THE COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

interpreter

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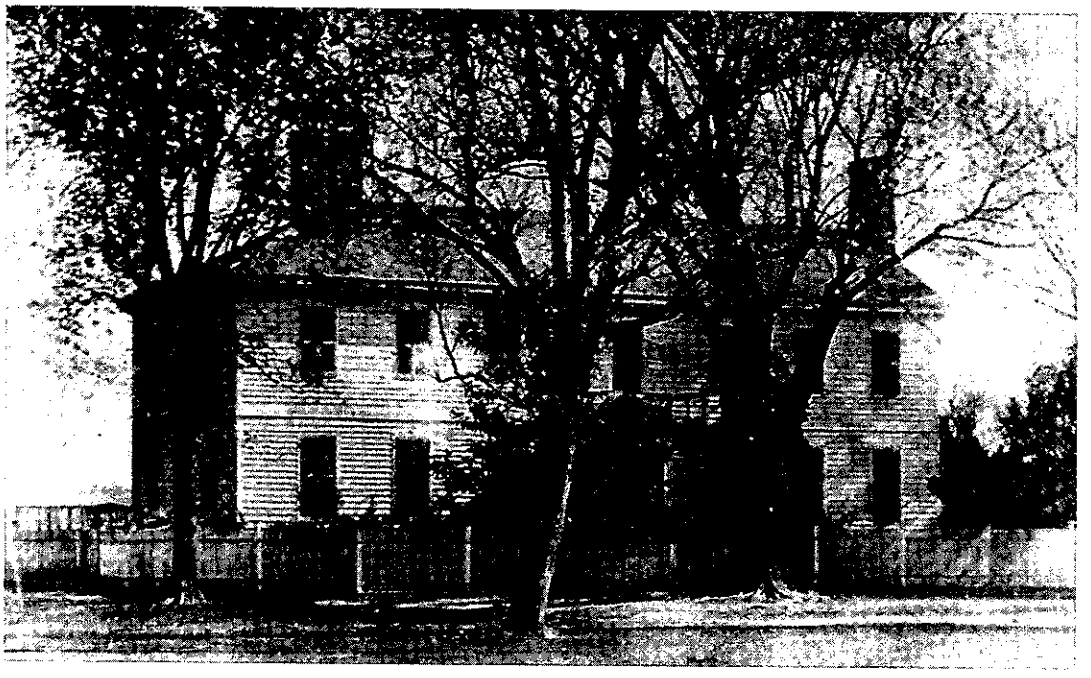
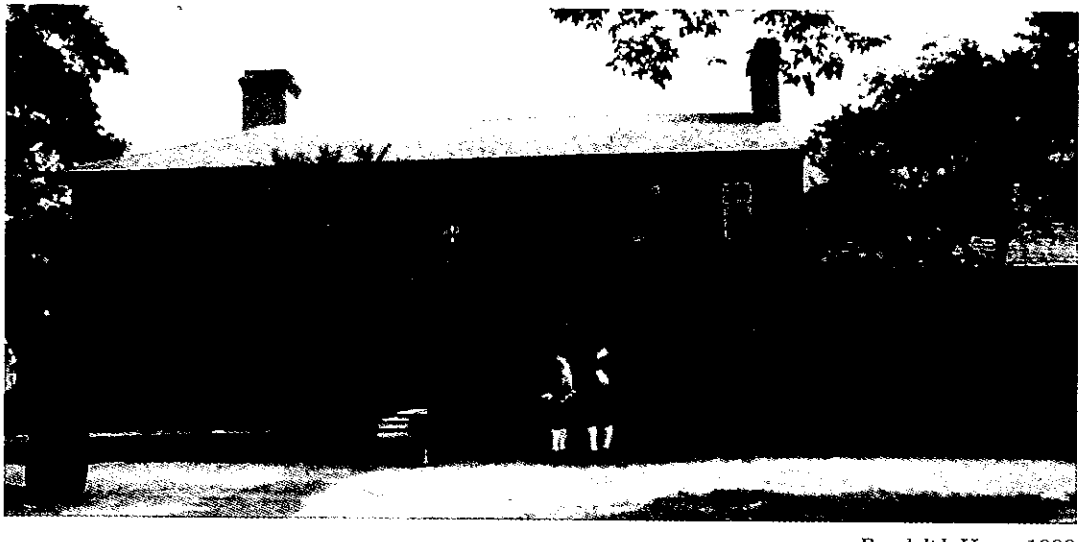


Randolph House circa 1880

The Peyton Randolph project has remastered a classic! A whole concert orchestra of Colonial Williamsburg specialists restudied the 1941 restoration and has come up with a dazzling reinterpretation that's as fresh as the day the house was built. This special issue of the interpreter is your souvenir program to this model research-to-restoration project.

—Cary Carson, Vice President for Research



Randolph House 1999

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Spanning the Past to the Present: The Reconstruction of the Peyton Randolph Site

by David Harvey

David is associate conservator for metals and arms in the Department of Conservation, and is a member of the interpreter *planning board.*

This special issue of the *Colonial Williamsburg interpreter* is devoted to the recent research, discoveries, and reconstruction at the Peyton Randolph house and site. Thousands of hours involving more than a hundred people have been expended in this project directed by Vice President for Special Projects Beatrix Rumford. Colonial Williamsburg departments as diverse as Facilities Operations, Archaeological Research, Collections and Conservation, Architectural Research, and Historic Area Operations have all contributed their skills and talents to the effort that resulted in the re-opening and re-interpretation of the newly restored house in June 1999. The reconstruction of the Peyton Randolph yard, outbuildings, and landscape by the staff of Historic Area Building Trades will continue over the next few years as these new outbuildings are furnished and interpreted.

Our goal in this issue is to give readers a behind-the-scenes glimpse of new research and discoveries. The authors represent the broad range of disciplines that Colonial Williamsburg can uniquely bring to a project such as this. They provide reconsideration of the previous site research and the new discoveries made during this recent project. Current visitors to the Randolph site will surely notice the significant changes in the appearance of the house, furnishings, and yard. The authors have been asked to explain why those changes have come about and also to articulate the underlying contexts and meanings behind them. Our aim is to help our interpreters aid our modern visitors to span the centuries when they enter into the home, family, and extended household of slaves that formed the private and semi-public life of Peyton Randolph in the community of Williamsburg.

Some of our readers may not be well acquainted with Peyton Randolph, undoubtedly many will. Why has Colonial Williamsburg devoted so many resources and such care to the meticulous research and reconstruction of his house and site? Who was Peyton Randolph, and why is he so important to the story of Colonial Williamsburg?

In the November 29, 1776, issue of Alexander Purdie's *Virginia Gazette* a remarkable notice appeared in the paper—the description of the funeral of one of Williamsburg's most notable and beloved citizens and of America's foremost patriots, the Honorable Peyton Randolph, esq.

> *On tuesday last the remains of our late amiable and beloved fellow citizen, the Hon. Peyton Randolph, esq; were conveyed in a hearse to the College chapel, attended by the worshipful brotherhood of Freemasons, both Houses of Assembly, a number of other gentlemen, and the inhabitants of this city. The body was received from the hearse by six gentlemen of the House of Delagates, who conveyed it to the family vault in the chapel, after which an excellent oration was pronounced from the pulpit by the reverend Thomas Davis, in honor of the deceased, and recommending it to the respectable audience to imitate his virtues. The oration being ended, the body was deposited in the vault, when every Spectator payed their last tribute of tears to the memory of their departed and much honoured friend—may we add, to whom he was a father, an able counsellor, and one of the firmest patriots. The remains of this worthy man were brought thither from Philadelphia by Edmund Randolph, Esq; at the earnest request of his uncle's afflicted and inconsolable widow. They were, when united, a perfect pattern of friendship, complacency, and love. No wonder, then, when separated, that the surviver should deeply bewail her irreparable loss.*

Such an elaborate funeral procession and public description of it was highly unusual in eighteenth-century Williamsburg; it rivals the funeral of Lord Botetourt in scope and sentiment. How did Randolph rise to such a universal public respect and esteem?

Peyton Randolph was born in 1721 to Sir John Randolph and Susannah Beverly Randolph of the city of Williamsburg. Peyton followed in his father's footsteps as a student at the College of William and Mary and in his reading of the law at Gray's Inn in London. He was admitted to the bar in 1743 at twenty-two years of age and in the following year he became Attorney General of the Virginia colony—a post that his father had briefly held. He married Elizabeth (Betty) Randolph of

Berkeley in Charles City County. By all accounts, the marriage was a model of love and devotion and would remain so throughout their lives together.

Peyton Randolph was elected to the House of Burgesses in 1748, representing Williamsburg, and started his long career as a gentleman burgess, eventually rising to leadership. In 1753, he was appointed the agent in London to represent the burgesses' case in the Pistole Fee dispute with Governor Dinwiddie. Three years later, he assumed command of a force of "Associators" to aid and assist Colonel George Washington during the French and Indian War. During this same period Randolph also received recognition within the community of Williamsburg by being appointed a vestryman in Bruton Parish (1749) and rector of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary and elected grand master of the Masonic Lodge.

In 1766, following the death of Speaker John Robinson and the revelation of the treasury scandal, the previously combined double office of speaker and treasurer was divided and Randolph was elected as the Speaker of the House of Burgesses, a post that he held for the remainder of his life. During his nine-year tenure as Speaker, Randolph became a key leader in the debate and actions that led to the American Revolution. He went on to distinguish himself as one of the first citizens of the revolutionary cause, becoming chairman of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence in 1773 and Chairman of the First Virginia Convention the following year. In August of 1774, Randolph was chosen as a delegate to the First Continental Congress and was unanimously elected by that body to become its first president.

