

Interpreter

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

VOL. 24, NO. 2

SUMMER 2003

Great Hopes for Great Hopes

Guests can now cross the pedestrian bridge from the Visitor Center to enter a scene of rural life in the 1770s. The story at Great Hopes focuses on a middling planter, his young family, and several enslaved Africans. Family dynamics and master-slave relationships come to life as guests participate in activity-based interpretations of agricultural and domestic work. Significantly enhancing the context for understanding eighteenth-century Williamsburg, Great Hopes represents the experience of 98 percent of the population of colonial Virginia, black and white, who lived in the countryside dependent upon an agricultural economy based on land and labor. Great Hopes also provides the ideal setting in which to explore the effects of the institution of slavery on life and work in colonial Virginia.

Because the project will be phased in over three years, guests can watch this interpretive

site evolve over time. Phase I focuses on initial improvement of undeveloped land, including preparation and cultivation of corn and tobacco fields, building fences, and caring for gardens and livestock. In Phase II, guests will see the farmer's one-room dwelling and a tobacco barn go up. They may encounter carpenters repairing the barn roof, for example, bricklayers adding a chimney to the house, or workers constructing a slave quarter. Phase III will complete the process with the construction of a two-room planter's house and other outbuildings. The one-room dwelling will become a kitchen.

The Historic Area's newest site provides a unique gateway to the past connecting rural to urban, country folk to city cousins. Stay tuned!

(Submitted by Rose McAphee and Anne Willis, training specialists in the Department of Interpretive Training and members of the Great Hopes project team.)

Also in this issue . . .

- "A Portrait of York County Middling Planters and Their Slaves, 1760-75" by K. Kelly 2
- "The Brafferton Experiment" by J. H. Merrell . . . 6
- "Arts & Mysteries—Recent Arrivals, Former Loyalties" by N. B. Poirier 9
- "The Charles Steuart Portrait" 12
- "The Language of Clothing: An Exhibition at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum" by L. Baumgarten with J. Gilliam 13
- "Leisure Wear: Eighteenth-Century Style" by R. Warren 16
- "Interpretive Training Department at Home in William Finnie House" by R. Doares Jr. 18
- "The Bothy's Mould" by K. Brinkley 20
- "Q & A" by R. Doares Jr. 22
- "Interpreter's Corner—Focusing on the Guest" by T. D. Norris 25
- "Extracts from the Autobiography of the Reverend James Ireland, Fourth Installment, circa 1769-70" by R. Doares Jr. 26
- "New at the Rock" 28
- "Cook's Corner" 31
- "Editor's Notes" 32



Great Hopes for Great Hopes: Housewrights are shown in the process of securing a wall during the raising of a building.

A Portrait of York County Middling Planters and Their Slaves, 1760–75

by Kevin Kelly

Kevin, a historian in the Department of Historical Research, prepared this article in support of the Great Hopes site—Colonial Williamsburg's newest exhibit on rural life.

Many eighteenth-century Virginians, as well as colonial Americans generally, liked to divide society into three groups. For example, during the ratifying debate on the Constitution, Patrick Henry spoke of the “well born,” “middle, and lower ranks.” Historian Jackson Turner Main notes that characteristics such as “respectable,” “honest,” and “sober” were applied to the “middle sort,” but, Main argues, access to property and wealth was key to “class” distinctions.¹

A middling planter, then, was a man with some property. But how much? The sources Main cites are vague about where to draw the dividing line. But, for our purposes, we need to make the effort to do so. Tax lists exist for three tidewater counties, Essex, James City, and Gloucester, in the 1760s and 1770s. These lists enumerate both tithable household size and quitrent acreage. In each of these counties, just a handful of household heads, approximately 5 percent, commanded large households of sixteen or more tithables and nine hundred-plus acres. (Note that each county varies from the others; Gloucester has the highest threshold for the largest planter, Essex the lowest.) The percentage of men with little or no taxable property, defined as households with one or two tithes and no land or fewer than one hundred acres, varies in the three counties, averaging from 28 percent of households in James City to 42 percent in Gloucester.

In all three of these counties, another group of planters owned one to four tithables and more than one hundred acres but (usually) less than five hundred acres. These householders could be part of the so-called “middling sort,” but they could just as readily be counted as small planters or even members of the “lesser” sort.

There is yet another cluster in the tax lists that seems to fall between these small planters and the truly large ones. Amounting to a sizeable number of all households in Essex (14 percent), Gloucester (20 percent), and James City (22 percent) Counties, this group paid taxes on four to ten tithes and 150 to 799 acres.² Perhaps these were the middling planters described by James Parker in September 1774. Parker wrote Charles Steuart about the state of politics in Virginia, re-

porting that, in the end, the “country people” will “be for Old King George, he is the man they must depend upon.” For Parker these “country people” were “the honest 6 hhd [hogshead] planters downwards.” Given the typical yield per hand and the average weight of a hogshead in the late colonial period, it would have taken the labor of around eight adult tithables to produce enough to fill six hogsheads.³

Keeping these numbers in mind, we now turn to the documents that let us explore who the middling planters of York County were: probate estate inventories recorded between 1760 and 1775. Inventories are fraught with problems. They probably are not representative of the living population, and they may not even be representative of the decedent population. Moreover, estate appraisers may have overlooked or miscounted items. Still, if used with care, inventories provide valuable data.

Nearly two hundred inventories were recorded in the York County court between 1760 and 1775. Slaves were counted as property in 64 percent of them. Ten slaves were the mean average owned by slave-owning decedents. The median average stood higher at eighteen slaves owned. Among slave-owning decedents, 50 percent owned six or fewer; 13 percent of the estates held twenty or more slaves.⁴

Because the key interpretive goal at the Great Hopes site is to help our guests better understand the lives of African Americans in rural Virginia, it is important that we represent a plantation large enough that the full range of their lives—marriages and childrearing practices, for example—can be represented. Given that goal and the profile of the middling planter suggested by the tax lists, I have selected twenty-five inventories of rural decedents whose estates included at least seven but no more than sixteen slaves. (Seven of these inventories enumerate the property of widows, but because our focus is as much on plantation slaves as on slave owners, I kept them in my sample.)

Two hundred sixty-six slaves were appraised on these inventories. The mean and median average of the number of slaves held was 10. Naturally, given the higher number of slaves on the largest estates, almost a quarter of the 266 slaves lived on plantations with 16 slaves, while only 8 percent were in households with 7 slaves. The demographic characteristics of these 266 slaves are

fairly interesting. In Bruton Parish, women (adult and children) outnumbered men (adult and children) in a ratio of 10 to 8. In Yorkhampton Parish, the sex ratio was even more unbalanced with a ratio of 7.4 men to 10 women. Only in Charles Parish were the sexes evenly split. For the county overall, there were 8.3 men for every 10 women. On the average plantation of 10 slaves, 4.5 were men and 5.5 were women. That 0.5 makes for an interesting interpretive challenge!

Another interesting feature about the slave population seen in these inventories is the relatively small number of children. For example in Bruton Parish, only eleven of the ninety-six slaves (11.5 percent), whose age group ("man," "male," "fellow," "boy," "woman," "wench," "girl," and "child") is identified, only eleven were children. The percentage of children in the slave population in the other two counties is higher (40.5 percent in Yorkhampton and 45 percent in Charles Parish). Even if one eliminates the Bruton Parish estates altogether and includes only those inventories that list a slave's age group, the number of identified children accounts for only 42 percent of the total. If these numbers are accurate, we are left with a puzzle. Why is the York County slave population, as represented in the inventories, not showing the potential for natural increase (more children than adults) that characterized slave populations elsewhere in the colony?

Perhaps it is all a matter of definition. York County appraisers may have included young teenage boys and girls in their definition of men and women. Yet, elsewhere, Virginians did distinguish between tithables twelve to fifteen and those over sixteen; younger slaves were considered to be less productive. Furthermore, this low percentage of children is not simply a characteristic of the middling planter's estate. An examination of the inventories of York County decedents with more than twenty slaves (eliminating urban decedents

and the truly strange 1773 inventory of Robert Shield with its count of forty-four adult slaves and only five children) reveals only 40 percent of their slaves listed as children. Perhaps, again, the missing children were young teenagers. If so, perhaps these young people were also the most marketable.

The inventories of small planters also describe only 42 percent of their slaves as children. If young teenaged slaves from middling plantations were sold to small planters, the number of children counted in small planters' holdings ought to be higher. One obvious and ominous conclusion is possible: young slaves of middling planters may not have been sold to nearby planters but out of the county. On the other hand, it could be that the adults inventoried on small estates had few children and that the children in those small planters' inventories were indeed purchased by small planters from neighbors in an effort to accumulate slaves more quickly rather than rely on natural increase alone. More research will be needed to see if this is a possibility. Meanwhile, the missing children are a mystery.

The names of slaves on these middling planters' estates seem to parallel what is known about black naming patterns. Christian names familiar to white Virginians are common. Will, Jack, John, George, Tom, and Ben are frequent male names. Biblical names such as Adam (twice), Isham, Gabriel, and Aaron can be found. One does wonder who named a slave Cain! On rare occasion, a classical or place name identifies a male slave. Only two names, Taph and Deco, may have a foreign origin. Christian and English names were commonly given to women. Betty, Bess, Lucy, Peggy, and Margaret are found. Women received biblical names more often than men. Dinah, Hannah, Sarah, Judith, Mary, Moll, Rachel, Esther, and Beck are some examples. Women occasionally received classical names; for example, Venus.



On eight of the twenty-five inventories, there are twelve name pairings. Two adult men with the same name and two adult women bearing the same name lived on the same plantations. Two girls bore the name of another woman on a plantation while six boys lived on a plantation where an adult male answered to the same name. The other eight pairings each involve an adult and a child. The name *Toney* appears only as a pair. It would be nice to say that these pairings, especially adult male and boy pairings, indicate possible family connections. No other *Toney* can be found in the inventories (although an *Anthony* is listed in one).

Lorena Walsh's study of the Burwell family's slaves shows that sons were occasionally named for fathers, but daughters were seldom named for mothers. That only six of the thirty-one boys named in these inventories paired up with an adult male in the same inventory seems to confirm Walsh's conclusion that children were not commonly named for parents. In other words, name pairings are not necessarily evidence of a parent-child relationship, while at the same time the absence of such pairings does not preclude the possibility that a number of parents and their children lived together on those plantations.⁵

These middling planters and widows were people of some property. But that "some" property was essentially the value of their slaves. The appraised value of their total personal estates ranged from £229.19.11 to £803.13.8. The percentages of those evaluations invested in slaves ranged from 52 percent to 92 percent. Thus, on average, slaves accounted for 75 percent of middling planters' appraised wealth. Granted, the value of their real property would have reduced the role slaves played in making these middling planters wealthy men and women. But it would not eliminate it. Slaves made the middling planters wealthier than their neighboring small planters. (The lack of land tax records for colonial York County hinders any easy effort to recover evidence of their landholdings. A search through land patents, deeds, and wills may make it possible to recover some information about land ownership, but that is beyond the scope of this article.)

These middling planters were the workhorses of county government. By their appointment to such positions as petit and grand jurors, constables, and surveyors of the highway, they helped ensure the execution of justice and upheld the administrative structure of the county. This is not to say that the court did not appoint smaller planters to these posts (a close study of the social background of all such appointed officers is warranted); rather that these middling planters regularly held these



offices as had many of their fathers, even grandfathers. It is possible to determine office-holding for eighteen of the decedents, or the husbands of the female decedents. The offices were petit and grand jurors, constable, surveyor of the highway, tobacco inspector, churchwarden, undersheriff, militia officer, and estate appraiser. Of the eighteen men, only one held no office. The seventeen officeholders combined to hold sixty appointed offices, or on average 3.5 each.⁶

The most frequent appointment for middling planters was estate appraiser. In such a position, one would need a solid knowledge of the market value of a great assortment of household items, as well as of slaves, livestock, and crops. That the appraiser fairly valued these goods helped ensure the stability of the credit-debit network upon which the economy depended.

The second most frequently held office was petit juror. A petit juror was his neighbor's peer. His honest efforts to determine the facts in civil suits were essential to a credible system of justice.

Constables were agents of law enforcement. Lacking force to carry out his power, a constable had to depend on the goodwill gained by a fair exercise of his duties. A surveyor of the highway was regularly required to call out his neighbors or their slaves to keep the roads open. To ensure attendance, constables needed to recognize that any such requests were always a burden on the average planter and had to make what efforts they could to minimize the disruption.

Tobacco inspectors had the power to make or break the work of a small planter's whole year. His decision to burn a sizable portion of proffered tobacco as trash and seconds could reduce a small planter's income by one-third to one-half. Any hint of favoritism would jeopardize a system on which planters, large and small, depended.

The middling planter had to balance the demands of these official duties with the demands of managing his plantation. We await Lorena Walsh's forthcoming work for a full study of plantation management, but some idea can be gained by a

look at planters' inventories. Among the crops grown, tobacco still seemed to be of some importance. Sixty-four percent of the inventories mention hoes. Three estates had tobacco on hand when they were appraised; the largest amount owned was 2,964 pounds, held by John Wynne. Corn was grown on at least 52 percent of the plantations. The amount inventoried ranged from a low of three barrels to a high of ninety barrels.

Harvested wheat was found on 40 percent of the estates inventoried. Forty-eight percent of the inventories include tools (plows, reaphooks, etc.) useful for growing wheat. Three other inventories, which do not include harvested wheat or wheat-related tools, do have draught steers or oxen. If you combine inventories that include one of these three components, then 84 percent of the inventories evidence some wheat production capability.

Cotton production may have taken on some importance as well. Parcels of cotton, spun cotton, spinning cotton, and picked cotton are mentioned in fourteen inventories (56 percent), with the largest amount being the 238 pounds owned by John Shields of Charles Parish. On the other hand, some of this cotton may have been purchased. Finally, nine inventories, or 36 percent, record sizable amounts of fodder on hand.

