Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

VOL. 29, NO. 3 WINTER 2008/2009

Charlton's Coffeehouse Archaeology

by Mark Kostro, Andrew Edwards, and Meredith Poole

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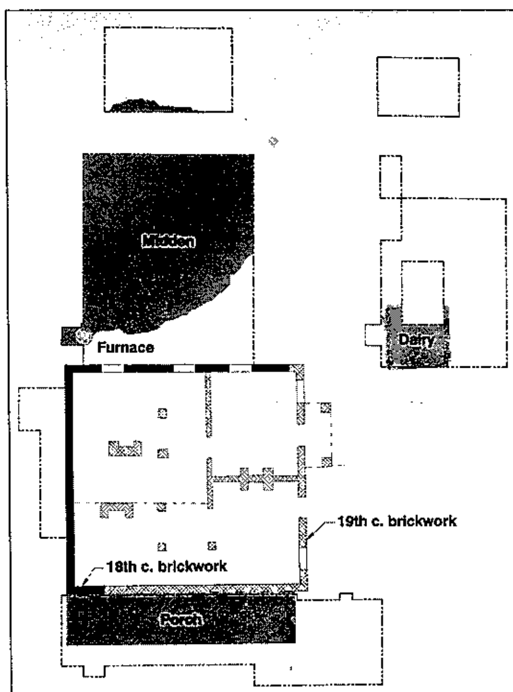
A plan for the reconstruction of Charlton's Coffeehouse, a hotbed of political, business, and social activity in the 1760s adjacent to the colonial Capitol, became a reality earlier this year with a generous gift from long-time Colonial Williamsburg benefactors Forest and Deborah Mars. The new building will sit atop original eighteenth-century foundations and will be the first ground-up reconstruction along Duke of Gloucester Street in several decades. The project also includes reconstruction of a small outbuilding associated with the Coffeehouse, as well as the re-establishment of the eighteenth-century landscape as close as historical, archaeological, and architectural evidence permits. When completed, the Coffeehouse will be the only one of its kind in the United States, and visitors will have the opportunity to enjoy hot tea, coffee, chocolate, and pastries in a realistic mid-eighteenth century setting.



Major features indentified at the Coffeehouse between 1996 and 1998.

The Coffeehouse reconstruction is a product of over a decade of interdisciplinary research by the Foundation's archaeologists, architectural historians, and historians. Between 1996 and 1998, soon after the removal of the 1890 Cary Peyton Armistead house from the property, archaeologists launched an extensive examination of the site.

The first summer's excavation (1996) focused on architectural questions, particularly on the appearance of the Coffeehouse structure. An examination of the foundation revealed that the north and west walls and a fragment of the south wall were part of the lot's original structure built in 1750 by Robert Crichton as a storehouse and sold to Nathaniel Walthoe soon afterward. It was converted for use as a coffeehouse sometime before the mid-1760s. Projected dimensions from

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Brief Eighteenth-Century History of the Coffeehouse Property

The Coffeehouse property, on the east side of colonial lot #58, was an important and recognizable location to Williamsburg's eighteenth-century inhabitants. It was, in many respects, the best and the worst of locations. Its position just outside the Capitol gates was clearly advantageous, particularly for a business. Successive owners of the property were challenged, however, by severely sloping topography that placed most of the lot at the bottom of a wet ravine. Because of this constraint, the Coffeehouse lot was among the last in town to be developed, despite its proximity to the Capitol.

The first owner of lot #58, Francis Sharpe, purchased the property in 1713. Failing to meet the requirement to build within 24 months, Sharpe forfeited his property to the city's trustees. In 1717 Sharpe repurchased the lot, and, in order to avoid both forfeiture and the ravine, constructed a house along its western edge. Sharpe died in 1739, leaving lot #58 to his sons, William and Francis, Jr. and Jacob. William was allotted the smallest portion, a 35 foot eastern square which in 1750 was sold to Robert Crichton. Although records for the period between 1739 and 1750 are virtually non-existent, it is clear that by 1750 there were two buildings on lot #58: a tavern run by the Burdett family on the western half and a storehouse on the tiny eastern portion.

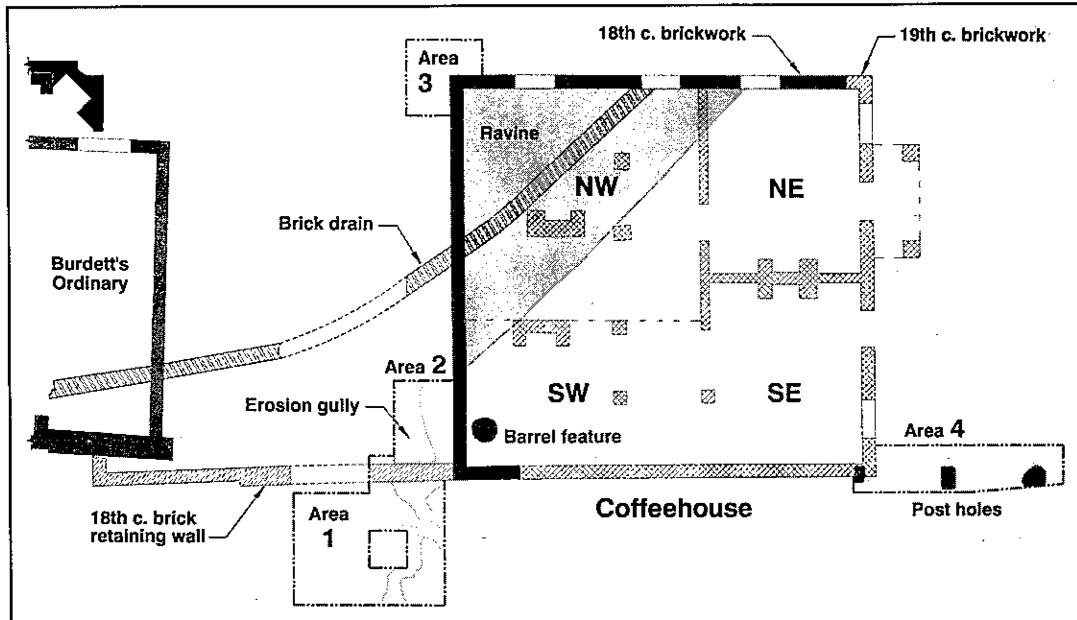
Both the archaeological and historical records agree that sometime before 1765 the "storehouse" was converted for use as a coffeehouse. It was from the porch of this establishment that, in 1765, Lt. Governor Francis Fauquier escorted George Mercer, chief distributor of the stamps for the colony, to the safety of the Palace during a Stamp Act riot in the street outside the Capitol wall. In 1767, Charlton advertised that the business formerly operated as a coffeehouse was now open as a tavern. Sometime before April 1771, Charlton's tavern closed in this location. Christiana Campbell rented the space briefly in 1771, but by March of 1772, it had been purchased by Charlotte Dickson.

these walls indicate that the Coffeehouse measured 35 ft. x 35 ft. Additional physical details were gleaned from the late nineteenth-century Armistead house. Architectural historians identified more than three dozen framing members salvaged from the Coffeehouse and reused in the later building. Rafters, an original window, and a door helped complete a picture of Richard Charlton's establishment as a 1½ story frame building with high-style finishes and a low-pitched gable roof.

But while some portions of the Coffeehouse's framing and foundations had survived into the late twentieth century, other historically significant features had vanished. The front porch on which Lt. Governor Francis Fauquier describes sitting with members of the Council at the outbreak of a Stamp Act riot was conspicuously absent. Excavation in 1996 recovered not only the brick footings for this porch but also an apron of ash created over the years as soot was repeatedly swept off the porch into the yard. This ash shadow enabled archaeologists to determine the overhang of the floorboards, and from this, to calculate the porch's depth to be about eight feet.

Few outbuildings seem to have populated the Coffeehouse lot. Between 1996 and 1998 archaeologists located just one: an outbuilding located northeast of the building, deep inside the ravine. The paucity of outbuildings may have had something to do with the size of Charlton's lot which ended precisely at the edges of the 35 ft. x 35 ft. building that occupied it. Once beyond the borders of his Coffeehouse, the evidence suggests that Charlton pushed persistently at the edges of his property, moving some of his activities onto adjacent land held by other people and the City of Williamsburg.

Perhaps Charlton's most egregious infraction was a trash dump that began just beyond his back wall and extended more than 40 feet to the north. Excavated by archaeologists in 1997, this trash midden yielded more than 70,000 artifacts, and the answers to a battery of questions regarding the Coffeehouse's operation. Ceramic and glass fragments revealed that differences between taverns and coffeehouses were not clear-cut in eighteenth-century Williamsburg, and that among hot beverages, tea remained the drink of choice at this establishment. Charlton's serving pieces revealed a certain economy in everyday place settings that was offset by expenditures on specialty pieces: archaeologists recovered fragments of elaborate jelly and syllabub glasses and a glass pyramid for fancy desserts.



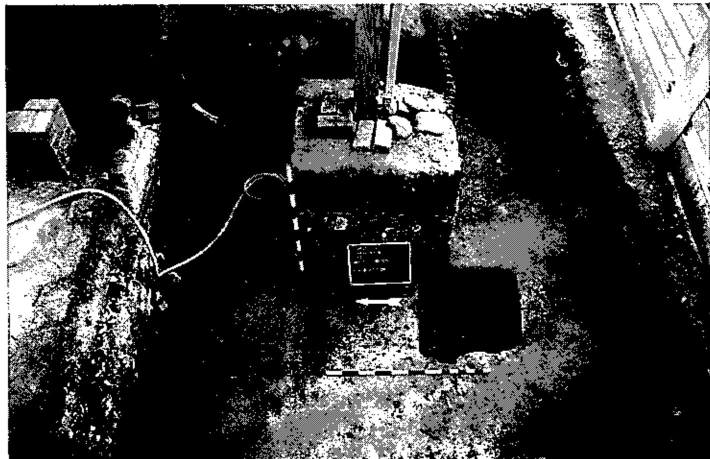
Excavation areas and major features identified at the coffeehouse in the summer of 2008

Though the reconstructed Coffeehouse will offer light refreshments, Charlton's trash pit indicates a more ambitious menu. Nearly 30,000 animal bones from the Coffeehouse period reveal a preference among patrons for roasted lamb and mutton. Also on the menu were calves heads, hams, and a wide variety of wildlife. The presence of butchered peacock bones is further evidence of the high-style elite cuisine consumed at Charlton's establishment.

The discovery in the trash midden of a human finger bone fitted with copper wire and several human vertebrae with dissection marks hints that a human skeleton may have been part of a scientific lecture or display in the Coffeehouse. The trash midden also contained evidence of the strategies that Charlton employed to maximize his resources. A wigmaker by trade, Charlton appears to have offered this service to customers, based on the recovery of nearly fifty wig curlers, bone combs, and a saw used to make those combs. Renting out rooms or space may also have eased Charlton's financial burden. Discovery of a small furnace and seventeen crucibles containing trace amounts of gold, silver, and copper suggests the presence of an assayer (one who verifies the metal content of coins) on the property.

The absence of a detached kitchen remains one of the more distinctive aspects of the Coffeehouse site. The summer of 1998 was spent searching for a kitchen for this large commercial establishment. Though unsuccessful in finding an outbuilding beyond the Coffeehouse walls, archaeologists discovered a large patch of scorched clay and brick rubble in the basement under a modern concrete floor. Large-scale cooking seems to have taken place in a portion of the cellar. Evidence of a partition separating the cellar into multiple rooms suggests that, in the absence of a yard, Charlton created several separate work spaces beneath, rather than behind, his establishment. Although an unusual arrangement, this may have been the solution required by the site's physical limitations.

Archaeologist Lucie Vinciguerra excavates at the southwest corner of the Coffeehouse (Area 1) to expose the 18th-century ground surface around the building.



Summer 2008

With reconstruction now imminent, Foundation archaeologists returned to the site this summer to further flesh out details of the building's appearance as well as to determine the grade and look of the surrounding terrain. Furthermore, the archaeological team needed to determine if unexcavated portions of the Coffeehouse site would be compromised by the reconstruction activities. All portions of the site thus affected needed to be fully excavated prior to start of any earthmoving activities.

After a ten-year hiatus, archaeological work recommenced at Charlton's Coffeehouse on June 18. Several areas around the intact eighteenth-century foundation walls were selected for further work, as well as the entire interior of the cellar.

The Exterior

Area 1

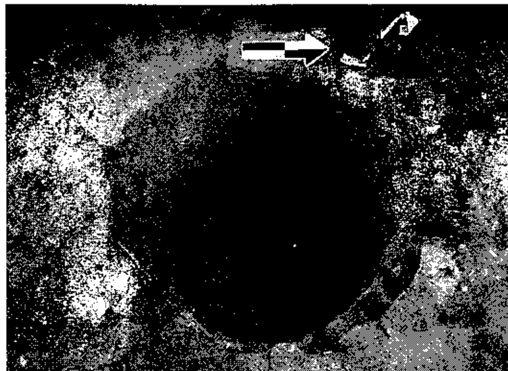
The largest excavation was opened in the very southwest corner of the property. It was hoped that this 4 by 4 meter (13 ft. by 13 ft.) area would give us some insight into the character of a ravine that ran through the site prior to the construction of Crichton's Storehouse in 1750 and how the building was related to that topography. In addition to several layers of fill that included brick rubble, mortar, plaster, oyster shell, and clay, the new excavation revealed a substantial (20 in.-wide) section of brick retaining wall running in a westerly direction from the front corner of the Coffeehouse foundations. A look at the 1930s map of the archaeological work at the Edinburgh Castle Tavern (formerly Burdette's Ordinary) to the west of the Coffeehouse revealed how the retaining wall crossed into the neighboring lot and connected to the southwest corner of the tavern. Within a short time, building debris, clay, soil, and trash were dumped in front of the retaining wall, raising the level on the sidewalk side of the property nearly four feet by the end of the eighteenth century. Analysis of archaeological deposits against the retaining wall indicate the ravine was verdant with vines, trees, and shrubs keeping erosion at bay from the Middle Plantation period until the storehouse was built in 1750. The very bottom layer in the ravine was a six-inch thick dark humic (organic) sandy topsoil that suggests a slow and continuous build-up of soil from leaf mould and rotting plants. Prior to construction of Crichton's Storehouse, a thick layer of yellow clay was dumped in the ravine to make a more level and stable building surface. The storehouse's construction subsequently changed the drainage pattern of the ravine, causing a major erosion gully to appear along the new building's west side that threatened to undermine its foundations. Accordingly, the retaining wall we found was built soon after the storehouse to allow the ground around the building to be built up to street level and to inhibit run-off during major rain storms.

Area 2

The area just behind the retaining wall was also excavated as part of this summer's fieldwork. While the wall succeeded in keeping soil from eroding between the storehouse/Coffeehouse and Edinburgh Castle Tavern, it didn't keep the neighbors next door from dumping quite a bit of garbage behind the wall. The result was the accumulation of several layers of mid to late eighteenth-century trash so full of oyster shell, broken wine bottles, fragments of plates, and butchered animal bone that there was actually very little soil. Although the condition, number, and variety of the artifacts recovered from the layers that washed up against the building from next door was spectacular and exciting in itself, it of course told us far more about the neighbors than it did about Charlton.

Archaeologist Jason Boroughs excavates a layer of broken wine bottles, oyster shells, pottery fragments, and butchered animal bones dumped behind the retaining wall between the storehouse/Coffeehouse and Edinburgh Castle Tavern.

Staff Archaeologist Andrew Edwards unearths a nearly-complete American stoneware jar from a circular barrel-lined feature in the cellar of the Coffeehouse.



The barrel-lined feature following excavation. A stain left by an iron barrel strap is all that remained of the barrel.