Randolph's position as one of the most prominent leaders of the patriot cause placed him on a list of rebels subject to arrest and execution. In May 1775, he was elected as the president of the Second Continental Congress. In the following months, Randolph traveled between Williamsburg, Richmond, and Philadelphia, attending both the Virginia Convention of Delegates and the Continental Congress. While in Philadelphia, he was struck down suddenly on October 22, 1775, of an "apoplectic stroke," and died at the age of 53. His passing was noted in an extraordinary tribute in the October 25, 1775, edition of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*:

> *Last Sunday died of an apoplectic stroke, in the fifty-third year of his age, the Hon. Peyton Randloph, Esq; of Virginia, late President of the Continental Congress, a gentleman who possessed the virtues of humanity in an eminent degree, and joining with them the soundest judgement, was the delight of his friends in private life; and a most valuable member of society, having long sided, and with great ability and integrity discharged the most honourable public trusts. –To the truth of this, his family, his friends, and his country bear mournful testimony.*

Thus, Peyton Randolph, a man who became the first citizen of the city of Williamsburg and then Virginia, had become the first citizen of the country that was to become the United States of America. He did not live to see its birth in July 1776 or witness the turbulence and deprivations of the long War for Independence to come. Those tasks were left to other men of leadership and distinction.

In producing this issue, the editorial board of the *interpreter* hopes to establish a precedent for the collection and publication of the research and discoveries of future exhibition site projects within the Colonial Williamsburg Historic Area.

Re-Translating the Past

by Edward A. Chappell

Ed is director of the Department of Architectural Research.

In spite of its modest character compared to Philadelphia or Boston, Williamsburg is perhaps the most intensively studied historic community in the Western Hemisphere. Archaeological maps for the town, done as early as 1932, are staggering in their volume and scope, suggesting that virtually every scrap of foundation or path has been unearthed, probed, and recorded, however rudimentary the excavations were by current standards. Even a publication as unassuming as the old orange-covered guidebook indicated that documentation had been sifted and resifted to learn about the identities and careers of every resident who owned or rented property in the town. Indeed, eighteenth-century Williamsburg was a bad place to have been a rascal or a failure, because every recorded detail of one's unseemly career would be dredged up two centuries later to become common knowledge. Marcus Whiffen's two encyclopedic books on Williamsburg's houses and public buildings seem to explain every patched chimney or rebuilt cornice. Library shelves strain under the weight of a thousand research reports, on everything from wig curlers to horseshoes. One might easily believe that while the new ideas applicable to teaching in the Historic Area are limitless, most of the direct evidence for the eighteenth-century community was gleaned long ago.

Clearly, Williamsburg is a rich ground for new ideas. The broad interpretive initiatives codified in *Becoming Americans: Our Struggle to be Both Free and Equal* have dispelled any doubt that our varied specialties are all part of a larger story. Each exhibition house and tavern has contributed to an expansive depiction of the evolving early-modern family. This year, some million visitors will consider the issues of the enslavement of nearly half of eighteenth-century Virginia's population. A new program at Carter's Grove confronts even the most brutal aspects of race relations in the pre-Revolutionary era. Subjects once left unmentioned now receive attention across the entire Williamsburg canvas.

But the assumption about the lack of new evidence is false. Thoroughly excavated sites and heavily restored buildings still offer up new information about their early residents and the many changes these people made in their respective pieces of the young town. Andrew Edward's archaeological exegesis in this publication is a model for what new information can be gleaned from previously pawed over dirt. Ron Hurst's explanation of new furnishings research does likewise for the contents of a familiar old house.

Now, when visitors ask the common question, "What could possibly be left to do?" the educational staff need only nod toward the Randolph site. There stands a building long venerated as one of the town's most historic houses, rescued from threatened demolition and restored by Merrill Procter and Frederick H. Ball before John D. Rockefeller ever visited Williamsburg, restored further by Colonial Williamsburg in 1939–1941 and again in 1968 before being opened as an exhibition building. The missing east wing was re-erected early enough to nearly slide into diggings for the Parkway tunnel in October 1941. Architects and colorists scraped through the house's old paint layers in search of early colors, just as excavators scratched down to the remnants of its outbuildings. Peyton Randolph's 1776 probate inventory presents both rich evidence and problems because it contains few room names, but curators have scrutinized it with an intensi-

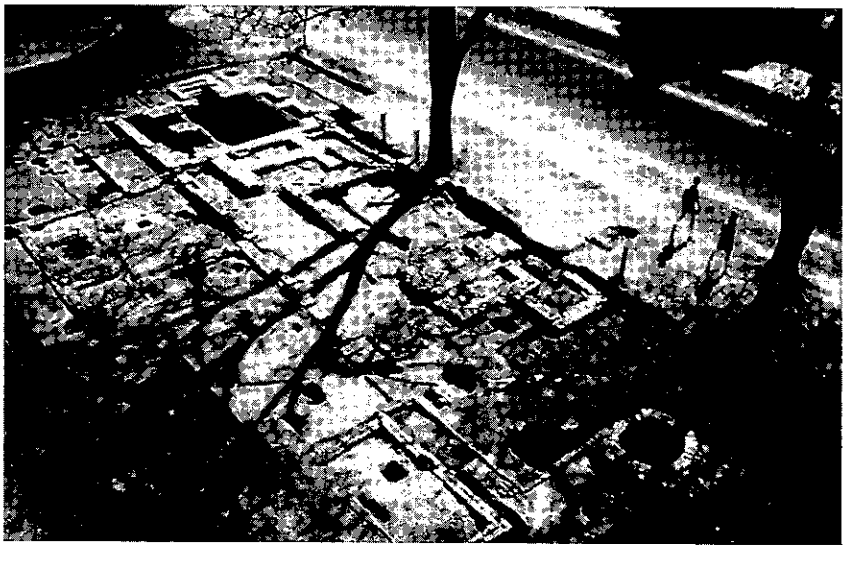

Figure 1. Excavation of early 18th-century tenements and later service buildings behind the Peyton Randolph House.

ty that has allowed them, in 1985 and 1987, to improve dramatically the accuracy of room furnishings seen there.

While the Randolph property is by no means untouched by earlier investigators and restorers, it has nonetheless given up much new information about its nature, evolution, and role in the material world of the eighteenth-century town. It has in fact been perfectly poised for new study and a greatly enhanced role in the educational work of the Foundation. Circumstances have converged to make the current Randolph work the most important Historic Area project of the decade—one that is central to our interpretation of families, slavery, and wealth, given the scale of the site and the nature of its late-colonial occupants.

How could this be? How could such a well-known building divulge any new secrets, any shred of new evidence of its eighteenth-century condition? Certain research methods have improved dramatically, and they are applicable here, where much of the site has remained vacant and undeveloped. New analytical technologies have enhanced the abilities of archaeologists, curators, and historians to study the evidence.

Stratigraphic archaeology provided the first new information. In the 1950s, Ivor Noël Hume brought the archaeologist's use of soil stratigraphy and vigorous artifact analysis to Colonial Williamsburg. While the many acres of earlier excavation laid bare a vast amount of old brickwork, the studies missed soil stains left by various activities and less permanent building materials. They also had little ability to date masonry, short of recognizing shell mortar, comparing brick sizes, or noting one foundation's relationship to another when they physically intersected.

Re-excavation of the Randolph property, beginning in 1979 and pursued intensively between 1982 and 1985, revealed a complex web of building remains, including the footings for relatively early eighteenth-century tenements facing North England Street, at least three different kitchens, and additions of other service buildings for the main house in the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century (Figure 1). Cruder excavations during the 1930s and 1950s had indeed stripped away many of the precious dirt layers that might have directly dated the remains, but much could still be learned about the sequence of buildings and landscape elements. Open-area excavation, pioneered in Britain in the 1960s, was first applied in Williamsburg at the Randolph site, permitting a thorough examination of relationships among the many fragmented features.

Paleobotonists now peer through microscopes in search of tiny remains from 250-year-old plants, and furniture conservators train instruments on small bits of wood finish or woven fabric. Architectural historians also have colleagues in disciplines with five-dollar names, like dendrochronology, the use of tree rings to date wood.

Documentation for eighteenth-century construction in the Chesapeake is generally poor. Reading most descriptions of Williamsburg houses, one quickly recognizes how many accepted dates have been based on shaky documentation. If a Williamsburg lot was granted in 1705, the only known house or shop on the property is often assumed to have been built within two years, even if it looks suspiciously like a 1760s building. The analysis of patterns of ring growth in the wood used in buildings has, since 1983, helped to clarify the dating of Williamsburg houses. The Ludwell-Paradise and Geddy Houses, for example, are now recognized as late-colonial edifices, not dwellings raised by Williamsburg's first citizens. Working with forestry scientist Herman Heikkenen, architectural historians have begun to develop a much clearer perception of how early eighteenth-century houses differed from their successors, particularly in terms of scale and finish.