Livestock played an important role as well. Appraisers found cattle grazing on 88 percent of the middling planters' estates. Herd sizes ranged from a low of six to a high of fifty-two cattle. The average herd size was approximately eighteen head. Butchering cows for beef does not seem to have been important. Only one inventory itemizes beef, which amounted to only twenty-five pounds. On the other hand, leather may have been an important by-product of cattle herding. Rawhides and sides of leather can be found on 43 percent of the estate inventories.

Swine can be found on 92 percent of the inventories. Robert Crawley had the largest number of pigs and shoats with 55; the countywide average was 17.5 hogs. Presumably, people kept hogs primarily for the production of meat products either for home consumption or sale, though only seven inventories (28 percent) mention pork products, some in sizeable amounts: 564 pounds of pork and 330 pounds, 301 pounds, 210 pounds, and 200 pounds of bacon. Sheep and goats were also kept by the middling planter; they could be found on 40 percent of plantations. Again, like cows, there is little evidence that sheep were primarily kept for their food value; rather they were valued for their wool. (For example, Francis Mennis had on hand 196 pounds of washed wool when he died. He owned thirty sheep.)

Domestic manufacture of textiles (woolen and otherwise) may have supplemented a middling planter's income. Eighty percent of the planters owned spinning wheels. Eight of ten sheep owners owned spinning wheels. A parcel of flax, a flax brake, and a flax wheel appear in a few inventories. Although 80 percent of middling planters could spin thread, only 24 percent with their itemized looms could turn thread into cloth. The cloth was, most likely, for home use or for sale to neighbors.

Surprisingly, appraisers found horses on only seventeen of the twenty-five (60 percent) estates inventoried. Even if you eliminate widows without horses, only 80 percent of the appraised estates included horses. It would seem that some middling planters accomplished their civic duties on foot. The number of horses owned ranged from one to four. Even so, nine (36 percent) of these middling planters indulged in a bow toward gentility when they hitched up one of their horses to that expensive luxury—a riding chair!

One final note, the inventories of Bruton Parish decedents are less detailed than those from Yorkhampton Parish and Charles Parish. For example, on many Bruton Parish inventories, the appraisers were satisfied to list just the number of cows or cattle present. No Bruton Parish appraisal mentions any fowl. It is hard to believe none was present. However, a composite portrait based on all inventories from the three parishes will provide a richly detailed picture. The information gained in the process can well support a historically based interpretive program at the Great Hopes site.

¹ Jackson Turner Main, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), 232.

² John S. Hopewell, ed., "Two Tithable Lists from Essex County, ca. 1764–1765," *Tidewater Virginia Families: A Magazine of History and Genealogy* 10 (2001): 163–177; Robert F. Woodson and Isobel B. Woodson, comps., *Virginia Tithables from Burned Record Counties* (Greenville, S. C.: Southern Historical Press, 1999); and Williamsburg–James City County, Va., Tax Books 1768–69, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (CWF microfilm M-1129).

³ James Parker to Charles Steuart, 26 Sept. 1774, Charles Steuart Papers, MS 5028, 1773–1774 (CWF microfilm M-68.3); Paul G. E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980), 171; and Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 119.

⁴ Transcripts of York County Inventories, York County Project, Department of Historical Research.

⁵ Walsh, 160–169.

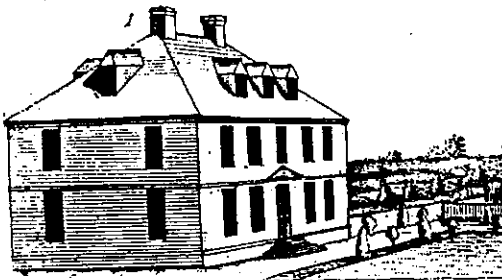
⁶ Information about a planter's office holding is taken from the Master Biographical File in the York County Project housed in the Department of Historical Research.

The Brafferton Experiment: The Life and Times of a Catawba Indian Named John Nettles Illustrate the Failures and Successes of William and Mary's Grand Educational Experiment with America's Native Sons

by James H. Merrell

Dr. Merrell, a professor of history at Vassar College, has teaching and research interests in early American history, particularly the Indian experience in colonial times. He is the author of two award-winning books: The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal and Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier. This article appeared in the William and Mary Alumni Gazette Magazine in the summer of 1984. It is reprinted here by kind permission of the author.

Little more than two centuries ago a young man named John Nettles arrived in Williamsburg to begin his studies at the College of William and Mary. He had come a long way—home was in the Carolina piedmont near Charlotte—and several of his relatives accompanied him to ensure his safe arrival. While Nettles moved into his room in the Brafferton Building, his relations spent a day or two seeing the sights of the colonial capital. At last, classes were about to begin and the family said its good-byes, leaving Nettles to face the fears and frustration, the excitement and exhilaration, of being on his own for the first time.



This detail from the Bodleian plate (CWF G1938-196) shows the Brafferton Indian School built in 1723.

In its general outlines, the story is familiar to any student who has ever attended William and Mary. But John Nettles was not just any student; he was a Catawba Indian. He was not entering college to prepare for a life as a minister, planter, merchant, doctor, or lawyer; he was there as part of a program designed to enroll a few Native Americans, convert them to Christianity, teach them the ways of the white man, and then send them back to, as one observer put it, "improve their tribe." Though the Brafferton (erected in

1723 as the Indian school) still stands as a visible reminder, though every year thousands cheer for the "Tribe" and eat in the "Wigwam," William and Mary's American Indian alumni are all but forgotten. Tracing the career of this one Indian graduate cannot recapture the days when anywhere from a handful to a score of native boys lived and studied on campus. But John Nettles does offer a rare glimpse of the college's grand educational experiment and permits us to measure the experiment's results.

When he stepped across the threshold of the Brafferton that day in the late 1760s, Nettles became one more in a long line of Indian scholars stretching back to the founding of the college. The charter granted by King William and Queen Mary in 1693 stipulated that the school spread "the Christian faith . . . amongst the Western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God." To accomplish this end, college authorities hatched the plan to bring native boys to Williamsburg, funding the enterprise with money put aside for "pious and charitable uses" by the eminent English naturalist and philosopher Robert Boyle. The stage was set for a great intercultural contest to be played in Williamsburg, a contest pitting "civilization" and Christianity against what colonists considered savage culture and pagan religion.

By all accounts the Indians won hands down. The Native American students "have for the most part returned to their home, . . . where they follow their own savage customs and heathenish rites," one William and Mary professor admitted in 1724. William Byrd II agreed: "[A]fter they returned home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, they have immediately relapsed into infidelity and barbarism themselves." If anything, Byrd concluded sadly, the youths left the school even worse off than they came: "[A]s they unhappily forget all the good they learn and remember the ill, they are apt to be more vicious and disorderly than the rest of their countrymen." Thomas Jefferson, who witnessed firsthand the progress of the Indian boys during his years as a student, tactfully suggested that some other method of conversion be tried. Year after year, the power of native ways proved stronger than the doses of European culture dispensed at the Brafferton.

There seemed little reason to expect that John Nettles would be any different. His people had long ignored suggestions that they give up their traditional habits. In 1699 two traders dispatched to the Catawba Nation as college recruiters came back empty-handed. Two decades later, an indignant Virginian reported that Catawba chiefs, being urged to "relinquish their barbarity . . . asked leave to be excused from becoming as we are; for they thought it hard, that we should desire them to change their manners and customs, since they did not desire us to turn Indians." But the college kept trying, and eventually the Catawbas relented. In September 1768, a clergyman visiting them remarked happily that "they . . . are desirous to have their children trained up in English schools." It was around this time that Nettles left the nation for Williamsburg.

Adjustment to college life is never easy, but Nettles must have suffered more than most, for he entered not only a new school but a new world. Trappings of European culture were not wholly absent from the native village he had left behind: a few Catawbas went by English names, many more wore cloth shirts and carried muskets, and virtually all had developed a debilitating fondness for alcohol, that bane of Indian existence. Nonetheless, Nettles grew up among a people firmly attached to aboriginal ways. Catawbas speaking their ancient tongue and worshipping their own deities still lived in houses built of saplings and tree bark, cultivated adjacent cornfields, hunted in the nearby woods, and fought their Shawnee and Iroquois enemies. The contrast with Virginia's political and intellectual center could hardly have been greater.

Whatever difficulties Nettles encountered in the process of learning about beds and books, the Christian God and the colonial governor, he, like most students at the college before and since, managed somehow to survive the shock. He even lived up to his advance billing as "the most promising boy in the Nation," completing his course of study in "reading, writing, and vulgar arithmetic" with high honors. At last, it seemed, the tutors had gotten through to one of their Indian protégés.

Their delight with this most recent graduate was short-lived. While waiting for a ride home in 1771 or 1772, Nettles slipped off to a local tavern, sampled its ware a bit too freely, and was found hours later lying in the street. Such behavior was not exactly unheard of among students then (or now, for that matter). During the 1770s young men were hauled before the college authorities for a variety of offenses, including not only drinking but smashing windows and defac-

ing school property, not only frequenting taverns but beating up college servants and breaking down a faculty member's bedroom door. One particularly unruly gang faced charges of "contemptuous conduct . . . towards the President & Professors themselves." Nettles's night on the town seems less serious when set alongside other youthful excesses of the day.

His superiors did not see matters that way, and again we must keep in mind that John Nettles was not just any student. He carried the future of his people on his young shoulders, and passing out in the gutter seemed, to say the least, to place that future in jeopardy. The professors and trustees, deeply shaken, had him taken to a house to sober up (a process that took a day or more). Then they called him to account, "explaining in the most feeling terms," according to one who heard the story, "the object of educating him."

Nettles was contrite but realistic. "He listened to them, with apparent mortification, and a readiness to acknowledge his fault," so the story continues. "But when they were done speaking, he called their attention to the window, and pointed to a hog walking in the street [a common sight in those days], and said 'Take that hog and wash him clean, and as the weather is warm it might be very agreeable; but let him go, and he will lie down and wallow in the first mud-hole he comes to, for he is still a hog,' thus intimating that an Indian will be an Indian still." Young Nettles seemed destined to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors. What could his listeners say? They sent him home and hoped for the best.

At first glance Nettles seems to have slipped easily back into the Catawba routine. He married an Indian woman, served the patriot cause during the American Revolution as a warrior in the Catawba Indian Company, and eventually became one of the nation's headmen. Those who later met "the educated Indian" confirmed his teachers' worst fears. "Dissipated," remarked one tersely. "From the time I became acquainted with him," a white neighbor recalled, "he appeared to have lost his education almost entirely." "A perfect Indian in his appearance and habits," concluded a visitor in 1786.

Appearances were misleading, however; a closer look reveals that Nettles did not sink without a trace into the pool of Indian culture. Repeatedly identified as the "one who had been educated at William and Mary College," he never forgot how to read, write, and speak English. He also owned a Bible, testimony not only to literacy but perhaps also to a continuing devotion to the Christian faith. Some of the tastes Nettles acquired in school remained with him to the end of his days. Catawba men still wore leggings and

breechclothes; Nettles preferred pants. He even loved the dances he had learned at Williamsburg social functions. One planter remembered him as "the finest dancer [I] ever saw perform"—high praise indeed from a society that took great pride in its prowess on the dance floor.

Thus John Nettles was a most unusual Indian. But his very uniqueness reveals that, however much his years at William and Mary shaped his own beliefs and behavior, he, and his sponsors, had failed in the larger purpose of converting Catawbas to white ways. He alone wore pants. He alone owned, read, and believed in the Bible. His signature on a page stuck out like a sore thumb amidst the crude marks made by the rest of the men. Long after Nettles passed away, Catawbas remained deaf to the message he had brought from Williamsburg. "[G]reat efforts have been made . . . to civilize, Christianize and educate them," wrote their dejected agent in 1843, "but it was all done to no effect. . . . [T]hey remain almost as Savage now as they were 50 years ago." Another observer was so disgusted and baffled he could scarcely contain himself. "These wretched Indians," he exclaimed, "though they live in the midst of an industrious people, and in an improved state of society, will be Indians still"—an ironic echo of Nettles's own words to college trustees decades before and proof of the Catawbas' enduring attachment to the ways of their ancestors.

These frustrated reformers were too quick to dismiss John Nettles as a failure and condemn the Catawba Nation because it did not abandon its ancient habits. Whatever white society thought of the experiment, Catawbas considered it a great success. Their goals were fundamentally different from those inscribed in the college charter. Odd as it may seem, they did not accept William and Mary's offer in order to become like the white people; rather, they sent Nettles to college in order to remain Indians. During the 1750s and 1760s, colonial farmers had flooded the Carolina interior and threatened to exterminate or uproot the natives. Catawbas wanted desperately to keep these unpleasant neighbors at arm's length, but how? The nation could no longer threaten or fight colonists; there were too many of them. The only hope of surviving as an island in a sea of suspicious strangers was to play the white man's game, and the only way to do that was to learn the white man's rules.

John Nettles came back from William and Mary with the rulebook in his head. He knew whom to approach about a problem, what to say, how to behave. He could write letters to important officials on behalf of the nation to complain about a settler encroaching on tribal land, and he

could read the reply. Most important of all, Nettles was a Catawba by birth and upbringing, someone the Indians could trust as they could not trust any white person. Catawbas now asked the governor of South Carolina to give them a written copy of his speech so that "the interpreter (John Nettles) Might Read it to them and Explain it when the[y] were by them Selves."