Area 3

Our excavation unit placed at the northwest corner of the 1750 structure again revealed exceptionally deep strata indicative of the ravine's being filled over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The three-foot-plus deep excavation indicated that the north wall is five courses of brick deeper than the west wall. The west wall is stepped up a few courses as it progresses south towards the street climbing the ravine. Excavations on the interior of the building at the same corner show that prior to 1750 a layer of clay fill had been brought in to level that part of the yard enough to build a stable foundation.

Area 4

Another excavation unit was placed at the southeast corner of the 1890 Cary Peyton Armistead house foundations. Archaeological excavation was necessary here because a retaining wall contemporary with the Victorian house was to be removed as part of the re-landscaping of the property. Similar to other areas along the exterior of the building, the archaeological excavations encountered several feet of soil accumulation. Most of it was nineteenth- and twentieth- century fill that covered a line of postholes for a fenceline running from west to east found at a depth that was ground surface in the mid-eighteenth century. The fence originated at the corner of the Coffeehouse and extended east into the ravine. Evidence that some posts were replaced several times suggests the fence was a long-standing feature on the landscape limiting access into the property from the street during the eighteenth century. One of the fenceposts was placed within a filled-in drainage ditch running from the southwest to the northeast, toward the deepest part of the ravine where the creek now divides the property from that of the Secretary's Office.

The Interior

Even though the reconstruction of Charlton's Coffeehouse will be a faithful replica of the original, it is subject to current building codes and regulations. In order to accommodate modern duct work, an employee restroom, and mechanical systems necessary for a building open to the public, the plans require the current cellar floor be lowered by more than a foot. This necessitated that the whole interior be examined archaeologically for traces of interior walls, structural supports, drains, and other features before construction begins. At least one feature pre-dating the construction of the storehouse/Coffeehouse was known at that outset of the investigation—a box drain that began at the Edinburgh Castle Tavern next door, ran across the ravine where the Coffeehouse building was to be built and into the creek on the eastern edge of the property. Although a small portion of the building's interior was previously excavated, the majority of the interior was not addressed archaeologically until the beginning of August of this year.

The interior of the Coffeehouse can be divided into four quadrants:

Southwest. The recent floor level of the southwestern section of the cellar was approximately the same as it was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and consisted of hard-packed sandy/clay subsoil. Near the southwest corner of the building, a circular barrel-lined feature was set into the ground. All that remained of the barrel was a circular stain in the bottom where the rim of the barrel sat. Buried within the feature was a nearly-complete American stoneware jar dating to the early nineteenth century. The jar was broken in place, but we removed it with the contents intact to the artifact conservation office at Bruton Heights Education Center. The purpose of the buried barrel inside the building is not known (pickles anyone?).

Northwest. This portion of the cellar was built within a gully that ran southwest to northeast within the ravine. The innovation required to construct a building in a ravine was dramatically illustrated in this area. First, a thick layer of clay was placed in the ravine to prepare the area for construction and serve as the floor surface in the northwest section. After the clay, the box drain mentioned above was installed to carry water from Edinburgh Castle Tavern through the gully and presumably to the creek that defined the eastern end of the lot. The west foundation wall for the storehouse was built atop the clay layer and seemed to accommodate the drain. Excavations along the interior of the north wall revealed, however, that the north wall was five courses of brick deeper than the west and cut through the clay. In doing so, the north wall truncated the drain, rendering it useless. The drain was useful in one sense however; it helped us determine where the floor level was in the eighteenth century, assuming the top of the drain was not protruding above floor level. Measurements taken from the eighteenth-century floor surface to the first floor sill indicate the height of the room was 6 ft. 7 in.

Northeast. In the twentieth century, a four-inch concrete floor had been poured in the northeast room. All but a one-foot perimeter around the walls was cut out in the 1990s, exposing the clay underneath. The clay showed signs of burning, but the only features observed in the clay were a twentieth-century heating oil pipe and sewer conduit. Assuming that the floor was the same height in the northeastern room (6 ft. 7 in.), measurements suggest that about four inches of clay was removed before the construction of the concrete floor. No excavations were carried out in this room since the eighteenth-century floor had been obliterated.

Southeast. Although twentieth-century coal fragments had been impressed into the surface of the floor, the subsoil base seemed to be the original grade. There were no features to excavate, so the floor was left as it was found.

What did we learn?

- Construction of the building that became Charlton's Coffeehouse destabilized the ravine causing erosion, leading to the construction of a large retaining wall between it and the Edinburgh Castle Tavern to the west. The placement of the retaining wall in turn resulted in the ground around the Coffeehouse being raised several feet over time.
- As part of the development of the property, a large quantity of clay was deposited into the ravine to provide a stable and level surface for the construction of the storehouse that was later renovated for use as a coffeehouse. That clay also provided a floor for the northwestern room.
- The brick box-drain leading from Edinburgh Castle Tavern was installed after the clay was deposited into the ravine; however the north wall of the storehouse subsequently truncated the drain to rendering it useless.
- The floor height of the interior of the cellar was approximately 6 ft.7 in. and was consistent throughout the cellar, indicating that the cellar was a viable living and work space in the eighteenth century.
- At the southeast corner of the building a fence extended towards the east into the ravine, thus limiting access into the side yard from the street.

This year's excavations at Charlton's Coffeehouse were exciting and informative to the archaeologists, the architectural historians, and the architectural conservators working on the reconstruction project. Perhaps as important, the excavations were a really big hit with our guests. They were fascinated with the process of how archaeology, historical research, architectural sleuthing, and the building trades come together as a team to recreate Colonial Williamsburg's newest treasure.

Resurrecting the Coffeehouse

by Edward A. Chappell

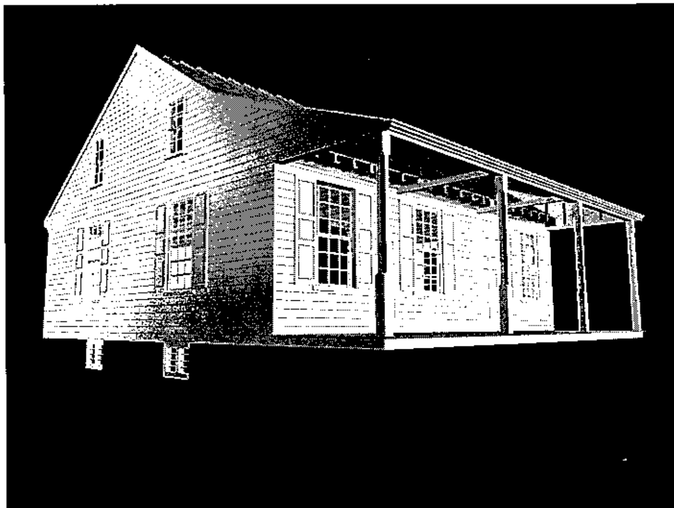
Ed is the Roberts Director of the Department of Architectural and Archaeological Research.

Duke of Gloucester Street: detail of c.1880 photograph, looking west, with Coffeehouse to right.

Reconstruction of the Coffeehouse is the newest chapter in the extraordinary eighty-year restoration of eighteenth-century Williamsburg. An architectural approach to such work was set during the opening chapters in 1928-1941 when researchers and designers first adjusted or re-created buildings and landscapes to their early form, following documentary and physical evidence. Colonial Williamsburg staff and John D. Rockefeller worked vigorously after World War II to flesh out the Historic Area as a unified scene rather than a series of discrete sites without connective tissue. Since then, methods of analysis have become more specialized, additional kinds of evidence have come to bear on restoration, and the study of early buildings in the region has expanded dramatically. On the front line, Historic Trades' use of eighteenth-century building techniques has raised the fidelity of new construction.

Projects began to be more strategically chosen for educational purposes in the 1960s. Virtually every restoration and reconstruction project has had a specific pedagogical intent, addressing what each generation sees as an essential element in our story of the eighteenth-century American town. Work on the James Geddy site in 1967 provided an effective vehicle for addressing the lives of a successful tradesman's family on the eve of the Revolution. We recast Greenhow Store in 1983 to portray the character and scale of a prominent retail enterprise in the 1770s. Re-creation of Peyton Randolph's work yard strengthened our ability to address race relations and teach about the lives of free and enslaved people at the end of the colonial era. The Coffeehouse fits this didactic model, as useful background to the Revolutionary City.

Coffeehouses were centers of news and commerce in the eighteenth-century British world.



Exterior perspective. Alfredo Maul, 2003.

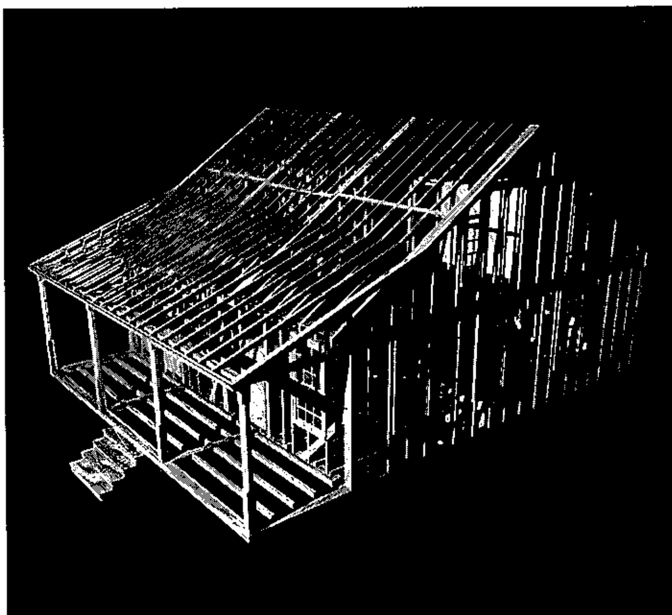
Hot caffeinated drinks fueled intellectual discourse and spirited gossip, as well as providing a stimulant to political debate and business engagement.[1] The name alone could connote a sense of a superior establishment, even if the bill of fare included wine and food and otherwise resembled a tavern, as it often did in the Chesapeake. Lodging was available in at least some Virginia public houses of that name.[2]

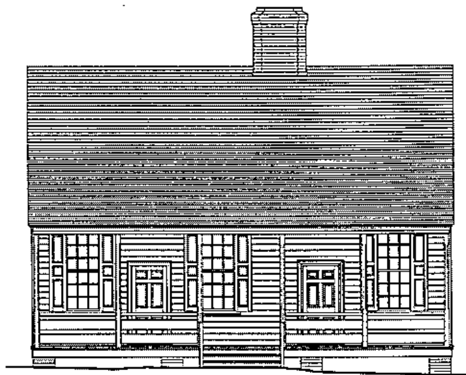
Eighteenth-century Williamsburg hosted several coffeehouses, though apparently never more than one at a time. The limited number exemplifies the city's character as miniature capital, albeit important, when compared to vast London with thousands of coffeehouses catering to specialized mercantile or political clientele, including the Virginia Coffee House in Cornhill.[3] Most here, if not all, were near the Capitol and adjoined "the Exchange" as a distant echo of London coffeehouses serving traders and merchants at the Royal Exchange.[4] William Byrd II visited one more than a hundred times in young Williamsburg from 1709 to 1712, gambling, eating (lightly, not his main meals), and drinking (tea or wine, when specified) rather than transacting much business. Other customers he records were fellow gentlemen, not the promiscuous mix some London establishments served.[5] Byrd used London coffeehouses differently a decade later, regularly drinking chocolate, reading the news, and connecting with agents and potential patrons at Court. Byrd recorded visiting at least five London coffeehouses--Virginia, St. James's, Leveridge, Smyrna, and Will's, his favorite, in Covent Garden. He visited London coffeehouses more than two hundred times between December 1717 and August 1718, usually in the afternoon and early evening.[6] Thomas Jefferson recorded regular visits to a Williamsburg "Coffee house" from 1767 until 1775, as did George Washington until 1774, long after Richard Charlton announced in June, 1767, that "the Coffee-House in this city being now opened by the subscriber as a Tavern . . ."[7]

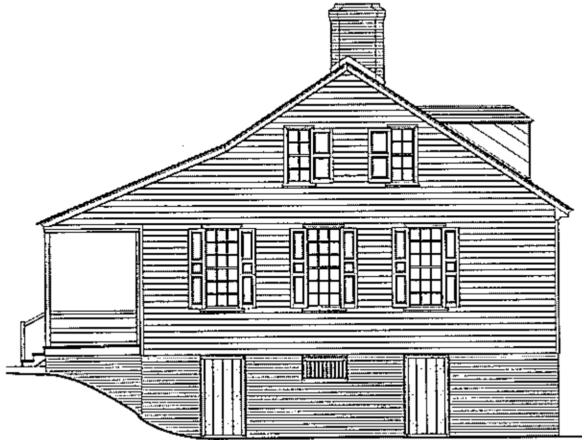
The late colonial coffeehouse Charlton recast is clearly of most use to Colonial Williamsburg because of its date and the 1765 tale of Stamp Act resistance, recounted by Lt. Governor Francis Fauquier to the Board of Trade in heroic terms. The tale is illustrative of confrontations occurring when the revenue stamps and their distributors arrived in most of the thirteen colonies.[8] Fauquier's letter describes how on October 30 a threatening crowd of gentlemen, merchants, and lesser sorts pursued Virginia stamp distributor George Mercer through the street,

> *to the Coffee house, in the porch of which I had seated my self with many of the Council and the Speaker who had posted himself between the Crowd and my self. We all received him with the greatest Marks of welcome . . . . After some little time, a Cry was heard 'let us rush in' upon this we, that were at the Top of the Steps knowing the advantage our Situation gave us to repell those who should attempt to mount them,*

Preliminary framing perspective. Alfredo Maul, 2003.







South and east elevations by Willie Graham, 2008.

advanced to the Edge of the Steps, of which number I was one. I immediately heard a Cry see the Governor take care of him, those who before were pushing up the Steps immediately fell back and left a small Space between me and them . . . The Crowd did not yet disperse, it was growing dark and I did not think it safe to leave Mr. Mercer behind me, so I again advanced to the Edge of the Steps, and said aloud I believed no man there would do me any hurt, and turned to Mr. Mercer and told him if he would walk with me through the people I believed I could conduct him safe to my house, and we accordingly walked side by side through the thickest of the people who did not molest us; tho' there was some little murmurs.[9]

The incident had personal repercussions within the leadership class when Coffeehouse quarrels between members of the Mercer and Lee families over patriotism and honor led George Mercer's brother James to beat Arthur Lee in a fistfight. Each man's claim that the other avoided a duel planned for the outskirts of Williamsburg drew support from prominent citizens, including Corbin Griffin for the prideful Dr. Lee and Thomas Everard, Robert Nicolson, and Archibald Diddip for parvenue James.[10] While providing a platform for politically-active Virginians, then, it and other public houses may have encouraged discord by attracting a heady mix of men unbound by the spatial structures and institutional choreography used to control behavior in courthouses, churches, and the nearby Capitol.

Great story. Central location. But the building disappeared about 1889, when Cary Peyton Armistead demolished it to build a larger Victorian house, in an era when many colonial buildings in town were lost to decay and changing standards of living.[11] Work began in 1995 to study the site archaeologically and plan a possible Coffeehouse reconstruction. The decision was made to move the Armistead House, and in one of the many unlikely scenes to occur in contemporary Williamsburg, it was picked up by house movers and rolled down eight blocks to a sympathetic new location on North England Street.

Architectural historians Mark R. Wenger and Willie Graham began studying the evidence and designing the building, and in 2003 their analysis was aided by a talented young Guatemalan named Alfredo Maul, who produced a preliminary digital model based carefully on Wenger's and Graham's study.[12] The results remained in file drawers and computer hard drives for half a decade.

The project sprang back to life this year when Mars family funds began to support planning and construction. Willie Graham has now produced more than two hundred detailed designs for everything from exterior walls to precise nail patterns in the plaster lath. His method is to represent in digital measured drawings all that is known about the building's circa 1765–1771 condition and to complete the unknown parts based on field experience and lively debate with his Colonial Williamsburg colleagues. Some of the evidence and interpretations are worth recounting to indicate how the design is developing, even as Historic Trades and Facilities Maintenance craftspeople are producing the frame, woodwork, bricks, and hardware.