Dendrochronology has also helped build much more explicit histories for some associated properties. We now believe that someone, perhaps a member of the Bray or Page family, built the present Nelson-Galt House about 1695 or 1696, before establishment of the town, and that William Robertson moved, enlarged, and substantially remodeled the house between January 1708 and 1710.[1] Robertson purchased what became the Randolph property at the intersection of North England and Nicholson Streets in 1714 and, four years later, completed the western part of the present house. When he sold his Francis Street house to John Grymes in 1723, the deed described it as his "dwelling house . . . wherein the said William Robertson lately dwelt."[2] This suggests that Robertson was still living in the smaller Francis Street house until nearly 1723, using the future Randolph House as the best of perhaps four tenements on his England Street property. Willie Graham and Mark R. Wenger's surprising discoveries about the incomplete nature of the house are comprehensible in this context. John Randolph acquired the property with its tenements in 1724, probably improved the best house for his family's use, and constructed new support buildings. He subsequently left the property

to his second son, Peyton, who re-skinned the old house and extended it with the east wing during 1754 and 1755. It was Peyton, then, not his father, who added the larger and more expensively finished spaces, nearly doubling the size of the house. In short, dendro dates combine nicely with a fresh reading of land records and archaeological as well as architectural evidence to outline the property's evolution and the building projects three generations of owners pursued.

Paint layers help flesh out these bones beyond the obvious role of identifying colors. Because Peyton Randolph's remodeling was so extensive, and the earlier restorations so energetic, it has been time-consuming to determine precisely when woodwork, plaster, and wallpaper were added and changed. Three paint analysts have worked on the current Randolph House study—Frank S. Welsh of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, Susan Buck of Newton Center, Massachusetts, and Mark Kutney in Colonial Williamsburg's conservation department. Each analyst has scoured the building, inside and out, searching for small areas of paint that have survived two episodes of forceful scraping.[3] What they found were strata of paint that resemble, at small scale, the soil layers discovered by the archaeologists. Like the archaeological layers, these were highly fragmented, but a sustained study of the respective ingredients and the relationships among the layers eventually revealed that Peyton Randolph painted all the woodwork in and outside his house a red-brown, apparently followed, before 1775, with a thin gray paint in the best rooms. Although defining red-brown as the first finish was relatively easy, the difficulty of resolving when and how it changed increased exponentially. Eventually, the relative degrees of wear and numbers of layers with hand-ground pigments helped build convincing arguments for leaving the outside and much of the interior red-brown. The forensic use of paint layers—studying where certain layers are present and absent—has also helped determine whether partitions in bedchambers over the parlor and dining room were added by Peyton Randolph or by later owners.

Mortar analysis has played a similar role in unraveling the evolution of work buildings that disappeared long ago. The most graphic example is the mid-eighteenth-century kitchen-quarter, a two-story frame structure with principal rooms at the south end served by fireplaces in a large internal chimney. Initially we had problems learning the extent of the building because footings from its north end had been amputated by later construction and had a complicated relationship to earlier foundations (Figure 2). The 1938 and 1955 excavations had destroyed crucial stratigraphic evidence. By microscopically studying the nature of the sand and other elements of the mortar between bricks, we learned that the disconnected north foundations were indeed contemporary with the cook room remains. This means the kitchen-quarter was three rooms long making it the largest such building in the eighteenth-century town (Figure 3).

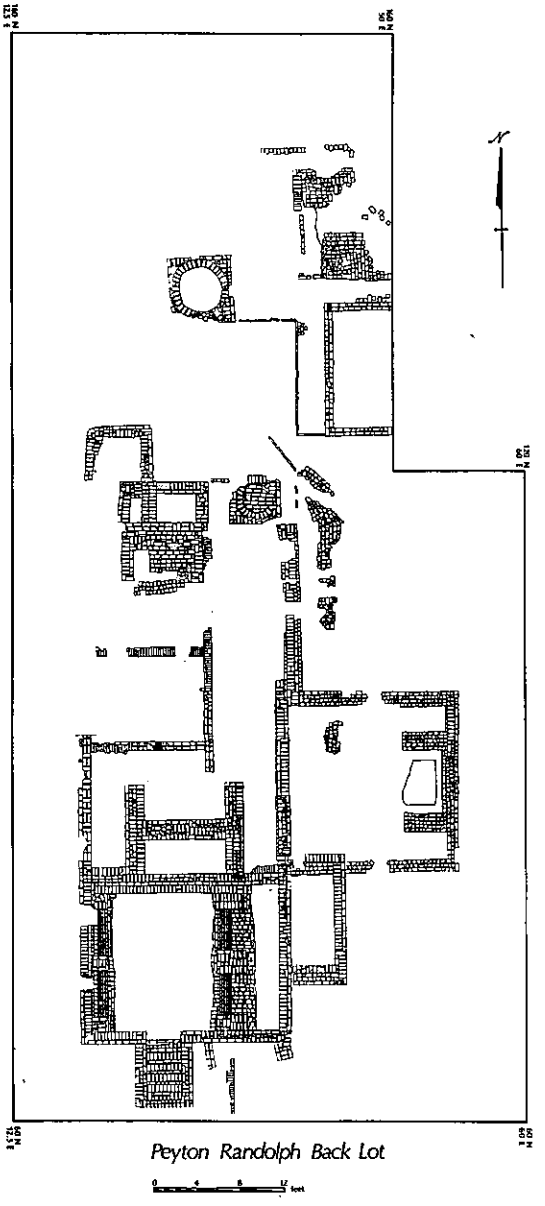

Figure 2. Foundations and cellar (at south end) of kitchen-quarter built for Peyton Randolph in the 1750s, as well as remains of earlier tenements, kitchen and well. Mortar analysis helped link the kitchen to a second chimney base and foundations to the north, demonstrating that the mid-century building was three rooms long. Drawing by Natalie Larson, 1985.

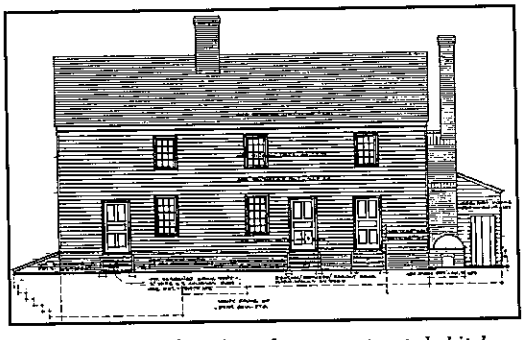

Figure 3. East elevation for reconstructed kitchen-quarter, drawn by Willie Graham, 1999.

Ultimately, the usefulness of such technological aids depends on how well the researchers employ them in a larger analysis. The human eye remains the crucial tool in most architectural exploration as well as dirt archaeology and furnishings research. Our predecessors saw both structural and archaeological evidence for a long-lost projection on the north side of the main house, providing closets or a small ancillary space and perhaps an exterior door lobby in the first half of the eighteenth century. But evidence in the foundations and second-floor paneling reveals that Peyton Randolph removed the projection before constructing the enclosed connector to the kitchen and adding the paneling, so its 1940–1941 re-creation was an anachronism on the house otherwise presented as it appeared toward the end of Randolph's life. Accordingly, it was removed as part of the current work.

Architects directing Williamsburg's restoration since the 1920s have looked for physical as well as documentary evidence in their restorations and reconstructions. They were generally as attentive to small details like moldings as they were to the larger outlines of eighteenth-century buildings. In the beginning, though, they moved very rapidly, finishing twenty-five major buildings by 1933. Balancing the demands of construction schedules with the need to capture evidence as it is uncovered is always difficult. And subtle evidence for peculiar conditions could be easily overlooked, particularly when those conditions lacked the visual refinement that both John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and his architects saw as dominating the preindustrial town. The first project that moved with slower, more deliberate stages of investigation was Paul Buchanan's restoration of Wetherburn's Tavern in 1966–1967. Buchanan had a very discerning eye, and he recognized seeming peculiarities that his predecessors could have missed, like early whitewash unevenly sloshed over red-brown paint on the tavern siding and the absence of cornice or chair board in the Great Room, a space that was enriched with one of the most lavish marble chimney pieces to survive from eighteenth-century Virginia.

If Buchanan was able and willing to recognize such disjunctures in the previously seamless world of restored Williamsburg, his successors have taken the quest as a principal responsibility. The Randolph House is a case in point. Ron Hurst observes that the 1776 inventory includes unusually costly and, in some cases, stylish furnishings, even for a family of the Randolphs' elite status. The interior architectural finish was also very costly: extensive wainscoting, walnut trim and doors in the best rooms, full oak paneling in a rear bedchamber, wallpaper, brass mortise hinges with decorative finials, and an imported marble mantel in the dining room. Yet Randolph felt it sufficient to use red-brown paint on the exterior walls and on all but walnut and oak paneling inside. Red iron oxide or red ocher paint was not an embarrassment in the eighteenth-century town—the Ludwell-Paradise House, Prentis Store, and Bruton Parish Church all had red-brown exterior trim in the same era—but it was a relatively inexpensive choice. The 1734 *Builder's Dictionary* described painting with "Spanish brown" as "the cheapest Way of all, and [it] preserves the Timber perhaps as well as Any." Susan Buck points out that the Randolph paint also contained a quantity of red lead, so it was sharper in hue and more expensive to buy than Spanish brown.

Randolph made other decisions that reflected desire for all the domestic accoutrements of a politically and socially powerful figure while he saved money by remodeling rather than replacing the old Robertson house. The expanded house provided the necessary elements without the graceful resolution of new Georgian houses like George Wythe's brick box and younger brother John's seven-part Palladian house at the end of South England Street. When built, William Robertson's house strived to be the best of private accommodation in Williamsburg, with a stair passage and three sizable rooms on two floors, contained in an asymmetrical three-bay shell. The Randolphs saw fit to occupy this old house until Peyton, after his father's death, reworked it—first retrimming it about 1751 and then, after his mother's death, adding the east wing 1754 to 1755. The wing provided four principal elements: an impressive and roughly balanced seven-bay front, a much grander stair passage lighted by a church-scale rear window, a large and richly finished dining room, and a superior bedchamber with three closets. Like many

Figure 4. Rear view of Randolph House.

