olmstead, *Blackcoats Among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier* (Kent, Ohio, 1991), 36.

[17] 1749 and 1750, in particular, witnessed the greatest religious activity, especially among the women, with 66 and 21 females baptized respectively. Compare this with David Brainerd, who had only baptized 47 Indians (23 adults and 24 children) by 1745. (Nov. 4, 1745, David Brainerd's Journal, 1745, APS). Ethnohistorians estimate the eighteenth-century Native American population at 500 Mahicans in 1700 and about 3,200 Delawares (Unami and Munsee) in 1779, see *Northeast*, ed. Trigger, *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. Sturtevant, 206 and 214. I estimate that somewhere between 10 percent and 20 percent of the Delaware and Mahican population in Pennsylvania were baptized by the Moravians during the mid-eighteenth century.

[18] Carol Devens, *Countering Colonization: North American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630s–1900* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 4, 13. See also Karen L. Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot: The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (London, 1991).

[19] Robert Steven Grumet, "Sunksquaws, Shamans, and Tradeswomen," in Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock, eds., *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1980), 53–54.

[20] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Iroquois Women, European Women," in Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker, eds., *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (London, 1994), 254. Indeed, Davis describes the changes in Iroquois and Huron women's lives in the seventeenth century as a "Renaissance" "in regard to voice." (257) See also Nancy Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," in Nancy Shoemaker, ed., *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (New York, 1995), 49–71, which explores ways that Indian women embraced and adapted Catholicism.

[21] Dec. 6/17, 1750, Moravian Records, reel 5, box 117, folder 1.

[22] Beverly P. Smaby, "Female Piety Among Eighteenth-Century Moravians," in *Empire, Society and Labor: Essays in Honor of Richard S. Dunn*, eds. Nicholas Canny, Joseph E. Illick, Gary B. Nash, and William Pencak, *Pennsylvania History* 64 (Summer 1997): 154. See also Amy C. Schutt, "Forging Identities: Native Americans and Moravian Missionaries in Pennsylvania and Ohio, 1765–1782," (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1995), 50.

[23] Nov. 24, 1752, Moravian Records, reel 5, box 117, folder 3; Jan. 26, 1754, *ibid.*, box 118, folder 1; Goddard, "Delaware," 220.

[24] Mar. 20, 1753, English version, Moravian Records, reel 40, box 3500, folder 16, Box 3500. See also Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 36; Anthony F. C. Wallace, with Sheila C. Steen, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York, 1970), 30–33, 44–45.

[25] Milo Milton Quaife, ed. *The Western County in the 17th century, The memories of Lamothe Cadillac and Pierre Liette* (Chicago, 1947), 132–133; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 6–7; Gladys Tantaquidgion, *A Study of Delaware Indian Medicine Practice and Folk Beliefs* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1942), 14; Speck, *Study of the Big House Ceremony*, 91. See also Mary Douglas, *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London, 1975), 61.

African Virginians and the Colonial Virginia Militia

by Noel B. Poirier

Noel, a military historian, is a journeyman carpenter in Rural Trades.

The first permanent English settlers in Virginia brought with them a militia heritage dating back hundreds of years. Within decades of their arrival, however, Virginia's colonial government was forced to make decisions affecting that heritage as they attempted to meet situations unknown to their English predecessors. An influx of African labor, eventually in the form of slaves, forced the government to determine how these individuals would fit into the traditional English militia system. Adding to this complex situation was the continuing presence of small numbers of subjugated, and sometimes hostile, native tribes within the boundaries of the colony. Through a brief examination of the militia tradition in Britain and Virginia and an investigation of Virginia's colonial militia laws before the Revolution one can explore more completely the role played by African Virginians in the colonial militia.

When John Smith and his colleagues dropped anchor at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, the societal baggage they carried included the long-standing English tradition of military obligation to one's community. This tradition, in one form or another, dates back to the founding of the English state. King Alfred the Great (A.D. 871–99), in his effort to reform the Anglo-Saxon system of defense, divided various counties into military districts called *fyrds*. Within these fyrds, each landholder who owned more than six hundred acres was required to provide an armed man for the king. Occasionally, even the landholder himself was required to provide service. King Alfred's reforms became the foundation of later English militia systems.[1] Parliamentary and royal decrees like the Assize of Arms (1181), the Statute of Westminster (1285), and the Instructions for General Musters (1572) codified this obligation for the male citizens of Great Britain.[2] This martial tradition eventually provided the foundation for colonial Virginia's militia system. The aforementioned mandates, while providing some of the legal framework for a militia within a free society, failed to address some of the major concerns for the Virginia colonial government.

As the colonists gained a foothold in the New World, Virginia's farmers came to rely on income generated primarily from the cultivation of labor-intensive tobacco. By the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century, Virginia colonists began to import African labor, not always in a state of slavery,[3] to work on their ever-expanding tobacco plantations.[4] Euro-Americans were not the only settlers to bring a military tradition to the New World. The newly arrived Africans also hailed from long traditions of military service in their ancestral homelands. For centuries, Africans had been used as soldiers to supplement the armies of their Mediterranean neighbors, and the tradition of performing as a warrior for one's own tribe was a role familiar to virtually every African male.[5]

The earliest Europeans to visit Africa recorded their views on the military ability of the populations there. One traveler wrote that West African soldiers were "bold and fierce" and would rather die than surrender in battle. As the numbers of Europeans trading with Africans along the west coast increased, so too did the ability of African tribal soldiers to become familiar with the weapons of their European counterparts. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, this trade brought with it the latest military weaponry, and firearms became increasingly present on the tribal battlefields of West Africa.[6]

The introduction of Africans to Virginia required local authorities to confront the challenges of a racially mixed society. The colonists were compelled to develop a legal mechanism, in the form of servitude, to use and control their ever-increasing African-Virginian workforce. As the need for cheap labor continued to increase, Virginia began to legalize the practice of enslaving Africans.[7] The established British militia

system, transplanted to Virginia, was obliged to adjust to this slaveholding society.

At the beginning of Virginia's settlement, the colonists required all the martial manpower they could muster. In March 1622, the colony was nearly wiped out in a surprise attack by the native inhabitants. The First Tidewater War, led by Opechancanough, struck settlements throughout the colony and killed more than three hundred settlers. In the years following this setback, Virginia's records are interestingly silent about any prohibition against free or enslaved African Virginians serving in the colony's militia. On the contrary, during the first two decades of African presence, masters were permitted to defend their far-flung plantations by providing weapons to their slaves if they chose. Free African Virginians, during the same period, were required to provide identical military service to the colony as that of their European counterparts.[8]

When the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act in 1624 stating that all able-bodied men were "not to worke in the ground without their arms (and a centinell upon them.)" and that "no man go . . . abroad without a sufficient partie will [well] armed" without specifically mentioning race, they were including European and African-Virginian men.[9] The threat of more native uprisings and the limited number of European settlers required that Virginia open the ranks of its militia to all those able to serve. The colony waited twenty years after the arrival of the first Africans to pass militia legislation limiting the involvement of Africans in its defense.

An increase in Virginia's European population continued during the same period, allowing the government to begin to limit its reliance on non-European manpower for its defense. In January 1640, the first statute limiting African Virginians' right to bear arms appeared. The law required that all individuals required to perform militia service in the colony were to be issued arms and ammunition, Africans excepted.[10] Historians have argued over the meaning and effect of this particular act on the African-Virginian community. There is some question as to whether or not African Virginians already owning firearms were disarmed, and nothing in the act specifically prohibited them from taking part in military activities. Therefore, it seems likely that the 1640 act little altered the role of African Virginians already active in the militia system.[11]

While those of African descent began to have limitations placed on them that might have excluded them from militia service, they nonetheless continued to play a part in seventeenth-century colonial military events. In the middle of the 1670s, Virginia suffered through what has become known as Bacon's Rebellion. This contest between Governor Berkeley and a hotheaded, Indian-hating colonist named Nathaniel Bacon, brought the African-Virginian colonial soldier to the forefront again. Bacon and his followers, primarily small planters from Virginia's frontier, wanted to usurp the lands of the native inhabitants and protect themselves from future Indian raids. Unfortunately for Bacon, his heavy-handed tactics, which included burning the capital at Jamestown, shocked many Virginians. Bacon, in recruiting his small army, opened enlistment to hundreds of indentured servants and slaves. Bacon's army, it was reported, consisted of "250, sum'd up in freemen, servants and slaves."[12] Enough servants and slaves flocked to Bacon's banner to acutely alarm the colony's European population and erode much of the popular support for his cause.[13] Obviously, attitudes among the growing white population about the arming of blacks had dramatically changed in the fifty years after the First Tidewater War of 1622.

The trend of colonial conflict affecting the role of the African Virginian in the colony's militia became apparent at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. Following the outbreak of King William's War (1689–97), Virginia authorities once more considered whether to allow African Virginians to play a part in the colony's militia system. In 1690, with the war being fought primarily in Canada, Virginia's leaders again determined that militia officers should not attempt to enlist freemen of African descent into the militia. Similar laws enacted during King William's War also forbade free African Virginians from holding any militia office and prohibited slaves from taking any part in the defense of Virginia.[14] After the war, Virginia's Act for Settling the Militia (1705) continued to forbid the use of slaves or servants in the militia.

For much of the first one hundred years of the colony's existence, with the exception of the years 1619–75, Virginia had managed to keep its free and enslaved African-Virginian population from taking a meaningful part in the colony's militia system. Concerns over the threat of attack from Native Americans in the early half of the eighteenth century again caused the colony to lessen those restrictions temporarily.

Subsequent to the Tuscarora (1711–12) and Yamasee (1715–21) Wars in the Carolinas, Virginia diluted the restrictions placed on free blacks by previous militia legislation. While the colonial Assembly was still unwilling to arm free African Virginians who wished to take part in the defense of Virginia, the Act for Settling and Better Regulating of the Militia (1723) did allow them to serve as trumpeters, drummers, and laborers.[15] The law also required that, if the colony were invaded, African Virginians would be compelled to join the militia and serve as pioneers and laborers. As the fear of native uprisings along the coast subsided and the number of enslaved blacks continued to increase, African Virginians' role in the militia was once again minimized by the Assembly. The Virginian of African descent, free or enslaved, gradually became more a target of the militia than a functioning component of it.

The government had excluded free blacks and slaves from military service because of the growing need for labor in the tobacco fields of Virginia, as well as the fear of arming an enslaved population whose numbers were beginning to mirror that of Europeans in the colony. There was considerable anxiety over where the loyalties of these potential soldiers would lie on the battlefield: with their masters or their masters' enemies. The leadership of the colony also cited their concern about armed slave insurrection as a legitimate excuse for excluding African Virginians from the militia and withholding military training from them. Oddly enough, while expressing fears of slave uprisings, Virginians never made provisions to prevent such an occurrence during the seventeenth century.[16] They remained inactive despite a number of near insurrections during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

In 1687, people in the Northern Neck of Virginia avoided an insurrection by detecting a conspiracy. Surry County was spared in 1710, when a participant revealed the plans. Eight years later a number of fugitive slaves, some recently imported, occasioned havoc in Caroline County.[17] Virginia leaders saw these acts of disobedience as reason enough to continue their policy of racial exclusion in the colony's militia, yet took no active measure to use the militia to hamper further occurrences until the end of the 1720s.