Just as archaeologists have probed the nature of food and beverage consumption and compared patterns of ceramic and glassware use at the Coffeehouse with those from other contexts, architectural historians have sought to understand how the proprietors created a setting sufficiently genteel for elite, primarily male, sociability and consumption—at an affordable price. How did the evolu-

tion of this building compare with better-known structures in the town, commercial and domestic? Williamsburg buildings often illustrate ways in which refined finish could be selectively employed along with cost-saving choices to craft a space appealing to status-conscious gentry and successful people in trade, separating them from those on the scruffy edges of the George Mercer story. Middling tradespeople like wigmaker Richard Charlton and tavernkeeper Christiana Campbell often rented well-built premises from wealthy and politically connected owners such as Nathaniel Walthoe, Clerk of Council from 1743 until 1770, and they struggled to turn a profit. Some tenements like the John Crump House, Brickhouse Tavern, and an early form of the brick Lightfoot House sheltered multiple tenants at one time.

As a rentable space close to the Capitol, what later became the Coffeehouse played varied roles in pursuit of income from mid-century onwards. This building was described in the September 17, 1750 deed of Walthoe's purchase from Robert Crichton as "That Store house and Land situate lying on the North side of Gloucester Street . . . whereon the said Robert Crichton hath lately Built a Store house and is opposite to the Store of Mr. John Palmer."[13] One can argue that reference to Palmer's "Store" implies that merchant Crichton's "Store house" was for storage, not sales, but the term had both meanings in the 1750s, and some known parts of the structure are superior to what one expects of a warehouse. For Walthoe, investing in sales and service space on a difficult site at this preeminent location is also more plausible than a warehouse.

Moreover, merchant John Mitchelson used the building as a store by 1755. Mitchelson previously operated a store in Yorktown at which in 1751 he advertised a "Great Variety of Household Furniture of the newest Fashions, London Make," including chests of drawers, dressing tables, card tables, claw-footed tables, bedsteads, and serving furniture, all of mahogany, as well as carved and gilt mirrors, Turkey carpets, metalwares, and a spinet.[14] Daniel Fisher recorded in his journal in August 1755 that Walthoe had written to say that "Mr. Mitchelson, the Person who rented his store was become a Bankrupt," and offered him, Fisher, preference if he wished to leave the premises now called Shields Tavern and rent Walthoe's building. (Fisher called the old Shields building "the English Coffee House" and briefly ran it as a tavern before changing the function to a store and multiple apartments to let.).[15] The following October, a *Gazette* advertisement announced two auctions of Mitchelson's possessions, the second at his Williamsburg store, including "sundry Household Furniture, viz. Beds and Bedding,

Cellar window jamb in original west wall with sockets for its frame. Photo by Jeff Klee.

Desks and Book Cases, Tables, Chairs . . . . [and] a sortable Parcel of European Goods," worth nearly £600 sterling.[16] In other words, Mitchelson used Walthoe's building as a store selling gentry goods, probably including imported furniture, fabrics, and metalwares. In spite of being labeled "the Coffeehouse" when auctioned at Raleigh Tavern on May 25, 1771, the building continued to be called a storehouse in the deeds.[17] When Charlotte Dickson bought the property in 1771, her son Beverley wrote merchant John Norton that they "have Bought a House on the main Street next The Capitol the most convenient in Town for a Store." The Dicksons operated a store there into the mid-1770s.[18]

Architectural distinctions between dwellings and taverns were subtle in third-quarter Williamsburg. Wetherburn's, for example, is essentially a dwelling in form. Stores were more specialized, but they often incorporated housing, and functions could shift, as further illustrated by the various store and public-house uses of Market Square Tavern. Typically, references to Walthoe's storehouse mention no specific spaces or finishes. In short, the written documents tell of varied use but reveal very little about

Linen pulley cord attached to lower window sash. Photo by Linda Baumgarten.

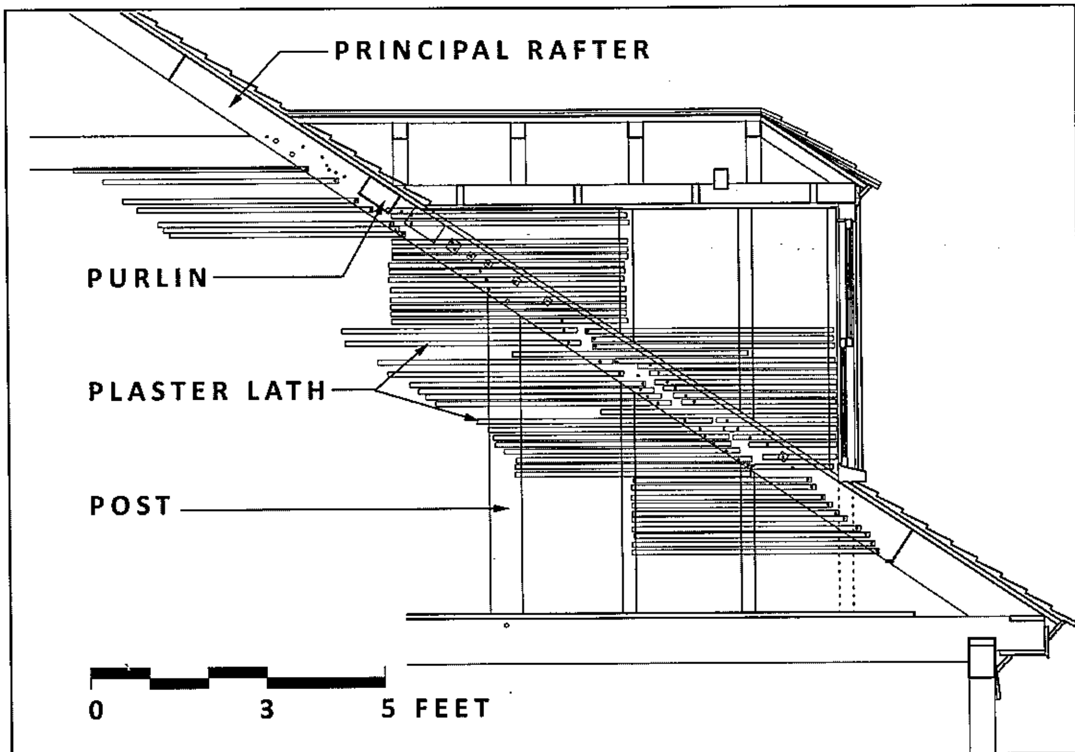
the building's appearance beyond the tight (35 foot-square) limitations of the property and the presence of an elevated porch.

Material sources are far richer for this purpose, and they help explain why retail and reception trades were so interchangeable there. A hazy photograph from the east captured the old building about 1880, standing near the end of the tree-lined street. The photo shows only a portion of the structure, clearly then in decline, with a sagging cornice and frame exposed where a weatherboard had fallen away. Fauquier's porch was long gone, and front openings may have been altered. But the photo is informative because it indicates the general height of the building and shows it with a low gable roof and a large nine-over-nine-pane sash window near the front of the east wall. For reasons of economy or original presence of the porch, the front cornice is plain like those on the William Timson and George Reid houses, not expensively finished with modillion blocks like those on the town's best dwellings and businesses, such as the Nelson-Galt House and Prentis Store.

When building his up-to-date house in 1890, Armistead salvaged useful parts of the old edifice. His builders left the substantial English-bond west and north (rear) brick foundations in place, though they altered the size and location of its windows. They demolished the other cellar walls and a large internal chimney, then reused the brick to construct new walls and chimneys. They also reused pieces of the old hewn and pit-sawn frame, especially when constructing the lower floor of the Victorian house. Finish carpenters picked random pieces of exterior and interior trim from the demolition refuse and used them to level ceilings and straighten walls before they applied plaster lath. They cut floorboards into pieces used to frame new hearths and sheathe the dormers. Finally, four early doors, two nine-pane sash, and three louvered shutters were dragged into the enlarged cellar. Such recyclers and packrats are unwitting benefactors to architectural sleuths seeking to piece together evidence about lost buildings, and they give our effort an essential armature of information above ground level. Because of generous reuse, the reconstruction became a giant puzzle, albeit with many missing parts.[19]

The foundations are quite informative. Their quality suggests respectable but not lavish construction, and they tell us much about the form of the building. They indicate the precise size, 35 feet 2 inches square, and heights from the varied ground level (which has risen here as much as 3 feet in 250 years) to the original sill. That sill remains visible as a dirty outline on the top course of eighteenth-century brickwork. No chimneys engaged the outer walls, and archaeologists found burned clay in the cellar floor, indicating a roughly centered chimney. Both the extent of the burning and the lack of a detached kitchen indicate that cooking took place in the cellar. Separate kitchens are most familiar among surviving and reconstructed eighteenth-century Williamsburg houses, but cellar cookrooms offered an alternate means of distancing workers and work from refined spaces, as seen at the 1723 John Blair House, the 1732–1733 William and Mary President's House, and the 1788–1790 St. George Tucker House. The cellar fireplace reinforces indications in the woodwork that what became the Coffeehouse was first built as a residence as well as a storehouse. While a store might include a kitchen, we know of no regional examples, and the chimney clearly served numerous fireplaces, from the beginning—more than expected solely for a merchant's counting room and limited housing at a store.

After demolition, Armistead's masons reused literally thousands of salvaged brick in the rebuilt south and east foundations and in his new chimneys. By carefully disassembling their brickwork, we learned about the form and finish of the earlier chimney and that there appeared to be two eighteenth-century phases of its construction, original and what we take to be Coffeehouse additions. Most of the brick matches that of the 1750 foundations, light orange to red in color, not long fired at a high temperature. These include pieces that appear to have come from several fireplaces, including the cellar fireplace, worn down by cooks sharpening knives on the jamb and roughly finished with whitewash and (nineteenth-century) lavender paint. Some upper fireplaces had whitewashed rather than plastered faces, suggesting economy, while at least one had corners made of carefully selected and rubbed salmon brick, indicating refinement. Many 1750 brick came from multiple flues in the chimney. Much smaller quantities of



Surviving principal rafter with dormer evidence, rear slope, looking west. Only lath indicated by early nail holes are shown. Measured and drawn by Willie Graham, Jeff Klee, and Mark R. Wenger.

salvaged brick are a darker plum color, similar to those used in the Courthouse and Bruton Parish Church tower. They contain heavy iron inclusions and were fired longer at high temperatures, making them harder and more consistent. Microscopic analysis of the shell mortar likewise indicates two early periods of construction, with coarser sand used in making the later mortar.[20] Our assumption is that a fireplace was added to the old front sales room in order to provide Coffeehouse customers with at least two heated spaces. Even in the half-century earlier coffeehouse Byrd patronized, the uses he describes suggest multiple rooms, one of which could be rented for private use.[21]

The foundations show that the clay-floored, unplastered cellar was entered from at least one exterior doorway on the east, where grade remained low. There were two substantial cellar windows in both the west and north walls, ventilating and lighting the cookroom and two other spaces, probably occupied by enslaved workers and variously used for storage. Excavations indicate there were no south cellar windows and the 8 foot-deep porch ran the full length, like those known at larger taverns in town.

Uncovering original window jambs behind Armistead House brickwork in recent months, mason Raymond Cannetti found sockets and the clear outlines of original window frames. These were heavier than normal among surviving Williamsburg cellar windows, suggesting they may have been fitted with sizeable leaded sash rather than left open or served by shutters or conventional wooden sash. Small diamond-shaped panes of glass called *quarrels* held together by strips of lead were used in seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century windows, like that re-created in the second-best room at Shields Tavern. Artifact scholars and archaeologists Kelly Ladd-Kostro, Ivor Noël Hume, and Isabel Davies have all observed that old-fashioned leaded windows survived in Williamsburg well into the middle of the eighteenth century, indicated by distinctive lead fragments impressed with tiny dates or found in otherwise datable archaeological contexts.[22]

The Coffeehouse site is particularly rich in such evidence, as excavators recovered no less than 203 lead window fragments in a large circa 1760s refuse deposit north of the building. Fragments dated 1737, 1756, 1760, and 1766 indicate windows were broken and repaired on the site, for which there is no known pre-1749 occupation. The cellar windows are the most likely location for the archaic glass which was by then low-status, and one can both imagine them being made from scratch or salvaged from earlier buildings and reworked for these unusually large cellar openings.[23]

The surviving first-floor windows are much bigger, 2 feet 10 inches by 6 feet 8 inches and expensive, of a scale used to provide generous light to refined houses or superior taverns. Upper sash were stationary; lower ones were counterweighted by lead bars hung on linen ropes turning on boxwood wheels in the jambs. Like most eighteenth-century woodwork found in the Armistead House, the sash retained early paint surfaces that, when studied microscopically, revealed layers of a first-period (1750) red-brown inside and out, followed by tan or café au lait paint, when the building was remodeled.[24] The earliest paint was made with iron-oxide pigments and the second with yellow ochre and white lead, mixed in linseed oil.

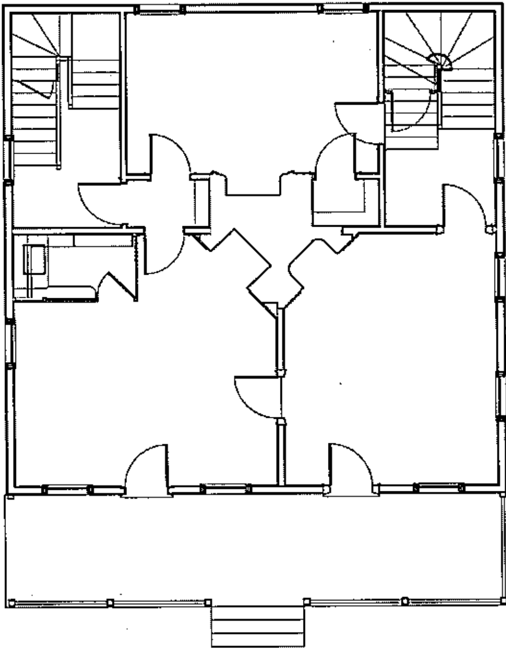
Similar paint layers survived on a battered early exterior door, also apparently first-period, reused as a cellar door in the Armistead House. In the absence of evidence for first-floor doorways on other exterior walls, this must have been on the front, opening onto the porch. Though modest in size, it was expensively made, with complex moldings more comparable to those at the Tayloe and Wythe houses than one expects for an ordinary storehouse. Armistead's builders salvaged one piece of a door frame with a fine double architrave of the variety unusually associated with superior work, like the best doorways at Wetherburn's and the Benjamin Powell House, offering another piece of evidence for a respectable residence in the initial building. HL hinges were mounted on both the door leaf and architrave rather than being set flush with the face of the leaf and discreetly hidden behind the architrave.

Last year, the new owner of the relocated Armistead House removed its plaster as part of a rehabilitation, and we found more Coffeehouse woodwork that had been nailed to the sides of studs and joists. Among these are exterior trim, baseboards, chairboards, and a simpler door architrave painted with a dark stripe at the bottom, to match the base. Using microscopic analysis and biological staining techniques, conservator Susan Buck found evidence of starch paste over the tan paint layers at the edges of both the big double architrave and the newly-found one, suggesting that two rooms were wallpapered, conceivably just after the trim was repainted.[25] Our suspicion is that Charlton added relatively inexpensive paper to several spaces as a ready means of making them sufficiently genteel for intended clientele. Graham and Wenger proposed that paper was applied to wall sheathing in the original sales room, sheathing of the variety often used in sales rooms of eighteenth-century Chesapeake stores including those surviving at Market Square Tavern and Nicolson Store.[26] Fragments of such sheathing were found a year ago reused in the Armistead House attic.