Catawbas thought that Nettles had learned a lot of useless things while he was away, and they apparently made fun of his strange religion, his odd taste in clothes, his bizarre dance steps. But they also respected his skills and used him as a tool to help preserve the nation. In January 1773, within a year of his return from school, Catawba leaders put him to work as an interpreter and messenger at an important meeting with South Carolina authorities in Charleston, a role Nettles would continue to fulfill until his death forty years later. At the same time, he served informally as the Indians' link to the white world, a combination of good will ambassador and public relations director. Had an important white visitor arrived unannounced? Have Nettles show him around the village for a day. Was an amateur linguist and historian interested in the nation? Send Nettles to supply him with a Catawba vocabulary and a story or two about famous chiefs. Did the local militia want a Catawba veteran to participate in its muster? Tell Nettles to put on his old uniform, mount his horse, and strike a noble pose as he reviewed the troops. By teaching one Catawba so well, William and Mary made it easier, not harder, for the rest to cling to their traditional way of life. They did not have to learn to read, to decipher the strange ways of the intruders; John Nettles would do that for them.

Nowhere was Nettles's importance to his people more evident than in a petition the nation sent to the South Carolina capital in December 1801, a document Nettles himself signed. "We . . . [are] desirous to have two or three of our young boys taught to read & right [sic]," the headmen said, "that the[y] might be of assistance to our Nation." The Catawbas' stubborn attachment to their own culture remained. They wanted no religious conversions, no fancy costumes, no silly dances, just basic skills that would help them make sense of and cope with white society. Moreover, they wanted only two or three boys exposed to a tutor's lessons, enough to ensure that Nettles (now close to fifty) would have a successor, but not enough to weaken the grip of traditional Catawba teachers.

Nettles did not send the petition to his alma mater because that door was now closed. In 1793, Robert Boyle's fund had been diverted to the West Indies, where it would be used to in-

struct African-American slaves; the Indian school was a victim of the Revolution's hard feelings and a century of disappointments. But even as it sent the last Native American student home and put the Brafferton to other uses, William and Mary might have taken some small comfort in its achievement. It had not managed to turn the Indians into devout Christians or model citizens.

Its "educated Indian" did, however, help Catawbas survive, helped them adapt gradually to the white world while maintaining connections with their aboriginal roots, so that even today Catawbas are distinctively "Indians still." Not exactly what the founders intended, but nothing to be ashamed of either.

Arts & Mysteries

Recent Arrivals, Former Loyalties

by Noel B. Poirier

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

The year 1774 was an interesting time for the Jaram family to arrive in Virginia: there was an ample market for their skills but there was also an underlying political and social movement afoot. John, Francis, and Thomas Jaram immigrated to Virginia for the opportunities the colony offered their mercantile and carpentry abilities.¹

The patriarch, John, the son of a London ship-builder named John Jaram, was orphaned prior to October 1743. He was apprenticed by Christ's Hospital in London to an Old Broad Street, London, merchant house run by his grandfather John Caton and James George Douglas. Caton's partner Douglas was the colonial agent for the island of St. Christopher (modern St. Kitts) from 1740 until 1751. The pair quickly shipped the young man off to St. Christopher to serve his apprenticeship with John Douglas, their agent, who was a member of the colony's Council.²

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, there was a brisk trade between the West Indies and Virginia, particularly in wood products such as plank, board, shingles, and timber. It is interesting to note that John Jaram served his apprenticeship during roughly the same time that James Wray Jr. was serving his apprenticeship with Williamsburg merchant James Cocke. It is attractive to speculate about whether the two became familiar with one another during the 1750s and 1760s and took advantage of that familiarity later.

Following his apprenticeship, James Wray Jr. partnered with his mentor, dealing periodically with the well-known John Norton and Son's merchant house. The Cocke and Wray partnership likely dissolved in 1773, as illustrated by the

pair's desire to have their customers pay off their outstanding balances.³ As the partnership with Cocke ended, Wray also found himself responsible for his father's extensive timber-yard and shops located on Henry Street. Wray began to cast about for a suitable replacement for the locally well-connected and respected James Cocke, with the future use of his father's work site in mind.

Meanwhile, John Jaram must have found love, or at least a wife, during the years between his arrival in St. Christopher and his departure for Virginia in 1774. His wife bore two sons, whom Jaram (perhaps as a testament to his own father) apprenticed to woodworkers in the West Indies. The architecture of St. Christopher, like that in Virginia, was a combination of undistinguished frame houses and fashionable and elegant townhouses and plantations. Many of the houses, such as many of the fine homes found in the principal city of Basseterre, combined the French and English influences found on the island.

Sugarcane, the island's primary export, provided the capital used by the wealthy planters and merchants to build these Palladian-inspired dwellings.⁴ Francis and Thomas Jaram doubtless were exposed to the finer points of Georgian architecture during their apprenticeships while they worked on the dwellings of the island's inhabitants.

St. Christopher suffered a disastrous hurricane in 1772 that leveled most of the island's buildings and likely had a similar effect on the Jarams' immediate business prospects.⁵ It is possible that Jaram and Wray formulated their partnership during the period immediately following the devastating hurricane.

In John Jaram and his sons, Wray found a merchant with connections to the valuable West Indies market for Virginia raw materials as well as sons capable of overseeing his father's deteriorating workshops and timber-yard. The advantages the partnership offered to Jaram were Wray's family and mercantile connections in Virginia and the possibility of providing his sons with active employment in one of Great Britain's wealthiest colonies.

The Jarams' emigration to Virginia likely occurred in 1774 on one of the small West Indian traders that carried wood products and tobacco to the West Indies and returned with cargos of sugar and rum.⁶ The *Virginia Gazette* announced the arrival of six vessels from St. Christopher and Nevis into the James and York Rivers during the spring of 1774, possibly carrying the Jarams as passengers.⁷

Shortly after their arrival in Virginia, Francis and Thomas Jaram established themselves in the workshops and timber-yard of James Wray's father, while John Jaram and James Wray Jr. worked on developing business ventures.⁸ Charles Carter (then residing at his home in Lancaster County) advertised in January 1775 that he needed joiners capable of performing quality interior woodwork for his property in Charles City County. Shortly afterward, Thomas and Francis Jaram were hired to undertake work for Carter's Shirley plantation, and Thomas was working there when his brother advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* for "five or six journeymen joiners" who could apply either to Francis in Williamsburg or to Thomas at Shirley.

During the period between June 1775 and July 1777, the Jarams continuously advertised for skilled and semiskilled hands to work at the Wray

The Carter family began construction of Shirley about 1738. However, the interior was not finished until the 1770s.



property. The Jarams advertised for journeyman joiners, shop joiners, Negro carpenters, and house carpenters specifying that "none but good hands need apply." As the Jarams were recent arrivals to Williamsburg, and therefore unknown to the laboring community, it is not surprising that they needed to advertise for skilled workers in this way. Long-established builders, such as Benjamin Powell, John Saunders, and Philip Moody, rarely placed such advertisements.

Wray and Jaram's need for such labor was not limited to the work on Shirley plantation; rather, their activities during this period belied their later decision to remain loyal to the crown. There is little doubt that the partnership attempted to profit from the political and military unrest in the state during the early years of the Revolution. William Finnie, the continental deputy quartermaster for the Southern Department and quartermaster general for the Commonwealth of Virginia, hired the Jarams on several occasions. The Jarams provided plank from the timber-yard for the construction and maintenance of artillery carriages in the summer of 1776.

With the September 1776 decision by the Council to construct a barracks in Williamsburg, Finnie hired the Jarams as well as Powell, Moody, and Lamb to undertake the work. Ultimately, the Jarams were paid more than £290 during the months of December 1776 and January 1777 for their part in the construction, a substantial sum even given the moderate inflation of that period. The later ruins of these barracks gave a French officer the impression that they must have been "magnificent" buildings.¹⁰

As the war dragged on, the woodworking aspect of the Jaram and Wray partnership became secondary to their trading interests. After the war closed the ports of the British West Indies to Virginia's timber and grains, Wray and Jaram turned their attention to coastal trade within the new United States. They purchased the forty-ton schooner *Nancy* to carry their goods and the Commonwealth's cargo to American and friendly West Indian ports. The *Nancy* traveled as far as Boston and St. Eustasius to deliver its cargoes of tobacco, flour, corn, and other items.

After picking up a cargo of grain from Alexandria, the *Nancy* was eventually captured, falling prey to the H. M. S. *Daphne* in September 1779, and was taken to New York to be sold as a prize. At the time of its capture, the *Nancy* was carrying goods destined for the port of Boston and the northern army.¹¹ It appeared that, as late as 1779, Wray and Jaram continued their efforts to earn money by accepting business from the fledgling nation.



Shirley's incredible staircase as well as its paneling are witness to the talents and abilities of the Jaram family.

Exactly when the Jarams' loyalties became known is not clear from the historical record, but seems to have occurred between the years 1780 and 1781 when British raids into Virginia increased and with the subsequent full-scale invasion by forces under Lord Cornwallis in the spring of 1781.

During that summer, both John and Francis were imprisoned for "disaffection to the State," and their loyalties became known to their neighbors. As a result of their incarceration, John and Francis were unable to make it to Cornwallis's lines in October 1781.¹² Thomas, however, escaped and joined other loyalists in assisting Cornwallis with the defense of Yorktown against the Franco-American army.

Following Cornwallis's surrender, Thomas Jaram was one of many loyalists who traveled to New York on the ship *Bonetta*. From January to June 1782, Thomas was listed as one of the refugees in New York who received sums of money from the British war chest for their support. During the fall of 1782, the British transported more than 500 refugees to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Thomas Jaram's absence from further payments to refugees in New York would argue for his having been among those evacuated. This is further supported by the arrival of Francis in Nova Scotia sometime prior to March 1786,

when he provided a deposition on behalf of Hampton loyalist John Cowling.¹³

Despite the outcome of the war, John Jaram and James Wray continued their partnership until at least 1782. That year the partners are listed together in a census of heads of households: "Jaram and Wray" had a combined household of twelve individuals, half white and half black.¹⁴ The Jaram and Wray affiliation, in spite of the overtly loyalist leanings of the Jarams, apparently survived the war. What did not survive was the reputation of Williamsburg native James Wray Jr., forever tainted by his close association with the now infamous Jaram family.

¹ The name *Jaram* appears in a number of forms during the period. The Jarams themselves spelled their name as presented; however, others spelled the name as *Jerom*, *Jearam*, *Jarim*, or *Jerome*.

² Lillian Margery Penson, *Colonial Agents of the British West Indies* (London: Frank Case & Co., 1971), 252; and Peter Coldham, *Child Apprentices in America from Christ's Hospital, London 1617-1778* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1990), 91.

³ Frances Norton Mason, *John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia, Being the Papers from Their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795* (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1937), 106 and 123; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 4 November 1773; and *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 4 November 1773.

⁴ Pamela Gosner, *Caribbean Georgian, The Great and Small Houses of the West Indies* (Washington, D. C.: Three Continents Press, 1982), 251-60.

⁵ Gosner, 254.

⁶ Selwyn H. H. Carrington, *The British West Indies During the American Revolution* (Providence, R. I.: Foris Publications, 1988), 12, and John H. Soltow, *The Economic Role of Williamsburg* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1965), 187-190.

⁷ *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), 13 January 1774; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 26 May 1774. There is some debate about the origins of the Jaram family. A competing argument, partially supported by Thomas's later claim for a head-right, is that the family emigrated directly from Great Britain in 1774. Emigration records found in the Public Records Office, Treasury—Weekly Emigration Returns 1773-1774, Survey Reports: 4637-4638 (PRO T 47/9-10) M-746 and Peter Wilson Coldham's *Emigrants from England to the American Colonies, 1773-1776* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1988) do not list any Jaram (or Soundex) as emigrating directly to Virginia from ports in Britain. Conversely, the records of travel to and from the West Indies are less documented, thus leaving little paper trail.

⁸ It has been thought that Thomas and Francis Jaram also undertook work at Kenmore, Fielding Lewis's house. Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence to support this claim. An advertisement that appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* in November 1775 has been presented as evidence of a Jaram-Kenmore connection. It states: "I understand he [John Gwyn] worked for some time on Colonel Fielding Lewis's house at Fredericksburg, with Mr. Jerome [Jaram] in Williamsburg, and lately on Mr. Carter's house at Shirley in Charles City." The comma separating the first and second phrases indicates that Gwyn worked for the Jarams in Williamsburg and not with the Jarams at Kenmore. A number of sources support this interpretation.

⁹ *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon), 14 January 1775; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 16 June 1775: 23; Catherine M. Lynn, "Shirley Plantation, A History" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1967), 83-84; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 16 June 1775: 23; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 7 June 1775: 43; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 10 January 1777: 42; *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon), 21 March 1777: 12; and *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 25 July 1777: 23.

¹⁰ William Finnie Accounts, 1776-1780, 29 August 1776; John C. Miller, *Triumph of Freedom* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1948), 438; and Warrington Dawson, trans., *Extract from the Journal of Chevalier Duplex de Cadigan, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Aenois Regiment During the War for American Independence at the Siege of Yorktown* as found in a letter from Warrington Dawson to Harold R. Shurtleff, 16 March 1931, in Melissa A. Mullins, *French Soldiers and Officers in Williamsburg, 1781-1782* (Williamsburg, Va.: Research Report, 1990).