The years between 1723 and the onset of the American Revolution saw little change in the role of African Virginians in the militia. The Act for Better Regulating of the Militia (1738) decreed that African Virginians, free or enslaved, were exempt from militia duties. Another act went so far as to fine any exempted African Virginian one hundred pounds of tobacco if he appeared at a militia muster.[18] During the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the militia began to place more serious attention on the continued concern over the internal security of the colony. To this end, the General Assembly passed acts exempting overseers of four or more slaves from militia duty. While enforcing laws against the possession of arms and military training of African Virginians in the Piedmont and Tidewater, the General Assembly did allow African Virginians on the frontier to be armed for the safety of the plantations on which they worked. African Virginians also unwillingly and unwittingly assisted in the maintenance of Virginia's militia system through a tax on the purchasers of slaves.

Not until 1726 was the first act authorizing the patrolling of slave quarters passed. This law allowed the county militia commander to patrol and disperse any suspicious gatherings of blacks on holidays like Easter, Christmas, and Whitsuntide. It was modified in 1754 to permit patrols of slave quarters by the militia once a month, if necessary.[19] At the beginning of the Revolutionary period, the African Virginian played little or no role in the activities of the Virginia militia. The militia laws passed during

the middle of the eighteenth century provided the framework upon which Virginia's Revolutionary militia was built.

The initial settlement of the colony and the challenge of conflict with hostile native inhabitants and traditional European foes forced the early colonial government to include all able-bodied men in the muster rolls of the militia, including those of African descent. However, as the number of plantations increased, so did the demand for slave labor. The fear of European plantation owners that their servile labor might rise up against them motivated the Virginia legislature to exclude the African Virginians, free or otherwise, from learning martial skills and from serving in the colony's militia.

Beginning a trend that has continued throughout America's history, colonial leaders were unwilling to exclude African Virginians from service, whenever a crisis arose that required military manpower (like the period following the Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars). When the colonial authorities determined to raise troops for the defense of Virginia's liberty

in 1775, manpower needs were foremost in their minds. The act passed in July 1775, months before Dunmore's Proclamation, opened the ranks of the Virginia militia to all "free male persons, hired servants, and apprentices, above the age of sixteen" regardless of race.[20] Manpower demands at the beginning of the American Revolution prevented the exclusion of African Virginians from service in the state's militia. Efforts to limit African-Virginian militia service later in the war should not diminish the memory of those who willingly served in the Virginia militia during the Revolution. The pattern of including African-American soldiers, based only on the manpower needs of the nation, dominated military recruitment until President Harry Truman's Executive Order finally began to integrate America's armed forces in the twentieth century.[21]

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[1] Frederick Stokes Aldridge, *Organization and Administration of the Militia System of Colonial Virginia* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1992), 13–14.

[2] Louis Morton, "The Origins of American Military Policy," *Military Affairs* 22 (1958): 76.

[3] For information on the status of Virginia's earliest African Virginians, see Junius P. Rodriguez, ed. *The Historical Encyclopedia of Slavery* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 1997).

[4] Cary Carson, ed., *Becoming Americans: Our Struggle to be Both Free and Equal* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1998), 56.

[5] Peter M. Voel, *Slave and Soldier: The Military Impact of Blacks in the Colonial Americas* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993), 289.

[6] *Ibid.*, 289–291.

[7] *Ibid.*, 58–59.

[8] William L. Shea, *The Virginia Militia in the Seventeenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press. 1983), 25–27, 54.

[9] Aldridge, *Militia System of Virginia*, 49; William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (New York: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 1: 127.

[10] Benjamin Quarles, "The Colonial Militia and Negro Manpower," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45 (1945): 644; Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 1: 226.

[11] T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground": Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640–1670* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 25–27.

[12] Charles M. Andrews, *Narratives of the Insurrections 1675–1690* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1915), 94.

[13] Shea, *Virginia Militia*, 113–114.

[14] Quarles, *Colonial Militia and Negro Manpower*, 644.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Aldridge, *Militia System of Virginia*, 90.

[17] *Ibid.*, 116–117.

[18] Quarles, *Colonial Militia and Negro Manpower*, 645.

[19] Aldridge, *Militia System of Virginia*, 117–122.

[20] Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large* (Richmond: J. & G. Cochran, 1821), 9: 27.

[21] For more on this pattern, see Bernard Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York: The Free Press, 1986).

Rare Breeds at Colonial Williamsburg

by Laura Arnold

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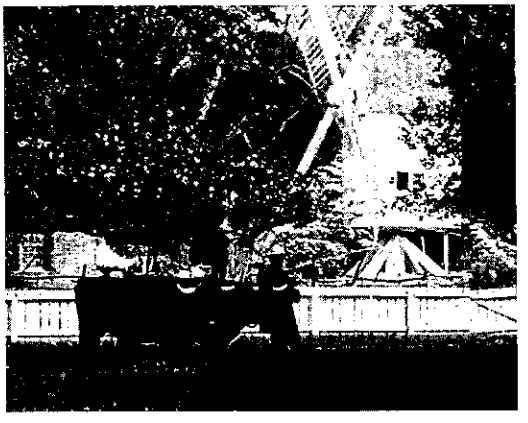


The mildness of the air, the fertilities of the soile and the situation of the rivers are propitious to the value and use of man . . . here will live any beasts as horses, goats, sheep, asses, hens, etc.

Captain John Smith, 1612

Horse-drawn carriages, sheep grazing in pastures, oxen pulling carts, and chickens strutting in their fenced enclosures are part of the ambience associated with Colonial Williamsburg. Few visitors realize that the animals they see represent rare breeds whose survival in American livestock farming is threatened. Why show rare breeds when other animals would serve the same purpose?

The answer lies in the commitment of the Coach and Livestock department to show visitors a historically accurate representation of the kinds of animals found in the colonies in the eighteenth century. This effort is linked to the educational mission of the Historic Area and is as important as costumed interpreters in authentic clothing, period furnishings in the buildings and historic tradesmen at work. The "beasts" mentioned by John Smith roamed freely and multiplied rapidly, creating a mongrel population of livestock. Except for Thoroughbred racehorses, the preservation of breed characteristics was not a priority for early Virginians. As the colony matured, livestock management and agricultural practices mirrored changes taking place in England.

Scientific ideas from the Age of Enlightenment were responsible for the changes in agriculture in mid-eighteenth-century England. More efficient use of land (the rotation of crops) appealed to Virginia plantation owners whose tobacco-depleted fields were replanted with wheat, corn, and oats. The talk of England, however, was Robert Bakewell's success in breeding his Leicester sheep for selected desirable traits. His ideas, which were as revolutionary as the political ideas that swept through the colonies, forever changed livestock farming. George Washington, happiest in his role as a farmer, wrote about Bakewell's discoveries in several letters and added Leicesters to his flock at Mount Vernon. Based on this documentation, the Coach and Livestock department included Leicester sheep in its list of animals appropriate for Colonial Williamsburg.

Acquiring animals that would accurately reflect eighteenth-century livestock proved to be a complicated, often frustrating task. American Milking Devon cattle—the first breed considered authentic for Colonial Williamsburg—and Leicester sheep were breeds designated as "critically endangered" (fewer than 200 annual registrations) or "rare" (fewer than 1,000 annual registrations) by the American Livestock Breeds Conservancy. Nevertheless, the decision was made to acquire and breed animals from the threatened categories and thus contribute to the preservation of once popular farm animals. Selecting a breed of horse to represent a colonial draft horse presented another challenge. The American Cream Draft Horse, a threatened breed of early twentieth-century origin, was chosen because its size, stamina, and temperament were characteristics necessary for a working draft horse. In 1998, the Canadian Horse, a breed familiar in the colonies, was added to the program. Both breeds of horses continue to be listed as critically endangered, an indication that without concerted effort, their preservation is not guaranteed. Dominique, Dorking, Hamburg, and Nankin Bantam chickens, all very old races of domesticated chickens, were chosen for the poultry program, joining the hoofed animals in re-creating the eighteenth-century farm atmosphere of colonial Virginia.

Today, the animals at Colonial Williamsburg play a dual role: they are similar to those found on colonial farms and plantations, and by successfully breeding them, the loss of breeds important to the history and development of American farming livestock is thereby prevented.

American Milking Devon Cattle

Among the first cattle to be imported into the coastal area of Massachusetts Bay was the Devon as a draught, milk, beef animal.

Dublin Seminars for New England Folklife, 1986

The Rare Breeds program at Colonial Williamsburg began in 1986 with the acquisition of American Milking Devon cattle, a breed listed as "critical" by the American Livestock Breeds Conservancy. This breed was chosen because it probably represented some of the cattle in and around Williamsburg in colonial times. In 1775, an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* listed a "red cow and calf" and a "red steer" among strays taken from a plantation in Hanover County. By the late eighteenth century, as the agricultural economy placed less emphasis on tobacco, large plantation owners and small farmers alike had more pasture area available to support larger numbers of cattle. Multipurpose cattle like those imported to Massachusetts from Devonshire, England, had distinct advantages for all farmers, but particularly for the small farmer. Devons provided milk for calves as well as dairy products and beef for human consumption. Most important of all, they were superior draft animals. They required less care and were cheaper to feed than horses, and their agility when working on hilly, rocky terrain contributed to their popularity in the New England colonies.

Purebred Devon cattle are beautiful animals of compact medium size with deep to light red coats and curved creamy black-tipped horns. Devon cows are good mothers, have few problems with calving, and produce milk with a high butterfat content. Nevertheless, Milking Devons are not considered a dairy breed, having been surpassed in that capacity by Holstein and Jersey cows. The cows, noted for their longevity, are docile in temperament when treated with kindness.

Devon oxen have the enviable reputation of being intelligent and easy to train when handled properly by a skilled, caring trainer. The result of good training is an animal whose strength and even pace are matched by its ability to endure extremes of climate and exist on less forage than heavier beef cattle. Lighter dairy-type cattle make better oxen, and Devon oxen were the chosen draft animals on the Oregon Trail.

Why did an animal with such diversity fall out of favor? Specialization and mechanization, the twin prongs of progress, are the answers to that question. Devon cows could not compete with other breeds for maximum milk production, and the invention of mechanical farm equipment virtually eliminated the use of oxen as working animals. By 1952, when Devons were nearly extinct, some breeders chose to selectively breed their cattle for beef production, and the breed registry was split between Beef Devon and the traditional multipurpose Milking Devon. In the 1970s, fewer than one hundred Milking Devon cattle remained in the United States; by then, the breed was extinct in England. Thanks to the efforts of a few New England dairy farmers and ox teamsters, the breed was saved from extinction and today the number of cattle is slowly increasing.