Woodwork for secondary rooms at the Coffeehouse was plainer, including small four-panel doors with simple moldings in plain beaded frames. The lesser doors had smaller iron rimlocks operated solely by keys, without knobs. The three surviving small doors were first painted tan, so they either began unpainted or were added later than red-painted woodwork. These pieces had only a few layers of paint applied between the 1760s and 1889, unlike the larger door and window sash, so they were in positions that received less attention. Plaster surviving on bricks as well as fragments found in the archaeological deposits also indicated relatively simple finish in some spaces: brown coats of plaster made of tan sand and shell like the mortar, without hair, and followed by whitewashes rather than white plaster and pigmented paints.

The upper floor was clearly backstage space, conceivably used for all the mundane and illicit functions that taverns and coffeehouses commonly sheltered. Originally it was lighted only by gable windows, and structural posts passed up awkwardly through the middle of the rooms. These posts connected principal rafter trusses with heavy timbers over first-floor rooms to help carry the ceilings. Conventional Roman numerals chiseled into the roof frame show that there were five heavy hewn and pit-sawn trusses, which extended through the angled plaster surfaces like the roughly contemporary oversized rafters and purlins (horizontal timbers carrying common rafters) in upper chambers at Wetherburn's Tavern. The location of the middle truss forced builders to shift

Original front door reused in Armistead House cellar. Photo by Erin Kuykendall.



First-floor plan. Willie Graham, 2008.

the chimney to one side, making it off-balanced above the roof. More than a hundred of the salvaged bricks were originally cut to angle the flues at 45° or lower on their way up from fireplaces to exterior chimneystack. Some bricks of both varieties further indicate that fireplaces were added and the upper chimney rebuilt, presumably when the storehouse was converted to coffeehouse.

Rafter fragments with collar joints indicate the building had low attic ceilings and that the roof line conformed to the shape visible in the nineteenth-century photograph. Rafters and joists provided tulip poplar wood samples that dendrochronologist Herman Heikkenen independently dated as having been from trees felled after the growing season of 1749, validating our assumption that they indeed came from the Coffeehouse.[27] Graham and Wenger read one principal rafter as having initially been exposed and whitewashed, then covered with plaster when dormers were added to the rear slope of the roof, again arguably when the building was recast for the Coffeehouse or tavern.

The main floor plan is among the more elusive questions posed by a square foundation, and our answer is pieced together from numerous shreds of evidence. The overall dimensions indicate a plan two rooms deep and two wide. The apparent original functions of storehouse and dwelling imply two front doorways, one opening into a storeroom and the other into the best residential room, the two openings aligned with front steps that archaeologists feel were added between 1771 and 1789. This facilitates a door flanked by a pair of windows centered on the square sales space, the normal arrangement seen at the Nicolson Store, Cole Shop, and countless early Virginia stores. An 1892 view shows such fenestration fronting all three units resembling shop fronts at the John Crump House. The narrower southeast room has a single front window and at least one more in the east wall, as seen in the old photo. Choosing a central chimney reflects an effort to heat numerous rooms with a single stack, in a manner similar to that William Robertson used when building the earliest part of the Randolph House.[28] The placement of the chimney, three different sets of lower joists, and a remnant of brick pier or partition on the west cellar wall help establish the longitudinal partition between front and rear spaces on the main floor. Luckily, a surviving lower bearing beam appears to reveal the form of the partition west of the chimney, with its framing and a doorway to rear spaces.

Surviving floor joists indicate that a rear stair extended from the cellar to attic, providing the route for delivering food in the absence of rear doorways. This stair probably occupied a back passage, which gave access to a central room rented as part of the domestic space. A second stair connected the storeroom to its separate attic rooms via the sort of corner passage originally present at the Prentis Store and surviving in Nicolson Store and the oldest part of the Taliaferro-Cole House, which seems to have begun life as a store. Once the two sections were given over to use as a coffeehouse and later a tavern, the storeroom was upgraded to serve as one of two or three rooms where drinks and food were served. Proprietors like Charlton could occupy backstage rooms, just as Henry Wetherburn probably lived in the rear rooms of his tavern, while renting out others as bedspaces. The sizable number of wig curlers found in Coffeehouse deposits suggests Charlton may have plied his hair trade there as well, trying to prosper by serving the gentry in more ways than one.

A project like the Coffeehouse draws together an unparalleled community of Colonial Williamsburg staff and a few outside specialists. I will only list some prominent examples. Early documentary research by Patricia Gibbs was followed by an episodic series of archaeological excavations in 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, and 2008, most recently directed by Mark Kostro and Andrew Edwards, and that will continue selectively in 2009. The esteemed Raymond Cannetti has led the surgical removal of recycled masonry, every piece of which he, newcomer Matt Webster, and/or I have studied, and Erin Kuykendall has curated. Cannetti also works with me to control the quality of the new brickwork. Thomas Taylor oversees the thankless task of cleaning surviving masonry and recycled brick that we are now reus-

ing for the walls from which they came in 1889. Masons Rick Williams, Kirsten Crum, and Chris Phaup have worked on all phases of disassembly and rebuilding, and they have now been joined by other skillful preservation masons, including Luther Barden, Robert Hall, Kevin Neito, John Sines, and Eldon Yoder.

Historic Trades brickmakers Jason Whitehead, Josh Graml, and Bill Neff moved swiftly to produce handsome bricks and to give us virtually all we coveted, short of a few promised to the White House before we began. They are now cutting brick for the walls and rubbing others to resemble those that survive from fireplace facings and hearths. Historic Trades carpenters led by Garland Wood are crafting a frame almost indistinguishable from the details of its predecessor, and the materials production team led by Wesley Watkins is doing likewise with 13,000 nicely-executed cedar shingles. Wood, Ted Boscana, Bobby Clay, Corky Howlett, and Jack Underwood will also make woodwork, as will Tim Edwards, Roy Condrey, Fred Shearin, and Dale Trowbridge in the millshop and contractor Jack Abeel. Ken Schwarz is involved in the scholarship as well as leading production of extensive hardware, from door locks to cooking cranes. Willie Graham and Mark R. Wenger, arguably the most versed people on the planet in the analysis of early Chesapeake construction, have conceived the plan and produced the designs—primarily Graham at this stage—with support from architectural historian Jeff Klee, and have fed them to Wayne Buhl and Neil Ellwein in Architecture and Engineering, overseen by Clyde Kestner and Scott Spence. Carl Lounsbury and Kevin Kelly have offered historical perspective. Susan Buck provided microscopic paint analysis that connected or separated early wood and masonry pieces of the puzzle as early as 1997, and she and Natasha Loeblich have intensified that work as more pieces and new questions appeared this year. Kim Ivey, Lynne Hastings, Ronald Hurst, Tara Chicirda, and Margaret Pritchard are planning the furnishings. Larry Heath and David Coleman manage construction, Kestner is the project manager, and James Horn pilots the undertaking as project executive. Architectural conservator Matt Webster has already become essential in all areas of planning, analysis, and work. These and many others make the Coffeehouse project uniquely possible at Colonial Williamsburg. Their collective effort will recapture an essential piece of the town's early culture, and the perfect stage for the opening act of the American Revolution.

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[1] Markman Ellis, *The Coffee House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004); Markman Ellis, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Coffeehouse Culture* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2006).

[2] The conflation of coffeehouse name and tavern functions is illustrated by a 1771 advertisement that at "the Sign of the King's Arms Coffeehouse, in Church Street, Norfolk, is established a very genteel and convenient Inn and Tavern (with good stabling for Horses) and for Accommodation of Travellers and others; supported by a Society of Gentlemen." *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), June 20, 1766, p. 3. Eleven years later Meredith Muse advertised that in Fredericksburg he had "opened a Coffeehouse in the House lately kept by Mrs. Julian as a Tavern," where "Gentlemen may be genteelly accommodated with Lodging, & c., for themselves, Servants, and Horses," *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon & Hunter), August 15, 1777, p. 6; December 28, 1777, p. 3. An "elegant ball" was held at the Fredericksburg coffeehouse in celebration of George Washington's birthday in 1780. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon & Nicolson), February 26, 1780, p. 2. Washington attended a club dinner in an Annapolis coffeehouse on October 5, 1772: "Reached Annapolis–Dined at the Coffee House with Jockey Club & lodged at the Govr after going to the play." Paul Leicester Ford, *Washington and the Theatre* (New York: Dunlap Society, 1899), p. 23.

[3] According to the 1796 *Gentleman's Magazine*, one Virginian shot another in a duel that year over a disagreement that began in the Virginia Coffee House in London. Mary R. M. Goodwin, "The Coffeehouse of the 17th and 18th Centuries" (report, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation [hereinafter CWF], 1956), 12.

[4] Lieutenant Governor Francis Fauquier, in the letter cited below, noted that when Colonel Mercer arrived from England with the controversial revenue stamps, "I then thought proper to go to the Coffee house (where I occasionally sometimes go) which is situated in that part of the Town which is call'd the Exchange tho' an open Street, where all money business is transacted . . . The mercantile people were all assembled as usual." George Reese, ed., *The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia 1758-1768* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), v. 3, pp. 1291-92.

[5] Especially after September, 1710, Byrd's diary entries illustrate the degree to which a Williamsburg coffeehouse could play a common role in a gentleman's urban daily routine, more than James Boswell's later notes do in London. See, for example, Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1941), pp. 98, 241, 245-46, 249-51, 255-64, 268-71, 430, 432-45, 449-53, 455-58, 474-79, 488-89. Byrd's later surviving Virginia diary contains only a handful of references, including "After dinner I walked to the coffeehouse and read news, then received some money of Lidderdale, then walked to Lady Randolph's . . ." on June 11, 1740. Maude H. Woodfin, ed., *Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739-1741* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1942), p. 75. The physician Alexander Hamilton's 1744 "Itinerarium" indicates how an elite traveler could find fellowship in Philadelphia, New York, and Newport coffeehouses. On June 7, he twice visited a Philadelphia coffeehouse, where he "was introduced by Dr. Thomas Bond to severall gentlemen of the place where the ceremony of shaking of hands, an old custom peculiar to the English, was performed with great gravity and the usuall compliments." In Newport, between 7 and 9 pm he spent time "att the coffeehouse where our ears were not only frequently regaled with the sound of 'very welcome, sir,' and 'very welcome, gentlemen,' pronounced solemnly, slowly, and with an audible voice to such as came in and went out by Hassey, a queer old dog, the keeper of the coffee-house, but we were likewise alarmed (not charmed) for half an hour by a man who sung with a trumpet note that I was afraid he would shake down the walls of the house about us."Carl Bridenbaugh, *Gentleman's Progress: The*

Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), p. 19 and 153-54. Also see pp. 20, 26, 47, 89, 151, 156, 189, 191.

[6] Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., *William Byrd of Virginia, The London Diary (1717-1721) and Other Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 50-57, 60-63, 65-73, 75, 79, 80, 82, 85-86, etc.

[7] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), June 25, 1767, p. 3. Precisely what Richard Charlton meant by the ad is unclear. Licensed taverns were permitted to serve hard liquor as well as wine and were required to provide food, lodging, and stabling of horses at a regulated price. The change from unlicensed coffeehouse to licensed tavern could have reflected Charleton's need to serve spritous liquors openly, his stuggle to turn a profit from more limited service, or even a change of ownership. The documentary record is drawn substantially from Patricia A. Gibbs, "Historical Report for Colonial Lot 58, Cary Peyton Armistead House Site (1890-1995) and Burdett's Ordinary (Reconstructed 1940-1942)" (report, CWF, 1996). I thank Gibbs, Kevin Kelly, and Linda Rowe for their aid in sorting out references found after 1996.

[8] Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

[9] Reese, ed., *Official Papers of Francis Fauquier*, v. 3, p. 1292. Joseph Royle's *Virginia Gazette* (October 25, 1765, Supplement, p. 3) carried a somewhat different version of the drama, with a smaller role for Fauquier, but it, too, reported that Mercer encountered "the Governour, most of the Council, and a great number of Gentlemen" at the Coffeehouse. It recounts that Mercer was grandly feted at a tavern or the Coffeehouse after essentially resigning his position the following day.

[10] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), May 28, 1767, p. 3; *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), July 23, 1767, pp. 1-2; Louis W. Potts, *Arthur Lee: A Virtuous Revolutionary* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, c.1981), p. 42; Lois Mulkearn, *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1954), pp. 203-04.

[11] Armistead bought the property between 1885 and 1889 and built the new house for his wife Eudora Esther and himself in 1890. Gibbs, "Historical Report," (pp. 24 and 61-62) points out that the value of building on the property changed in the Williamsburg Land Tax Records from zero in 1890 to "$1500 added for new Buildings" in 1891, indicating that the house was constructed the previous year. The old building, then called the Morrison House, had been valued at $200 in 1888-89.

[12] Willie Graham and Mark R. Wenger, "Dora Armistead House: Reused Eighteenth-Century Timbers" (memorandum, CWF, December, 1995); Wenger and Graham, "Origin of the Framing and its Implications for the Physical History of Lot 58" (report, CWF, 1996); annotated record drawings, 1995-96, site file, Department of Architectural and Archaeological Research, CWF; Chappell, "Coffeehouse Design Notes" (minutes, CWF, February 12 and 26, 1999).

[13] York County Records, Deeds and Bonds 5, pp. 388-92.

[14] *Virginia Gazette* (Hunter), September 5, 1751, p. 3; September 12 and 19, 1751, p. 4.

[15] Transcribed in Louise Pecquet du Bellet, *Some Prominent Virginia Families* (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell, 1907), v. 2, pp. 807-08. Fisher's letter from Walthoe indicates that the owner felt the building could serve Fisher well as a store. Fisher's annoucements for opening the tavern and subsequently offering accommodation in the previous Shields Tavern are in the *Virginia Gazette, October 3, 1751, p. 3 and February 20, 1752, p. 4.*

[16] *Virginia Gazette* (Hunter), October 10 and 17, 1755, p. 3 and October 24, 1755, p. 4.

[17] *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), April 25 and May 16, 1771, p. 3. A separate business called the Coffeehouse operated next door in 1772 and was run there by an unknown proprietor until 1777. Advertisements in the January 23, 1772 *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), p. 3, and February 6, 1772 (Rind), p. 3 offered private lodgings for seven or eight gentlemen at this location, "the Coffeehouse, near the Capitol," and in 1774 John Webb of Halifax, North Carolina advertised the property for sale, "where the Coffeehouse is now kept." *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), October 13, 1774, p. 3, and again, "My house . . . at present the Coffee House," *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), September 26, 1777, p. 3.

[18] Gibbs, "Historical Report," pp. 18-19.

[19] Chappell, "Early Coffeehouse Fragments from the Cary Peyton Armistead House, Williamsburg, Virginia" (report, CWF, October 6, 2008); Chappell, "Informative Brick Removed from 1890 Cellar Masonry of the Cary Peyton Armistead House, Williamsburg, Virginia" (report, CWF, September 15, 2008).

[20] Matt Webster, "Brick and Mortar Samples from Charlton's Coffeehouse" (report, CWF, October 12, 2008). The darker brick resemble those more commonly used in Williamsburg in the 1760s and '70s.

[21] For example, on January 28, 1712, Byrd reported that after dinner "we went to the coffeehouse where the governors of the College were to meet about several matters and particularly about Tanaquil Faber and they turned him out of his place but gave him, however, his salary for the whole year. They agreed to give Mr. Tullit £400 to build up the College hall [after the fire]. Then we played at Piquet and I lost £7." Wright and Tinling, *Secret Diary*, p. 476. One appeal of coffeehouses for such meetings in winter was that the rooms were heated, as those in the Capitol were not. Sales rooms in stores were generally unheated, as seen in the surviving Williamsburg stores and the archaeological remains of others.

[22] Kelly Ladd, "Archaeological Evidence for Casement Windows in Williamsburg," *The Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter, 19* (Spring 1998): 26; Ivor Noël Hume, "A Window on Williamsburg," *Colonial Williamsburg*, 20 (Autumn, 1997): 32-39; Isabel Davies, "Window Glass in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg," in *Five Artifact Studies* ed. by Ivor Noël Hume (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1973), pp. 78-99.