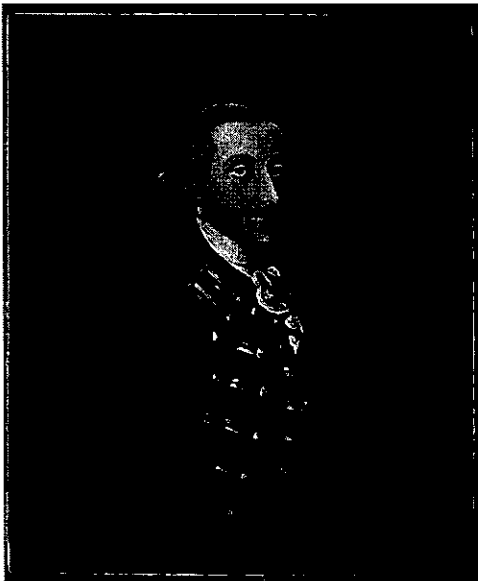
¹¹ Register for the Nancy as found in High Court of Admiralty: Prize papers, 1781. Public Record Office. HCA 32/415. Found at the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia, as part of the Virginia Colonial Records Project (Survey Report #05704). Item L, Paper 9. *Ibid.*, Item L, Papers 5-9. *Ibid.*, Item L, Papers 1-4.

¹² William P. Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*

and Other Manuscripts from April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781. Preserved at the Capitol in Richmond, Vol. 2 (Richmond, Va.: Legislature of Virginia, 1881, reprint, New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1968), 182, 634, and 684.

¹³ *An Account of Sundry Sums of Money Paid by Colonel Roger Morris to Refugees, etc. by order of His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, 1 January 1782 to 31 March 1782*, as found in British Headquarters Papers. Sir Guy Carelton Papers, #4056(7)-#4457(10). Found at the Rockefeller Library, CWF Item #4327. *An Account of Sundry Sums of Money Paid by Colonel Robert Morris to Refugees By Order of His Excellency Sir Guy Carelton, 1 April 1782 to 30 June 1782*, as found in British Headquarters Papers. Sir Guy Carelton papers, #4815(6)-#5252(3). Found at the Rockefeller Library, CWF Item #4941. *Persons Transported to Halifax, 20 October 1782*, as found in the British Headquarters Papers. Sir Guy Carelton Papers. Found at the Rockefeller Library, CWF Item #5938. *Deposition of Francis Jaram, 11 March 1786*, as found in *Loyalist Claims, 1777-1790*, Public Record Office. AO 13/25. Found at the Rockefeller Library, CWF, as part of the Virginia Colonial Records Project, p. 112-118.

¹⁴ *Heads of Families—Virginia, 1782. City of Williamsburg as found in Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790; Records of the State Enumerations: 1782-1785, Virginia* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970) 45.



Did You Know? The Charles Steuart Portrait

Barbara Luck, curator of paintings, drawings, and sculpture in the Collections and Museums Division, kindly called to our attention that Colonial Williamsburg owns this handsome portrait of Charles Steuart (CWF 1956-495). Steuart figured prominently in Emma L. Powers's article, "The Newsworthy Somerset Case: Repercussions in Virginia," in last fall's issue of the *Interpreter*. The portrait is dated 1765, but Barbara has thus far been unable to pin down the artist, since Steuart was in Britain during the first half of that year and in America for the rest of 1765.

The Language of Clothing: An Exhibition at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum

by Linda Baumgarten with Jan Gilliam

Linda, curator of textiles and costumes in the Collections and Museums Division, was the curator of this exhibition and author of the accompanying catalog, What Clothes Reveal, which provides even more interesting information and full-color illustrations of most of the pieces displayed.

Jan, manager, exhibit planning and associate curator of toys in the Collections and Museums Division, is a member of the Interpreter Planning Board.

How do we learn about people of the past? An obvious place to start would be at the library to read books and study research reports. But what about a trip to the museum to “read” the objects from the past? The newest exhibition at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum, *The Language of Clothing*, offers the opportunity to learn about people through the clothing they wore.

The exhibition, featuring more than 300 costumes—all taken from Colonial Williamsburg’s collections—displayed in 6,400 square feet of gallery space, explores the concept of a “language” of clothing. In daily life, human speech communicates thoughts, feelings, and facts through vocal sounds. But what people wear can be a method of communication, too. Clothing can often reveal the wearer’s gender, country of origin, occupation, economic level, activity, and attitude. Sometimes, a piece of clothing or a fragment of cloth is the only remaining record of a person’s life. In a broader context, clothing can also tell us about trade, retailing, and manufacturing practices of the period.

The opening section of the exhibition discusses where people got their clothing in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Women sewed clothes at home, professional seamstresses made women’s gowns and men’s and women’s linens, and tailors fashioned men’s suits. Merchants, tailors, and milliners sold a wide variety of imported clothing and accessories. Other professionals, such as staymakers, leather breeches makers, and shoemakers, also provided clothing.

Many women sewed personal linens for the family. These included linen shirts, shifts, petticoats, and children’s clothing. One example in the exhibition is a shift originally made and worn by Ann Van Rensselaer, a matron from Albany, New York. Remarkably, her shift survives with its original starched finish and pattern ironing. This

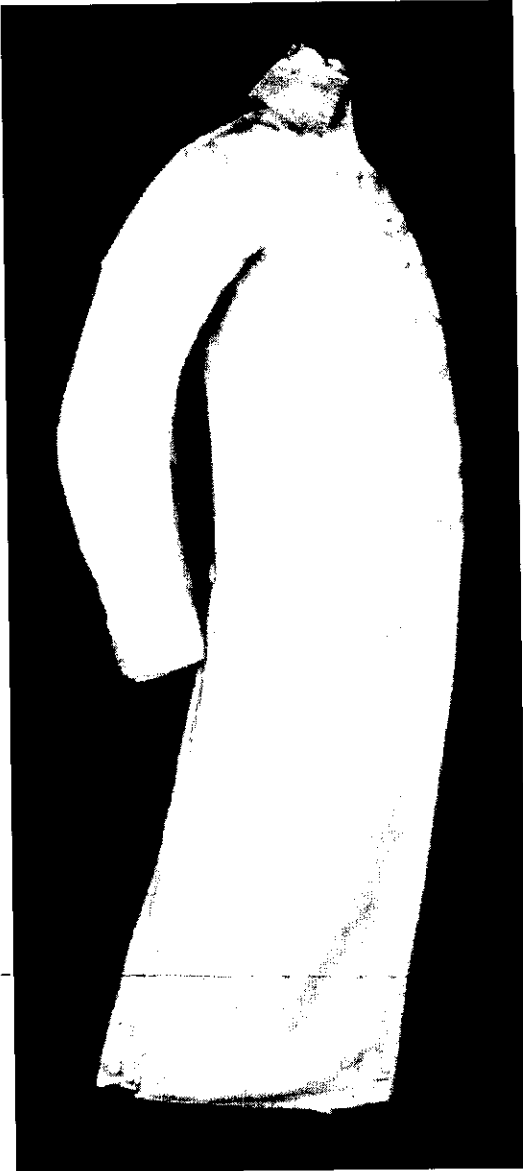
labor-intensive decorative feature had to be redone after every washing. The ironed pleats decreased the sleeves’ bulk so they would fit better beneath the tight sleeves of the outer gown.

Although many women could make simple garments, most hired professional seamstresses or mantua-makers for their better gowns. Because men’s suits required specialized construction and fitting methods, few women sewed their husbands’ outerwear. People often ask how long it took to make a suit or dress. Although all clothing was handmade in the eighteenth century, garments did not necessarily require weeks or months to construct. In 1787, a tailor advertised that he would make a man’s suit in six hours. More typically, a 1745 journeyman’s price list suggests that a man’s velvet suit took seven and a half days to make. A lady’s fancy gown could be made in a day, if necessary. These professionals sewed for a living, working from sunup to sundown, but nonprofessionals displayed similar speed and efficiency. For instance, Frances Baylor Hill of Hillsborough Plantation in Virginia hand-sewed a pair of man’s breeches in a week, while also performing other domestic tasks and taking time out for socializing.

The next section of the exhibition follows a meandering path through more than a century of style. Beginning around 1690 and ending in the mid-nineteenth century, the display features a variety of clothing documenting the evolution of fashion. The size and shape of women’s skirts expanded and contracted. The length and fullness of men’s coats changed. Women’s bodies looked different as stays shaping the body into a smooth cone gave way to corsets molding the body into an hourglass shape.

While delving into the facets of fashion, guests encounter a stunning display of ball gowns and suits. Just as people do today, those of the past dressed up for formal occasions such as parties or appearances at European royal courts. Formal wear differed from everyday fashionable dress. The textiles often featured lavish embroidery or brocading with silk, silver, and gold threads. Both men and women would sparkle as they danced and socialized in the candlelit interiors of the eighteenth century.

Such spectacular pieces were, of course, the exception rather than the rule. While gentry men and women may have had a beautiful gown or fancy suit in which to visit their neighbors or



This Virginia coat (CWF 1964-174 A) dates to circa 1780 and probably originates from either Isle of Wight County or Goochland County.

attend a party at the Governor's Palace, they also had clothing for everyday wear. A large section of the exhibition shows clothing appropriate for relaxing at home or going about one's daily business. People from every social level owned everyday clothing.

Gentry men might relax at home by replacing their wig and close-fitting coat with a cap and banyan. Manual laborers dressed in garments suited to their activities. They chose plain, sturdy materials and modified fashionable styles by shortening the skirts on their coats or gowns or by making the garment looser. A woman's short gown, for example, is fitted loosely with drawstrings at the neck and under the bust.

People selected accessories to protect their clothes and bodies from abrasion while working. For example, women wore kerchiefs, gloves, and mitts to protect their skin. Workingmen wore leggings to protect their shins and stockings or ankle-length trousers.

Some work clothing was more symbolic than practical. Visible male servants such as waiters and footmen were often required to wear elaborate livery uniforms. The suits were usually made of wool in two colors based on the master's coat of arms and were embellished with elaborate woven edgings called "livery lace." Buttons sometimes featured a heraldic crest. Although livery suits are elegant in appearance, they were intended to enhance the person served, not the person wearing the livery. A powerfully carved African-American wooden doll from around 1812 survives complete with his livery suit of brown and red. A handwritten tag sewed to the doll's back reads, "Scipio. Carved by David Catheal dressed by his Mother 1812."

A grouping of garments made or worn in America shows that this was a land of diverse people and styles, a blend of native and importation, of homespun and silk. American clothing had a dual nature. On the one hand, most Americans who could afford it strived to dress in style and wear the latest fashions, primarily those from Britain. The colonists relied heavily on imported goods, using textiles from as far away as India and China, imported through British ports. Despite heavy reliance on imported goods, Americans also spun, wove, and made some of their own textiles and clothing, especially when current events, patriotism, or their isolated location made it desirable or necessary. A man's coat from around 1780 was made in Virginia using scarce wool hand-spun together with more plentiful cotton to stretch the raw materials.

Life experiences also affected people's choice of clothing. People were acutely aware of the human cycle from birth to death. Symbolic ceremonies and apparel emphasized the joy of happy events and helped people deal with their grief at sad occasions. Wedding gowns were not always white and were often worn again. Mourning attire might include a ceremonial sword or rings made for the occasion. Women adjusted their clothing to accommodate pregnancies and later nursing. A wonderful and rare three-piece maternity outfit is included in the exhibition.

A portion of the life-cycle section focuses on clothing for infants and children. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century children all wore skirts. Skirts had symbolic meaning in eighteenth-century society, suggesting that children were dependent, in the same way that adult women (all

of whom wore skirts) were also dependent on their husbands or fathers. People who wore pants (men) were the dominant members of the family and society.

Skirts also had practical value for the mother of a child who was not fully toilet trained: it was easier to keep the child clean if clothing did not fit closely around the loins. The change from skirts to breeches was a big event in a little boy's life. Occurring anywhere from four to eight years of age, depending on the time period and family's desires, breeching symbolized growing up and moving from the female domain to that of males.

Stays were put on children as young as three months old. A child's white frock is exhibited with its original pair of tiny boned stays. Worn in Rhode Island around 1760, the stays have a chest of 14½ inches and a waist of 13½ inches. Although little boys usually shed their stays when they graduated to breeches or trousers, girls continued to wear them into adulthood.

Throughout the exhibition, guests will encounter ideas that may contradict what they have learned. Men carried embroidered pocket-books. Throughout the century, men sported lace, embroidery, sequins, and pastel colors for dressy occasions. Gender distinction had nothing to do with the color of the garment or the use of flowers, silk, or delicate fabrics. Color coding in children's garments—pink for girls, blue for boys—did not occur until well into the twentieth century.

Size has always been another misperception. A section asks the question, "Were they all smaller back then?" A man's greatcoat and a suit and a pair of women's stays demonstrate that eighteenth-century people were not all small. Two height charts on a wall in the gallery give guests the chance to measure up to both past and present individuals. Are they as tall as George Washington or the shorter George W. Bush? Or perhaps they are the height of Martha Washington or only as tall as Cher?

Advertisements for runaway indentured servants, convicts, and slaves provide information for workingmen. Four hundred and eighty-five Virginia and Maryland men who ran away between 1750 and 1780 had an average height of 5 feet 7½ inches. The men varied almost a foot in height, ranging from 4 feet 7 inches to 6 feet 6 inches tall. Most eighteenth-century people could walk down a city street today without causing any notice because of their stature. In fact, a few would tower over modern men and women.

The final section of the exhibition takes a look at altered clothing. Many antique garments show evidence of having been altered when the original wearer changed shape, when styles evolved, or when ownership changed. Alterations occurred at every social and economic level. One gown of 1770s silk was altered a hundred years later to wear for a colonial revival dress-up occasion. A man's vest was cut down and remade for a boy.

Not only were clothes altered and mended, some were completely taken apart and "turned." The process of turning was a way to freshen the appearance of faded, abraded, or stained clothing. The entire garment (or worn part, such as a collar) was taken apart and remade with the other side of the fabric uppermost. An orange damask gown in the exhibition was taken apart, turned, and remade about ten or twenty years after it was first made. The seams retain old folds that indicate they were originally pressed in the opposite direction.

This has been only the briefest of summaries of the exhibition. The clothes have much more to "say." It is worth the trip (or trips) to the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum to take time to look and listen. Labels and period graphics help to translate for the clothing.