The characteristics of Devon cattle that made them popular in colonial times—their manageability, longevity, and diversity—now make them ideal animals for use at historic sites. Milking demonstrations are opportunities for Coach and Livestock staff to answer visitor questions ("Yes, cows do have horns") and, at the same time, discuss the importance of multipurpose cattle in the eighteenth century. The Foodways program at Colonial Williamsburg receives the rich, fresh milk to make butter, soft cheeses, puddings, and milk-based beverages. Because of careful selection and breeding, the Milking Devon cattle seen in the pastures at Colonial Williamsburg are the closest in America to the Devons originally imported to Massachusetts in 1623. Each year, new calves born here preserve that original genetic diversity and

are a visible testimony to the success of the Rare Breeds program.

Leicester Longwool Sheep

Within little more than half a century the new Leicester had spread themselves over every part of the United Kingdom and to Europe and America.

William Youatt, 1837

Leicester Longwool is now the official name for the "new Leicester" produced by Robert Bakewell's breeding techniques. These sheep were desirable for their meat and for their long, lustrous fleece suitable for blankets and garments where warmth and long wear were important. The Leicester's primary asset, its excellence for selective crossbreeding, was ultimately responsible for its loss. By 1914, one writer claimed there were no purebred Leicester sheep in existence in the United States.

The Coach and Livestock department recognized that their search for a pure Leicester would be a difficult one. The first Leicester to come to Colonial Williamsburg was a Canadian ram named Willoughby purchased at an animal auction at Woods Edge Wools in New Jersey. While the Foundation continued to look for Leicester ewes, Willoughby was bred to Dorset ewes that produced beautiful crossbred lambs. Tragedy struck in 1988 when someone brutally killed Willoughby. Media attention given to this sad event resulted in an unexpected outpouring of kindness. Donations from young children as well as from large philanthropic foundations enabled Colonial Williamsburg to realize its goal of importing purebred Leicester sheep from Australia.

Ivan Heazlewood, a third-generation Leicester breeder in Tasmania, personally took on the considerable task of organizing a flock of sheep for export to Colonial Williamsburg. He selected ewes from four different flocks and arranged to have them bred to rams that remained behind in Tasmania. He selected a ram for use the following year and included several ewes from his own Meltonvale flock. After clearing all the standard health inspections in Australia, the sheep arrived in Canada for a quarantine period and the final portion of their trip. In February 1990, after many long and anxious months, eight beautiful Leicester Longwool ewes, six lambs, and one ram arrived at Colonial Williamsburg.

Phillip Sponenberg, technical coordinator for the American Livestock Breeds Conservancy, designed a breeding plan for Colonial Williamsburg to make the most of the genetic material available. He also helped avoid inbreeding and other pitfalls of working with a small population of sheep. Following two successful breeding seasons, Colonial Williamsburg was ready to establish satellite flocks. Three ewes and one ram that were genetic matches were loaned to experienced sheep farmers who understood the genetic importance of the Leicester program. Colonial Williamsburg retains ownership of the original sheep and reserves the right to move any of them if necessary. The farmers retain ownership of half of the lambs produced by their loaner flock. There are now about 250 Leicester Longwool sheep in the United States and a long waiting list for satellite flocks.

Among the interested spectators at Colonial Williamsburg's shearing demonstrations are hand spinners who find Leicester fleece very desirable for a craft that is growing in popularity.

Small amounts of yarn spun from the fleece are now available at the Greenhow Store. Hand shears are used to remove the fleece in one large piece, which exposes the exceptional properties of the Leicester's long, curly wool. These demonstrations also provide the opportunity for the Coach and Livestock staff to discuss the importance of the wool trade in eighteenth-century Great Britain and how the restrictions placed on it in the colonies was an underlying cause of the American Revolution.

The lambs, so popular with springtime visitors, are evidence that Colonial Williamsburg's role in the preservation of Leicester Longwools will undoubtedly lead to a brighter future for this special breed.

American Cream Draft Horse

Indeed nothing can be more elegant and beautiful than the horses bred here, either for the turf, the field, the road, or the coach.

J.F.D. Smyth, 1770

Horses bred "for the turf"—the Thoroughbreds responsible for Virginia's reputation as the cradle of horse racing in the United States—were the only horses considered a breed in the Middle Colonies. Yet, they were owned by less than 2 to 3 percent of the population. Horses "for the road or the coach" were less costly but were trained for a specific purpose. Their equipage reflected the wealth of the owner. Horses bred "for the field," the work or draft horses, were preferred to oxen because of their speed while pulling a plow and their versatility.

When Colonial Williamsburg looked for a breed to represent eighteenth-century horses, racehorses with well-documented pedigrees were plentiful. However, the temperament of a Thoroughbred was not suitable for use in the Historic Area, neither would their selection accurately reflect how most horses were used in colonial times. The agricultural economy of Virginia required a draft horse capable of performing fieldwork and pulling heavily loaded wagons. Owning a draft horse often meant the difference between success and failure for the small farmer, even though the cost of a harness and proper fodder added to the expense of owning one of these hard-working animals.

In 1989, Colonial Williamsburg's choice of the American Cream Draft Horse introduced the rarest, and the only modern American breed, into the Rare Breeds program. Because of its friendly disposition, impressive appearance, alertness, good work habits, and strength, the American Cream is ideal for wagon, cart, and fieldwork throughout the Historic Area and at Carter's Grove. These horses are of a rich cream color and are medium sized with pink skin, amber eyes, white manes and tails, and occasional white markings.

The breed originated in Iowa in the early 1900s with a cream-colored draft mare of unknown ancestry known as Old Granny. She consistently produced cream offspring and her great-great-grandson, Silver Lace, an impressive stallion, attracted Iowa breeders to the Cream bloodline. Clarence T. Rierson bought all the mares sired by Silver Lace, researched the ancestry of each Cream horse, and recorded their pedigrees. He was one of the founders of the American Cream Draft Horse Association, and by the time of his death in 1957, association members had registered almost two hundred horses. The market for draft horses collapsed with the mechanization of agriculture just as the American Cream breed was being established. For fourteen years, the association was inactive, but a few breeders held onto their Creams thus preserving a slender genetic base, which provided the foundation for the breed's survival.

In 1982, when the association was reorganized, breeders worked with the University of Kentucky's Equine Blood Typing Laboratory to determine the breed's genetic parameters. Their research determined that American Creams were a distinct population within a group of draft breeds, refuting the perception of them as only a color breed. The American Cream Draft Horse Association recognizes that a primary obstacle to the preservation of this still critically rare breed is that it is largely unknown. Increased promotional efforts, aided by the presence of these horses at Colonial Williamsburg, will help to alleviate this problem. Four of the

six Creams owned by the Foundation were born here. Three of them are the offspring of Mary, one of Colonial Williamsburg's original brood mares. To prevent inbreeding, Sir Thomas, bred in Iowa, was acquired in 1999 as the stud horse for Mary and her daughter Sarah. Their foals will increase the genetic base as well as add to the number of registrations recorded with the American Cream Draft Horse Association.

The frustration of knowing so little about specific breed characteristics of eighteenth-century draft horses has been replaced by the satisfaction that comes from preserving American Creams whose beauty and strength match the horses described by J.F.D. Smyth in 1770.

Canadian Horse

Small, but robust, hocks of steel, thick mane floating in the wind, bright and lively eyes, pricking its sensitive ears at the least noise, going along day and night with the same courage, wide awake beneath its harness; spirited, good, gentle, affectionate, following his road with the finest instinct to come surely home to his own stable. Such were the horses of our fathers.

Etienne Faillon, 1865

The Canadian Horses described by historian Etienne Faillon played a vital role in the settlement of Canada and the eastern coastal regions of the United States. The foundation stock came to Acadia and New France early in the seventeenth century and was carried back to Virginia by Samuel Argall's 1616 expedition. The horses later sent to Quebec by King Louis XIV were believed to have Arab, Andalusian, and Barb ancestry, traits that can be found in Canadian Horses of today. Because of the geographical isolation of Quebec, the horses were bred for years with little or no influence from outside breeds. The harsh weather and sparse food supply, combined with the hard work expected of the horses, produced a tough, sturdy animal that was affectionately known as "the little iron horse." Canadian Horses excelled in every area in which a horse was needed—racing, riding, pulling carriages, and working in the field—making them a truly versatile breed.

By 1800, Canadian Horses were well known in the United States and were famous for their use on stagecoach routes in New England. Their strength and hardiness were traits desired for crossbreeding. Their genes can be found in other North American breeds such as the Morgan, Tennessee Walking Horse, Standardbred, and American Saddlebred. The popularity of the Canadian Horse as a general utility animal led to its exportation in large numbers for use as cavalry horses in the American Civil War and for working on sugar plantations in the West Indies. Exportation, the loss of great numbers of horses as casualties of war, and the mechanization of agriculture resulted in the near extinction of the Canadian Horse. Like the American Cream, a few concerned breeders determined to preserve the breed and produced their first studbook in 1886. In spite of breeding programs sponsored by the federal government of Canada and the provincial government of Quebec, fewer than four hundred horses remained in 1976. The numbers have increased since then, but the American Livestock Breeds Conservancy still lists the Canadian as critically endangered.

Canadian Horses came to Colonial Williamsburg's Rare Breeds program to fulfill the need for carriage and riding horses. This decision was based on the Canadian's size and physical characteristics along with the documentation of their importation into the colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Canadian, a horse of medium build, is usually black, but can also be dark brown, bay, or chestnut in color. The mane and tail are full, long, and wavy, evidence of their Barb and Andalusian ancestry. Their calm, docile dispositions and adaptability recommend them for use in the Historic Area. Ads in the *Virginia Gazette*, entries in personal diaries, and letters from the eighteenth century described horses by their size and color. One of George Washington's carriage horses was a bay mare, and other owners described their lost horses as "a dark bay horse" or "a black horse, a large star in his forehead, and his two Hind Feet white." No evidence exists that these horses were Canadians, but these descriptions

closely match the Canadians owned by Colonial Williamsburg today.

All nine of the Canadians owned by the Foundation are black, six of them marked with white stars and two of them with white socks. Matched carriage horses became a status symbol in the eighteenth century, and the two colts born here in 1999, with their similar markings, have the potential to grow into a matched pair worthy of ownership by George Washington. The colts' names are Ranger and Captain commemorating those long ago horses who ranged from Canada to Virginia and led the way in bringing the best traits of European breeds to this new world.