[23] For discussion of the evidence and design for the cellar windows, see Chappell, "Leaded Windows at the Coffeehouse, Williamsburg, Virginia" (report, CWF, September 18, 2008).

[24] Susan Buck, "Colonial Williamsburg: Walthoe Storehouse, Paint Analysis Report" (report, SPNEA Conservation Center, Waltham, MA, January 27, 1997); Natasha K. Loeblich, "Cross-Section Microscopy Analysis of Finishes on Architectural Fragments and Foundations, Charlton's Coffeehouse (Block 17), Williamsburg, Virginia" (report, CWF, August, 2008). The size of first-floor windows is provided by post-colonial shutters as well as the original sash. One of the pulley wheels survives, set directly into a jamb rather than in a separate housing, as done in more expensive windows like those at Wetherburn's Tavern and the James Geddy House.

[25] Susan L. Buck, "Cross-Section Microscopy Report: Search for Wallpaper and Paint Evidence, Charlton's Coffeehouse Architectural Fragments and Wetherburn's Tavern West First-Floor Room" (report, CWF, August 3, 2008).

[26] Mark R. Wenger, "Wallpaper–Market Square Tavern and Charlton's Coffeehouse" (report, CWF, July 18 and August 4, 2008).

[27] Herman J. Heikkenen, "The Last Year of Tree Growth for Selected Timbers within the Armistead House, Period I, as Derived by Key-Year Dendrochronology," report, Dendrochronology, Inc., March, 1996. Heikkenen's findings and the 1750 deed indicate, then, that trees were cut sometime after October, 1749, and that the building was finished by the following September.

[28] Another story-and-a-half example is Seven Springs in King William County, probably built c.1750. It, too, has a single fireplace serving a cellar room.

English Coffeehouses

by Emma L. Powers

Lou is a historian in the Department of Historical Research.

When coffeehouses first opened, they quickly took on a character distinct from taverns. The new and exotic beverages in which they specialized were stimulants, not intoxicants. Coffeehouses, at least initially, prohibited gambling and the consumption of alcohol. It is easy to see why coffeehouses gained the reputation of being sober, genteel places quite unlike other public houses. Taverns were required by law to provide food, drink, and lodging. Out of necessity, respectable women could make use of a tavern's facilities. Coffeehouses in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England catered to an exclusively male clientele, but women occasionally owned or worked in such establishments.

Coffeehouses were places where men from all but the very lowest rank of society met, mingled, conducted business, and exchanged information and opinions. Any man with a penny for admission was welcomed and could interact with his fellows in the coffeehouse without regard to rank or privilege. Some establishments posted rules of behavior stipulating that all customers were deemed equal and prohibiting gambling, swearing, quarrelling, and mourning over lost love. Because of the free exchange of ideas and opinions (and the small admission charge), London coffeehouses became known as "Penny Universities."

Especially in large cities, the clientele of some coffeehouses became specialized. One coffeehouse, operated by an Edward Lloyd, was so popular with shippers, captains, and maritime insurers that Lloyd posted the arrival and departures of ships from London docks. Long after Lloyd's death, the underwriters who remained steady customers of the establishment he had begun formed the insurance firm still known today as Lloyd's of London [http://www.lloyds.com/About_Us/History/Chronology.htm]. Other coffeehouses attracted politicians, clergymen, artists, stockbrokers, writers, and so on. The London stock exchange operated for 73 years out of Jonathon's and Garraway's coffeehouses. Businessmen and doctors kept office hours in their favorite watering hole; the writer Jonathan Swift received his letters at St. James's Coffeehouse, and *The Tatler*, a London newspaper, gave the Grecian Coffeehouse as its address. Overall, coffeehouses were such important institutions to London society that one did not inquire where a fellow lived but rather what coffeehouse he frequented.

Coffeehouses in Eighteenth-Century Virginia

London coffeehouses were the models that Virginians imitated. Throughout the eighteenth century, Virginians were proud to be English and English fashion began in London; consequently, coffeehouses would be fashionable in Virginia. Naturally, differences were apparent between the establishments of London and of Williamsburg. In 1775 Williamsburg's population amounted to about 2,000 (over half of whom were enslaved African Americans), and the inhabitants of London numbered 675,000. Such a small city as Williamsburg—although important as the capital of the wealthy and populous colony—could not support the variety of specialized coffeehouses that thrived in London.

The earliest reference to a coffeehouse in Williamsburg dates to 1709, when William Byrd II mentioned one located at the east end of Duke of Gloucester Street near the Capitol. He went to the coffeehouse for drinks, meals, meetings, the latest newspapers, and card games. Such activities show the close resemblance to coffeehouses in London. Unfortunately, we know neither the exact location nor the proprietor's name, but clearly the customers at this Williamsburg coffeehouse were mostly burgesses, councilors, and others who worked at the Capitol.

By the 1740s another coffeehouse was in operation in Williamsburg, again noted in the diary of William Byrd II. In 1751 the tenant at what we now know as Shields Tavern called his business the English Coffee House. By the 1760s there was a coffeehouse near the Capitol and the part of town called the Exchange, where merchants met to set prices of tobacco and to conduct their business. In the fall of 1765, a local protest of the Stamp Act took place just in front of this coffeehouse, where the governor and his Council were taking their ease on the porch. By June 1767 Richard Charlton announced in the *Virginia Gazette* that he was changing this coffeehouse into a tavern.

Exotic Beverages

Coffee, tea, and chocolate all have long histories. Coffee beans are native to Ethiopia, where some local tribes used them as an energy food—not a beverage. The Arabs brought coffee from Ethiopia and began brewing it to drink. The Maya of Central America cultivated cacao beans as early as 600 A.D. Tea goes back even further, dating back 5,000 years according to Chinese legend. However, none of these bever-

ages were known in England or her colonies until the mid-seventeenth century.

England's first coffeehouse opened in Oxford in 1650, and London had her first one within two years. By 1700 there were over 2,000 coffeehouses operating in London alone!

Although we particularly associate England with tea-drinking, both tea and coffee were introduced to Britons at about the same time. Tea became popular with the English after 1652, only shortly after the coffee craze first arrived, and for most of the seventeenth century coffee was the more popular beverage. While coffee and coffeehouses had masculine connotations, tea was associated with women and the domestic realm.

Spaniards brought chocolate to Europe from the New World in 1528 and kept its source and preparation a secret for nearly 90 years. In 1615, the daughter of Spain's King Philip II married Louis XIII and took the custom of drinking chocolate to the French court. Chocolate's popularity spread across Europe more slowly than the fashion for coffee and tea, probably because chocolate was more expensive and more difficult to prepare. And sugar made from cane grown in the West Indies also arrived in England in the mid-seventeenth century, so the taster could sweeten the cup of his or her preferred drink. The raw materials for these beverages, as well as sugar and numerous spices were among the precious imported grocery items that all became popular in England and her colonies during the mid-seventeenth century. What the three hot drinks have in common is that they were all sobering, rather than intoxicating. With that characteristic in common, it is easy to see why temperate men of business took to them and to the coffeehouses that served them.

Before coffee, tea, and chocolate, most Englishmen, women, and children drank "small beer" (low alcohol fermented grain and water) or hard cider. In those days before knowledge of bacteria and water purification, city people knew that their water was foul and dangerous to drink; experience taught them boiled water was much safer. Beer, having undergone both boiling and fermentation, was consumed at all times of the day—with breakfast, dinner, and supper.

COOK'S CORNER

The Staff of Life—Bread!!

by Dennis Cotner

Dennis is a Historic Foodways specialist in the Department of Historic Trades.

The Bible refers to bread as the staff of life. Other than meat, bread has been the central food article since before recorded history. We have always treated bread, whether unleavened or risen with yeast, as a necessity in our diet. It has been made by hand since the beginning and most women throughout history have known enough of the basic bread baking techniques that they could make it in their sleep. In the eighteenth century, it was mainly a home-made article. However, in cities and towns one could find the commercial baker plying his trade. Townsfolk have always had the option of making it or buying it. In Williamsburg it was no different. Several men listed themselves as bakers throughout the century, but few are suspected of actually providing "shop style" breads, pastries, cakes, etc. The commercial baking industry in the eighteenth century was divided into several categories, most notably brown and white bakers (mainly in Europe) and the contract baker. The contract baker would have baked in bulk quantity for sale to buyers such as the Royal Navy, commercial sea captains, and the militia.

Cornelius DeForest was the leading contract baker in Williamsburg during the period of the Revolution. He certainly had the capability to bake in quantity, as he appeared before the (Virginia) navy board in April 1778 and was "engaged to furnish for the use of the Navy twenty five thousand pounds of good sweet ship Bread at thirty shillings per hundred." This "sweet ship bread" is generally the hard biscuit bread known later in history as hardtack. It was made primarily with flour that was made up of medium whole wheat ground very well, combined with water, and baked slow, and dried. These three-inch round biscuits were a light beige color and had the consistency of roof tiles. DeForest also provided the desired white

Plate I in the "Boulanger" section of volume II of Recueill de planches, sur les sciences, les arts loberaux, et les arts mechaniques, avec leur explication . . .by Denis Diderot, 1762–1772.

bread as well. The Navy Board Journal goes on to state that "he also engages to deliver fifty pounds of white Bread to every thousand pounds of the other at the same price."[1]

DeForest purchased a lot from John and Betty Lewis on Capitol Landing Road in 1778. Although he advertizes as "a baker near the Capitol," other evidence suggests he was doing the actual baking on the Custis site east of the Public Hospital. In 1779 a dancing master made arrangements with DeForest to open a dancing school for ladies at DeForest's house. DeForest's 1782 estate inventory and his will show several slaves and much in the way of personal possessions. His estate paid taxes on ten Williamsburg lots for several years.[2]

Most of us generally envision the commercial baker as the person who has a case full of hot loaves ready for the taking. In Europe that was certainly the case for the larger towns and cities. Trade encyclopedias such as Paul Jacques Malouin's show shops laden with fine loaves and rolls in abundance.

Here in the colonies we would probably find a smaller counter where the simplest of wares were available. Peter Moyer could have been that type of baker here in town. He owned lots at the west end of Duke of Gloucester Street and sold bread to the Raleigh Tavern, most likely for its customers' meals. This practice would certainly make sense before ovens at the Raleigh were built. James Southall's accounts show that on October 31, 1775, the Raleigh Tavern owner paid Moyer "£15.19.4 in full for bread." Just where Moyer did his baking isn't 100 percent known but most likely he would have done it on the property he owned.

One baker who is still somewhat elusive is Nicholas Scovemont. He is advertised as "a baker" and owned lots on Nicholson Street that he acquired from Peachy Purdie. Like Moyer, Scovemont also sold bread to Southall. The tavern owner paid him £11.10, £14.19, and £40 in 1771, 1772, and 1773.[3] Just by the charge it seems that these payments were for several months or a year's worth of goods. There is leading information about a "french baker" operating near the later location of the Roscow-Cole House. Past speculation is that it could be Scovemont. The extent to which Scovemont baked and actually where he baked, we are not sure, but I'm still looking!

It was not unheard of to bake your own bread for sale as well as your own consumption. There are a number of references and evidence of brick ovens in Williamsburg. How much bread one would bake depended on the size of the household and whether time allowed it. The cost of ingredients was fairly steady throughout the middle of the eighteenth century, but buying bread could be just as cheap as making it depending on your locale. Selling your goods at the town market or delivering it was well within the realm of people in the Williamsburg area. As early as 1719 James Morris, a carpenter, owed baker Elizabeth Butler "for 30 loaves of bread."[4] We know that most people were capable of baking their own breads and certainly the professional cook for the royal governor could have supplied what the Palace table required. However, the accounts of William Sparrow, Lord Botetourt's cook, reveal that bread is being purchased for "the negroes" on December 1, 1769. On February 1, 1770, £15.4.0 was paid for bread. This is a good deal of money for bread, but again most likely indicates several months to a year's bread bill from a baker. Who baked it? Not sure. Bread is recorded as being bought more often, but costing less at each purchase, from the time of the governor's death until March 1771.[5]

Bread overall was rather cheap to make, but when it went to sale, it could be used for price gouging. This practice of extracting high prices for bread resulted in laws to help control its sale from going "through the roof." The laws were drawn up to ensure that the price of a loaf of a certain grade of flour was uniform throughout the region of the law's authority. These laws, known as assizes, were put in place to help ensure that the poor were not deprived of the basic necessity of the diet. A four-pound loaf of bread was selling in England for 6 to 7 pence in the 1760s and 1770s.[6]

Bread has always been the simplest of foods to create (Sure it is, says he!). Since ancient times a mix of flour with a liquid and something to make it rise have been basic ingredients. By the eighteenth century, leavened (leaven is a substance added to dough to produce fermentation) bread was at the height of popularity. Manchets, a fine white French loaf, certainly was the preferred by the wealthy. The coarser whole grain loaves were cheaper (and tougher on the teeth), yet consumed by more people than white breads. Corn meal breads and johnny cakes were known by most of the poor in Virginia society. Although corn was the basic grain for most poor Virginians, wheat was the number-one grain grown in Virginia by the time of the Revolution and was the desired ingredient for bread making.

Making bread takes a developed skill, not a hard one, just a developed one. Knowing the ingredients, their quantities, and how they work together is really the essence of any recipe. Starting with the flour quantity desired, you next add some salt to help flavor the bread and chemically help the bread expand and become elastic. Then you add a mix-

ture of warm (not hot) water with your leavening. In the eighteenth century most commercial bakers used "barm." This is the milky liquid from malt liquor and ale casks that when activated will rise the bread. Barm was usually "washed" by putting water in a container with the barm, mixing it, and then letting it sit to allow the yeast solids to settle to the bottom. The water is poured off; then the yeast washed again. This process gets rid of the strong hop flavor that isn't necessarily desired in the bread. The bread will not rise as fast as it does with modern dry yeast, but it does make for a rich flavor. The whole mixture is then mixed and kneaded ready for rising. Other leaveners included salt- rising and a method to capture wild yeasts floating in the air. This last method consisted of putting water, sugar, and a starchy medium (such as potato peels) into a bowl. Within 24 hours foaming bubbles would be growing all around the peels. This will raise the bread, but very slowly.

When commercial bakers made their bread in quantity, they laid down a mixture of water, salt, leaving (barm), and enough flour to make it just beyond batter stage to loose dough stage. This process was done in the evening, and by early the next morning the baker added the rest of the flour needed to make the desired bread. This proofing process made sure the yeast would activate before finishing the dough and making loaves, rolls, etc.

Breads were often shaped into varying styles that can still be seen today. Whether they are round, long French style, cottage loaf, splits, or braided, bread has a long and classic presentation on the table. Some bread was notched, or "scotched," by lightly dragging a knife across the top of the loaf in several small cuts. This was not only helpful for the loaf to expand but created an appealing design as well. Breads of our past also tended to have a chewy nature. Gluten in the flour and the right kind of kneading made most bread more desirable than the aerated slices of modern mass manufacture. True bread won't stick to the roof of your mouth! In our culture today bread making has reached new levels as a specialty. Nowadays there is a gaggle of TV chefs to watch and a plethora of books to follow for those who don't know how to do it. In the colonial period bread making was commonplace as food preparation goes. Everyone knew how. With that in mind it was not treated as something out of the ordinary as it has become today.

Most breads of a genteel nature were in actuality rolls as opposed to large loaves as we are used to seeing. The larger loaf was associated with more common tables and would usually be torn or broken into more manageable pieces for the diner. For the upper level of society, the roll was placed in a napkin next to (or on) one's plate. It would be used as an extension of one's hand to push food onto utensils or to "sop up" sauces. For the poorer sorts, the bread loaf was much more a basic food article. Long before the eighteenth century the bread loaf sometimes acted like a plate and foods were either piled on it or poured over it. One could argue that the sandwich got its start from this application of bread used as a plate. Any way you look at it bread has been the staple of meals regardless of form or type.