The Language of Clothing will remain on display at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum through February 16, 2004.

Leisure Wear: Eighteenth-Century Style

by Ron Warren

Ron is a character interpreter in the Department of Historic Interpretation and is a member of the Interpreter Planning Board. He is pictured below modeling a banyan.

"When fashion dictates tight fitting or uncomfortable clothing for formal wear, logic would have us believe that comfort was desired at home."¹ Thus wrote Patricia Cunningham in 1984 in *Dress* magazine. Certainly in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, "fashion" has permitted an attitude that almost anything is appropriate if one is "comfortable." However, we and our guests at Colonial Williamsburg view the eighteenth century as a period of formality and often forget that ladies and gentlemen of that era also were human.

Many paintings and illustrations of the eighteenth century depict men and women wearing very formal and uncomfortable-looking clothing. But there are also illustrations of people wearing "comfortable, negligee clothing in the privacy of their homes." Instead of wearing a tight-fitting waistcoat and coat, a gentleman could wear a loose-fitting gown. This type of clothing was made up basically in two styles—the T-shaped Kilmonor and a more closely tailored style. They were often known as "nightgown, morning gown,

dressng gown, Indian gown or bannian."² In the early eighteenth century, these styles usually copied the Japanese kimono. Later in the century, the coat style of India, the banyan, seemed to be preferred.

This coat style of loose gown had set-in sleeves with or without cuffs and was more form-fitting than the kimono style. It could have several types of closures, such as buttons, frogs, or ties. Pockets were provided or slits through which pockets in breeches were accessible. Research indicates that the banyan was adopted by English soldiers serving in India. Indian merchants were observed wearing comfortable-looking robes and conducting business under banyan trees. The soldiers adopted this dress style for their leisure hours, and thus it was introduced into English fashion culture.

Clothing in the eighteenth century may have been "picturesque and charming," but the tight-fitting breeches and waistcoat along with coats, lace and ruffles at the neck and wrists, and tight-fitting wigs did not permit comfort or lounging. The climate of the southern colonies was a "potent inducement to go without long curled wigs and wadded coats, and, alas, the discomfort of stiff stays and voluminous petticoats" during the summer months. Therefore, it was with some relief that banyans and nightcaps were eagerly adopted by planters.³

In the beginning these garments were worn primarily at home. We don't know exactly "when gentlemen and women began receiving guests in their homes" while wearing this form of undress. Philip Vickers Fithian, tutor to Robert Carter's children at Nomini Hall plantation, wrote of the Virginia heat in his diary entry of July 29, 1774: "I dress in a thin Waist-Coat, & a loose, light linen Gown; The Boys, Harry & Bob have nothing on, in School, but their shirts & Breeches."

Not only did gentlemen wear them at home, but, during the summer months, merchants and lawyers went to their countinghouses and offices attired in this dress. Overseers and masters would go about their plantations in this comfortable, cool garb. In her article "Nightgown into Dressing Gown," Margaret Swain writes, "The gown was the mark of a gentleman and a scholar, and became as symbolic in portraits as the steel breastplate of a soldier." The wearer would don his robe over his waistcoat, shirt, cravat, and breeches.

The banyan, a slightly fitted men's dressing gown, was popular leisurewear in the colonies. Generally calf-length, many of the garments were double-breasted.



These gowns were "extremely popular" with gentlemen of all ages. Many famous statesmen, including Benjamin Franklin, wore them for their portraits. Although these banyans were originally "intended for wear at home relaxing or entertaining," they were often "seen on the streets" and in "dining rooms of inns." Men in Bath, England, were seen "at the Pump Room" in their nightgowns, and in America a letter mentioned a merchant sitting in his countinghouse "wrapt up in a callimancoe nightgown." *Town and Country Magazine* noted that "banyans were

worn in every part of town, from Wapping to Westminster, and if a sword . . . is worn, it sticks out the middle of the slit behind. This is ton [style], and what can a man do? He must wear a banyan or not be considered a gentleman."⁴

These leisure gowns were made from a variety of materials including linen, striped and printed cottons, brocaded silk, velvet, taffeta and satin, or wool and calamanco. In America fabrics advertised as appropriate for the coat style of loose gown were "starrets, scarlet cloth and masqueraded stuffs."

Apparently a gentleman could have his gown tailored or buy it ready-made. Tailors, dressmakers, and others in the needle trades offered their services for the making of banyans. Four yards of narrow-width damask would be required to make a banyan. The cost could be anywhere from one pound to three pounds or more depending on the fabric and style. The *Craftsman*, February 3, 1722/23, carried the following advertisement:

In the Temple Exchange Coffee House passage is opened a new gown warehouse with a clean fresh stock of mourning gowns and banyans of scotch plods, silk damasks, stuff damasks, flower'd silks, threed satins, turkey mantuas, florretta's calimancoes, etc.

In 1738, a shopkeeper in Massachusetts advertised "banians of worsted damask, brocaded stuffs, scotch plaids and callimancoes."⁵ Two designs of the coat style loose gown are seen in the accompanying illustrations:⁶

Not all banyans were made of damask and silk. Many who could not afford such expensive materials turned to "striped and figured cottons." William Byrd stated that Virginia gentlemen often wore banyans. Sometimes these were lined with "rich material and could be worn reversed."⁷



These gowns and materials for making them were advertised in *The New England Weekly Journal*, *The Weekly Rehearsal*, and *The Boston Newsletter*.

A portrait of Benjamin Franklin shows him wearing a "blue brocade gown with orange lapels," and John Hancock was reportedly seen at noon wearing a "blue damask gown" and a "red velvet" negligee cap. Even the cartouche on the Fry-Jefferson Map depicts a gentleman in the coat style of loose gown apparently involved in conducting business at a dock.⁸ As it would seem that gentlemen wearing gowns or banyans were not an unusual sight in eighteenth-century Virginia, it should not be surprising to see similarly attired costumed interpreters in twenty-first-century Colonial Williamsburg.

¹ Patricia A. Cunningham, "Eighteenth-Century Nightgowns: The Gentleman's Robe in Art and Fashion," *Dress* 10 (1984): 4.

² *Ibid.*, 2.

³ Edward Warwick, Henry C. Pitz, and Alexander Wyckoff, *Early American Dress* (New York: B. Blom, 1965), 156.

⁴ Linda Baumgarten, *Eighteenth-Century Clothing at Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1986), 49; Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed., *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, 1773-1774* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1957), 150; Warwick, Pitz, and Wyckoff, 157; Margaret H. Swain, "Nightgown into Dressing Gown," *Costume* 6 (1972): 13; Estelle Ansley Worrell, *Early American Costume* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1975), 93; R. Turner Wilcox, *The Mode in Costume* (New York: Scribner, 1944), 186; and Cunningham, 6.

⁵ Swain, 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 18-20.

⁷ Warwick, Pitz, and Wyckoff, and Alice Morse Earle, *Costume of Colonial Times* (New York: Empire State Book Co., 1924), 52.

⁸ Worrell, 93, and Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, *Map of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and North Carolina* (reproduction).

Interpretive Training Department at Home in William Finnie House

by Robert Doares Jr.

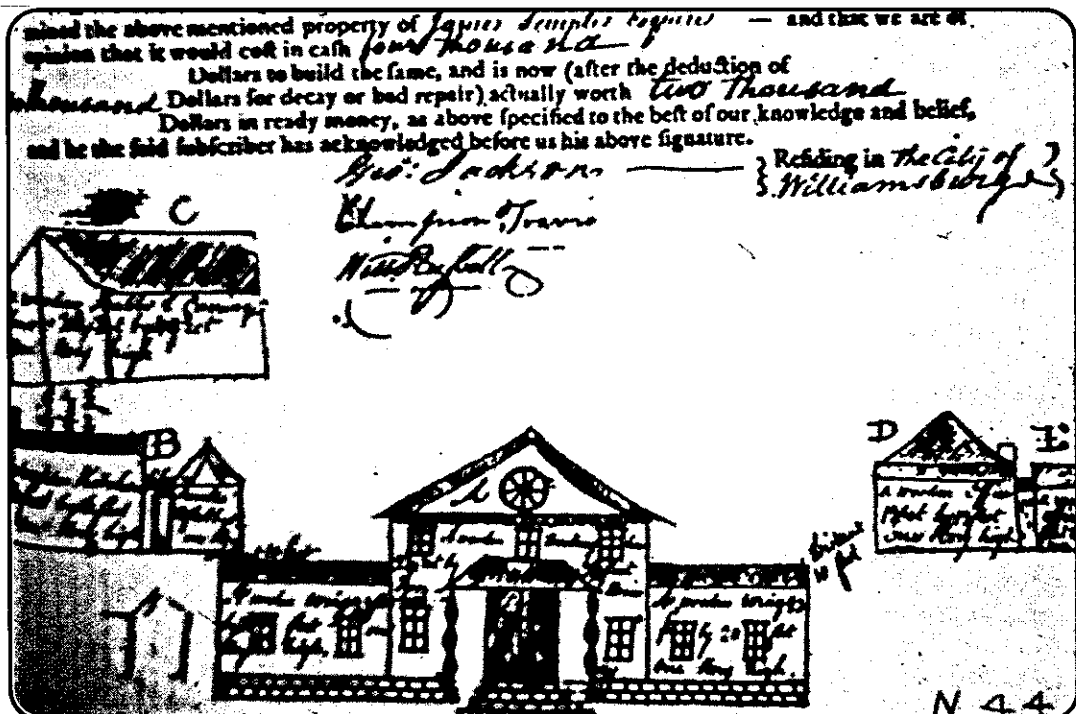
Bob is a training specialist in the Department of Interpretive Training and member of the Interpreter Planning Board.

No one headed east on Francis Street can miss the William Finnie House, the large tripartite domestic structure painted bold yellow that stands on the south side of the street across from the Capitol and Gunsmith Shop. Called "the handsomest house in town" by St. George Tucker in an 1809 letter, the Finnie House now serves as headquarters for the Historic Area Division's Department of Interpretive Training. Five divisional instructors moved into office space in the dwelling a year ago June: Rose McAphee, Nancy Milton, Anne Willis, Phil Shultz, and Bob Doares. Since last summer, they have been joined by Margot Créviaux-Gevertz, the new director of training, administrative specialist Judy Garman, and new training team member Todd Norris.

According to the *Official Guide to Colonial Williamsburg*, the style of the Finnie House, which probably was built in the early 1770s, foreshadowed the classicism that began to change the American architectural scene after the Rev-

olution. The design has been attributed to Thomas Jefferson on the basis of his devotion to neo-classicism in architecture and a plan for a similar dwelling included among his papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society. There are, however, reasons to discount the supposed connection. For example, the drawing is done in pencil, and there is no authenticated pencil drawing by Jefferson prior to his stay in Europe (1784-89).

Although the property at colonial lot 257 has had a number of owners over the centuries, the Finnie House takes its name from Col. William Finnie, who occupied it with his family beginning probably in 1779 and throughout most of the 1780s. The lot where the house stands seems to have first been the property of the Benjamin Harrison family, which retained ownership until sometime after 1753. By 1769, what we believe to have been an empty lot belonged to Dr. William Pasteur, a Williamsburg-apprenticed and London-trained apothecary surgeon. Pasteur practiced in partnership with Dr. John Galt from 1775 to 1778 in a shop on the north side of Duke of Gloucester Street. Pasteur almost certainly erected the house about this time and lived there



The Finnie House is only one of many buildings (with accompanying sketches) that survive in the records of the Mutual Assurance Society records.

with his wife, the former Elizabeth Stith of Williamsburg, before the couple removed to their farm in York County by 1779.

It was probably in this year that Col. William Finnie acquired the property. Finnie served during the Revolution (1776–circa 1786) as quartermaster general of the Southern Department with headquarters in Williamsburg. He appeared in 1782 tax records as the owner of seven slaves, and his home was depicted on the Frenchman's Map of the same year. Finnie had Williamsburg brickmason and builder Humphrey Harwood work on the house in 1779. Harwood's tasks included repairs to the plaster and a porch as well as whitewashing six rooms and two passages. The record of this maintenance indicates that the house had a cellar, a dining room, and five marble chimneypieces.

After the war, in May 1787, Colonel Finnie advertised the property for sale in the *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*:

FOR SALE
MY HOUSE & LOTS

In the city of Williamsburg, Where I now live, it is a beautiful situation, and has a lot on each side capable of improvement. Any person inclinable to purchase, may know the terms by applying to me on the premises, or in my absence to the Honourable JOSEPH PRENTIS, who I impowered to treat for the same. WM. FINNIE.

John Carter Byrd, son of William Byrd III, bought the furnished house for £695. After Byrd's death in 1798, Richard Randolph of Curles became owner until his own death in 1799.

The next owner was James Semple, judge and professor of law at the College of William and Mary, who acquired the property in 1800. Thereafter and for much of its history, the home was known as the Semple House. At the time of purchase, Judge Semple insured the house and all of its outbuildings for \$2,000. Semple renewed the insurance with the Mutual Assurance Society some half-dozen times between 1801 and 1834. A sketch of the front of the house drawn on the 1801 insurance declaration shows it looking then just as it does today, the front porch having been added by that time when it seems to have replaced an earlier porch. The small building just east of the Finnie House, the William Finnie Quarters, is also an original structure.

After passing through a succession of owners in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the so-called Semple property was finally conveyed to Dr. W.A.R. Goodwin, agent of the Colonial Williamsburg Restoration. The house had survived in such excellent condition that it

required less renovation than almost any other building in the Historic Area. At the time it was conveyed, the house still had a large two-story rear addition, which was removed (reportedly by accident!) during restoration in 1932. Several binders of black-and-white photographs taken at the time thoroughly document the restoration process and the "before-and-after" circumstances of the house and other buildings on the property.