Poultry

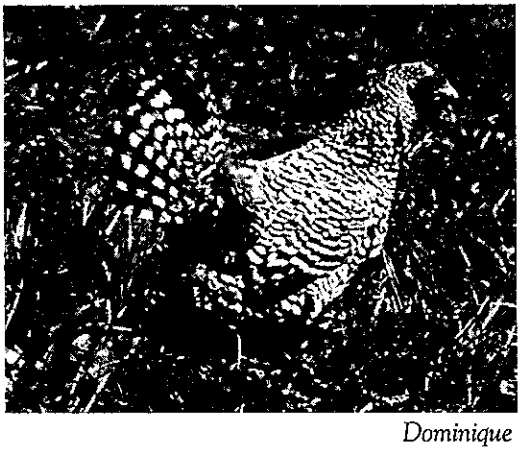
Red Dorkings

> *Mrs. Carter observed, with great truth, that to live in the Country, and take no pleasure at all in Groves, Fields, or Meadows; nor in Cattle, Horses & domestic Poultry, would be a manner of life too tedious to endure.*
>
> *Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773*

Frances Tasker Carter, mistress of Nomini Hall, numbered chickens, ducks, geese, and turkeys among her "domestic Poultry." These fowl provided food for her table; feathers for pillows, comforters, and mattresses; and manure for her garden. Poultry, held in low regard during the eighteenth century, was usually omitted from farm stock listings. One exception was the inventory taken after the death of Governor Botetourt, which listed "20 turkeys, 18 geese, 9 ducks." The record of the number of chickens he might have owned is noticeably absent. However, the account books of William Marshman, the governor's butler, contain frequent references to purchasing chickens at market or receiving them as gifts. Even that master of record keeping, Thomas Jefferson, did not include poultry in his stock inventories. In an 1807 letter to Ellen Wayles Randolph, he asked, "How go on the Bantams? I rely on you for their care, as I do on Anne for the Algerine fowls, and on our arrangements at Monticello for the East Indians. These varieties are pleasant for the table and furnish an agreeable diversification in our domestic occupations." This letter is an indication that Jefferson was experimenting with varieties of poultry in addition to other breeds of animals, as well as providing further proof that caring for poultry was a "domestic occupation" of gentry-class young ladies.

Wealthy plantation owners probably housed their poultry in shelters built for roosting and protection. Dovecotes often were incorporated into the design of other outbuildings to attract the pigeons that were the source of squab, considered a delicacy on a gentry family's table. Unlike Mrs. Carter, the small farmer and most residents of Williamsburg did not provide housing for their chickens. They drove them to roost in orchards or stands of timber, and in a town setting, may even have sheltered them in their houses or other nearby outbuildings. Chickens were expected to forage for most of their food, cleaning up behind the more important meat and draft animals or occasionally receiving table scraps or grain from their owners.

With little information about specific chicken breeds available, Colonial Williamsburg selected four breeds of old races of domesticated chickens for its Rare Breeds program: Dominique, Hamburg, Dorking, and Nankin Bantam. The Dominique, one of the first livestock breeds developed in America, is the only one listed as critically endangered by the American Livestock Breeds Conservancy. Dominiques were well known before 1750 and, by the



Dominique

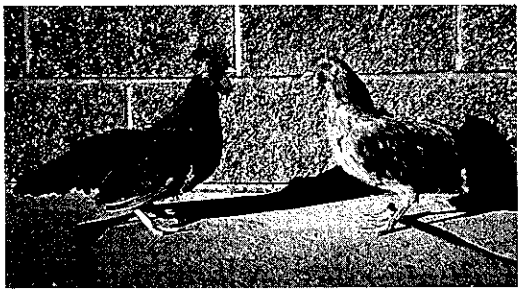
middle 1850s, were one of the most popular breeds in America. Importation of other poultry pushed the Dominique to the edge of extinction by 1900. A handful of dedicated breeders kept the heritage of the breed intact, and Dominiques still have the qualities for which they were celebrated two hundred years ago.

Dominiques were well suited to the colonial Virginia habitat because they were medium to small in size with a very hardy constitution. Heavy plumage protected the birds from the weather, and those with rose combs rarely suffered from freezing winter temperatures. Their dark and light irregular barring made them practically invisible when perched in brush or trees. Dominiques were fast growing in spite of having to forage for their food. Their hens were often the first to lay fall and winter eggs and continued without interruption throughout the winter. The usefulness of this special breed did not go unnoticed by farm wives of long ago who valued them for their feathers, meat, eggs, and for calm dispositions.

Hamburg

The Hamburg is a very old race of domesticated poultry. The name of the breed is German, but the origin is Dutch. Hamburgs of today owe their shape and color to the English fanciers who, more than a century ago, began the work of refining the "pheasant fowls" of that period. Hamburgs are active, flighty birds that forage well and are capable of flying long distances. They are good egg producers, but their eggs are relatively small. Trim and stylish, with delicate features, they are considered an ornamental fowl. Hamburgs are found in a variety of colors, such as golden and silver spangled, golden and silver penciled, solid black, and white. The Hamburgs seen at Colonial Williamsburg are the silver-spangled variety.

The Dorking is one of the most ancient of all domesticated races of poultry. It was brought to Great Britain by the Romans with Julius Caesar, but was known and described by the Roman writer Columella long before it became a popular breed in England. Dorkings have a rectangular body set on very short legs. Their distinguishing feature is their five-toed foot, which Pliny mentioned in his description of the breed in A.D. 77. Because of their relatively large comb, Dorkings require protection in extremely cold weather. They are a general-purpose fowl valued as good layers, are good mothers, and are also quite docile. Dorkings come in white, red, silver gray, and other varieties. Red Dorkings are found at Colonial Williamsburg.



Nankin Bantams

Nankin Bantams represent the miniature fowl that have been known in Europe since the time of Pliny. In England, bantams are divided between game bantams and the common bantams of the countryside. The Nankin of today is descended from the common bantam developed by Sir John Sebright around 1810, now known as the Sebright Bantam. The birds are buff or gold in color, with black main tail feathers and a rose comb. Nankin Bantams are the latest addition to the poultry population at Colonial Williamsburg.

The chickens seen in the poultry houses and runs around the Historic Area represent breeds that could have been in Williamsburg during the eighteenth century. While general-purpose chickens were the mainstay of the poultry stock, ornamental and bantam fowl were becoming increasingly popular as the colonists copied prevailing trends in England. In addition, the meat and eggs produced by the chickens are used by Historic Foodways to link their programs to the kinds of foodstuffs available in the local markets at the time. Currently, few breeds of ducks or geese are listed as threatened, but the Coach and Livestock department hopes to add historic breeds of pigeons and turkeys to the Rare Breeds Program.

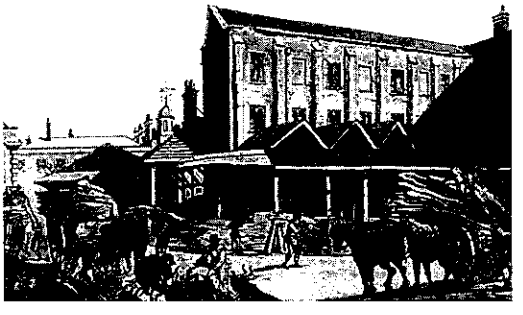
* * * *

The American Livestock Breeds Conservancy recently awarded Richard Nicoll, director of Coach and Livestock, its Turn-of-the-Century Conservation Award "for his works in promoting and conserving endangered breeds of livestock and bringing issues before the public." The citation further stated, "Williamsburg's fields and barns could have more easily been populated with more modern and common breeds. It would have saved time and money to use artificial insemination on the rare horses, sheep, and cattle, to avoid road trips to obtain new animals, and to move breeding groups. Yet the rare breeds have paid back the investment by providing interesting topics to discuss, beautiful animals to show visitors, and the feeling that Williamsburg is helping these vulnerable breeds to survive."

In accepting the award, Nicoll said, "I'm delighted for Colonial Williamsburg. I see the animals as a very important part of our conservation program. As we all know, the program is very popular, not only with the visitors but also with the locals. And I'm delighted for my staff. The ALBC gave me the award, but it is my staff that does all the work."

This recognition of fifteen years of work to establish the Rare Breeds program followed closely the construction of a new stable complex on Lafayette Street and the award-winning design of the new stables at Carter's Grove. Trained volunteers give tours of the Lafayette Street stables, an outstanding facility that has attracted visitors from all over the world. Because of the number of visitors and the variety of situations to which they are exposed, the animals at Colonial Williamsburg must be "user friendly." The proper care of them is a never-ending responsibility, and the environment in which they are housed and raised contributes to their well-being. The behind-the-scenes work performed by the Coach and Livestock staff reveals the patience and love of animals that these employees bring to their jobs. They consider themselves fortunate to work with such special animals and to be a part of Colonial Williamsburg's Rare Breeds program.

The Turn-of-the-Century Conservation Award opened the door to increased interest and participation in the Rare Breeds program at Colonial Williamsburg. Nicoll is joined by Elaine Shirley, supervisor of rare breeds, and Karen Smith, stable supervisor, in his efforts to guarantee the future of this program and the future of the animals it seeks to protect.



For more information about donating to the Rare Breeds program, contact the Development Office, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Post Office Box 1776, Williamsburg, Virginia 23187-1776 or *www.history.org/cwf/development.*

For information about other endangered breeds, contact American Livestock Breeds Conservancy, Post Office Box 477, Pittsboro, North Carolina 27312-0477.

The *Interpreter* wishes to thank Richard Nicoll, Elaine Shirley, and Karen Smith for their assistance in preparing this article.

Questions & Answers

How were British colonies in North America administered?

In general, there were three types of English colonies in America during the colonial period: royal, proprietary, and corporate.

In a **royal colony,** the governor, appointed by the king, enforced the laws of England applicable to the colony and all laws passed by the colonial legislature. He recommended appointees to the king for membership in the upper house. (The king made the actual appointments.) The governor was also head of the highest court. He acted as viceroy to the king and exercised in the colony all the civil and military authority vested in him by the crown.

In a **proprietary colony,** the proprietor, who had received a royal charter granting him the land and special privileges, had control and wielded powers resembling those possessed by royal governors. The proprietor could exercise executive authority, appoint high officials, summon and dissolve assemblies, and approve or veto laws. Of the proprietary colonies, Maryland alone had a legislative council, composed of councilors selected by the proprietor. The

legislatures of Pennsylvania and Delaware consisted of a single, popularly elected house.

A **corporate colony** was created by royal charter given to a corporate political community. A corporate colony was free to elect a general assembly composed of representatives from each town and to choose its own governor and other officials. The colony was then bound together as a public state to be guided and governed in its civil affairs by laws, orders, and decrees properly made by the government without seeking the crown's approval.

With the dissolution of the London Company in 1624, Virginia became the first royal colony and was the model upon which other royal colonies were based. At the close of the colonial period, eight of the thirteen colonies were royal: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Georgia. Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania remained proprietary colonies. The corporate colonies were Connecticut and Rhode Island.