This recipe from *The Virginia Housewife* will certainly show that most bread is easy to make.[7]

French Rolls

Sift a quart of flour, add a little salt, a spoonful of yeast, two eggs well beaten, and half a pint of milk, knead it and set it to rise; next morning, work in an ounce of butter, make the dough into small rolls and bake them. The top crust should not be hard.

Simple? Yes, but only if one is adept at cooking and baking. However, putting the ingredients together is, I'm sure you'll agree, rather easy. The skill (that developed skill) is in the kneading and forming of the dough itself. Lightly flouring your work surface and "playing" with the dough is the best way to learn how it works. Using the hands to roll and press the dough you'll feel the elasticity developing. Once the dough looks fairly smooth, shape it with the creases on the bottom and bake. If you are unsure of temperatures and times, refer to a modern cookbook. Remember, if it doesn't turn out the first time or second, it is only bread and consider that you just made a good batch of croutons!!! Try it again, you'll get there and will love the end result.

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[1] Navy Board Journal, 25 April 1778 as noted in the Williamsburg People File, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

[2] York County Records, Deeds 6 (1778-1791), pp. 94-96.

[3] Brock Collection, Huntington Library, M-153-3; James Southall Acct. Book 1771–1776, Brock Collection as noted in the Research Query Files in the Rockefeller Library.

[4] Jones Papers, M-22-1, as noted in the Williamsburg People File in the Rockefeller Library.

[5] 3 July 1769–24 July 1771. Governor's Palace Kitchen Accounts, An Account of Cash Paid by William Sparrow for his Excellency Lord Botetourt. By William Marshman. ALS. Original: Duke of Beaufort and Gloucestershire Records Office, Botetourt Manuscripts from Badminton, M-1395 (frames 297-329) transcribed by Dennis Cotner, 1991.

[6] Ronald Sheppard and Edward Newton, *The Story of Bread*, 1957, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. Broadway House, Carter Lane, E.C.4. Printed by Wyman & Sons, London, Reading and Fakenham.

[7] Mary Randolph, *The Virginia Housewife*, Facsimile of the 1824 Edition, Notes and Commentaries by Karen Hess, University of South Carolina Press, 1984.

Meanwhile, Back Across the Atlantic: Great Britain and Europe in the War Years 1778-1783

February 6, 1778: In Paris representatives of America and France sign two treaties—A Treaty of Amity and Commerce and a Treaty of Alliance. This signals the official recognition of the United States by France and allows the French to become the major supplier of arms to the American army.

(The American War of Independence soon becomes a world war. France and Britain declare war after British ships fire on French vessels. Spain enters the war in 1779 as an ally of France. In 1780 Great Britain declares war on the Dutch who have been trading with France and America. Britain is now fighting, not only in America, but in the Mediterranean, India, Africa, and the West Indies. They are also facing a possible French invasion.)

March 9, 1778: In an effort to dissuade Americans from ratifying the treaty with France, Parliament approves Lord North's proposals for reconciliation, including suspension of all acts passed since 1763 to which Americans had objected.

March 16, 1778: A peace commission (the Carlisle Commission), composed of Lord Carlisle, (Frederick Howard), William Eden, and George Johnston, created by Parliament to negotiate with the United States, arrives in Philadelphia with an offer to grant all American demands except independence. Congress rejects the proposal.

April 23, 24, 1778: John Paul Jones, commander of the USS *Ranger*, raids Whitehaven, England, and St. Mary's Isle off Scotland, then engages and defeats HMS *Drake* off Belfast, Ireland.

July 10, 1778: France officially declares war against Great Britain.

September 14, 1778: Benjamin Franklin is appointed American diplomatic representative to France.

June 16, 1779: Spain declares war against Great Britain but doesn't make an alliance with the United States.

September 23, 1779: John Paul Jones fights a battle with a British ship. The British call for his surrender, but Jones replies: "I have not yet begun to fight." Jones eventually captures the British vessel just before his own ship sinks.

September 27, 1779: Congress appoints John Adams to negotiate a peace treaty with Britain.

1780:

Henry Grattan, member of the Irish House of Commons, demands home rule for Ireland.

William Pitt the Younger enters Parliament.

Britain's war debt reaches £160 million.

June 1780: Riots in London

Gordon Riots: Member of Parliament Lord George Gordon, retired naval lieutenant, strongly opposes proposals for Catholic Emancipation. He leads a crowd of 50,000 to the House of Commons to present a petition for repeal of the 1778 Roman Catholic Relief Act that has removed certain disabilities. It turns into a five-day riot with many Catholic chapels and private homes destroyed. Mobs attack the Bank of England, the prime minister's residence, and homes of many prominent politicians. Up to 285 rioters are killed; Gordon is tried for high treason but found not guilty. Twenty-five rioters are hanged.

November 25, 1781: Word of Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown reaches London. The American Secretary of State Lord George Germain, accompanied by two other ministers, drives to 10 Downing Street to inform the prime minister, Lord North. North's reply: "Oh, God. Oh, God. It is all over. It is all over."

England is now fighting alone without a single ally. Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and Austria form a League of Armed Neutrality that defies the British navy's insistence on searching ships of all nations for war materiel. Even Holland, formally Britain's protestant partner, becomes an enemy when she tries to join the League.

1782 France and Spain besiege the Island of Gibraltar for 3 years. A final attempt to capture it is beaten back, and England retains Gibraltar.

February 27, 1782: The House of Commons votes against further war efforts in America.

In late February/ early March 1782 King George III even goes so far as to write out an act of abdication. It is never submitted to Parliament:

The Act of Abdication

His Majesty during the twenty one years He has sat on the Throne of Great Britain has had no object so much at heart as the maintenance of the British Constitution, which the difficulties He has at times met with from His scrupulous attachment to the Rights of Parliament are sufficient proofs.

His Majesty is convinced that the sudden change of Sentiments of one branch of the Legislature has totally incapacitated him from either conducting the war with effect, or from obtaining any peace but on conditions which would prove destructive to the commerce and essential rights of the British nation.

His Majesty therefore with much sorrow finds He can be of no further Utility to his native country which drives him to the painful step of quitting it for ever.

In consequence of which intention His Majesty resigns the Crown of Great Britain and the Dominions appertaining thereto to His dearly beloved son and lawful successor, George Prince of Wales, whose endeavors for the prosperity of the British Empire He hopes may prove more successful.

George III

March 5, 1782: Parliament empowers King George III to negotiate peace with the United States.

March 1782: Lord North, the British prime minister from 1770 to 1782, resigns and is succeeded by Lord Rockingham who asks for immediate negotiations with the American peace commissioners, John Adams, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin.

April 4, 1782: Sir Guy Carleton replaces Gen. Henry Clinton as commander of British forces in America. Carleton implements the new policy of ending hostilities and withdrawing British troops from America.

April 12, 1782: In Paris peace talks begin between Benjamin Franklin and Britain's Richard Oswald.

April 19, 1782: The Netherlands recognizes the United States as a result of negotiations conducted in Holland by John Adams.

February 3, 1783: Spain recognizes the new United States; later Sweden, Denmark, and Russia do the same.

February 4, 1783: England officially declares an end to hostilities with America.

April 26, 1783: Seven thousand loyalists leave New York for Canada. This brings to 100,000 the number of loyalists who have left America.

September 3, 1783: Britain signs the Treaty of Paris ending the American Revolution

December 1783: William Pitt, the Younger, forms a ministry, making him the youngest prime minister in British history at age 24.

It is estimated that it cost Great Britain £110,000,000 to lose her American colonies.

France spent £55,000,000 to assist the Americans in gaining their independence.

America spent £20,000,000 to gain independence from Great Britain.

Q & A

Question: Is the song "Rule, Britannia" of eighteenth-century origin? Who wrote it? *(from a participant in Historic Area divisional training)*

Answer: While "God Save the Queen" serves as the official national anthem of the United Kingdom, the popular song "Rule, Britannia" is likewise employed in both official and unofficial contexts as a close "runner-up." The song derives from the poem "Rule, Britannia" by James Thomson (1700–1748), a native of Scotland, who spent most of his adult life teaching and writing in London. Thomson's poem was set to music by London composer Thomas Arne (1710–1778) for a theatrical production, *Alfred, a masque*, about King Alfred the Great, which Arne co-authored with David Mallet. The play's first performance was at Cliveden, the country home of Frederick, Prince of Wales, on August 1, 1740. The song, which achieved instant popularity when first heard in London in 1745, took on a life of its own and has remained—along with "Land of Hope and Glory" (music by Sir Edward Elgar, words by A.C. Benson, 1902; "Pomp and Circumstance March no. 1")—an unofficial national anthem for Britons to the present day.

Here's the first stanza of Thomson's original poem:

When Britain, first, at Heaven's command
Arose from out the azure main;
This was the charter of the land,
And guardian angels sung this strain:
"Rule, Britannia! Rule the waves:
Britons never will be slaves."

Here's how the first stanza and chorus are sung today:

When Britain first at Heav'n's command
Arose from out the azure main;
Arose, arose, arose from out the azure main;
This was the charter, the charter of the land,
And guardian angels sang this strain:
Rule, Britannia! Britannia, rule the waves!
Britons never, never, never shall be slaves!

Question: Is there any difference between a commonwealth and a state in the United States?

Answer: In the United States the difference is in name only. Virginia, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Kentucky are commonwealths according to their constitutions, but they function exactly like any other state in the United States. Virginia is often referred to as the State of Virginia, but Commonwealth of Virginia is its official name.

Commonwealth was originally two words—*common* (shared alike by all) and *wealth* or *weal* (well-being or welfare). In combination these terms meant something on the order of public welfare or public good. Over time, common weal or common wealth became an ordinary English term meaning the whole body of people constituting a nation or state, the body politic in which the whole people have a voice or an interest. For reasons noted below, in seventeenth-century England *commonwealth* came to mean a state in which the supreme power is vested in the people. The legislative branch of the government in which the people's representatives sat, the House of Commons in the case of the English Parliament, was therefore the most powerful.

In 1776 the word *commonwealth* harkened back to the period when Oliver Cromwell was in charge in England and there was no crown/monarch and no House of Lords. In Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, the authors of their constitutions selected that name deliberately because they created new governments with no royalty and no titled aristocracy as part of the government. The other colonies called themselves states, but it is curious that none called itself a republic or a country, all of which would have been more or less equally legitimate and correct. "State" and "commonwealth" denote no difference among the states.

The General Assembly of Virginia in 1789 passed an act to allow the area of Virginia known as the district of Kentucky to apply for statehood, and on June 1, 1792, Kentucky's nine counties became a state. The first Kentucky constitution was very largely influenced by the first Virginia constitution under which the nine counties operated until 1792. That is why Kentucky is the fourth commonwealth. *(Linda Rowe, historian, Department of Historical Research)*

Question: Would female slaves have been assigned to work in the gardens of Williamsburg? *(from a garden tour guest, submitted by Al Cummins, Landscape)*

Answer: Yes, a female slave, any slave, did garden work here in town. One likely example: female slaves working as cooks in town probably tended their own kitchen gardens. (Rose McAphee, training specialist, Department of Interpretive Training)

Question: Would members of the middling sort "rent" slaves from others? Also, could slaves earn money? *(from a garden tour guest, submitted by Laura Viancour, Landscape)*

Answer: Primary documents indicate that slaves were indeed rented or "hired out." The practice of hiring out of slaves is often seen in gentry-level households, but it was not restricted to the well-to-do. For example, in York County orphans accounts, guardians of middling-level orphans with modest inheritances hired out some of the estate slaves to generate income until the minor reached adulthood and took over management of his or her own affairs. Sometimes even a person with only one slave would hire that slave out if the income from it was of benefit in the circumstances of the slaveholder. In other words, hiring out would have depended on the number of slaves, the amount of work to be done, and the potential benefit to the slave owner in terms of earnings.

Enslaved persons could be hired out by the job, or by the day, week, month, or often on an annual basis. In most cases, the slave owner and the person to whom the slave was to be hired out agreed on the terms. Some slaves are known to have had their masters' permission (or tacit permission) to hire themselves out. Sometimes the slave could keep the fee or a portion of it, and sometimes the master would get the whole amount.

Slaves could sometimes earn money through selling certain foodstuffs which they could raise or procure, like fish, poultry, eggs, and other produce. They might also sell items they manufactured themselves, like baskets. They could even receive tips for services rendered or errands run. *(Linda Rowe and Rose McAphee)*

Question: How long are the four great rivers of eastern Virginia? *(from a participant in Historic Area divisional training)*

Answer: The four great rivers of Virginia—from south to north now called the James, the York, the Rappahannock, and the Potomac—were a great boon to the settlement of this colony by a great seafaring nation like England. All flow roughly from northwest to southeast into the Chesapeake Bay, and are navigable considerable distances into the interior.

The shortest Virginia river is the York, which begins at the confluence of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers at West Point, some forty-one miles east of Richmond. The York is about forty miles long and enters the bay about five miles east of Yorktown. The longest is the James, ten times longer than the York, at 410 miles including its Jackson River source. The James is the twelfth longest United States river that is contained entirely within one state. The Potomac, though at 383 miles slightly shorter than the James, drains the largest land area. The Rappahannock comes in third in length at about 184 miles.

Question: What happened to Virginia's agricultural economy during the Revolution?

Answer: Beyond the political upheaval of the Revolutionary War, the war years often brought sudden and profound changes to Virginia's rural plantations and farmsteads. These were felt in both economic and social terms. Research historian Lorena Walsh's work on plantation management, presented in a 2008 Interpretive Training course on "The American Economy During and After the Revolution," helps define interpretive themes for use at Great Hopes Plantation in support of our Revolutionary City initiative. Lorena offers an overview of the impact of war on Chesapeake society.

Between 1774 and 1781, Chesapeake planters had no way of predicting the eventual outcome of the struggle in which they were engaged. Families had to shape their responses to the immediate course of events. Optimism alternated with pessimism; individual sacrifice in public service with unrestrained private greed. At times strategies for long-term family survival predominated, but sometimes a chance to make fast money proved irresistible, however questionable the means.

The war brought material hardships to all classes, black and white. Shortages of corn, cloth, shoes, salt, and medicines caused the rich inconvenience while the poor and enslaved shivered and went hungry. Only families who lived on the Eastern Shore, where there were more secure overland and coastal routes north, were sure enough of being able to market crops that they maintained anything close to pre-war levels of farm production. Throughout most of the Tidewater, where farmers depended on more exposed water routes to carry bulky produce to distant markets—most

now cut off by the war—production of tobacco and grains dropped dramatically. Planters received scant revenues because they produced few surplus crops, and they planted little surplus of anything because they could not be sure of selling it. "What agriculturalist put money into his pocket for these years or did more than round his expenditures by his products?" one planter asked. A number of large Virginia planters estimated their losses between 1774 and 1782 from "deprivation of crops, and want of a market for the little that was raised" at £10,000 sterling.

Other losses were more easily assessed. First, British raiders destroyed crops, livestock, and buildings. Second, in Virginia alone at least 6,000 slaves fled to the enemy, and there were few large tidewater planters who did not lose some of their chattels. Third, wherever present in any number, troops spread smallpox, dysentery, and camp fever to the civilian population, causing additional losses, and forcing planters for the first time to pay for mass smallpox inoculations among their slaves. Fourth, in some areas herds of cattle and horses had probably been depleted in order to provide provision and transport for the army, and in others, timber was overcut to supply towns and troops with firewood. Finally, everywhere farm buildings deteriorated. With the future so uncertain and crop production curtailed, planters chose not to repair houses, barns, and fences. When the war was finally won, there was a great deal of catching up to do.

An unprecedented amount of absenteeism also contributed to decline. Before the war few planters stayed away from home for long. As the crisis with the mother country deepened, service on local committees of correspondence and safety, in state government, in the Continental Congress, in the continental army or the state militias, and finally at the Constitutional Convention and subsequent state ratifying conventions kept a high proportion of more substantial planters away from their farms for long periods, sometimes for several years at a time. Losses among ordinary families whose men were away in the army were probably higher in proportion to the size of their estates. Farms left to the total care of wives, overseers, or general managers suffered, while slaves, probably less closely supervised than usual, found more chances to work less diligently and more opportunities for running off.