1990s suburban houses that provide requisite spaces and details without resolution beyond the facade, Peyton Randolph's expanded house was an awkward piece of design. The wing is shallower than the old block, the steeper rear slope of the circa 1755 roof meets the extended 1715–1718 roof in a clumsy manner, and the oversized stair window hangs incongruously to the right of the low rear door, which is squeezed under the stair landing (Figure 4). His builders dealt with this as best they could, extending the front slope of what appeared to be a hipped roof, down to an asymmetrical east gable end, built in brick against an existing tenement.

Williamsburg flourished, particularly in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, but it never developed the urban appearance of British cities from Limerick to Philadelphia. Rather, its streets were lined with freestanding houses, shops, and outbuildings, most of which would have looked equally at home in the Chesapeake countryside. While the Randolph property was not literally urban in character, it came as close as any in town. When completed, the main house and east tenement filled the Market Square frontage, and the full extent of the house's organic growth was evident at the rear. In many ways, this resembles the unceremonious back walls of eighteenth-century urban houses, where wings and stair windows allow no possibility for a straitlaced Georgian facade.

Archaeology and a handful of early photographs have revealed that the entire Randolph complex was among the largest and most intensively used of the gentry compounds built around the edges of Williamsburg. One of the principal steps Peyton Randolph took in remaking his domestic world was to gather much of his household's domestic work and workers into a single building, the two-story kitchen-quarter. Cooking, washing, and the housing for workers were contained in other Williamsburg support buildings, like those at the Governor's Palace, Wetherburn's Tavern, and Thomas Everard's house. But these and their counterparts across most of Virginia were relatively small, with very little specialized space intended solely for workers' housing, and seldom with two full stories. Randolph, like the builders of large residential properties in slave-holding cities such as Charleston, South Carolina, and Kingston, Jamaica (Figure 5), combined most of the domestic work functions, food storage, and housing for slaves in a large building that backed onto the side street or an adjoining property. Although some of the Carolina and

Figure 5. Kitchen-laundry, at left, and slave housing at right, in rear yard of 38 Market Street, Falmouth, Jamaica, c. 1800.

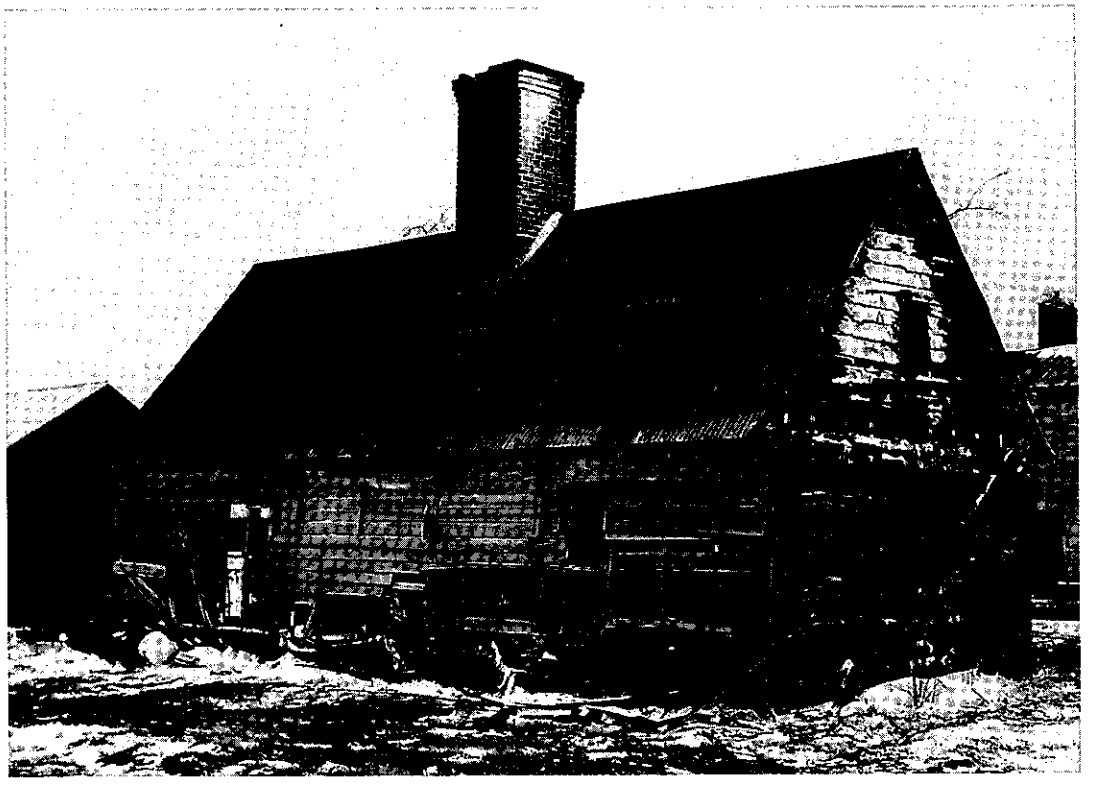

Figure 6. Oakley kitchen, c. 1760–1775, Lancaster County, Virginia. Photograph by Jeff O'Dell, Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Jamaican buildings are more than two rooms long, in Williamsburg the Randolph kitchen-quarter seems unique. It is also among the earliest known in the British mainland and Caribbean colonies. Randolph connected the kitchen-quarter to the main house with an umbilical cord called, in 1776, the "Covered Way." Workers carried food south to the Randolphs through the covered way and leftover food, chamber pots, and laundry north for cleaning. Such passages were used on a few large Virginia plantations after mid-century, but this and the one at the Governor's Palace in William Gooch's tenure, are the only recorded examples in Williamsburg.

Although center-chimney kitchens and quarters became familiar on the richest slaveholding Chesapeake properties in the second half of the eighteenth century (Figure 6), the Randolph building was unusually complex as well as early. A vaulted cellar for controlled storage of perishable food and drink was located under the cook room, and the large internal chimney provided seven-and-a-half-foot-wide fireplaces for cooking and washing on the first floor and probably a heating fireplace for the best living space, a large but low (about seven-foot-high) room above the kitchen. It is the third pair of rooms at the north end, with its own chimney, that makes the kitchen-quarter most exceptional for the Chesapeake. None of the service buildings associated with grand Annapolis houses have three-room plans, for example. Whether Randolph intended the lower room as a small servants' hall as well as living space is unclear, although Washington used the term at Mt. Vernon in the 1770s and 1780s, George William Fairfax did likewise at Belvoir in Fairfax County, and Lord Botetourt's inventory of 1770 includes a servants' hall in one of the Palace outbuildings. Several Randolph slaves probably lived in the sizable stable farther north on England Street, and others may have occupied unheated storage buildings on the lot. Randolph clearly intended the large six-room ancillary building, with more square feet than his house before its enlargement, to provide the principal housing for most of the people he owned in Williamsburg. By the time of his death, there were twenty-seven, the largest number of slaves recorded in the eighteenth-century town.

If space were evenly allotted—which it was not—each person living in the kitchen-quarter in 1775 could have averaged about 80 square feet, counting work and living spaces. Peyton and Betty Randolph and her niece Elizabeth Harrison each had about 900 square feet in

the expanded mansion, again uncritically averaged. Yet the Randolphs were not a majority population even in the main house. A man named Johnny and a young woman named Violet, a woman named Eve, who may have waited on Betty Randolph, and perhaps two boys in their early teens, worked and probably slept there. A butler may also have slept in the house, perhaps in the lower main stair passage. In short, there was a black as well as white presence in the house, day and night, to a degree not previously indicated.

The study of how the town's society was structured and the roles that buildings and their contents played in that structure is essential to Colonial Williamsburg if the place is to remain more than a site famous for its buildings, furnishings, and pre-Revolutionary political heritage. Such study provides an intellectual framework for research and encourages a sustained and honest effort to learn how lives were lived rather than simply learning a language of architectural or furnishings design.

Having re-created the buildings and landscape of the late colonial slave quarter at Carter's Grove, we can no longer think of the plantation in solely aesthetic terms or as the entirely pleasing product of a refined age, without considering the racial system that made it work.[4] In spite of the complicated messages the McCrea-altered eighteenth-century mansion sends out, it is the juxtaposition of owners' and slaves' houses that makes Carter's Grove a provocative museum offering.

The current development of the Randolph property will do for the Historic Area what the re-created quarter has done for Carter's Grove. The reconstructed Randolph kitchen-quarter is literally the first building purposely designed to provide a realistic setting in which to address slavery and race relations in early Williamsburg. The kitchen-quarter will again play its role as the other half of the architectural equation that represented the Randolph household. The objective is not simply to better portray the lives of haves and have-nots—although we are overdue in meeting this responsibility—but to suggest how particular white owners' and black workers' lives were intertwined and how they were affected by the social structure Peyton Randolph and his predecessors tried to enforce there.