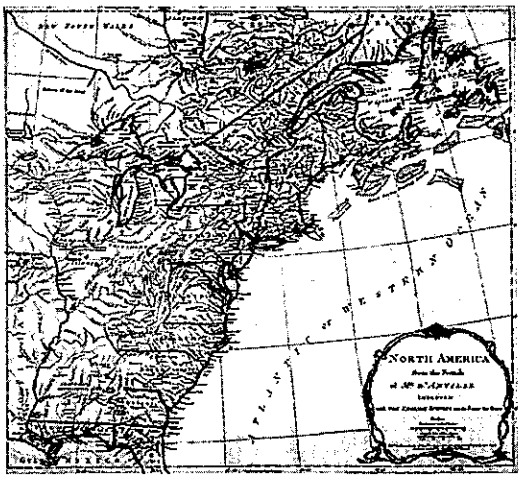
When and how were the colonies other than Virginia established?

New Hampshire was first settled by the English in 1623 under a proprietary charter. During the 1640s, however, Massachusetts began to extend its authority over New Hampshire, challenging the proprietors' control. The heirs of the first proprietors eventually won a lawsuit against Massachusetts in 1677. Two years later, New Hampshire became a separate royal colony with Portsmouth as its capital.

Founded in 1624 under Dutch auspices, **New Jersey** was seized by the English in 1664 and given to Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley by James, duke of York. In 1676, the proprietors agreed to divide the colony into East and West New Jersey. In 1702, the two Jerseys were united as one royal colony. The colonial legislature convened alternately in Perth Amboy, the old capital of East Jersey, and Burlington, the old capital of West Jersey.

Although settled as early as 1613, **New York** first became a colony in 1624, when the Dutch West Indies Company established New Netherland. It was captured by the English in 1664 and renamed New York in honor of its first proprietor, James, duke of York. New York automatically became a royal colony in 1685 when James succeeded his brother Charles as king of England. New York City served as the colony's capital.

The full-scale settlement of **Massachusetts** by the Puritans began in 1630 under a charter



granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629. Forced in 1684 to surrender its original trading company charter, Massachusetts received a new one in 1691 that united it with Plymouth as the royal colony of Massachusetts Bay. Plymouth, founded by the Pilgrims in 1620, had operated as a separate colony under a land patent granted it in 1621 by the Council for New England. Boston was the colony's capital.

Given to Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, in 1632, **Maryland** was the first proprietary colony. Its earliest settlers arrived in 1634. Except for brief periods under Cromwell and William III, the Lords Baltimore were able to maintain their proprietary rights to Maryland until the Revolution. Annapolis was Maryland's capital. Though the colony was a safe haven for Catholics and Quakers (and a few Puritans) until the late 1690s, the Church of England was established there by 1724.

Connecticut was established in 1635–36 when a number of transplanted Massachusetts congregations settled along the Connecticut River. By 1639, another group of Puritans established a separate colony at New Haven. In 1662, the two were joined under a royal charter. The colonial assembly met alternately at Hartford and New Haven.

Rhode Island was formed in 1640 by the confederation of Providence Plantation and the colony of Rhode Island, two dissident offshoots of Massachusetts. Providence, established by Roger Williams in 1636, was the first permanent English settlement in the colony. Rhode Island received its first charter from Parliament in 1644. Newport served as the colony's capital.

North Carolina, or Albemarle as it was first called, was originally settled by planters from Virginia in the 1650s. In 1663, Charles II included Albemarle with both Carolinas in a large grant to eight proprietors. Although South Car-

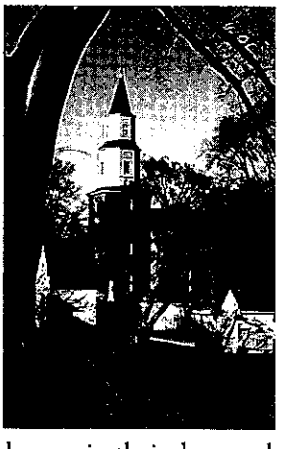
olina became a royal colony in 1719, North Carolina continued as a proprietary colony until 1729, when the proprietors surrendered their rights to the crown. New Bern was North Carolina's capital.

South Carolina, established in 1663 as a proprietorship that included North Carolina, was not actively settled until 1670. In 1719, local planters who favored crown rule rebelled against the proprietors, and South Carolina became a royal colony. Charleston was the capital.

Delaware, first settled by the Dutch and a small number of Swedes, was captured by the English in 1664. In 1684, the Duke of York gave the area to proprietor William Penn who founded Pennsylvania. Delaware remained a part of Pennsylvania until 1701 when it received the right to choose its own assembly, although it continued to share its governor with Pennsylvania. New Castle was its capital.

In 1681, the area that became **Pennsylvania** was given to William Penn by Charles II as a proprietary colony. Although begun as a Quaker commonwealth, the colony actively sought immigrants from other religious groups in Britain and elsewhere in Europe. Pennsylvania remained a proprietary colony until 1776. Philadelphia was the capital.

Georgia was created as a proprietary colony. George II granted the land to a board of trustees in 1732 as both a philanthropic experiment and a military buffer against Spanish Florida. The first English settlers arrived in 1733. In 1753, the trustees' charter expired and the colony reverted to the crown. Its capital was Savannah.



Who is the most famous person buried at Bruton Parish Church?

That depends on how you define famous. No former presidents or immediately recognizable national heroes are buried at Bruton, however, the graves of a number of people who were well known in their day or whose names are still familiar to students of Virginia history can be found there. These include Virginia Governors Edward Nott (died 1706) and Francis Fauquier (1704–68, whose marker is inside the church). John Blair, Jr., Virginia's first justice of the Supreme Court of the United States is buried with other members of his family just outside the northeast corner of the church.

If famous names carry a premium, perhaps one might mention the relations of Martha Washington who are interred at Bruton. Both her grandfather and great-grandfather Jones were early rectors of seventeenth-century Bruton Parish. Their stones, along with that of Martha's grandmother Martha Jones, are inside the church near the altar. Just outside the north wing of the church are the graves of two infant children from Martha Washington's first marriage to Daniel Parke Custis.

Bruton burials can be confusing, since some stones have been moved around and others brought in from other locations. Perhaps the most prominent example of this is the marker of Edmund Pendleton, president of the Virginia convention, that in 1776 voted for independence from Britain. Pendleton's remains were moved from his plantation by a niece at the time of the 1907 restoration of Bruton Church and placed under the present marker in the floor of the church.

From the perspective of Colonial Williamsburg, the most important personage buried in the church would be the Reverend Dr. W.A.R. Goodwin, rector of Bruton, who died in 1939. His dream of restoring the colonial town became a reality when he persuaded John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to take an interest in the project.

Three important Virginians NOT buried at Bruton include brothers Peyton and John Randolph and beloved Governor Norborne Berkeley, baron de Botetourt. These three men were interred in the chapel of the Wren Building at the College of William and Mary.

For more information about burials at Bruton, consult *Bruton Parish Churchyard: A Guide with Map,* which may be purchased at the tower entrance of the church. This inexpensive softcover book contains the readable inscriptions of the graves and markers.

Is the weather vane assembly on the cupola at the Capitol supposed to represent the sign of the cross, symbolizing the connection between church and state?

Despite reports to the contrary, that most recognizable of Christian symbols—the sign of the cross—is not part of the weather vane assembly atop the cupola at the Capitol. The idea that there is a cross on the Capitol probably has come about for a couple of reasons. For one thing, at a certain angle from the ground, the

elements of the spire over the weather vane resemble the vertical and horizontal lines of a cross.

Put this visual impression together with the recent emphasis in interpreter training on the church/state establishment in Virginia, and the finial assumes a religious significance that is **just not there.** Remember, after the Protestant Reformation reached England and the Church of England became independent of Rome, many religious symbols were regarded by English Protestants as too reminiscent of Roman Catholicism. Although the cross was still in private or personal use (worn by women as jewelry, for example), crosses were used sparingly in parish churches and, according to architectural historian Carl Lounsbury, were definitely not used on government buildings in England or the colonies. (Don't forget, though, that Bruton, like many other churches in America, was built on a cruciform or cross-shaped plan, harking back to medieval practice.)

While it is incorrect to say that there is a cross on the Capitol, it remains important to tell visitors that the English monarch was (and is) the head of the Church of England (protector of the faith), and that the governor of Virginia, as the king or queen's representative, had a similar role in the colony. Among the governors' instructions from the crown were several about religion. For example, he was to see that the Anglican Book of Common Prayer was in use in every parish church and that, indeed, every parish had a proper church building. Moreover, the General Assembly repeatedly enacted laws regulating morality (bastardy, adultery, blasphemy, etc.), church attendance, and Anglican ministers' salaries, as well as those for licensing dissenting congregations. Burgesses created new parishes and divided old ones. Among the oaths administered to members of the Assembly was one confirming allegiance to the Church of England.

One more thing. Periodically, visitors ask whether or not the muntins (divisions between units of windows, doors, or other architectural features) bear any connection to Christian symbolism. Lounsbury said that there is no such Christian symbolism in these architectural features. The use of such terms as *cross and bible doors,* for example, to describe four- or six-paneled doors is a modern expression, the meaning of which would have baffled colonists. *(Thanks to historian Linda Rowe for providing information for this last question.)*

Q & A was compiled by Bob Doares, instructor in the Department of Staff Development, and a member of the Interpreter *planning board.*

COOK'S CORNER

by Frank Clark

Frank, an apprentice in the Historic Foodways program, is guest author for this season's Cook's Corner.

The year 2001 marks the introduction of the Buying Respectability story line at Colonial Williamsburg. The new story line focuses on the consumer revolution that began in the eighteenth century. The effects of this new consumerism can be clearly seen in the marked increase in food preparation and service equipment. A visitor to Virginia in the seventeenth century would have quickly noticed a lack of cooking equipment, even in gentry households. It was not uncommon to find all food prepared in one pot and consumed from a single bowl passed from diner to diner. The same visitor returning to Williamsburg in the 1700s would have found a very different situation. Inventories for three different households—the Palace, Raleigh Tavern, and Peyton Randolph—suggest

the impact of this new consumerism in Williamsburg kitchens.

The English civil wars of the seventeenth century had an interesting side effect on English culture: the introduction of French fashions to the English gentry. Returning from exile in France, Charles II brought an infatuation for French fashions and cuisine. Traditional English cuisine did not require much equipment since most foods were either boiled or roasted—a couple of large pots and a spit or two were sufficient even for many wealthy households. Throw in an oven for baked goods, and little more was necessary.