In the summer of 2001, Colonial Williamsburg acquired at auction a document that shed further light on the early history of the William Finnie House. The single manuscript page appears to be an advertisement written by James Semple for sale of his Francis Street property. The manuscript is dated July 29, 1809, the same year that St. George Tucker penned his compliment about the house. Besides identifying Dr. Pasteur as the person who had had the house built on the site, the Semple advertisement gives a fairly detailed description of the two lots, the house and rear wing, and appurtenances. The document bears a sketch of the property, with floor plans and measurements for the house and some of the outbuildings. Whether the advertisement actually appeared in a newspaper at the time is not known, but the property was not sold during Semple's lifetime.

Semple's asking price in 1809 was £900 on credit or £800 cash. He declared in the advertisement that the "garden is equal to any in Town for quality of soil & fertility and is inclosed so as to give a lot to the Street on each side. . . . Lots are very rich & productive and the whole inclosed with Cypress pails." Semple further explained that the rear addition (known from twentieth-century studies to be an eighteenth-century structure) had been moved onto the property from another location in 1808: "The back building was added last year it was removed to that place 30 feet by 20 two story & connected by a new single Story, the removed building is of the best materials, sound & compleat painting excepted, & the new part being 10 by 20 gives a passage with opposite folding doors of 20 feet square." Semple suggested advantages afforded by the recent addition of the back wing: "Whilst the two rooms & this passage are exceedingly airy and pleasant in summer they are warm in the winter and being retired suit a family for chambers leaving almost all the front building for the day & for company."

The author of the advertisement described the front part of the 1809 house—that which comprises the present Finnie House—as being "in excellent repair." Semple further attested that "the porch was painted & new shingled lately . . .

the whole in good order furnishing 4 very fine rooms below and three good ones above; there is also a stair case in the Front building running out of a passage formed of part of the Saloon and East Wing—there are many closets, and whether the excellence of the work of the front or the convenience comfort or appearance be considered, the City does not furnish such an Establishment. . . . On the whole it may well be said that there are few lotts in better order for a genteel family, & none more agreeable or pleasant.”



The Bothy's Mould

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

The following was in response to a question by Jane Hanson, Colonial Williamsburg musician who on occasion portrays the governor's wife, Charlotte Murray, Lady Dunmore, to Kent Brinkley, landscape architect, asking about the differences and similarities the Murrays might have observed in the landscapes of Virginia and Great Britain.

Although the vast majority of the landscape of ancient Britain was once as heavily forested as eastern North America was in the eighteenth century, those British forests had been dramatically and almost totally diminished by the eighteenth century. From the Roman period (ca. A.D. 450–75) through all of the Middle Ages and down through the Tudor period (1490–1603), vast quantities of timber were required for houses and firewood. This widespread tree clearing served the dual purpose of opening up the landscape to farming and agricultural development and providing the raw materials needed to meet the housing demands for an ever-growing population.

During the Tudor period, Britain began building large numbers of wooden-hulled ships, which helped make her the world's premier naval power. But this placed further demands on rapidly dwindling timber resources. By the late seventeenth century, the country's old forests were sadly depleted, and the English landscape had become very open compared to what it had once been. English scholars and writers like John Evelyn (1620–1706) were publishing books in London, such as *Sylva, A Discourse on Forest*

Members of the Department of Interpretive Training today echo both Semple's and Tucker's 1809 accolades for the Finnie House and invite you to stop by their offices to view the interior fixtures and architectural details of one of the Historic Area's finest original buildings. And please check out the new training website on the Colonial Williamsburg intranet, which you enter through the front door of the Finnie House with the click of a mouse.

Trees in 1664 in which he advocated that the English gentry plant long, axial avenues of trees on their estates (called "rides" for horseback riding courses or trails) in an effort both to enhance the visual character and to aid in reforesting the English landscape.

Compared to the landscape of eighteenth-century Britain, the North American colonies were a veritable wilderness. From the beginning of colonization in the seventeenth century, English colonists regarded the vast forests both as a threat and as something that needed to be subdued and pushed back to better accommodate the advance of English settlements. Even with substantial clearing and the opening up of the Virginia tidewater and piedmont landscapes that had been occurring for decades by the time of Lord Dunmore's tenure as royal governor (1771–75), the colony was still more heavily forested than Lord Dunmore and his family were accustomed to in Britain.

Tidewater Virginia is a coastal plain and appears to be largely flat right at the coast. However, a journey just a short distance up any of the rivers reveals that, in fact, the land gently slopes and begins to rise as one moves inland. By the time a visitor arriving by ship or boat had reached either Yorktown or Jamestown, he saw steep bluffs in several places along the York and James Rivers. The port of Yorktown was even settled on one of those steep bluffs.

Some parts of both the east and south England coasts are similar in character, with steeper cliffs that rise right out of the water. However, parts of the counties of East Anglia, located to the northeast of London, are flatter with rivers and low, tidal marshes that extend a moderate distance inland—not unlike the tidal creeks that extend into the lower Peninsula from both the York and James Rivers.

As Lord or Lady Dunmore traveled overland to Williamsburg from the north and west, or from the east via the port at Yorktown, the topography along the roads became more undulat-



This Latrobe drawing of Ribbon Lodge gives an idea of the type of domestic landscape found in Virginia during the early Republic.

ing and pronounced, being cut in many places by deep ravines. Most of their journey took them through alternating forests and open fields then under cultivation.

Williamsburg was described by several travelers of the period to be situated upon a vast "open plain." Clearly, as one came closer to the city in the 1770s, the landscape became less forested and more open, revealing the agricultural nature of the rural landscape with its undulating topography that was even more dramatically evident than can be seen today. The 1782 Desandrouin's map of Williamsburg is a wonderful resource that gives a clear image of what the area looked like at that time.

In summary, the late eighteenth-century Williamsburg landscape looked vastly different

from today. It was far more open and pastoral for at least a mile or more around the perimeter of the present Historic Area. The landscape then certainly became more forested with farms dotted here and there as one moved away from town, both to the west and to the east.

To the governor and his family, more specifically, the Tidewater Virginia landscape did not seem so foreign on a general level compared to Britain. But looking closer at the details, it must have seemed quite different and very provincial to them: much lushier here than in Britain, quieter and more heavily forested than what they were accustomed to seeing in Britain, and the occasional farms, orchards, and agricultural landscapes here appeared rude to them, being enclosed with Virginia rail ("zig-zag") fences.



Q & A

Question: *What's the deal with all the bamboo in Williamsburg and at Carter's Grove? Was bamboo a feature of the eighteenth-century landscape? (repeatedly asked by both guests and interpreters)*

Answer: Bamboo, as many already know, is native to China. It was introduced to this country in the mid-nineteenth century. Because it grows so rapidly and spreads so quickly, it has since escaped into the wild. There are many different varieties, some with attractive black stalks. All are aggressive growers, being *stoloniferous* and spreading widely underground by their root shoots. Like all plants, bamboos have their applications and suitability for selected design situations. Too often, however, people plant bamboo, do virtually nothing to maintain it, and then wonder why it gets quickly out of hand. Bamboo needs to be strictly contained wherever it is planted, and in the right situation it is a lovely addition to the landscape.

While we have no idea exactly when it was first planted in Williamsburg, I'll offer a guess that it could have been in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, since it was popular in the United States at the end of the Victorian era.

(Kent Brinkley, landscape architect)

Question: *The north gallery in Bruton Parish Church is commemorated by a plaque as the "slaves or servants" gallery. Do we know for sure that slaves actually used this gallery in the eighteenth or nineteenth century? (submitted by June Byrd Brown, guide at Bruton Parish Church)*

Answer: Persistent confusion about the use of the north gallery of the church reflects the lack of any surviving documentation that would answer the question. The plaque beneath the gallery is not much help as it dates only from the 1939 restoration of the church, placed there in memory of Episcopal bishop Beverly D. Tucker (1906–30), who worked "among the Negro people" of Virginia.

In "Take a Seat, but not just ANY Seat," an *Interpreter* article from November 1991, architectural historian Carl Lounsbury wrote:

It has been long suggested that the gallery in the north wing of Bruton Church may have been reserved for slaves. While this is plausible, there is no documentary evidence to substantiate this assumption. A nineteenth-century illustration of the church shows an enclosed outside stair winding its way upward along the east and north walls until it reaches the gallery in the north wing. Whether this was a separate entrance for slaves or yet another private pew for the members of the gentry remains unknown.

Meager records that do survive show that baptized slaves "frequented the church," that is, attended regular services in Bruton Parish in the eighteenth century. Seating for slaves in Virginia parish churches varied. Usually relegated to the fringes of the congregation, some sat on the floor or occupied benches at the rear or in the aisles. Others listened at church doors or from adjacent areas such as bell towers. Favored household slaves may have sat on backbenches in their masters' private family pews or private galleries.

The Purdie and Dixon *Virginia Gazette* of September 16, 1773, records at least one instance of slaves in a church gallery in the following description of a Sabbath-day calamity:

There had like to have been a Number of broken limbs last Sunday se'nnight at the lower church in Lunenburg Parish, Richmond County, by some Part of the Gallery where the Negroes sit giving Way; which alarming the congregation, they every one made the best of their Way out. Many were violently squeezed, some fell down and were trod upon, particularly a poor Negro Woman big with Child, who was so much hurt that her Life is despaired of. A Negro Man likewise had his Legs much torn and bruised. After the Fright and Disturbance occasioned thereby were over, the Congregation, which was remarkably numerous that Day, again repaired to the Church, where an excellent Discourse was delivered by the Reverend Mr. Giberne, exposing the dangerous Tenets of those Sectaries the Anabaptists, which are so very pernicious to Society, and subversive of almost every Christian and moral Duty.

*(Linda Rowe, Historical Research, and
Bob Doares, Interpretive Training)*

Question: In the Winter 2003 Interpreter, there is a wonderful article regarding the excavation of the James Wray site. Reference is made to one "Henry Hacker." Good old Henry is buried in the aisle floor of Bruton Parish Church. His date of death is 1742. He fascinates me for some reason. Do we have any other information regarding him? (submitted by June Byrd Brown, guide at Bruton Parish Church)

Answer: Henry Hacker first appears in area records in York County court in 1718 as a security. Later he lived in Williamsburg from at least as early as 1733 to his death in August 1742 at the age of 54. His age at time of death puts his birth year at 1688. He was probably born in England. Hacker's wife, Mary (maiden name unknown), survived him. She remarried by the end of the year to Thomas Hornsby. Hacker owned ten lots in Williamsburg (Block 30, lots 319-328, along the north side of present Prince George Street at Merchants Square) and perhaps one thousand acres (three plantations) in Bruton Parish. In the deed of purchase for the lots, he is referred to as a planter of Williamsburg. He was also a tailor and merchant. Having no children, Hacker left the bulk of his estate to a nephew. His inventory, valued at £500, mentions his tailor shop, shop and stores, livestock, and so forth. He was a grand juror twice but seems to have held no other public offices.

(Linda Rowe)

Question: The following statement appeared in the Fall 2002 "Q & A" about popular Virginia sports and outside activities: "Cockfighting and

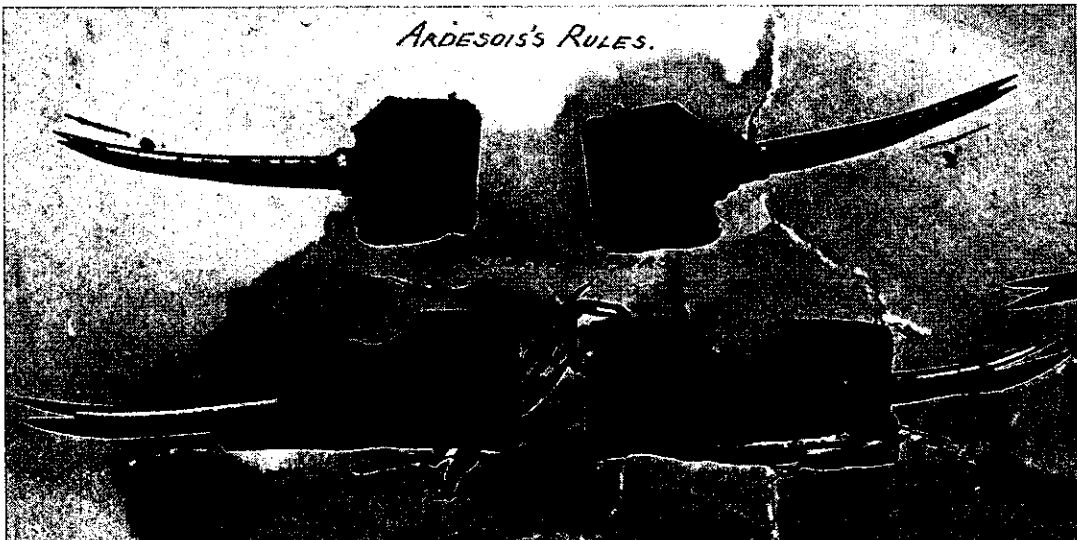
wrestling were standard recreation in the back-country among the lower classes." Cockfighting was by no means just a lower-class activity, so who did enjoy cockfighting in the eighteenth century? (submitted by Elaine Shirley, Coach and Livestock)

Answer: Just about everybody. Cockfighting, perhaps the world's oldest and most popular spectator sport, was long enjoyed by kings and gentlemen, not just the lower classes. Kings Henry VIII and James I paid particular attention to the construction of cockpits in their pursuit of this "royal pastime," the latter monarch attending matches twice weekly. In London, public cockfights attracted the nobility from the late seventeenth century until 1810.

In his 1988 report "Colonial Cockfighting and Its English Precedents," Richard Powell points out plenty of documentary evidence for the popularity of cockfighting among all levels of society in Virginia, though there is no record of permanent or public cockpits in the colony. *Virginia Gazette* advertisements publicize matches held at county courthouses and taverns. One such reference notes the large number of people who had come to a tavern cockfight "from thirty or forty miles around." Cockfights were also held at private residences.