Visitors will enter the house after first seeing the kitchen-quarter and covered way, both now being re-created by Historic Trades carpenters led by Garland Wood. Mason Raymond Cannetti has completed the foundations, replaced missing parts of the cellar vault, and is now at work on the impressive south chimney. Andrew Barry and fellow brickmakers are helping Cannetti and are producing bricks for this and other Randolph buildings. Anderson blacksmiths are making the hardware for the entire site, and George Hassell's foundry team has completed brass fittings missing from the house. Ernest Clements has managed the complex effort to refurbish the house, involving well over a hundred Foundation staff members and contractors, carefully protecting early elements while doing complicated surgery on twentieth-century fabric.

The project marshals a unique group of specialists, from materials analysts to sawyers, to deal with one of Williamsburg's most important properties, the first site in the Historic Area encountered by many visitors. Our objective in this publication is to offer a glimpse into some aspects of the work. The newly restored house creates a remarkable new appearance on Market Square, and its thirteen visible rooms and passages provide a rich series of vignettes from the lives of the Randolphs and their slaves. Once the kitchen-quarter is finished, the educational staff will have tremendously improved tools with which to teach about the spectrum of life in the eighteenth-century town. And our visitors will go away with stronger images of how different people lived and worked together, hospitably and otherwise.

By then we should be well on the way to completing the site—with four buildings to go—and will continue to have something consequential to say about it all. In the final analysis, new information and fresh ideas develop together in that remarkably lively laboratory called Colonial Williamsburg.❦

[1] Robertson moved from James City to York County, presumably to this site, between 1708 and 1714. Robertson sold the northwest corner of the property to John Marot in 1707/08 and the remainder of his property fronting on Duke of Gloucester Street to John Brown in 1718. This left him with roughly half an acre around his house, which faced Francis Street.

[2] York County Records III, Deeds, Bonds, 411.

[3] Frank S. Welsh, "Peyton Randolph House," Paint Consultant's Report, December 1994. Susan L. Buck, "Peyton Randolph House, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Virginia, Phase II Paint Cross-Section Microscopy Addendum," December 31, 1998.

[4] William Faulkner characterized the fictional McCaslin plantation as "that whole edifice intricate and complex and founded upon injustice and erected by ruthless rapacity." *Go Down Moses* (New York: Vintage International, 1990), p. 285.

Digging the Dug: Archaeology at Peyton Randolph

by Andrew Edwards

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Figure 1. 1930s excavations

In July 1982, Colonial Williamsburg's newly formed Office of Excavation and Conservation started its first undertaking: the archaeological investigation of the Peyton Randolph back lot. It was this project that built the foundations upon which the Department of Archaeological Research has based its long-range research program and where it developed the methods and techniques needed to carry it out. It wasn't the first time archaeology had visited the Peyton Randolph property, however. That was more than sixty years ago.

Just after the Foundation acquired the Peyton Randolph House from the Ball family in 1938, the Architecture Department started restoration of the house and archaeology of the yard (Figure 1). The purpose of the excavations, directed by Francis Duke, was to uncover the outbuilding foundations directly to the north of the main house and to expose the foundations of the tenant house or east wing for reconstruction. The Frenchman's Map and a scar on the east wall of the Peyton Randolph House both indicated that this tenant house had existed in the eighteenth century and therefore should be reconstructed. Figure 2 shows the excavation of the cellar in progress, but is also very revealing in another, rather disturbing, sense: the presence of the dump truck suggests that the soil from the cellar, along with the early nineteenth-century artifacts it undoubtedly contained, was used as landscape fill all over Williamsburg. Latter-day archaeologists now have to carefully examine every layer they excavate, making sure it originated on the site currently being examined.

The first archaeology at Peyton Randolph was, as most of Williamsburg's in that period, architecturally driven. The Foundation was still in the process of reconstruction and restoration so finding building foundations dating to the eighteenth century was of paramount importance. Other landscape features such as walkways, fence lines, and gardens were not sought (and frequently not recognized), and neither were non-architectural artifacts, as evidenced by this paragraph in Duke's Peyton Randolph report:

> *Few fragments, and none of importance, were found among the outbuildings. The east wing yielded some china fragments in unusually good preservation, some of them being almost whole pieces (Duke 1939:15).*

Only the immediate backyard of the house was initially investigated by Duke and his team. Their diggings unearthed the kitchen in its various phases, a smokehouse, several different dairies, a well, and a storehouse. Excavations extended only as far north as the well. In 1955, the area from the well to Scotland Street was examined by James Knight and a team of workmen, again from the Architecture Department. The goals were essentially the same as they were in the late 1930s excavations: find architectural ruins for possible reconstruction. This time, though, they were more efficient, because in the late 1940s, Jimmy Knight had developed cross-trenching.

The cross-trenching technique was based on the observation that Williamsburg's lots are set up in an orderly north-south orientation, as are the buildings placed on those lots. If one digs parallel trenches diagonal to the lot lines, a shovel blade wide and about a shovel handle apart, down to sterile subsoil, then discovering a brick foundation is quite easy. In fact, it's hard to miss one. When the bricks are found, they are fully uncovered. This process, while making possible the very accurate scale drawings Knight left us, unfortunately separates the foundation from its related stratigraphy, making it more difficult to date the building by its association with certain kinds of artifacts. The cross-trenching exercise at Pey-

ton Randolph turned up, among other things, three or four storehouses, a granary, and a small dwelling. These were trenched around to expose the bricks, photographed, drawn to scale, and backfilled.

No further archaeology was attempted until Ivor Noël Hume began exploratory excavations at the small dwelling at the northwest end of the lot in 1979. The archaeological crew exposed half the foundations and initiated stratigraphic excavation of the interior, but the project was not continued until the new director of archaeology, Marley Brown, started full-scale excavations in July 1982. Practically everything about the new phase of archaeology differed from that of the 1930s and 1950s—even the fundamental reasons for carrying out the excavations. The archaeology was not driven by a need to find architectural structures or artifacts, but by a need to understand the landscape of eighteenth-century Williamsburg. In the case of the Peyton Randolph back yard, this meant uncovering and fully excavating not only the outbuilding interiors, but fence lines, walkways, the areas between the buildings, and garden features. It also meant, for the newly emerging Office of Excavation and Conservation (now the Department of Archaeological Research), developing new systems of archaeological recovery and recording that would serve well as a base for future archaeological research. Effort was expended in answering basic questions such as: What size unit of excavation should be used in order to capture fine-grained artifact distributions and yet still be large enough to be excavated efficiently? What system of measure should be used, English or metric? What is the best way to keep track of various soil layers, the stratigraphic relationships of the site? What do ecofacts (things like seeds, pollen, shell, and bone) tell us about what people ate and what the environment was like in the eighteenth century? What are the best methods to retrieve them? Additionally, the early 1980s saw the beginnings of the age of the personal computer. Information had to be taken in such a way that it could be entered into a computer database program and manipulated for analyses. This meant the data had to be consistent and universally understood. Developing this kind of record-keeping system on an archaeological site was a new experience for almost everyone involved, and a lot of hard work, but the experimentation at Peyton Randolph was nevertheless fun and exciting.

Work was started on July 7, 1982, under the direction of Marley Brown. The traditional archaeological technique of digging in ten-by-ten-foot squares and maintaining baulks between them was abandoned in favor of "open area" excavation, a method that allows the archaeologists to follow old living surfaces more readily and makes horizontal scale drawings more accurate. Large sites with complex stratigraphy like this and most back lots in Williamsburg are particularly well suited for this excavation method.

Archaeologists, being a clever sort, named the first structure they encountered "Structure A." The second one uncovered was called "Structure B," the third "Structure C," and so on. So the little sixteen-by-twenty-foot dwelling at the northeast end of the Randolph lot became known as Structure A. The building was erected on nine brick piers, probably in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It sported a small interior fireplace in its northeast corner. The interior of the building had been used for rubbish disposal after the house had been torn down. Among the numerous artifacts recovered from the interior of the foundations were two fragments of an English-manufactured dinner plate that had a greenish-brown glaze. The ceramic fragment was

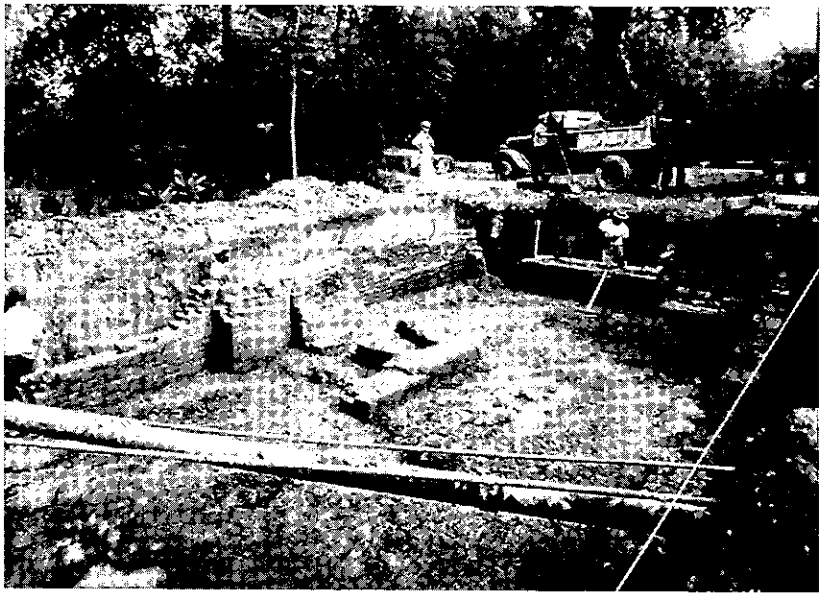

Figure 2. Excavation of Structure S, tenement on east end of main house.

identified as Whieldon ware, a type of pottery first manufactured in 1749. This indicated to the archaeologists that the dumping of trash in the foundation hole could not have occurred before that year. Also, none of the very popular "creamware" was found among the debris, so archaeologists could again assume that the filling occurred before the mid-1760s, when this ware became popular in the colonies.