French cuisine differed from English cuisine in two ways: the emphasis on "made dishes," which often involved multiple cooking techniques, and a reliance on fancy sauces. Each of these differences required more equipment, not only more pots, but even more specialized equipment such as sieves, strainers, and fish kettles. We can get a complete list of the equipment needed to prepare French cuisine from William Verral's introduction to his delightful cookbook, *A Complete System of Cookery*, published in 1759. While discussing kitchen equipment with a friend, Verral stated:

> *Sir, please to give me leave to make a catalogue of such things as you stand in need of in your kitchen: Two little boilers, one big enough for your broth or boiling a leg of mutton, and the other for the boiling of a couple of fowls or so, a soup-pot, eight small stewpans of different sizes, two very large ones, and covers to them all, a neat handy frying pan that may serve as well for frying any little matters, as an amlette or pancakes, a couple of copper ladles, two or three large copper spoons, a slice or two, and an egg spoon all tinn'd; a pewter cullender, three or four sieves (one of lawn); to which you may add half a dozen copper cups that hold about three-fourths of half a pint, and as many of a lesser size, and an etamine or two for straining your thick soups.*[1]

Now let's see how the kitchens of Virginia's gentry stacked up to Verral's ideal, starting at the top of the social ladder with the royal governor. If it's 1774, that must be Governor Dunmore's kitchen. As it happens, we don't know exactly what equipment Dunmore's cook used in the Palace kitchen, but it was probably as good if not better than Lord Botetourt's for which we do have an accounting. (Recall that Dunmore, an earl, was a step up from Baron Botetourt.) The inventory taken after Lord Botetourt's death in 1770 lists the equipment he brought for his cooks to use and makes it clear that the Palace kitchen exceeded Verral's expectations. From July 1769 until February 1770, the governor's *batterie de cuisine* was presided over by William Sparrow, an obviously well-trained cook who commanded a salary of £62 sterling per year. The highlights of the Palace kitchen equipment include the following: one large meat jack, one Dutch oven, two gridirons, one large boiling copper, one small and one large sieve, sixteen pewter ice molds, two tin colanders, twenty-one copper stew pans and twenty-four covers, four soup pots, one preserving pot, one small fish kettle and cover, five sauce pans, and twenty-one meat covers. This large number of pots and specialized equipment leads to speculation that this kitchen also contained another piece of equipment necessary for French-style cooking: a *potagère* or stew stove. Constructed of bricks with iron grates, stoves of this type were considered part of the building and, therefore, not included in inventories.

One would expect the royal governor to have a well-equipped kitchen. It was his job to convey the air of royal authority to the people of Virginia. The equipment in the kitchen was more than matched by the china, silver, and crystal in the house at the governor's disposal. An eighteenth-century guest invited to dine at the Palace would not have seen the well-outfitted kitchen, but would have been impressed by the results of the cook's handiwork set out on the governor's silver plate.

The royal governor and Thomas Jefferson were probably Virginia's greatest enthusiasts of French cuisine; however, not everyone in Virginia or England shared this passion. A prime example of a growing anti-French cuisine sentiment comes to us from the introduction to the best selling cookbook of the period. Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, first published in London in 1747, underwent numerous printings throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth. Mrs. Glasse wrote

> *if gentlemen will have* French *Cooks, they must pay for* French *Tricks. . . . I have heard of a Cook that used six Pounds of Butter to fry twelve Eggs; when every Body knows, that understands cooking, that Half a Pound is full enough, or more than need be used: But then it would not be* French. *So much is the blind Folly of this Age, that they would rather be impos'd on by a* French *Booby, than give Encouragement to a good* English *Cook!*

Even so, Glasse included a number of French dishes in her cookbook.[2]

Not even the American Revolution helped promote French cuisine in Virginia. Although the French eventually became our allies, Virginians, who went so far as to give up tea drinking in political protest, had little desire to emulate the upper ranks of English society. So while most gentry Virginians were not very interested in French cuisine, the consumer revolution continued to bring inexpensive cooking equipment to the gentry and the growing middle ranks.

Mrs. Glasse's book signaled a new stage in the consumer revolution in that it was one of a growing number of cookbooks written for housewives and servants. Prior to, and for the first couple of decades of the eighteenth century, most cookbooks were written *by* professional cooks of the nobility *for* professional cooks of the nobility. A second factor that discouraged French cuisine in Virginia was the gentry's reliance on slave cooks. With the exception of Thomas Jefferson, most Virginians did not invest the money needed to have their cooks professionally trained in France. Slave cooks learned their trade through oral tradition passed from one slave cook to the next, not by reading English and French cookbooks, though household mistresses gave instructions to slave cooks and sometimes read to them from cookbooks.[3] These slave cooks developed a new cuisine by combining African, traditional English, French, and even Native American influences to create what became a uniquely Virginian cuisine.

The Randolph family held a position at the top of the Virginia gentry for many years. Peyton Randolph died in 1775, and the inventory taken in 1776 reveals a well-stocked kitchen containing three copper kettles, eight copper stew pans, two fish kettles, one gridiron, two frying pans, one jack and two spits, three tin kettles, eight sauce pans, and a colander. One almost has to wonder if Randolph had read Verral's advice since he came very close to having all the recommended equipment. The Randolph kitchen would have had no problem producing a high-style Virginia dinner, with some French influence. Once again, one might expect to find this kind of equipment at the home of one of Virginia's wealthiest families, but would the gentry be able to expect such high style when they dined out?

The Raleigh Tavern was one of the longest operating and most successful of Williamsburg's taverns. The inventory taken there in February 1771, after the death of owner Anthony Hay, reveals a well-equipped tavern kitchen: two copper boilers, two fish kettles, two Queen's china fish strainers, two copper Dutch ovens (braising pans), one jack and two spits, two bell metal skillets, two large copper kettles, two frying pans, two gridirons, and six iron pots. The kitchen might not have been as well equipped as the Randolphs', but it was still capable of high-style dinners for groups of gentlemen renting private dining rooms. Another indication of the leisure provided by the Raleigh was the 139 Queen's china plates and 412 pieces of glassware for pyramids of candied fruits and jams.

The kitchen inventories of just a few of Williamsburg's finest kitchens clearly tell us that the consumer revolution of the eighteenth century had affected Virginia's kitchens and dining tables. Specialized kitchen equipment also found its way into up-and-coming middling households, as is evident from printer Alexander Purdie's 1779 inventory. The availability of affordable and more specialized kitchenwares helped to set the table for the emergence of a new and uniquely Virginian cuisine. This equipment enabled the gentry and the middling ranks to show their wealth in new and fashionable ways. The new status symbol of a well-dressed kitchen became as important as any other way of showing wealth in this new consumer society. Verral summed this up when he noted, "Gentlemen in general are as well pleased with the handsome decorations of their kitchen (though they may never dress a morsel of victuals there) as they are with an expensive and fine furnished parlour."[4] So, the next time you contemplate buying the newest Rontel kitchen gadget, take a minute to think back to where it all began.

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[1] William Verral, *A Complete System of Cookery* (London 1759), 27; reprinted as *The Cook's Paradise: being William Verral's A Complete System of Cookery*, ed. R. L. Mégroz (London: Sylvan Press, 1948).

[2] Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (London, 1747) (Repr., London: Prospect Books, 1983), ii; Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford, Eng.: B. Blackwell, 1985), 98.

[3] Monticello slave Isaac recalled that "Mrs. Jefferson would come out there with a cookery book in her hand and read out of it to Isaac's mother how to make cakes tarts and so on." Jane Carson, *Colonial Virginia Cookery: Procedures, Equipment, and Ingredients in Colonial Cooking* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1985), xi.

[4] Verral, *Complete System of Cookery*, 27.

MUSEUM NEWS

by Jan Gilliam

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

In the Historic Area we ask visitors to consider what life was like more than two hundred years ago and to think about the people who lived back then. *Southern Faces,* an exhibition at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum, offers visitors the chance to see some of these people of the past. Barbara Luck, curator of paintings, selected a number of portraits that feature men, women, and children who lived in the South in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Visitors will recognize the famous portrait of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart, but will also be introduced to lesser-known individuals and couples, some with ties to Williamsburg.

One famous individual of the period, although not well known today, is actress Nancy Hallam. Her portrait, painted by Charles Willson Peale, one of the best-known early American artists, is the earliest known of an American stage production. Peale painted Hallam in her role as Imogen from Shakespeare's *Cymbeline.* Hallam was a member of the American Company, a theater group that toured the East Coast, including Williamsburg. Also on view is a handsome portrait of Littleton Waller Tazewell, son of the Virginia governor of the same name, by Rembrandt Peale, son of Charles Willson Peale. There are paintings by Bridges and Dering as well as other artists known for their work in the South. One painting is by Joshua Johnson, an artist listed in the Baltimore records as a man "of colour." He was active in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The exhibition features many more people you will want to get to know. *Southern Faces* is on view until fall 2002.

Also featured in the exhibition is the newly conserved painting of the Murray sisters. This painting was acquired for the collection in 1996, but could not be shown until now because it was in such poor condition. A small room adjacent to *Southern Faces* displays panels outlining the various stages of the conservation process. These panels not only offer insights into the artist's work, but also that of today's conservators. After seeing this process, visitors will have a greater appreciation of the portrait and the skill of our conservators.

On a completely different note, visit the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum and be transported back to the first half of the twentieth century when trains, big and small, captured the imagination. *Toy Trains from the Carstens Collection,* on view until September 4, 2001, features toy trains collected over the years by Hal Carstens, head of Carstens Publications, publishers of model railroad magazines and hobby books. Carstens has had a lifelong interest in trains, has been inducted into the Model Railroad Hall of Fame, and was the National Model Railroad Association Man of the Year in 1990.

At the turn of the century, electric toy trains were just entering the toy market. It did not take long for them to become one of the most wished-for gifts under the Christmas tree. Young boys and adults, too, looked forward to becoming conductors of their own miniature railroads. The three top American companies in the field—Ives, Lionel, and American Flyer—are represented in the exhibition. Also shown are trains by the chief German toy makers of the period—Bing and Märklin.

Before World War II and the age of plastic, trains were made of tinplate and were brightly painted or lithographed. The large Standard-gauge trains dominated the market until the smaller O-gauge became popular. Over the years, trains became more realistic as the companies used the actual blueprints of real trains to construct them in miniature.

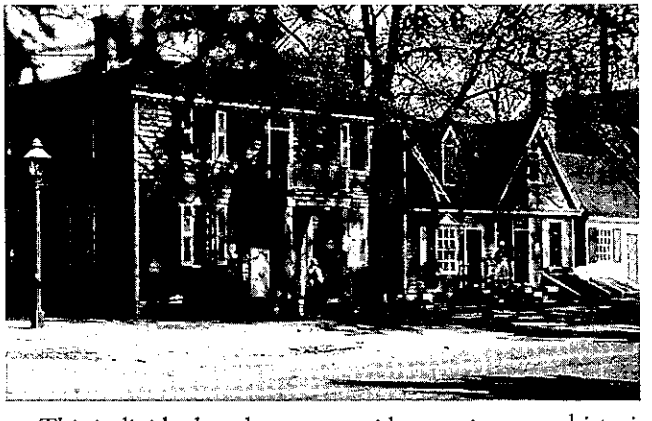
Visitors will see the colorful, tinplate trains and can also discover the difference between scale and gauge, learn how toy trains differ from model trains, and see some of the original "wish books" that sold hundreds of trains to eager young children. Complementing the exhibition is an operating layout lent by modern toy train manufacturer Bachmann Industries. After February, Maryland-based MTH Electric Trains will provide an equally impressive operating layout. The exhibition was funded in part by Joyce and Nicholas Codispoti, Carstens Publications, Inc., and Target Stores.