Matches seem to have been highly social affairs, where wagers were placed according to the ability of one's purse. On one occasion, Philip Fithian, a tutor to the children of Robert Carter of Nomini Hall, was "very strongly urged . . . to attend a Cock-Fight, where 25 cocks are to fight, and large sums are betted, so large at one as

Spurs for Fighting Cocks (CWF; G1987-863). These spurs, also known as gaffs, are part of a group of cock fighting and falconry items assembled in 1875. However, they are probably earlier in date. John Greenhow advertised "Cock Gaffs" for sale in a store advertisement in the Virginia Gazette (Purdie and Dixon), December 12, 1771, p. 3, col. 2.



twenty five pounds." George Washington's diary of February 1752 records: "A Great main of cks fought in Yorktown . . . tween Gloucester and York for 5 pistoles each battle and 100 ye odd. I left it with Colo. Lewis before it was decided."

A number of *Virginia Gazette* ads for cock matches are directed at the upper sort, such as the following from 1784: "On Monday the twelfth day of April, will be fought a considerable Match of Cocks, at Cowle's Ferry, between the North and South gentlemen." Following a match in 1774, another establishment, Egmond's Ordinary, invited the cocking clientele to "a ball in the evening for the ladies." Powell points out that eastern Virginians saw no contradiction in publicizing their cock matches during the social hours that followed church services.

With so many gentlemen gathered in one place, cockfights also served as convenient places for transacting much practical business. One of the best records of such an occasion, arising out of a dispute over the sale of a slave, found its way into the *Virginia Gazette* in 1769:

Some days before the cock-fight on Easter Tuesday last past Mr. John Aylett came to the subscriber's house, and had with him a slave, a boy of yellow complexion named Will, which he the said Aylett told him he had purchased of Mr. John McKrind, merchant at Shockoes; and further told him that he intended to sell the said boy at the

cock-fight above mentioned, in order to discharge a debt he owed and after the said cockfight, the said Aylett told him, that he had actually sold the said boy.

Colonial Virginians of all ranks eagerly attended cockfights. After the Revolution, Elkanah Watson, a transplanted New England entrepreneur living in North Carolina near the Virginia line, had a different view of the popular sport. After a particularly bloody display at a cockfight in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1787, Watson wrote, "I soon sickened at this barbarous sport, and retired under the shade of a wide-spread willow" (where, it has to be said, he calmly watched a fight to the death between a spider and insect). Moreover, Watson was taken aback by the nature of the crowd watching the cocks do battle. He observed that the cockpit was "surrounded by many genteel people, promiscuously mingled with the vulgar and the debased." He was dismayed that men of character countenanced "so frivolous and scandalous" a display and the drinking and gambling it encouraged.

Though society today generally disapproves of such sport, cockfighting must be interpreted as part and parcel of the eighteenth-century world. (Elaine Shirley)

Q & A was compiled by Bob Doares, training specialist in the Department of Interpretive Training and member of the Interpreter Planning Board.

This aquatint dated 1824, titled "Cock Fighting" (G1989-398), shows London followers of the sport and the cockpit where a fight is in progress.





Interpreter's Corner

Focusing on the Guest: More Important Than Ever

by Todd D. Norris

Todd is a training specialist and the newest member of the Department of Interpretive Training.

Lately, it seems as if everywhere we turn there is something being said about guest service. Guest service reminders are on the intranet, in the *Flash*, in training classes, in daily briefings, in staff meetings. It is difficult to avoid them.

Why is there suddenly such a focus on this concept? The answer is quite literally, because there *must* be. Most of us have heard the question: "If a tree falls in a forest and no one is around to hear it, does it still make a sound?" Well, here is another question to consider: "If a museum offers tickets, but nobody buys them, is it still open?"

That might sound like a harsh way to state it, but the reality is that for the last several years, paid attendance figures have been declining. There are several reasons for this. Some we cannot control, but the two things over which we do have control are our interactions with our colleagues and our interactions with our guests.

Think back on some of your favorite vacation memories. What makes them stand out? You might have several answers, but I would bet none of them includes poor service. Possibly, you have had a good vacation and do not remember any

outstanding service issues because the service was satisfactory—what you expected it to be. Possibly, you had a *great* vacation memory because someone went out of his or her way to provide extra service or resolve a problem for you.

The reality is that times have changed. Vacation sites nationwide are now raising the bar on what has been acceptable service in the past as the stakes are raised and more sites are looking to entice that all-important summer vacationer.

The Williamsburg Area Convention and Visitors Bureau (www.visitwilliamsburg.com) lists forty-three attractions, amusements, and golf courses. That is just in the Williamsburg area. Now, consider other educational and recreational destinations in Richmond and the rest of the tidewater area. Some of these sites have been around for thirty years or more. Some are newcomers. All of them are aggressively vying for the same guests that could choose us as their vacation destination.

Many are recreation-themed sites that focus solely on catering to the guests' wants and needs. Suddenly, the picture looks a little bit different, does it not? Suddenly, we do not have the luxury of believing our guest only thinks of us. If a potential vacationer enters "Colonial Williamsburg" into an online vacation search engine like Travelocity, one of the choices under "things to do" is "visit nearby Busch Gardens."

So how can we do our part to encourage guests to spread the good word about CW? It comes down to the basic respect and good manners most of us already know. Sadly, in today's world, those good manners are often forgotten in the hustle and bustle of the day. But if we can remember that our colleagues will treat us the way we treat them, and if we can remember that meeting the guests' needs will make them comfortable and receptive to our educational message, and if we can remember that *exceeding* those needs provides the "WOW!" that will generate good word-of-mouth, the best advertising, we will have done our part in making sure that Colonial Williamsburg can further its rich legacy of education so that the future may learn from the past.

Extracts from the Autobiography of the Reverend James Ireland, Fourth Installment, circa 1769–70.

James Ireland (1748–1806), a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, and Presbyterian by upbringing, immigrated to Virginia sometime after the French and Indian War. He settled in the Shenandoah Valley around 1766. There he came under the influence of the Baptist community of believers and was ordained as a minister of that faith in 1769. Ireland's first-person account of the struggle for religious freedom in colonial Virginia is preserved in an autobiography published posthumously by J. Foster of Winchester, Virginia, in 1819. There has been no subsequent edition. Bob Doares, training specialist in the Department of Interpretive Training and Interpreter Board Member, owns one of these rare 1819 imprints.

Beginning with the fall 2002 issue of the Interpreter, Bob has shared some of his favorite excerpts from The Life of the Rev. James Ireland, Who Was, For Many Years Pastor of the Baptist Church at Buck Marsh, Waterlick and Happy Creek, in Frederick and Shenandoah Counties, Virginia. [Punctuation and spelling have been minimally edited for clarity.] The story continues here.

Book III, Chapter 6, Gets Arrested in Culpeper (November 1769)

Through kind providence I attended the meeting at Carter's Run, when, after congratulations together, we retired in order to consult what measure we were to pursue. A certain body of us who had made a public profession of our faith in Christ, being authorized by the different churches or bodies to which we belonged, met as aids at this place; formed ourselves into a Church, in order to hear and receive such as we deemed, in a judgment of charity, to be qualified subjects for baptism. . . .

The end and design of our meeting being accomplished at Carter's Run, I went on that evening to Capt. Thomas McClanahan's, a worthy gentleman at whose house I had the dispute with the church parson; there I was informed that if I preached next day at Mr. Manifa's, I should be taken away by squire Strother and squire Slaughter. I sat down and counted the cost, freedom or confinement, liberty or a prison; it admitted of no dispute. Having ventured all upon Christ, I determined to suffer all for him.

Next morning I set off for Mr. Manifa's, at whose house I was to preach, accompanied with the capt. and his whole family. When I arrived at the place of preaching, Mr. Manifa addressed me thus, "Sir, you may expect to be taken up to day, if you preach, a certain fine (I am told) will be imposed upon you, and so much upon each indi-

vidual that will attend your preaching, as well as a fine of twenty pounds on me for granting my house to preach in. This the justices have made me acquainted with, and have advised me for my own advantage, not to suffer the meeting."

Mr. Manifa, being a man under awakening impressions, told me not to flinch from my duty, if I thought it a duty, to go on. I requested him to shew me the line of his land, ordered a table to be taken out and placed with its feet on each side of the line; whether it might have answered any purpose or not, I cannot tell. However, I told him that when I stood on the table I would not preach on his land no more than on anothers.

Preaching being over, and I concluding with prayer, heard a rustling noise in the woods, and before I opened my eyes to see who it was, I was seized by the collar by two men whilst standing on the table. Stepping down off the table, and beholding a number of others walking up, it produced a momentary confusion in me.

The magistrates instantly demanded of me, what I was doing there with such a conventicle of people? I replied that I was preaching the Gospel of Christ to them. They asked who gave me the authority so to do? I answered, he that was the author of the Gospel, had a right to send forth whom he had qualified to dispense it. They retorted upon me with abusive epithets, and then enquired of me if I had any authority from man to preach? I produced my credentials, but these would avail nothing, not being sanctioned and commissioned by the Bishop. They told me that I must give security not to teach, preach or exhort, for twelve months and a day, or go to jail. I chose the last alternative.

The magistrates then addressed their neighbors and informed them that they were open to law, but there the preacher stands on one side, and here we stand on the other; and as we believe you have been deceived by him, if you will confess it by coming over from the side where he is, to our side, we will take that act as your concession, and the law will not be put in force against you. The people were much incensed against the magistrates, and told them that they had heard nothing preached but the Gospel of Christ, and that if they had not money to pay their fines, they were willing to go to jail also. The magistrates were much mortified at seeing the ill will they had got from their neighbors, and their ignorance being by me, at the same time exposed before the congregation.

I gave security to attend court in a few days,

which I accordingly did. By the complexion of the court I saw there was no liberty for me. There were eleven magistrates sat as a quorum. They brow-beat me, mall treated me, and throwed out the most approbrious appellations against me—would admit of no defence I could make, but ordered me to hold my tongue, and let them hear no more of my vile, pernicious, abhorrible, detestable, abominable, diabolical doctrines, for they were naucious to the whole court. I found it of no consequence to defend myself any further, since imprisonment was inevitable, and they were determined to make an example of me.

I delivered up my riding horse to a friend to take care of him that night, and apply to me next day for further instructions. The sheriffs were ordered to attend me to my little limbo, with a considerable parade of people, with such vollies of oaths and abuse as if I were a being unfit to exist on the earth. A very uncomfortable night I passed, in consequence of the oaths &c. that continued through the same. Sticks and stones they were throwing during the whole night upon me.

Book III, Chapter 8, Sufferings in Prison (Winter 1769/70)

The jailer being an avaricious person, and easily perceiving that he had a majority of the people of note on his side, laid down and pursued the following plan, with respect to me. Finding I enjoyed the affections of those people called the Baptists, who were very desirous of coming in to see me, and tarrying all night with me, he would admit none of them to the enjoyment of that favour, without paying four shillings and eight pence. He said they must come in as debtors, and go out as such released: and this sum he called commitment and releasement money. . . .

My friends round the Court House, supplied me amply with wood, it being an extreme cold winter, and a great demand for it. My wood was exhausted very fast, and I as often supplied. The Tavernkeeper (who was also Jailer) was obliged to furnish me with victuals, and water to drink; but my portion of the latter was scanty enough, in consequence of a scorching fever, which attended me in the night: and, as to the former I had but little recourse to it, as I chiefly subsisted on what my kind friends sent me, or what I purchased with my own money.

When I would be preaching through the little iron grate, the wicked and persecutors would ride up at a gallop among my hearers, until I have seen persons of respectability under their horses feet: clubs have been shaken over the heads of other individuals, with threatenings if ever they attended there again: whilst the poor negroes have been stripped and subjected to stripes, and myself

threatened with being shut up in total darkness if ever I presumed to preach to the people again.

To such a height of arrogance and wickedness have these miscreants went, that when I have been engaged in preaching the Gospel of my dear Redeemer to the people, they have got a table, bench, or something else, stood upon it, and made their water right in my face!

A number of my persecutors resorted at the tavern of a Mr. Seward at the Court House, there they plotted to blow me up with powder that night, as I was informed. . . . All the powder they could collect (according to my information) was but half a pound: they had fixed it for explosion, expecting I was sitting perpendicular over it, but in this they were a little mistaken. Fire was put to it, and it went off with a considerable noise, forcing up a small plank, from which I received no damage. I was singing a hymn at the time the explosion went off, and continued singing until I finished it.

The next scheme they pursued was to smoke me with brimstone and Indian pepper. They had to wait certain opportunities to accomplish the same. The lower part of the jail door, was a few inches above it's sill; when the wind would be favorable they would get pods of Indian pepper, empty them of their natural contents, and fill them with brimstone, and set them a burning, so that the whole jail would be filled with the killing smoke, and oblige me to go to cracks, and put my mouth to them in order to prevent my suffocation.

At length, a certain doctor and the jailer formed a scheme to poison me, which they actually effected, and which I could clearly demonstrate was it expedient, considering my present state, to enter into a full detail of the circumstances. I picked as much out of themselves; and the Physicians who afterwards attended me on the occasion, declared it to be so, from the symptoms they saw on me. . . .

At this period I received and returned a number of letters from and to the ministers of our persuasion, and from a variety of Churches, with whom I was connected. From these Churches, I received general information, how singularly these letters were under the kind dispensation of divine providence, blessed to the conversion of numbers of souls who were anxiously led to enquire into the cause for which I proffered, as well as the grounds of that fortitude which bore me up under these sufferings.