Determining when the structure was built was another matter. No such diagnostic artifacts were collected from the layers of soil associated with the construction of the house. Fortunately for the archaeologists, but undoubtedly troublesome for the builders, the site chosen for the structure was a place through which a Middle Plantation–era boundary ditch already ran. The three-foot-wide ditch, though filled by the time the house was built, had not fully compacted. The southwest corner of the house had to be shored up with brick laid across the ditch to keep it from slumping in from its own weight. This was important in revealing the relative date of the construction of the house, as the boundary ditch was probably filled when the City of Williamsburg was established on the site of Middle Plantation in 1699. The house therefore was probably built within the first or second decade thereafter, before the ground had time to fully stabilize.

While a house is being occupied or an outbuilding is being used, layers of soil tend to build up slowly, caused by the filling of uneven areas, trash depositing, and small quantities of soil moving around. Archaeological features are also created. Features, archaeology-speak for postholes, rubbish pits, ditches, or wells, are created whenever the soil is disturbed. Any activity colors the soil and leaves an indelible mark that is easily recognized by a trained archaeologist. But excavation of what appeared to be soil layers and features associated with the time the house was occupied revealed little about who may have lived there. Most of the debris resulting from day-to-day activity was domestic (as opposed to say industrial or military) and of rather good quality. Whoever lived there was taking food from delftware plates and serving tea from a white salt-glazed stoneware teapot. Expensive mirror glass was also found in the "occupation layers." Mixed in among these expensive items were several varieties of common coarsewares and other utilitarian objects. All of these artifacts together suggest that the resident of the building during the second quarter of the eighteenth century enjoyed a social and economic position higher than that of the great majority of domestic slaves, but far below that of the Randolphs, whose teawares and dinnerwares at the time included both blue and white and Imari Chinese porcelains. The occupant of the little house was probably a tutor, craftsman, overseer, gardener, or possibly a highly favored slave or freedman.

About thirty feet east of the little dwelling, archaeologists discovered the remains of a small utility building (Structure D), probably a smokehouse for the dwelling or even the main house. The ten-foot-square foundations were composed of very soft, dark red brick and were in poor condition due to their initial inadequate firing, as well as from having another structure superimposed upon them at a later date and from their proximity to a large pecan tree whose roots had torpidly moved the foundation about. Given the outbuilding's position in reference to the various soil layers that had built up on the site over time, it appeared to have been in use during the same period as the little house. The larger, ambiguous structure (Structure C) superimposed on the smokehouse appears to have been constructed in the early nineteenth century. This date was determined by a fragment of pearlware, a ceramic type popular after 1779, which was found beneath the south wall of the structure when the bricks were removed.

Two additional outbuildings were re-excavated on the back lot during the 1982–1985 excavations. One was Structure B, a tiny (six-by-eight-foot) shed, highly disturbed by subsequent construction activities on the site. Another was a large, rather cryptic set of foundations that may have been a granary in the eighteenth century. The foundations of Structure E measured 28' 6" by 18' 6" and were located some twenty-one feet south of the small dwelling. Close examination of the soil layers around the foundations determined that this larger building was constructed some time after the nearby dwelling and was probably not related in any way. The most interesting aspect of the supposed granary was that none of its surviving three foundation walls were alike and were probably all constructed at separate times. The east wall appeared to be the earliest of the three, constructed in English bond of well-fired, predominantly whole, previously unused brick. The western wall, on the other hand, was built of used broken brick set in no particular pattern. Under this wall were postholes indicating that wooden posts rather than a brick foundation originally supported the western part of the structure. The center of the building was supported by a series of brick piers set two feet apart. Fill dirt

around one of these piers contained a fragment of pearlware dating to about the same time mason Humphrey Harwood underpinned a granary on the property.

The most dramatic, and potentially the most informative, discoveries made during the 1982–1985 excavations were the planting beds or vegetable patches uncovered on the back lot (Figure 3). Four such beds were found, all in fairly close proximity to one another and the little dwelling discussed above. The first indication that the beds existed came in summer 1983. Hot and dry weather, not unusual for Tidewater in July, had caused much of the site to "bake out," i.e., become hard and dry, reducing the excavation area to a light gray color and obscuring differences in soil layers and features. In spite of the drying of the soil, an irregularly shaped area on the back lot remained moist and dark. As the last layer of artifact-bearing soil was removed from the area, the once-amorphous damp spot became a well-defined 20-by-8-foot feature. The edge of a similar feature became evident just a foot or so south of the first. The tops of the two beds were fully exposed by August. The second bed was the same length as the first, but only half as wide.

Carefully excavating each bed simultaneously revealed that the bottoms of both were virtually paved with bottle glass, oyster shell, large animal bone, and some ceramics. The bottle fragments, by far the most numerous artifact type in these two beds (9,373 fragments), were from bottles manufactured in the first or second decade of the eighteenth century. The ceramics found in the bottom of the bed were few, consisting of coarsewares, delft, and brown salt-glazed stoneware. One of the stoneware fragments was from a mug and bore a "GR" (George Rex) stamp. George I ascended the British throne in 1714, so the mug had to have been manufactured after that date. White salt-glazed stoneware, uncommon before 1740, was absent from the paving, indicating it was probably laid before that date. "Laid" is indeed the proper term, as glass and other debris appeared to have been carefully placed into the bed, rather than simply dumped there. Most of the bottle bases were placed with the bottom (or "kick") up, and even the long animal bones were laid with the smooth side up.

No sooner was the excavation of the first two beds complete when a third was discovered about ten feet to the west. Unfortunately, this bed had been substantially damaged by the construction of a walkway in the late eighteenth century. Larger than the first two beds, this one measured 38 feet long and 12 feet wide. Unlike the first two beds, it was oriented north-south rather than east-west. The paving material found in the bottom of this bed was quite different from the first two. For one thing, it was not as dense. Although the components were the same—bottle glass, ceramics, bone, and oyster shell—the predominant artifact was bone. The animals represented were mostly larger beasts such as cows, pigs, sheep, and at least one horse. The bones were primarily large long bones and skull fragments. The bottle glass and ceramics recovered were from approximately the same time period as those from the first two beds, indicating that probably all were in use at the same time.

Some months later, a fourth and final bed was found after the removal of the supposed granary foundations. It was located only a foot east and oriented parallel to the third bed. About the same width as bed three, it was not as long, due to its proximity to the small dwelling (Structure A). The primary paving material used in this bed was oyster shell, although, again, the other components were also represented.

The discovery of these beds brought up some intriguing questions concerning the early

Figure 3. Planting beds 1 & 2.

history of the Randolph lots. Who constructed these beds? What were they planting? Why were the bottoms lined with carefully placed rubbish? Were these features indeed planting beds? Addressing these questions in reverse order, the fundamental problem regarding the function of the features was raised first. It was decided early in the excavation that the features were related to cultivation rather than tanning or any other craft because of the rich fill they contained and the fact they were lined with artifacts rather than the planking that would be expected in tanning pits. The possibility that they were part of a formal garden complex is still a viable one, though made unlikely by their positioning. It is most likely they were vegetable patches for a kitchen garden.

The lining of well-placed rubbish in each of the beds was reminiscent of the old practice of putting stones or broken flower pot fragments in the bottom of a flower pot in order to improve drainage and lessen the possibility of root rot. Using the sharp edges of broken glass as a deterrent for burrowing rodents has been suggested, but although the cutting edges of the glass bottles may indeed perform such a function, the bone in the third planting bed would do little more than attract the small creatures. A description of a planting bed from the late eighteenth century does describe the practice of including a layer of oyster shell in the bottom of a bed, such as was the case with the fourth bed, but does not refer to other types of lining material. The gardener responsible for these beds appears to have been experimenting with various forms of paving, perhaps in conjunction with differing types of plants. Unfortunately, his success or failure with each was not recorded, or the record did not survive.

While the beds were being excavated, soil samples were taken from different areas within them and most of the remaining soil was screened though one-millimeter mesh. This was done so the soil from the beds could be tested for pollen, parasite remains, and any seeds left behind by the cultivated plants. Unfortunately, most of the seeds recovered were from recently growing weeds that are rampant in Eastern Virginia, and the pollen from local trees. The test for parasites, done to try and determine if manure was used as a fertilizer, also proved negative. Only a few seeds, probably from the asparagus family, were recovered from any of the beds. In 1999, soil samples saved from beds will be examined in the Department of Archaeological Research environmental lab for plant phytoliths. Analysis of these microscopic siliconized molds of plant cells may identify what plants were being grown in the garden.

But who was the gardener? It could have been Sir John Randolph, Peyton's father. Both Sir John and his brother, Isham, had some interest in gardening. Isham's horticultural expertise at his home on the nearby James River is documented in *The Randolphs of Virginia, "America's Foremost Family"* by Jonathan Daniels. Sir John's interest in wild flowers is inferred from a letter to John Collinson from Randolph's neighbor, John Custis. Even though Sir John Randolph died when his youngest son was only ten, he may have inspired an interest in horticulture in young John, Jr., who wrote *A Treatise on Gardening* many years later.