James Geddy: The Average Tradesman's Responses to the Consumer Revolution

by Julie Anne Sweet

Julie, a former historical interpreter at the James Geddy House, is currently working on her Ph.D. in American history at the University of Kentucky.

James Geddy was a successful silversmith in Williamsburg, Virginia, during the 1760s and 1770s. In 1762, he built a large six-room house adjacent to his business on the corner of Duke of Gloucester Street and Palace Street, where he lived with his wife, Elizabeth, and their five children—Anne, Mary, James, William, and Elizabeth—along with several slaves and apprentices.[1] He participated in local government in the 1770s as a grand juror and town councilman and also served on the Williamsburg Committee of Safety.[2] Geddy advertised often in the *Virginia Gazette*, listing a variety of goods and services available for his prominent and frequent customers. Although most of his ledger books are lost, the size of his home and household, along with the nature of his business, suggest that he lived his years in Williamsburg comfortably.



This individual tradesman provides a unique window into colonial society and into the larger issue of the imperial economy in the mid-eighteenth century. During this time, the American colonies experienced a dramatic increase in the number of goods offered, purchased, and exchanged. Many historians portray this sudden burst of economic activity as a "consumer revolution." This relatively new interest in consumer behavior in the field of history can perhaps be linked to the incredible growth of consumerism in the 1980s and 1990s throughout much of the modern world. "Not by accident," claims one author, "have social historians only recently joined forces with other scholars to study the origins of our modern consumer society."[3] Americans want to understand how they got to the place they are today, a place obsessed by objects and items, trends and fashions. And historians have sought to provide an explanation as well as an assurance that, most of all, it is not the fault of the current generation that brand names now dominate everyday life.[4]

Historians of colonial America have provided an answer by highlighting the rapid influx and absorption of an exceptional number of goods from England, especially during the mid-eighteenth century. No author denies that an increase in trade and the economy occurred at this time; however, each one has a different perspective on what it meant for the American colonies as a whole. Many writers demonstrate that this rise in consumer goods throughout the colonies disproves the concept of colonial self-sufficiency on the verge of independence. Several also credit the improving economy, the rising standard of living, and the enlargement of the amount of currency available to spend on goods. Others, however, grapple with the possible hidden meaning or agenda of this growing consumerism. T. H. Breen, for example, sees this increase in demand for British goods as evidence of "Anglicization," meaning that the colonists became more English in their everyday lives by the acquisition of more British material items. Richard L. Bushman, on the other hand, credits this alteration to the concept of "gentility," or the refinement of the wealthier colonists, which spread to the middling and lower sorts over time.

This juncture represents the point where one individual's story can assist historians in making sense of the larger picture. While making broad generalizations from information about one person is dangerous business for any historian, it nonetheless helps to demonstrate how aware the "ordinary" person was of the changing circumstances around him. How did the changing economy affect the "average" tradesman in the mid-eighteenth century? Were broader issues such as "Anglicization" or "the rise of gentility" actually important to him, or are they mere constructs and interpretations of late twentieth-century historians attempting to draw larger conclusions about the economy of the time?

Regardless of these more grandiose concerns, one fact remains clear: despite the size

and wealth of his household, James Geddy's family was not self-sufficient in any sense of the word. Living within the confines of the city of Williamsburg, his property would have included a small kitchen garden for herbs and vegetables, but other foodstuffs required almost daily visits to the market. The silversmith business itself involved participation in the local economy for customers and in the imperial economy for manufactured silver products and tools of the trade.

Historians provide further evidence that self-sufficiency was merely a myth even on small farms or large plantations. In her article "How Self-Sufficient Was Early America?" Carole Shammas proves this case quite convincingly. In order for an average farm to be self-reliant, it would have to possess numerous tools and equipment as well as the skills necessary to operate and create any of the goods needed for everyday life, a scenario that Shammas calls "highly unlikely."[5] Bettye Hobbs Pruitt reached the same conclusion in her in-depth study of eighteenth-century Massachusetts. Despite the traditional stereotype of the self-sufficient New England farm, reality paints a much different picture, one that requires interaction with other farms and communities not just for luxuries but for staple items like food and clothing. James A. Henretta agrees with this portrait of Northern agricultural life concerning the local exchange of goods and services to fulfill the daily needs and requirements of farms within a certain region, and he places the farm family at the center of this larger manufacturing community. Interdependence rather than independence defined colonial life and kept many farms and businesses alive, and while self-sufficiency always remained the ideal, it was definitely the exception rather than the rule.

Although this theory explains the need for certain items from beyond the boundaries of the farm or business, it fails to justify the dramatic increase in the variety of goods that proliferated throughout the colonies during the middle of the eighteenth century. Over time, colonists from the highest to the lowest end of the spectrum possessed specialized items such as tableware and furniture. These goods were by no means necessities but rather mere comforts of living. How do historians account for this peculiarity?

In general, the colonial economy was doing well, and many people benefited from this economic growth as demonstrated by a rise in the standard of living for most colonists.[6] The economy itself benefited from increases in population, labor, cities, and wealth as well as improvements in transportation and communication with more efficient and numerous ships using standard routes for intercolonial trade. Demand intensified with the rise of income, and the market responded accordingly.[7] Even the amount of tangible currency within the colonies gave more people more money to circulate.[8] Overall, the colonial economy flourished during the eighteenth century causing widespread prosperity for people of many social groups.[9]

James Geddy, working in Williamsburg, participated in this rising economy in a variety of ways. In 1760, he was able to purchase a lot on Duke of Gloucester Street from his mother, Anne Geddy, and built his large dwelling place there two years later. His silversmith business catered to the genteel tastes and demands of the upper echelons of society as well as to fellow members of the middling sort attempting to climb their way into the better segment of society. Improvements in imperial trade assured Geddy's ability to acquire the latest fashions from England, and the increase in currency gave his customers more money to spend in his shop. The colonial economy was booming, and James Geddy prospered and took advantage of it while he could.

Is there more to the story than that, however? Was it as simple as a man using the rising economy in order to provide for his family? Other historians argue that this consumer revolution meant more than just an increase of goods. Does James Geddy personify any of these broader conclusions?

For example, T. H. Breen's theory of Anglicization argues that the increased demand for British goods actually drew the colonists closer to the Mother Country. Throughout the British Empire, and especially during the 1740s in the American colonies, an explosion of consumption occurred. Advertising and shopping adapted to the new marketplace, and stores carried a wide variety of goods to suit every taste.[10] In many colonial homes, items that were once expensive luxuries became commonplace, such as Staffordshire pottery, an item that Breen dubs "the 'Coca-Cola' of eighteenth-century British America."[11]

The consumer revolution eventually affected all white Americans and all areas of life from everyday items like housing, furniture, and clothing to the fine arts of literature, painting, music, and theater.[12] By mid-century, certain attributes characterized the colonial marketplace such as "rapid expansion of consumer choice,

increasing standardization of consumer behavior, and pervasive Anglicization of the American market."[13]

After the political events of 1765, however, the colonists recognized their commercial dependency on England and chose to sever their ties. Within less than a generation, items that had once been vehicles of Anglicization became items of protest. Despite this change over time, the theory of Anglicization demonstrates the important position that colonists occupied within the imperial market. Their participation in the consumer revolution of the mid-eighteenth century placed them squarely in the broader scope of growing material ties to the Mother Country.

James Geddy demonstrates Breen's theory quite well. Geddy often advertised that he had imported goods for sale, which shows that he supplied his customers with the British goods that would make them part of the Anglicization process. As his business grew, he became increasingly reliant upon British trade for more goods, which drew him into the sticky web of the imperial market. He also participated in the shift from demanding British goods to rejecting them for political reasons. He openly admitted to being a member of the Association, a group of merchants pledged to boycott British goods, and emphasized in his advertisements that he carried "COUNTRY MADE GOLD and SILVER WORK" rather than British items.[14] Eventually he was also appointed to the Williamsburg Committee of Safety that helped enforce the rules of the Association.[15] Therefore, the use of consumer goods first for Anglicization and then for political protest holds true in Geddy's case.

In *Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*, Richard L. Bushman offers an alternative explanation for the increase of goods in the colonies during this time. He points to the rise of gentility among the colonial elite and their desire to imitate their social betters in America, but especially in England. Once the colonies stabilized and maintained a native elite, these upper ranks sought to acquire the trappings that accompanied such a position. The increase in elegant homes, furnishings, and gardens, along with the mannerisms and attitudes of the higher echelons of society, reflected this quest to achieve a measure of gentility. Other members of the colonial community such as the middling sorts and even the lower ranks, attempted to imitate the elite by purchasing what goods they could afford, such as tableware and clothing in an effort to better their material circumstances.[16]

Once again, Geddy and his household provide the perfect example of a middling-sort family with aspirations to gentility. Upon the lots that Geddy purchased from his mother stood his childhood home, a dwelling that he razed in order to build a larger and more refined home. While no full inventory of Geddy's house exists, there is a receipt for a spinet harpsichord, an instrument of luxury rather than utility. This item played an important role in his family's attempt to become more genteel. His eldest daughter, Anne, made quite a name for herself by attracting the attention of an amorous young suitor. Anonymously, this gentleman had a poem published in the *Virginia Gazette:*

When Nancy on the spinet plays
I fondly on the virgin gaze
And wish that she was mine
Her air, her voice, her lovely face
Unite with such excessive grace
The nymph appears divine[17]

Even though the identity of the suitor remains undiscovered, Anne eventually married a clerk of the court, a gentleman considered by some to be lower gentry and a step up on the social ladder from her tradesman father. James Geddy was keenly aware of his social status and his chances to improve both himself and his family, and he took advantage of his situation whenever possible, which explicitly demonstrates Bushman's theory of rising gentility during this era.

This one individual, therefore, convincingly demonstrates all aspects of this rapidly changing economy. Geddy's business practices took advantage of the growing economy and the quests of others to take part in Anglicization and in the rise of gentility. He used newspaper advertisements and a bay window full of silver goods on his storefront to draw customers inside his shop to purchase luxury items that they did not necessarily need but wanted nonetheless. His own spending patterns reflect his personal campaign to raise his standard of living, to acquire, but then openly boycott, British goods, and to become more genteel. He wanted more than just a few luxury items to make his lifestyle more comfortable, and he gave those items meaning through their use within his own family. James Geddy epitomizes both sides of the consumer revolution, producer and consumer, on an individual level and gives historians a personal example of how various theories about the changing economy and its possible ramifications actually played out in real life.