My prison then was a place in which I enjoyed much of the divine presence; a day seldom passed without some signal token and manifestation of the divine goodness towards me, which generally led me to subscribe my letters, to whom I wrote them, in these words. "From my Palace in Culpepper [*sic*]."

Book III, Chapter 10, Release from Prison and Audience with the Governor (Spring 1770)

As to my release from prison, there need be but little said about it being some time early in April, and the time of my next trial being at grand jury court in May next, there was a great deal by me to be done between these periods, and but little time to do it in.

The determination of the bench in Culpepper, was to prevent any from preaching in the county, as well as to continue me in prison, in case I did not conform to their terms, which I could not in conscience do. Having continued in jail as long as in my own and the judgment of a number of my religious friends, could be of any further usefulness, before the intended trial I sent for Elder Elijah Craig, and we gave our joint bond, for me to attend my trial at the next term, and so I came out.

Next day I went up to Frederick county, drew up a Petition, addressed to Lord Bottetourt, the then Governor of Virginia, praying him to grant me the privilege of having a meeting house built in Culpepper County, in order to preach at and

in, without molestation, on condition of my conforming to the rules prescribed for protestant dissenters. To this I obtained the signature of a number of respectable inhabitants, both of Frederick and Culpepper Counties.

I repaired to the Capitol at Williamsburg; the Governor [I] understood was a religious man, and his universal conduct was stamped with the approbation of all, both within and about his Capitol. Whether he possessed vital religion or not, I will not presume to determine; but he received my petition with all the graces of a gentleman, and gave me directions what measure to pursue, antecedent to granting the privileges I requested. I found the Clergy in the city to be of quite a different character from the Governor; they appeared obstinately determined not to give me the examination I had to undergo, every one shifted it upon another, till at last I obtained it from a county Parson, living eight miles from the Capitol, who gave me a certificate of the same. I then returned to the Capitol, and presented it to the Governor and Council, who granted me a license for those things petitioned for.

BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: *New at the Rock*



Becoming Americans Story Lines: New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

Buying Respectability

Baumgarten, Linda. *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002. [Oversize GT607.B38 2002]

Few material possessions were more personal than one's clothing, reflecting not just what goods were available but what individuals selected, improvised, and altered from the range of possibilities. Antique costumes "hold stories in every silhouette, textile, stitch, wrinkle, and stain," and from those stories one can interpret the complexity of life from birth to death, for men and women, in every social and economic context.

Davis, John D. *Robert and Meredith Green Collection of Silver Nutmeg Graters*. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2002. [NK7143.D29 2002]

Punch, "the most popular mixed alcoholic drink of the eighteenth century," demanded the proper paraphernalia to prepare and consume. Nutmeg graters were a visible part of the preparation of punch and were limited in style only by ambition and the ability to pay. The graters featured in this book are on display at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum through December 2003.

Pettigrew, Jane. *A Social History of Tea*. London: National Trust, 2001. [GT2907.G7 P48 2001]

This book, arranged chronologically, examines all aspects of tea and its consumption in England since its first introduction in the mid-seventeenth century. Where, how, and by whom this popular beverage was prepared and drunk

are all covered in entertaining detail, complete with illustrations of public coffeehouses, private home rituals, and tea equipage.

Sharp, Rosalie Wise. *Ceramics, Ethics & Scandal: A Bright and Spirited Story of Life in the Eighteenth Century As Signified by Ceramics of the Time*. Toronto, Canada: R.W.D. Books, 2002. [NK3745.C2S53 2002]

The social history of England is told through the words of eighteenth-century larger-than-life characters and illustrated by the ceramics they sought, purchased, ate and drank from, decorated with, and most importantly flaunted before their peers. This book is especially well illustrated with ceramic figures but also has numerous color plates of the useful wares.

Straeten, Judith. *Toiles de Jouy*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2002. [Oversize TP930.S973 2002]

French-printed cottons were among the most fashionable and popular textiles that a Virginian could aspire to own. Here, an early book of late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century designs is reproduced in full color, with motifs ranging from the Chinese to the botanical to the neo-classical.

Redefining Family

Simons, D. Brenton, and Peter Benes, comps. *The Art of Family: Genealogical Artifacts in New England*. Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2002. [NK810.A78 2002]

Acclaimed experts in their respective fields of history, genealogy, and the decorative arts have contributed essays that demonstrate why all these seemingly diverse research fields have a common ground in the study of material culture. Family registers, genealogical samplers, mourning jewelry, gravestones, and portraiture are just a few of the objects that were made and used to define and perpetuate the memory of family and social relationships.

Freeing Religion

Mulder, Philip N. *Controversial Spirit: Evangelical Awakenings in the South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. [BR515.M85 2002]

Not all evangelical denominations were created equal, even though they have frequently been lumped together in the literature of religious history, and this author strives to point out the differences between early Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, including competition for converts that contributed to the creation of their separate identities and traditions.

Enslaving Virginia

Ehret, Christopher. *Civilizations of Africa: A History to 1800*. Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 2002. [DT14.E36 2002]

"Logical" and "comprehensive" are two words applied to this book in reviews. For the reader who knows little about the wide range of the agricultural, social, cultural, technological, economic, and political history of the continent, this book is an excellent place to begin. While other titles address more specific concerns, reading this first will give one a sensible historical context to better understand what mindsets the early slaves brought to the New World.

Heywood, Linda M., ed. *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. [E29.N3C46 2002]

Nearly half of the Africans who crossed the Atlantic were born in central Africa, and, unlike West Africans who remained in more distinctive groups, these people spread more widely over the Americas from Peru to Brazil, from New Orleans to Nova Scotia. This group of essays addresses the common cultural background of many African Americans in terms of language, identity, religion, social leadership, and more.

Hodges, F. Holly, comp. *Guide to African-American Manuscripts in the Collection of the Virginia Historical Society*. Richmond, Va.: Virginia Historical Society, 2002. [Z1361.N39V57 2002]

Forget the index and read the text. These descriptions of records in the Virginia Historical Society demonstrate the unexpectedly wide range of detailed information available to scholars of African-American Virginians.

Taking Possession

Pritchard, Margaret Beck, and Taliaferro, Henry G. *Degrees of Latitude: Mapping Colonial America*. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2002. [GA405.P75 2002]

Maps played an important role in the lives of colonists. Not only did they facilitate trade and encourage new settlements, they also substantiated land claims, settled boundary disputes, recorded military adventures, decorated dwellings and offices, and helped to define the role of enlightened gentlemen. Much more so than the usual published analysis, this book provides a social and symbolic context for why and how these maps were produced, marketed, acquired, and used.

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

New Items in the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library's Special Collection Section

Pleadings and Arguments and Other Proceedings in the Court of King's Bench upon the Quo Warranto, Touching the Charter of the City of London. London: Richard and Edward Atkins, 1690.

This erudite work, in both Latin and English, traces the development of the rights of the citizens of London from the time of Edward the Confessor to the Magna Carta. Various depositions and recognitions of the legal rights of ordinary citizens are defined, together with their confirmations during different reigns from Henry VI to Charles II.

Gee, Joshua. *The Trade Navigation of Great-Britain.* London: A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, 1738.

This classic in the field of economics argues that the surest way to increase riches is through preventing the import of foreign commodities that may be raised at home. The theory is propounded that England and its colonies are themselves capable of raising materials for employing the poor in manufactures currently imported from countries that often refuse admission to English goods. A large part of the book relates to the trade of plantations in America.

Trial of Elizabeth, Duchess Dowager of Kingston, for Bigamy Before the Right Honourable the House of Peers. London: Charles Bathurst, 1776.

This noted trial, during the reign of George III, recounts the story of the notorious duchess, a maid of honor to the Princess of Wales. Already married to Augustus Hervey, earl of Bristol, she proceeded to marry again with Evelyn Pierpont, duke of Kingston. A complete recording of the pleadings is included, together with her re-

sulting conviction. Claiming her privilege as a peeress, she escaped sentence and retired to France.

Order [Massachusetts or Connecticut]: House of Representatives authorizes payment of £2,000 to Joseph Trumbull, commissary general of the Continental Army. Signed by J. Warren, speaker; John Lowell, for the Council; together with fifteen other signatories, January 22, 1776.

Student's manuscript mathematical workbook covering simple subtraction; multiplication; short and long division; troy, avoirdupois, and apothecaries' weights; cloth, land, wine, and dry measures; and compound interest. Circa 1830.

The notebook also contains tables of values for denominations of sterling money including farthings, pence, shillings, and pounds as well as similar values for American federal money including mills, cents, dimes, dollars, and eagles.

Lancaster, Osbert. *Drayneflete Revealed.* London: John Murray, 1950.

This fictional history of an imaginary English town reflects the wit of the noted English humorist and cartoonist who gently satirized the upper classes. Lancaster's architectural interests brought him to Williamsburg, where he was entertained by Edwin Kendrew, who held the position of Foundation architect at the time. The book is inscribed as a Christmas gift from Ed and Melinda Kendrew to Lawrence and Margaret Kocher. Kocher was a noted architectural historian who also served as the Foundation's architectural records editor.

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



COOK'S CORNER

"Professor Gwatkin of William and Mary on the Manners of the Virginians, c. 1770" reprinted from *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser. 9 (1952): 81, 83, 84.

Thomas Gwatkin, after studying at Oxford and being ordained, sailed to Virginia in 1770 to teach mathematics and languages at William and Mary. His five-year stay at Williamsburg was hectic. Since he strongly opposed the establishment of an American episcopate, he was at first high in the esteem of the Virginia patriots. By 1774, however, his loyalty to Lord Dunmore and to George III had made him so unpopular that he was subjected to cruel treatment and his very life endangered. Deprived of his professorship, abandoning his personal papers, library, and household furniture, Gwatkin sought the protection of Lord Dunmore. He sailed for England with Lady Dunmore and her party June 29, 1775.

The excerpt below is taken from fragments of an essay probably written between 1770 and 1774 and intended for family or friends in England. The essay eventually ended up in the Gwatkin family papers in Cambridge, England. The original manuscript was presented to the College of William and Mary by a descendent, Ellyn Margaret Gwatkin of Cambridge.

I observed . . . that the natives of Virginia eat greater quantities of animal food than the Inhabitants of Britain. A short account of their manner of living may afford you some entertainment.

Their breakfast, like that of the English consists of tea Coffee and Chocolate; and bread or toast and butter, or small Cakes made of flower and butter which are served to Table hot, and are called hoe Cakes from being baked upon a hoe heated for that purpose. They have also harshed [hashed] meat and homony, Cold beef, and hams

upon the table at the same time, and you may as frequently hear a Lady desiring to be helped to a part of one of these dishes as a cup of tea.

Their tables at dinner are crowded with a profusion of meat: And the same kind is dressed three or four different ways. The rivers afford them fish in great Abundance: and their Swamps and forests furnish them ducks teale blue-wing, hares, Squirrells, partridges and a great variety of other kinds of fowl. Eating seems to be the predominant passion of a Virginian.

To dine upon a single dish is considered as one of the greatest hardships. You can be contented with one joint of meat is a reproach frequently thrown into the teeth of an Englishman. Even one of the fair Sex would be considered as Gluttons in England. Indeed, I am inclined to believe more disorders in this Country arise from too much eating than any other cause whatsoever.

In the Afternoon tea and Coffee is generally drank, but with bread or toast and butter. As Supper you rarely see any made dishes. Harshed and Cold meat, roasted fowls, fish of different kinds, tarts and sweetmeats fill up the table.

After the cloth is taken away both at dinner and supper; Madeira and punch or toddy is placed upon the table. The first toasts which are given by the Master of the family, are the King; the Queen and the royal family; the Governour and Virginia; a good price for Tobacco.

After this, the Company be in a humour to drink, the ladies retire, and the Gentlemen give every man his Lady; then a round of friend[s] succeeds; and afterwards each of the Company gives a Sentiment; then the Gentleman of the house drinks to all the friends of his Company and at last concludes with drinking a good Afternoon or good Evening according to the time of day.



EDITOR'S NOTES . . .



African-American Baptist Meetinghouse Exhibit Now Open at the Taliaferro-Cole Stable on Nassau Street

The exhibition traces the religious heritage of transported Africans and their descendants in Virginia and the development of an African-American Baptist congregation in Williamsburg in the late eighteenth century. Open to the public from 9 A.M. to 6 P.M. seven days a week, the exhibit is self-guided. The reconstructed stable stands near the site of First Baptist Church, in use until the congregation moved into a new church on Scotland Street in 1956.

Bad News/Good News

The bad news is that Terry Yemm, creator of our gardening column, "The Bothy's Mould," has turned in his pen and spade. Because of other duties Terry is unable to continue as author of this feature. The editorial and planning boards of *The Interpreter* thank Terry for his many contributions in this area, which helped make the column a popular resource. We wish him well in his other pursuits.

The good news is that "The Bothy's Mould" will continue! Wesley Greene, garden historian in the landscape department, has graciously agreed to take over the authorship. Huzzah! His first contribution will appear in the next issue, so stay tuned for "The Curious Cucumber!"

New Staff Member

On May 19, the Department of Interpretive Training welcomed its newest training specialist, Todd D. Norris. Todd brings experience in teaching speech and theater at the university level, guest service, corporate training, and computer applications. You will find his article on guest service in "The Interpreter's Corner" column. Welcome!



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

Editor: Nancy Milton

Copy Editor: Mary Ann Williamson

Assistant Editor: Linda Rowe

Editorial Board: Cary Carson
Ron Hurst
Betty Leviner
Emma L. Powers

Planning Board: Laura Arnold
Harvey Bakari, Bertie Byrd,
Bob Doares, Jan Gilliam,
Noel Poirier, John Turner,
Ron Warren, Pete Wrike

Production: The Print Production
Services Department
Diana Freedman

© 2003 The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. All rights reserved. All images are the property of The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, unless otherwise noted.