But often the hardships were unevenly shared. Those who risked most by taking a prominent role in the rebellion, as well as those who too openly backed the British, lost more by absence (or in the latter case, punitive taxation or outright confiscation) than did those who avoided extreme positions and sat out the war on their farms. Men on the spot were in a better position to salvage something, often by speculation. Sons of the rich, should they be drafted for service in the militia, could count on their relatives coming up with money for a substitute if they did not want to fight, while poor boys could not. Those who refused to accept continental or state paper monies in payment of rents and debts came out well ahead of those who felt honor-bound to support the cause by accepting these monies. Finally, farmers who lived on the Eastern Shore or near towns had better chances to sell crops or to get hold of imports than did more isolated families.

These generalizations are largely drawn from the experiences of families at the very top. Studies of the war-time fortunes of small planters and tenants are as yet too few and scattered to permit broad generalizations. Jackson T. Main's analysis of Virginia tax records for 1782 and 1783 suggest that many tenants and small farmers fared badly after the war, while four local studies suggest similar distress among poor whites in Maryland. During the period 1764–1789 Chesapeake planters experienced times both of unprecedented prosperity and of unprecedented hardship. Independence was purchased at a high price and, by the end of the war losers appear to have greatly outnumbered gainers. Consequently, recovery was slow. *(from Lorena Walsh via Wayne Randolph, Rural Trades.)*

Question: What can you tell us about the celebration of Easter in early Virginia? *(submitted by Colleen Prosser, interpreter at Great Hopes, African-American History)*

Answer: Easter was (and is) the most important holy day in the Church of England calendar. The Book of Common Prayer includes the formula by which the date of Easter is calculated: it falls on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the spring equinox. Because it comes earlier or later each year depending on the astronomical circumstances, Easter is called a "moveable feast" in church parlance. The date of Easter each year determines when all the other non-fixed holidays will occur in relation to it.

Easter's importance is underscored by Lent, the somber period of preparation for Easter. Lent includes the forty days (except Sundays) before Easter that begin with Ash Wednesday and which are designated as fasting days. (Diarists note that Virginians ate the traditional pancakes on Shrove Tuesday, the day before Ash Wednesday.) The Church of England did not strictly enforce fasting. For eighteenth-century Virginians who wished to comply, however, Lenten fasting seems to have meant eating nothing until sometime in the evening and refraining from consumption of meat. Fish, eggs, and dairy products were ac-

ceptable substitutes for meat, and cookbooks of the day sometimes included recipes for meatless fasting dishes. All Sundays being feast days in the church calendar, meat was an acceptable repast on the Christian Sabbath, even during the Lenten season.

A few early Virginia diaries describe the nature of the four-day Easter weekend. Many worshippers repaired to their parish church on Good Friday. On April 1, 1774, Philip Vickers Fithian, a Presbyterian seminarian and tutor in the home of Robert Carter III in Westmoreland County, wrote with seeming annoyance:

> *Good Friday—a general Holiday here—Wednesday & Thursday I gave up my School on account of the Dance, and they must have this Day for Devotion! —The Coloniel, Ben, Harry, & myself all go to Ucomico Church—Parson Smith gave the usual Prayers for the Day and a long Sermon very suitable & well chosen.*

On Saturday, however, Fithian had the children until noon back in the school house at their lessons. John Harrower, a tutor near Fredericksburg, likewise noted on April 14, 1775: "*This being good Friday, I broke up school for Easter Holly days, and the Colls [Colonel's] three sons went to Town with Mr. Porter's two sons this forenoon.*"

Easter Sunday saw significant church attendance, the high holy day being one of only three or four times per year that Holy Communion was celebrated in parish churches. Fithian described his Easter Sunday, April 3, 1774, like this:

> *The Day pleasant; I rode to church—after the Service proper for the Day, Mr. Smith entertained us with a Sermon from Pauls Defence before King Agrippa, 'How is it thought a thing impossible with you that God should raise the dead.' He in this gave us a very plain & just Discourse on the doctrine of the resurrection—this being Easter sunday, all the Parish seem'd to meet together, High, Low, black, White, all come out—After Sermon the Sacrament was administered, but none are admitted except communicants to see how the matter is conducted . . . After Sermon I rode to Mr. Turbeville's. There dined with him, Ladies, Mrs. Carter, & Mrs. George Turburville: Gentlemen, Colonel Carter, Squire Lee, Mr. Cunningham, & Mr. Jennings, Merchants: Mr. George Lee, & Ben Carter & Myself—we had an elegant dinner: Beef & Greens; roast Pig; fine Boiled Rock-Fish, Pudding, Cheese, etc. Drink: good Porter-Beer, Cyder, Rum & Brandy Toddy. The Virginians are so kind one can scarce know how to dispense with, or indeed accept their kindness shown in such a variety of instances.*

In his entry for the following day, Fithian tells us a bit more about the implications of the holiday for enslaved Virginians at the Carter estate:

> *Easter Monday; a general holiday; Negroes now are all disbanded till Wednesday morning & are at Cock Fights through the Country." As for the Carter family and Fithian himself, "Mr. & Mrs. Carter . . . & Ben all rode to Day to Richmond Court—I was in the morning strongly solicited to go, but chose to decline it . . . I was before Dinner very strongly urged, by Mr. Taylor, Mr. Randolph, & some others to attend a Cock-Fight, where 25 Cocks are to fight, & large Sums are betted, so large at one as twenty-five Pounds, but I choose rather to stay at Home.*

After the holiday, Fithian found his plantation pupils less than eager to return to their studies. On Tuesday he wrote:

> *It was with difficulty I am able to collect the members of our School together for Business. Holidays have become habitual, & they seem unwilling to give them over. As the Negroes have this Day for a Holiday, our Schollars thinks it hard that they should be compell'd to attend to Business. I summon them together however, and shall keep them to constant study until the time of my setting away.*

Another reference to a Virginia Easter is found in the diary of Joseph Pilmore, an itinerant minister of the Methodist, or evangelical, branch of the Church of England. For Thursday and Friday, April 8 and 9, 1773, he wrote:

> *I went to Portsmouth and preached to a great multitude of people on our Saviors Agony in the Garden, and the next day, being good Friday, on the sufferings of Christ on mount Calvary. In the afternoon I preached Christ crucified in Norfolk.*

Pilmore's entry for April 11:

> *Being Easter Day, I expounded the history of our Lord's appearing to Mary, and God made his word spirit and life to our souls. We felt the power of Christ's Resurrection, and were made partakers of his grace. Afterwards heard the Revd. Mr. Bradford and received the holy sacrament. In the afternoon my heart was greatly enlarged in preaching at Norfolk, and all people received the word of the Lord with thankfulness. When I first came here, I was but little regarded; now they treat me as if I were an Angel of God. This also is of grace & I will give the glory to the Lord.*

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

Gardner and Barrow

Bothy's Mould

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

Wasps, Birds, and Earwigs

The Orchard

by Wesley Greene

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

While the eighteenth-century English vegetable gardener was battling caterpillars, snails, and "flies" in the kitchen garden, their fruit trees and vines were also under attack from predacious animals and insects. Eighteenth-century American gardeners largely escaped the ravages of the common vegetable pests that the English battled because old world vegetables did not arrive in the new world with their old world pests. It was a very different and far more difficult situation for the orchardist in the American colonies.

Virtually all of the tree fruit that we Americans prize today are European imports including the apple, pear, peach, nectarine, plum, apricot, cherry, fig, and pomegranate, though most of them did not originate in Europe. We do have a few native fruit trees such as the persimmon and paw-paw as well as some obscure forms of apples and plums. The blueberry and cranberry are our best known native fruits and our native strawberry is one half of the cross that gives us the modern strawberry, but the fruit trees the colonist brought with them still make up the major portion of fruit consumed in America today.

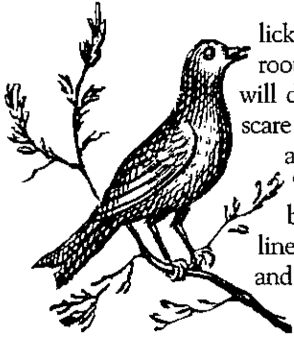
Some of the pests found in the vegetable garden were also pests on fruits. John Reid gives us this warning for the month of April 1721:

> *It is now that our Gardens begin to be over-run with* Snails *and* Slugs *to the great destruction of our young knit* Wall-Fruit [the fruit of trees grown against a wall]. . . . *Many ways have be prescribed to remedy this Evil, as to lay Tobacco-Dust, Soot, Saw-Dust or Barley-Chaff round about the Stems of Plants, which indeed will keep them off for a little Time, but the first Rain that falls, gives them full Liberty to pass over these Fortifications, neither are we more successful in putting Tar upon the Stems of Trees, for a few warm Days drys it up: But the most ingenious Contrivance to keep off these destructive Vermin that I have ever met with, I learn from a curious Gentleman of Hartfordshire, which is so cheap and Easy, and so much to the Purpose, that I believe few lovers of Gardens will be without it."*
>
> *"He directs to wrap about the Stem of a Tree, two or three rounds of Line or Rope made of Horse-Hair, such as are commonly used to hang Clothes upon; these are so full of Stubs and straggling Points of Hair, that neither a Snail or Slug can pass over them, without wounding themselves to Death.*[1]

This novel defense against snails and slugs on fruit trees is repeated by many authors for the rest of the century; however, the tried and true method of hand picking is not abandoned as we hear from Thomas Mawe in 1776: "Snails will often make great havock among the choice kinds of wall-fruit, were they are not interrupted: they particularly frequent the apricots, nectarines, and peach-trees, and will do mischief to these kinds of fruit, if not prevented." [2] He then instructs us to search for them in the morning, pick them off, and dump them in scalding water.

While birds can be bothersome in the vegetable garden, they are a far more significant pest in the fruit orchard as anyone who has grown cherries, grapes, or figs will attest. For grapes William Thompson suggests what would seem to be a very tedious defense in 1779: "It is generally necessary, at this season of the year [September], to put some covering over the finest bunches of grapes, such as bags of guaze, paper, or thin crape, in order to preserve them from the attacks of birds and insects."[3] Benjamin Whitmill gives us the best defense against birds on grapes: "Put Nets over your *Grapes*, to preserve them from Birds."[4] This is still the primary defense against birds used by grape growers today. Wall trees are commonly netted in England to this day but free standing fruit trees are much more difficult to net, partly because of size, and also because the branches of the fruit tree grow through the nets making them nearly impossible to remove.

For tree fruit, Thompson suggests in 1779: "To prevent Birds from eating Fruit. Smear the branches of your fruit-trees with the juice of gar-



lick, or hang a bunch of that root on the trees, which will drive away the birds." To scare ravens, crows, magpies, and so forth he advises: "Among fruit-trees, it will be adviseable to draw a line from one tree to another, and fasten black-feathers on it at moderate distances, which will greatly terrify these birds; or dead crows, hung up will answer the same end."[5]

A more aggressive, and terminal, method is suggested by Leonard Meager in 1704 who observes that birds: "doth most mischief in the Winter, by pecking the Blossum-buds...they do likewise spoil Cherries, the which both Jack-Daws and Jayes do: amongst small Birds the Tom-tit and Bull-finches do most mischief . . . on your Plumb and Apricock trees . . . you may destroy many with a good Trunk, or Stone-bow; as for Jays, Magpyes, and Jack-dawes, they are to be destroyed by Shooting them, or with Springs, by them that know how to set them for the purpose, which some do; some do take these Fowls alive, and tie them in some convenient place, where they will scrame or cry, especially the Jay, and will cause divers of their kind to gather together, by which means you may make greater destruction amongst them with your Gun."[6]

The webworm is frequently seen on fruit trees, particularly on apples, in the spring. John Worlidge gives us the best control for them in 1716 and it is one that modern gardeners use to this day: "To prevent their numerous increase on Trees, gather them off in Winter, taking away the *Puckets* [webs] which cleave about the Branches, and burning them. In the Summer, whilst they are yet young, when either through the coldness of the Night, or some humidity, they are assembled together on heaps, you may take them and destroy them."[7]

A far more extravagant control method for all sorts of caterpillars is related by Thompson in 1779: "Take three ounces of wormwood and one ounce of asa-fætida steep and break them, and boil the whole in a proper quantity of water; after they are boiled, strain the ingredients through a cloth, and apply the liquor, when cold, to the trees, before the buds are opened, and then the trees will not be injured. You may, if you please, add to this mixture some tobacco-stalks, coloquintida, and other ingredients of like nature." He also gives us this remedy: "Caterpillars may be driven away by strewing fig-ashes over the trees. Or

you may take an equal quantity of the urine of an ox, and the lees of oil, boil them together, and when the mixture is cold Sprinkle it over the plants and trees."[8]

An insect problem that is unique to fruit trees is the depredations due to the feeding of wasps. Both European and English wasps will damage fruit, though they are secondary pests that only attack fruit that has already been wounded. Once they have access to the fruit, however, they will quickly hollow it out. By far the most common method for controlling wasps is suggested by Mawe in 1776; "Now hang up in the wall-trees some phials filled with sugared water, in order to catch and destroy wasps, and other devouring insects, before they begin to attack the choice fruit. Let at least three such vials be placed in each of the largest trees; and, even in the lesser trees, there should not be less than two vials hung up in each . . . the insects . . . will, by the smell of the liquor, be decoyed into the vial, and be drowned. The vials should be often looked over in order to empty out such insects as are from time to time catched therein."[9]

Whitmill did not believe that simply emptying the vials was sufficient, as we hear from him in 1747: "Once every Week the Bottles are to be renewed, and Care is to be taken to Bruise the Insects when they are taken out, for otherwise, though they are seemingly dead, sometimes in a warm Day or two they will come to themselves."[10]

Thompson believed in going after the wasps and hornets at their source as well as offering an alternative to the vials hung in trees: "If you put lighted brimstone rags into the wasps nest, and then fling some earth over the holes, it will destroy them . . . You may also lay some treacle, the entrails of beasts, or sweet apples, in an earthen dish, which will draw them in multitudes to their ruin."[11]

A more tedious but equally effective method of dealing with wasps is provided by an anonymous "practical gardener" in 1778: "The most effectual method of catching wasps, is by touching them with twigs besmeared with birdlime."[12] Bird lime is a sticky substance prepared from the twigs of what the English call the lime tree and generally known in this country as the little-leaf linden. Bird lime has long been used by fowlers for snaring birds.