The planting beds were a surprise to the archaeologists when discovered in the early 1980s because such non-architectural features were generally ignored by the 1938 digging and later cross trenching. Often, however, even previously discovered features or buildings can be intriguing. Although the foundations of a massive kitchen structure directly behind the main house were uncovered, recorded, and photographed during the 1938 excavations, much more needed to be learned about the building before it could be reconstructed. A total excavation was necessary.

The Frenchman's Map, which shows the locations of most of Williamsburg's major structures in 1782, was not of much use regarding the outbuildings behind the Peyton Randolph House. It is somewhat surprising that, as large a structure as this kitchen was, it was not depicted on the map. There are surviving records of the building, however. The Williamsburg Land Tax records from 1818 assess Thomas Peachy, Jr., $30 for the building described thusly: "Via Mary M. Peachy, house and lots which she hitherto occupied as a kitchen, laundry, and quarter for her servants, being north of the west and (*sic*) her dwelling house and formerly charged to Thomas Peachy's Estate." Assuming the building was used similarly in 1818 as it was in 1770, it was probably built with two floors to ensure ample space for all of the activities described in the tax records. Surviving photographs from the late 1800s show a much altered kitchen structure with board-and-batten siding. However, the massive chimney depicted in a circa 1870 photograph is of eighteenth-century style and likely the one for which the surviving H-shaped base was built.

Although this building was probably constructed before 1760, it was the last exterior kitchen to serve the Peyton Randolph House. Its remains included a vaulted cellar (Figure 4) with a bulkhead entrance, huge support piers,

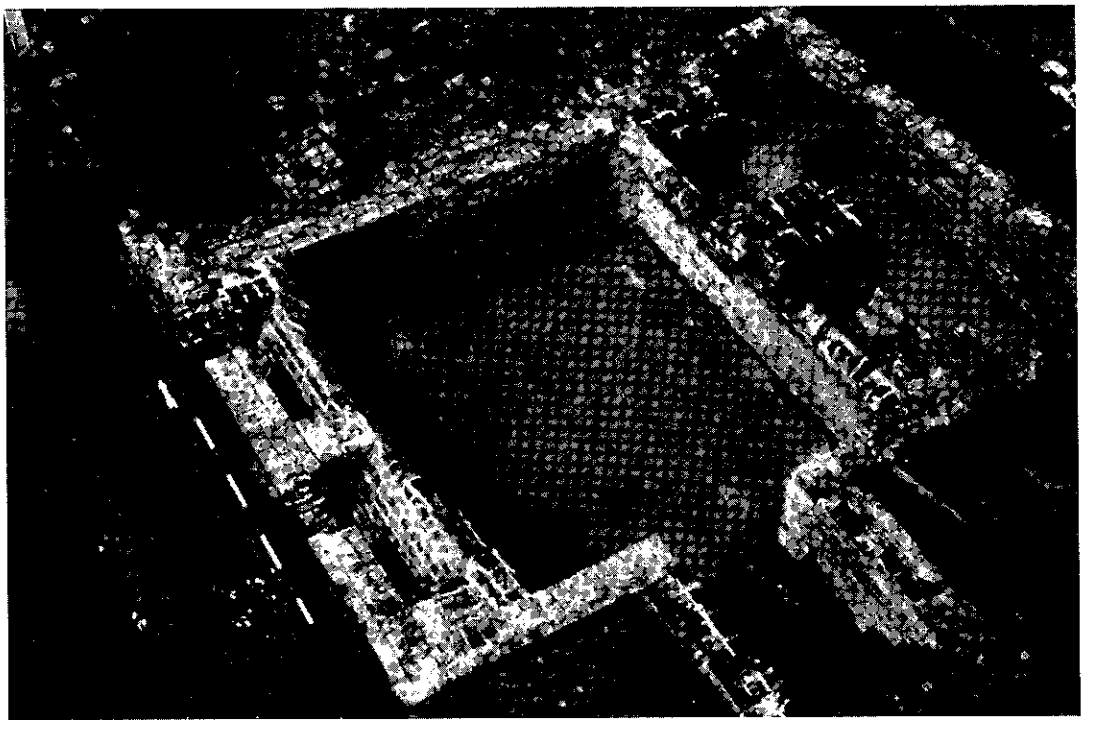

Figure 4. Vaulted cellar in Peyton Randolph Kitchen.

a double chimney base, and the remnants of a covered way leading to the main house. This structure was built on to an existing, older kitchen, resulting in one multi-purpose building some 48 feet long and 20 feet wide.

The building's superstructure did not survive the turn of the twentieth century, but the cellar did, and was used as a cistern until a city-wide water system was completed in 1924. Recollections of past residents revealed that the vaulted ceiling for the old kitchen extended above ground level and was fitted with a hand pump to draw water from the cistern. Shortly after 1924, the vaulted top was knocked down to yard surface grade and the cellar used as a trash receptacle. An enormous amount of rubbish, dating to about 1926 and before, was removed from the cellar/cistern during the 1984 excavations.

Much of the vaulted ceiling of the cellar had been destroyed, but the curve of the remaining section of vaulting and the girth of the cellar allowed archaeologists to determine that the ceiling was about 5' 2" inches above the cellar floor. The curved vault was supported by two straight walls nearly three feet thick that also supported three large brick piers on the east side and smaller but similar piers on the west. At the south end of the cellar was a 3' 5" wide bulkhead entrance with seven steps leading from the outside down into the vault. The steps once had wooden nosings that had long-since deteriorated. Construction of the cellar was off-center to the whole structure, allowing room for the covered walkway extending from the east side of the first floor.

Although not common, vaulted brick cellars were being constructed in Virginia as early as the last quarter of the seventeenth century, as evidenced by a 1675–1700 tavern excavated at Jamestown in the 1950s. The College of William and Mary excavated two vaulted wine cellars at Shirley Plantation (built 1723) in Charles City County during the late 1970s.

Vaulted cellars are almost always associated with the storage of wine and spirits. According to the *Dictionarium Britanicum*, a vault was built in cellars for the specific task of "laying in wines." Some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century wine enthusiasts considered these curved-roof cellars a prerequisite for storing wines at the proper temperature. It is safe to assume that a person of Peyton Randolph's means would be desirous of keeping and maintaining a considerable wine inventory. In fact, his probate inventory of 1775 lists "a parcel of Wine in Bottles containing almost a pipe" (126 gallons), as well as 30 gallons of rum.

The covered way leading from the southeast corner of the kitchen to the rear door of the house was a wooden structure supported by a solid foundation and brick piers. The assumed purpose of a brick walkway between the kitchen and the house was the more assured arrival of hot food to the table. The elevation of the first-floor food preparation

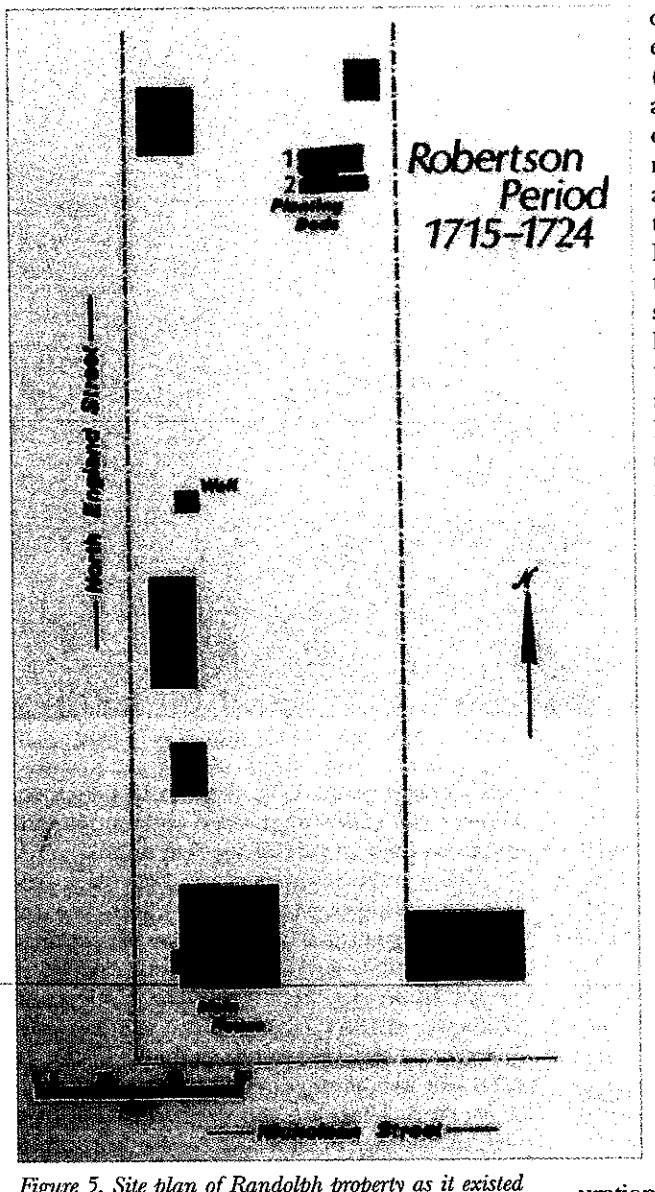

Figure 5. Site plan of Randolph property as it existed between 1715 and 1724.

room in the kitchen was almost exactly that of the main house, and an entrance under the covered way to the main cellar demonstrates that there were few, if any, steps to maneuver.