Thank you to Tom Riley, Daniel Blake Smith, and the staff of the James Geddy House for their invaluable assistance with this article.

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[1] Kevin Kelly, "James Geddy, Jr., A Family History" (unpublished article, April 1985), 4–5.

[2] Edward A. Chappell, "James Geddy Builds His Dream House," *Interpreter* 14, no. 4 (November 1993): 3.

[3] Cary Carson, "The Consumer Revolution in Colonial British America: Why Demand?" in Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville, Va.: The University Press of Virginia, 1994), 694.

[4] *Ibid.*, 694–697.

[5] Carole Shammas, "How Self-Sufficient Was Early America?" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8 (Autumn 1982): 267.

[6] For studies about the standard of living in the Chesapeake, see Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Standards of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 45 (1988): 135–159. For the same about New England, see Gloria L. Main and Jackson T. Main, "Economic Growth and the Standard of Living in Southern New England, 1640–1774," *Journal of Economic History* 48 (1988): 27–46; and Gloria L. Main, "The Standard of Living in Southern New England," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 45 (1988): 124–134.

[7] John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1985).

[8] McCusker has even written an entire text devoted to the study of colonial currency. See John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775: A Handbook* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1978).

[9] McCusker and Menard devote a chapter to each region of the British empire (New England, Atlantic Canada, the Chesapeake, the West Indies, the Lower South, and the Middle Colonies) and find that while each section varied in terms of their individual methods of commerce, they all experienced growth and expansion during this era. See McCusker and Menard, *Economy of British America*, 89–206.

[10] Richard L. Bushman, "Shopping and Advertising in Colonial America," in Carson, Hoffman, and Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests*, 233–251.

[11] T. H. Breen, "Creative Adaptations: Peoples and Cultures," in Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 222. The author echoes the same sentiment in T. H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690–1776," *Journal of British Studies* 25 (1986): 495.

[12] See Carson, Hoffman, and Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests*, especially Kevin M. Sweeney, "High-Style Vernacular: Lifestyles of the Colonial Elite," 1–58; Edward A. Chappell, "Housing a Nation: The Transformation of Living Standards in Early America," 167–232; Karin Calvert, "The Function of Fashion in Eighteenth-Century America," 252–283; David D. Hall, "Books and Reading in Eighteenth-Century America," 356–372; Margaret M. Lovell, "Painters and Their Customers: Aspects of Art and Money in Eighteenth-Century America," 284–306; and Cynthia Adams Hoover, "Music and Theatre in the Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans," 308–353.

[13] T. H. Breen, "'Baubles of Britain': The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century," in Carson, Hoffman, and Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests*, 452.

[14] *Virginia Gazette*, October 18, 1770.

[15] Chappell, "Geddy Builds His Dream House," 3.

[16] For additional information on the spread of material goods throughout society, see Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake," in Carson, Hoffman, and Albert, eds., *Of Consuming Interests*, 59–145; and Lorena S. Walsh, "Urban Amenities and Rural Sufficiency: Living Standards and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1643–1777," *Journal of Economic History* 43 (1983): 106–117.

[17] *Virginia Gazette*, December 22, 1768.

Squeezing in the Last Story Line!

by Mark Howell

Mark, acting director for the Department of Program Development, is chair of the Buying Respectability story line.

In 1995, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation embarked on a six-year program to introduce the public to its new educational mission. Titled Becoming Americans, this program attempts to show how indigenous, Anglo, and African cultures interacted with one another in the eighteenth century to form a distinctly new American society. Six story lines were developed to illustrate this process with the intent that one would be unveiled each year. Previous topics have included politics, family life, religion, slavery, and land. This sequence culminates in 2001 with Buying Respectability, an exploration of the influence of consumerism and opportunity on Americans as a people.

For more than 1,500 years, the pattern of life in Western Europe was virtually unchanged. The vast majority of people lived hand to mouth and accepted the church's philosophy that their suffering on earth would pave their way into heaven. Even the rich subsisted with few amenities. Land was the pervasive indicator of wealth.

By the eighteenth century, all that had changed. As society became more mobile, social rank was no longer communicated by houses, land, and livestock alone. As the economic vitality of the British Empire grew, disposable income began to find its way into the pockets of more and more people. Virginians of all ranks of society were able to indulge themselves with items that went beyond the basic necessities of life. People could make life on earth more bearable and, even more importantly, could improve on the station in life into which they were born. Even slaves managed to purchase small items that might improve their health and comfort.

With choice came responsibility. People had to learn the art of budgeting money and deciding where best to put one's resources. As today, some were better than others at establishing themselves as being worthy of credit, able to make prudent purchases to improve their lives (or the future of their children), or able to maintain a character that would hold them in good standing for a loan (available at 5 percent interest compounded annually!). Perhaps the best examples of the new art of financial management were the enslaved Virginians who worked many years at "side" jobs and managed to save enough money to purchase their own freedom or the freedom of a family member (though before 1782, manumission required approval from the governor and Council).

As the century progressed, His Majesty's subjects began to add amenities to their households as never before. What were once luxuries became niceties; what were once niceties became necessities. Archaeologists have discovered remnants of teapots at sites once occupied by poor or enslaved Virginians. Historians and curators poring over household inventories have found evidence of gold watches and silver-headed walking sticks in the homes of tradesmen. The ability to purchase these pretensions and cultivate new social skills was new in western society. Perhaps most important, the social environment encouraged this new display of success and respectability.

Courtesies were described and recommended in numerous etiquette books printed in London and elsewhere. Dancing masters in urban areas as large as Philadelphia and as small as early Winchester, Virginia, taught ceremonies and courtesies. Toasting, one of the most frequent ceremonies, could be the opportunity to display one's true refinement or flaunt one's lessons; alternatively, offering a toast could make it quite clear how ill-accomplished one was. When an out-of-his-league tobacco inspector attempted to offer a toast while sitting with his gentry betters, he revealed his lack of refinement by holding "a Glass of Porter fast with both his hands . . . and then drank like an Ox. He was better pleased with the Liquor than with the manner in which he was at this Time obliged to use it." Nonetheless, the aspiring middling ranks of society did their best to emulate new ways of behaving in society. The race was on!

To fuel their aspirations, Virginians participated in a complex commercial environment. The bartering of goods and services was only occasionally employed. A constant scarcity of coinage (and an abiding wariness of paper currency) required Virginians to employ credit to fuel their newfound enthusiasm for material goods and social education. Merchants, Scottish storekeepers, and many of the colony's wealthy planters functioned as bankers during the period, offering credit, floating loans, and serving as financial intermediaries. Bills of exchange, double-entry bookkeeping, foreign currency exchange, and commodity exchanges were all tools used by men (and women) to negotiate their way to a more visibly prosperous lifestyle.

Williamsburg was Virginia's social and fashion center. His Excellency the governor set the pace. The gentry, calling on their representatives in London, sought out the latest fashions, paid for them with advances on their tobacco crop, and had them shipped to their doorstep. Everyone visited the myriad stores that sold everything from English buttons, Spanish sherry, and Caribbean sugar to Indian chintz cotton, Madagascar vanilla beans, and Chinese porcelain. Dance and music masters provided instruction in the latest minuets and tunes. Cabinet- and coachmakers, silversmiths, milliners, tailors, and wigmakers kept their clients in products and attire that mirrored London fashions with virtually no time lag. Only economic embargoes, employed by the Continental Congress in 1775–76 as a last-ditch attempt to coerce Britain to address America's grievances, limited Virginians' abilities to acquire fashionable goods.

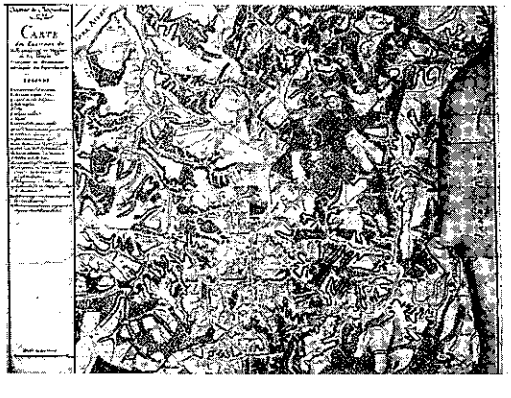
In 1815, John Adams wrote that the Revolution was not simply a political and military process. Rather, it was a fundamental change in "the minds of the people." Families and school groups who visit Williamsburg in 2001 will experience the beginnings of this great experiment in republican democracy and learn how changes in consumerism and economic opportunity helped create a unique society—an American society—that continues to evolve today.

"Titus Shapes' Figure Frames" pokes fun at society's increasing penchant for fashion at any cost. As Titus advertises, the desire to restyle "those curves which by Nature the Human Frame inclines to" emphasizes the public's increasing worldliness, desires the church had been preaching against for centuries. Fortunately, modern society no longer demands particular standards of feminine beauty—or does it?

Correction

Please note on page 17 in the fall issue (Kent Brinkley, "The Changing Landscape of Williamsburg and Its Environs Through Time"), the orientation of the aerial shot did not match the map. We have reprinted the two illustrations here.

Figure 2. The 1954 aerial photo at the right is oriented to match the Desandrouins map at left. In each case, north (the York River) appears at the left.



EDITOR'S NOTES . . .

New Members

The *Interpreter* planning board welcomes two new members: Harvey Bakari, program developer, and Noel Poirier, journeyman carpenter in rural trades. We appreciate their willingness to serve as part of our staff.

Coming Attractions

Look for two new columns coming in 2001: "The Bothy Mould" by Terry Yemm (on colonial gardening and gardeners) and "Arts & Mysteries" by Noel Poirier (on trades).

Parting Words

The Taking Possession Story Line exits with parting words from Philip Fithian:

Stevensburg, Virginia, June 8, 1775

We see many every Day traveling out & in to & from Carolina, some on Foot with Pack; some on Horseback, & some in large covered Waggons— The Road here is much frequented, & the Country for an hundred & fifty miles farther West, thick inhabited.

Staunton, Virginia, December 25, 1775

The Air of Virginia seems to inspire all the Inhabitants with Hospitality—It has long been a Characteristic of the lower Counties—I am sure these Western ones deserve it—Every thing they possess is as free to a Stranger as the Water or the Air.

Western Virginia, January 26, 1776

It is beautiful, to behold the Progress of Civilization. It is westward. A few years ago this very Settlement was the Habitation of Cruelty emphatically; now Men civilized & religious, by legal Purchase too, are the more useful Inhabitants.

The March of Commerce & Improvement to the westward, is so rapid, that soon, perhaps before the present Century is quite filled up, we shall have Towns overlooking the Banks of the Pacifick Ocean!

(excerpts from *Philip Vickers Fithian Journal, 1775–76, Written on the Virginia Pennsylvania Frontier and in the Army Around New York*)

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

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