Aphids are pests on many types of plants. They are recognized, although not identified, by Leonard Meager in 1704: "There is another sort of Vermin which is a very great annoyance to Cherry-trees . . . it is a small black bug, and will be in great numbers on the leaves and springing Buds, tainting the Tree, although in a very thriving condition, causing the Sap to be at a stand...what the name of it is I

know not, or whether that Bug, call'd a Lady-bird, do cause them, I know not, but I do commonly see that Bug on Cherry-Trees, and amongst those small Bugs, whether to feed on them, or to cast that Spawn whereof they come."[13]

What Meager was seeing, of course, is the ladybug, one of the most effective predators on aphids although this is seldom recognized by eighteenth-century authors. A common method for controlling aphids and other insect pests was to wash them off. Mawe describes the process in 1776: "For the purpose of watering the branches of . . . wall-trees, there is nothing so useful and convenient as a hand-watering engine. By the help of this small engine, a person may stand on the walks, and with great ease and expedition throw the water against any part of the trees . . . even if the wall is fifteen or twenty feet high . . . for the engine will throw the water with such forces against the trees, as to displace caterpillars, and other insects, and will effectually clear the leaves and branches from dust, cobwebs, and from any sort of filth they may have at any time contracted."[14]

The watering engine was similar to our reconstructed fire engine kept at the Magazine guard house. John Abercombie describes its operation for us in 1789: "WATERING PUMP ENGINE may be useful in gardens . . . by placing it in walks and alleys, and the receiver being filled with water, and with one hand working the pump, the other guiding the pipe, made to turn in any direction."[15] A little more sophisticated device was the fumigating bellows, which was the predecessor to the modern pesticide applicator. Mawe describes one in 1776: "for destroying insects on fruit-trees, there is an invention called Fumigating Bellows, having a tube or pipe to fix on occasionally, in which is burned tobacco; and by working the bellows, the smoak of the tobacco will issue forth in a full stream, and kill the insects."[16]

Nicotine extracts from tobacco were used as an effective pesticide from the eighteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century. It has been applied both as a fumigant and as a dust. Mawe gives us instructions for using tobacco dust in 1776: "But where any of the wall-trees, young or old, are much over-run with these small vermin, let the following precautions be taken to destroy them. Pick off all the curled leaves, for these generally swarm with insects; then get some tobacco-dust, and scatter some of it over all the branches, but most on those places where the insects are troublesome. This should be strewed over the trees in a morning, and let it remain. It will greatly diminish the insects, and not in the least injure the plants or fruit."[17]

Whenever plants are infested with aphids, ants are a sure companion to them and their presence is one of the best ways of detecting aphids, which generally feed on the under sides of leaves and go unnoticed. Ants do not harm the trees other than protecting the aphids, which they milk for honeydew, but eighteenth-century garden books give us many means for killing them nonetheless. Worlidge provides this advice in 1716: "Ants or Pismires are injurious to a Garden . . . as well by feeding on Fruits . . . To keep them from your Trees, incompass the Stem four Fingers Breadth, with a Circle or Rowl of Wool newly picked from a Sheeps Belly. Or anoint the Stem with Tar. Also you may make Boxes of *Cards* or *Pastboard* pierced full of holes with a Bodkin, into which Boxes put the Powder of *Arsenick* mingled with a little *Honey*. Hang these Boxes on the Tree, and they will certainly destroy them."[18]

John James believed in going to the source of the problem: "There is also another Secret to catch them, which is to throw into the Ant-Hill a Bone half pick'd, which in an instant will be cover'd with a Million of these Insects, and taking it out quick, dip it into Water and drown them."[19]

A minor pest of trees but one that has engendered many fantastic tales over the years is the earwig. The name *earwig* is derived from the Old English "earwicga" which means "ear beetle" and the belief that they will burrow into your ear to lay their eggs or feast on your brain has been with us for hundreds of years. The origin of the legend is obscure. Cobham Brewer postulated in 1898 that the insect is named "because the hind wings resemble in shape the human ear."[20] The *Columbia Encyclopedia* theorizes that "the superstition that earwigs crawl through the ears and into the brains of sleeping persons probably derives from their nocturnal habits and the tarry or waxy odor of a secretion of their abdominal glands." Earwigs feed partially on rotten fruit or animals so they are not a primary pest on fruit. However, the eighteenth-century gardener was not happy with any type of creature on their fruit trees and formulated imaginative ways of dispensing with them.

Worlidge tells us in 1716: "Earwigs in some years prove injurious to Fruits, by the greatness of their numbers feeding on and devouring them. And are destroyed by placing *Hoofs* or *Horns* of Beasts amongst your Trees and Wall-fruit, into which they will resort. Early in the Morning you must take them gently, but speedily off, and shake them in a Vessel of scalding Water."[21] And, should the ultimate terror actually happen, Thompson gives us the remedy: "If an earwig should hap-

pen to get into your ear, cut a hole in a ripe apple or melon, apply it to your ear, and lie on that side; the insect will then come into the fruit."[22]

Finally there is the danger of the larger beasts destroying your trees; in this instance, fences make the best neighbors as explained by Meager in 1704: "Orchards, and Nurseries, have divers other Enemies and Casualties whereby they are apt to be spoiled, as Deers, Goats, Hares, and Coneys [young rabbits] , the best and surest prevention is a good Fence." If this does not work, especially for rabbits who are experts at getting around fences, a little cloth soaked with dung should do the trick: "by wrapping some old, either Woollen or Linnen Cloaths, or old Stockings, about each Tree . . . and then dawb it with any kind of dung or garbage of Coneys, &c. and this will cause that they will not meddle with your Trees so long as the smell thereof remains."[23]

There is conflicting documentation about how the orchard fared when it reached the New World. William Cobbett wrote in 1821 of America: "there are no blights of fruit trees worth speaking of."[24] However, two of the most devastating diseases of fruit were waiting for the colonists when they arrived in North America. The grape phylloxera is a small sap sucking insect related to the aphid that made the growing of European wine grapes in North America practically impossible. It was not until the 1830s that German immigrants in Missouri discovered that grafting European wine stock onto native American grape varieties conferred a resistance to the grape phyhlloxera.

Another serious North American pest of fruit that causes havoc in the orchard to this day is the *plum curculio*, which inflicts damage on almost all tree fruits, including peach, apricot, cherry, apple, pear as well as plum. Jefferson battled this pest but was not able to identify it. In a 1791 letter to Thomas Mann Randolph, he relays the erroneous information that it is the Hessian fly, a pest on wheat that was infesting his orchard. "I do not think that of the weavil of Virginia has been yet sufficiently detailed . . . Bartram here tells me that it is one & the same insect which by depositing it's egg in the young plumbs, apricots, nectarines & peaches renders them gummy and good for nothing." John Bartram attributed his success with plums to frequently shaking the trees which caused the curculio to "tumble off."[25] Frequently shaking fruit trees would, indeed, provide some measure of control against this insect.

There are many diseases of fruit that produce blemishes but do not harm the quality of the fruit. While modern shoppers will not tolerate this at market (and is a primary reason for the over use of pesticides in our orchards today), the eighteenth-century consumer considered many of these blemishes normal. In 1817 William Coxe produced an illustrated work on fruit[26] that pictured the fruit with damage from codling moth, apple scab, fly speck, and many other diseases as this was considered the normal appearance of fruit at the time. By studying the illustrations in Coxes's work (done by his daughters), the twentieth-century plant pathologist P.L. Richter was able to identify the common fruit pests of the period.

It was also in the early nineteenth century that the importance of birds in controlling insects was recognized. Benjamin Smith Barton wrote *Of the Usefulness of Birds*, partially reprinted in *An American Farmer* (1803), which encouraged insect eating birds such as bluebirds, woodpeckers and house wrens, writing that gardeners should obtain: "10 or 15 pairs of these small birds."[27] This was one of the first steps towards a holistic approach to pest control and begins to leave behind the eighteenth-century wisdom that anything observed on a fruit tree should probably be killed.

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[1] John Reid, *The Gard'ners Kalendar*, 1721

[2] Thomas Mawe, *Every Man his own Gardener*, 1776

[3] William Thompson, *The New Gardener's Calendar*, 1779

[4] Benjamin Whitmill, *Kalendarium Universale*, 1747

[5] Thompson , *The New Gardener's Calendar*

[6] Leonard Meager, *The Complete English Gardner*, 1704

[7] John Worlidge, *A Compleat System of Husbandry and Gardening*, 1716

[8] Thompson, *The New Gardener's Calendar*

[9] Mawe, *Every Man his own Gardener*

[10] Whitmill, *Kalendarium Universale*

[11] Thompson, *The New Gardener's Calendar*

[12] A Practical Gardener, *The Practical Gardener*, 1778

[13] Thompson, *The New Gardener's Calendar*

[14] Mawe, *Every Man his own Gardener*

[15] John Abercrombie, *The Complete Kitchen Gardener*, 1789

[16] Mawe, *Every Man his own Gardener*

[17] Ibid

[18] Meager, *The Complete English Gardner*

[19] John James, *The Theory and Practice of Gardening*, 1712

[20] Cobham Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 1898

[21] Meager, *The Complete English Gardner*

[22] Thompson, *The New Gardener's Calendar*

[23] Meager, *The Complete English Gardner*

[24] William Cobbett, *The American Gardener*, 1821

[25] Peter Hatch, *The Fruit and Fruit Trees of Monticello*, 1998

[26] William Coxe, *A View of the Cultivation of Fruit Trees*, 1817

[27] Hatch, *The Fruit and Fruit Trees of Monticello*

Interpreter's Corner

A Gonzales Fund Report: Attending the Historic Landscape Institute

by Donald McKelvey

Don is a garden historian in the Landscape Department.

I attended the Historic Landscape Institute (HLI) in June 2007. I was very pleased to have received the Gonzales scholarship* that allowed me to take part in the Institute. The group last year was smaller than usual—there were only eleven of us participating. The HLI is a joint venture between Monticello and the University of Virginia. It is a unique educational experience in the theory and practice of historic preservation. It offers participants an introduction to the fields of landscape history, garden restoration, and historical horticulture by using landscapes designed by Thomas Jefferson at Monticello and the University of Virginia as case studies and outdoor classrooms. Peter Hatch, director of grounds for Monticello, and Mary Hughes, landscape architect from UVA, head up the program.

For ten days we enjoyed Monticello's hospitality, which included some behind the scenes tours of the house. We were lodged in the oldest part of the university's campus—the Lawn area—that was designed by Jefferson. Our classes were held at Monticello, UVA, the Jefferson Library, and the university library. Many days we were taken on field trips to other sites such as Lynchburg and Jefferson's Poplar Forest plantation nearby, Bremo plantation—another Jefferson-designed house—(Upper Bremo, Lower Bremo, and Bremo itself), and one day actually visiting Colonial Williamsburg and having lunch at King's Arms Tavern.

The classes themselves were primarily about historic preservation and what many historic sites are doing to maintain their place in the twenty-first century.

For example, in 2004 Monticello purchased Mountalto (high mountain), a 330-acre adjacent property once owned by Thomas Jefferson and which rises 400 feet above his home, joining with others in an attempt to preserve the viewscapes from historic sites as much as possible (which means no modern buildings, power lines, cell towers, etc., intruding on the historical vistas.) The University of Virginia has started a program with the Garden Club of Virginia to renovate all of the gardens that surround the Lawn and the original Jefferson part of the campus.

For me the Historic Landscape Institute was a great inspiration, giving me cause to reflect on what I do at Colonial Williamsburg and making me realize what a great job we do here at CW.

*The Mary and Donald Gonzales Field Experience Fund was established by an anonymous Colonial Williamsburg donor in 2006. The fund provides individual grants of up to $5,000 for continuing education opportunities for non-management employees with the Landscape Services Department, Division of Research and Historical Interpretation, and Collections, Conservation, and Museums Division.

New at the Rock

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

Collection of the Acts of Parliament pertaining to the North American Colonies, 1764–1778. This is a collection containing thirty-eight acts passed by Parliament concerning its North American colonies enacted between 1764 and 1780. Included in this collection are the official printings of the Sugar Act (1764), the Currency Act (1764), the Quartering Act (1765), the Repeal of the Stamp Act (1766), the Declaratory Act (1766), the Revenue Act (1767), the New York Restraining Act (1767), the Boston Port Act (1774), the Administration of Justice Act (1774), the Massachusetts Government Act (1774), the New England Restraining Act (1775), and the Prohibitory Act (1775). MS2008.4

Letters of George William Fairfax, 1779–1780. The first letter from Fairfax to George Nicholas grants Nicholas power of attorney over the Virginia estates belonging to Fairfax. The second letter from Nicholas to Craven Peyton instructs Peyton to collect the rents due on Fairfax's lands. Fairfax had left Virginia for England in 1773. Though friendly to the American cause, he never returned to Virginia. MS2008.1

United States. Continental Congress. *In Congress July 4th, 1776. : the unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America . . .* A facsimile of the Declaration by Washington, D.C. penmanship instructor Benjamin Owen Tyler published in 1818. MS2008.2

United States. Continental Congress. *In Congress July 4th, 1776. : the unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America . . .* A facsimile of the Declaration by John Binns published in 1819. The text is decorated with an ornamental border containing portraits of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and John Hancock. Portraitist Thomas Sully was one of the artists who worked on this piece. MS2008.3

United States. Continental Congress. *In Congress July 4th, 1776. : the unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America . . .* A facsimile of the Declaration by the Hartford penmanship and writing master Eleazer Huntington published between 1820 and 1824.

Boston Investigator (Boston: Abner Kneeland, September 9, 1831) This issue contains an account of the Southampton County, Virginia, insurrection led by Nat Turner.

Independent Chronicle (Boston: Adams & Rhoades, March 18, 1816). This issue contains an account of an intended slave insurrection in Spotsylvania County, Virginia.

London Chronicle (London: John Wilkie, July 1–July 4, 1769) This issue contains an account of the events leading to Governor Botetourt's dissolution of the House of Burgesses in May 1769.

London Chronicle (London: John Wilkie, August 24–August 26, 1769) This issue contains an account of an intended slave insurrection in James City County.

London Gazette (London: Thomas Harrison, March 10 to March 14, 1778) This issue contains an account of the repeal of the tax on tea.

St. James's Chronicle, or, British Evening-Post (London: Henry Baldwin, August 8 to August 10, 1776) This issue contains a letter from a "Virginia Planter" who writes that it was the Prohibitory Bill and the burning of the towns on the sea coast that made the idea of independence popular.

The Weekly Amusement (Sherborne: Robert Goadby, September 29, 1764) This issue contains an account of an encounter between Lt. Governor William Gooch and a slave on the streets of Williamsburg. Gooch served in Virginia from 1727 to 1749. He died in 1751.

Anecdote of Sir William Gooch, some Time Governor of Virginia.
NOTHING is unworthy of Publication which may convey an useful Lesson to Mankind. *Sir William Gooch* being in Conversation with a gentleman in a Street of the City of *Williamsburgh*, returned the Salute of a Negro, who was passing by about his Master's business. Sir, said the Gentleman, does your Honour descend so far as to salute a Slave? Why (replied the governor) yes; I cannot suffer a Man of his Condition to exceed me in Good Manners.

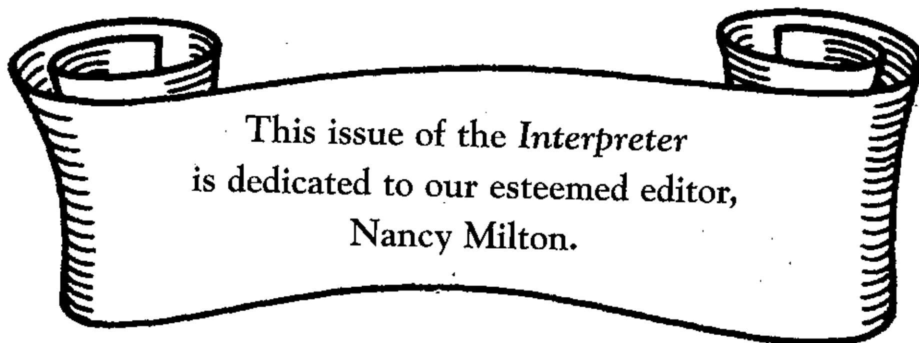
Knox, William. *The controversy between Great Britain and her colonies reviewed . . .* London, J. Almon, 1769. In this work, Knox refutes the claims of the colonists that they have any exemption from the legislation of Parliament. Former colonial agent for Georgia, Knox was removed from his post for writing two pamphlets in defense of the Stamp Act. He served as under-secretary of state for American affairs from 1770 to 1782.

Hamilton, Alexander, John Jay, James Madison. *The Federalist, on the new Constitution , , ,* New York: George F. Hopkins, 1802. The last edition of the Federalist published during Hamilton's lifetime.

Lamb, Roger. *An original and authentic account of occurrences during the late American War, from its commencement to the year 1783*. Dublin: Wilkinson & Courtney, 1809. This is a history and personal account of the American Revolution. The author was a sergeant in the Royal Welch Fusileers.

(Submitted by Douglas Mayo, head, special collections, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library.)

Publication of
this issue of the Interpreter
was made possible
by a gift from
James H. and Sherry P. Hubbard
of Severna Park, Maryland



The Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter is published three times a year by the Research and Historical Interpretation Division.

Editor: Nancy Milton

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