In addition to the large kitchen complex, a number of small outbuildings were re-excavated. A well located in the 1955 cross trenching was not excavated because it had been in use until the early 1920s. Since this was the only well found during any of the excavations, it is assumed that it dates from the early eighteenth century. The wise practice of periodically cleaning a well of debris while in use would render the prospects of finding meaningful artifacts from the Peyton Randolph period (or any eighteenth-century period) almost nil.

Just a few feet east of the well, two small outbuilding foundations were uncovered. The northernmost pile of brick (Structure G) was hardly discernable as a foundation due to its mutilated condition. It measured ten feet square and may have served as a dairy, as it appears to have had a brick floor at one time. The other building (Structure H), just inches to the south, measured twelve feet square and served as a smokehouse. A photograph from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century shows the building standing, along with a dairy to the east. Several layers of ash excavated within the structure attest to its function, and various artifacts from these layers indicate it was in use as early as the middle of the eighteenth century. The smokehouse has been reconstructed, and work on the dairy is scheduled for 2000. Three outbuilding foundations superimposed upon one another were located east of the main walkway. The earliest of these structures (Structure R) was a dairy that has recently been reconstructed.

Although nearly every head of household, including Peyton Randolph's mother Lady Susannah, altered the house or yard structure in some way, Peyton considerably changed the appearance and function of the entire house lot during the period he controlled the property (ca. 1755–1775) (Figure 5). He added a midsection to the main house, converting it from six small rooms to a grander town house with impressive public space. Peyton also rearranged the outbuilding configuration into an efficient, orderly, and attractive grouping of buildings more exemplary of the Georgian perspective. It is to that period, not surprisingly, that Colonial Williamsburg is currently reconstructing. Not only has archaeology played a major role in the reconstruction process, but the Peyton Randolph property has been the platform upon which modern archaeological research at Colonial Williamsburg is based.❦

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A House Befitting Mr. Attorney

by Willie Graham and Mark R. Wenger

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The ongoing restoration of Peyton Randolph's house and property originated more than twenty years ago with archaeological excavations undertaken by Ivor Noël Hume. Marley Brown's staff, under the direction of Andrew Edwards, continued this work in the 1980s. Plans to re-create the backyard of Peyton's place eventually expanded to include a fine-tuning of the main house—all to provide a more accurate portrait of life on this site in the late colonial period. Given this task, it was not sufficient to study features of the site in isolation. Increasingly, relationships among these elements became the focus.

Fortunately, the scheduled replacement of failing shingles and outmoded mechanical systems dovetailed nicely with reconstructions in the rear yard, affording an ideal opportunity to examine and re-evaluate the house. Resulting discoveries bearing on the finish and form of Peyton Randolph's house are reflected in the restoration and will assist in refining interpretation of the property.

To make sense of the site, it was necessary to establish a chronology for its development, including changes to both the house and yard. Dendrochronologist Dr. Herman J. Heikkenen determined the last year of growth of the trees used as timbers in the western portion of the main house and those used later to construct the east wing. William Robertson built the first-period section shortly after he completed renovation of the Nelson-Galt House, a project that included moving that structure to conform to the 1699 plan of the town. Trees for the roof of his new house adjoining Market Square were felled in 1715 and 1716, although this house was not habitable at least until 1718, the year its oak gutters were hewn to shape.[1]

Robertson's new dwelling facing England Street was quite novel for the period. Its two-story height was unusual in these early decades, as was the manner in which the building was framed. Whereas the wall posts of typical seventeenth-century structures and many rural eighteenth-century dwellings remained exposed, Robertson sought to conceal the old framing within finished walls and ceilings. Each wall was divided into three bays, defined by two-story corner and intermediate posts. These principal vertical timbers were connected by horizontal members called sills at the foundation level and by intermediate and top plates at the second- and attic-floor levels, respectively. Bracing between corner posts and sills and plates stiffened the frame, keeping it from racking. The primary members—posts and plates—functioned as the load-bearing components of the house frame, while secondary scantling served merely to carry finishes inside and out. The structural bays bore no relationship to internal partitions.

Perhaps the most exceptional framing detail is the extensive use of butt joinery, that is, the joining of two framing members with nails instead of more traditional connections that rely on tenons and laps. Not until after the Civil War did butt joinery become prevalent in the Chesapeake. At the Randolph House, studs served a secondary structural role and were either bevel-lapped in place (a joint more easily manufactured than a tenon), or butted and nailed, depended on the whim of the carpenter's preference. The use of both types in this structure may reflect employment of two or more craftsmen working on the frame simultaneously. The manner in which the carpenters marked their members varied as well. One group used a simplified system of Roman numerals routinely seen in the region. The other employed a much-modified Roman numeral system, a method seen in England until early in the eighteenth century but rarely found in Chesapeake buildings.[2] (Figure 1)

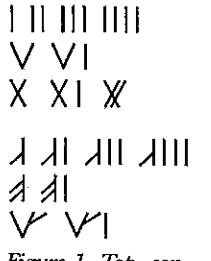

Figure 1. Top, conventional roman numerals as used in local carpentry. Bottom, modified roman numerals, as used in portions of the original section of the house.

Another extraordinary feature of the early house was its roof. From the street, the roof appeared to be hipped (that is, sloped on all sides) with a flat deck on top, but the deck did not exist. Instead, the roof enclosed an internal M-shaped structure having three peaks and two valleys. (Figure 2) Water gathered in the valleys and was discharged through large, oak gutters supported within the attic. Lead extensions were attached to the gutter ends and most likely carried water outside through the rear slope of the roof. The extreme depth of the house made it technically unfeasible to span this dimension with a common-rafter roof,

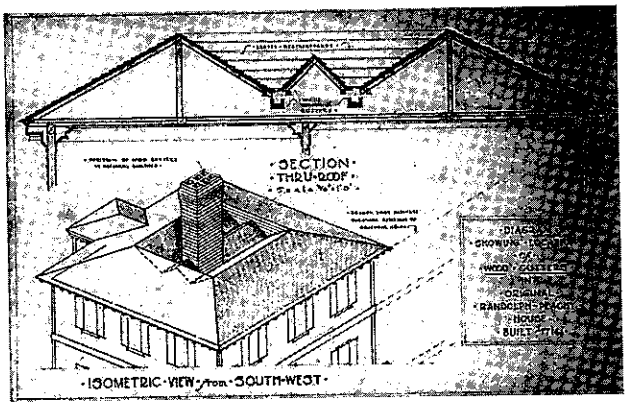

Figure 2. Restored bird's-eye and sectional views of western end of house, as delineated by Singleton Moorehead about 1940. The wooden belt course was not added until the building was extended to the east during the mid-eighteenth century.

and complex trusses, limited to principal rafters during this period, were more costly to assemble. Thus, the M profile was a simple and inexpensive alternative for a double-pile house in the early eighteenth century.[3]

At the eaves, rafter feet bear on a member called a "false plate," a common device for Chesapeake buildings. (Figure 3) During the early eighteenth century, false plates typically were fashioned out of heavy boards that lapped over the joist ends and thus isolated rafters from the walls below. This allowed for simple connections between rafters and joists, reducing construction costs. As with other early examples, a thick board plate was employed here. However, it was elaborated to the extent that it cantilevered over the joist ends and its outside face was beveled to receive a crown molding. No such arrangement has been recorded elsewhere in the region, and its use here represents an innovative attempt to accommodate a classical cornice. The beveled face of the false plate received the back of the crown molding, the uppermost element in what was likely a modillion cornice similar to the present one installed during mid-eighteenth-century modifications.[4]

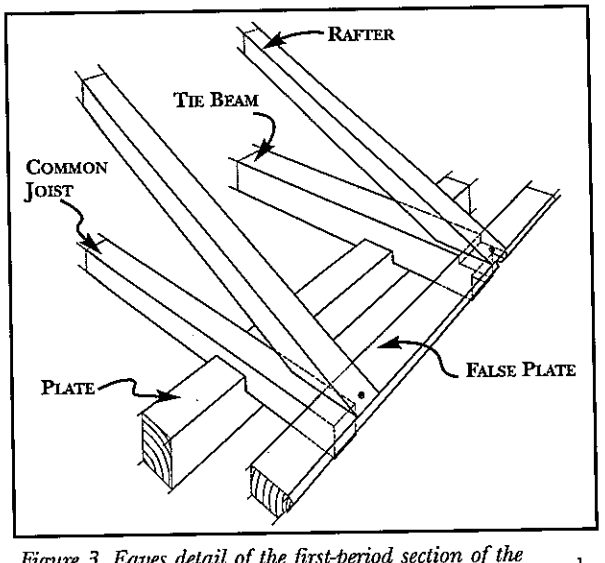

Figure 3. Eaves detail of the first-period section of the house. The false plate is fitted into the large tie beam, but simply sits on top of the common joists. The false plate is beveled on its outer face to receive an exterior crown molding. Drawing by Willie Graham, 1999.

So sweeping were later changes to the house that few early finishes remain. Nonetheless, surviving evidence of original trim, siding, and paint—trapped by the eastern extension built some thirty years later—reveals much about the initial exterior appearance. An original corner board survives, and ghosts of beaded weatherboards can be seen along its edge. Preliminary analysis of early finishes on the corner board suggests that the exterior had been painted several times in different color schemes before the creation of the east extension. The first paint layer was red-brown, quite similar to the present re-created scheme representing mid-century alterations.[5]

For such an early building, the use of sawn weatherboards instead of riven clapboards constitutes a high level of refinement. This, coupled with a classical cornice, probably double-hung sash windows, and red-brown paint, represents a level of sophistication unmatched on the interior. Still, the initial arrangement of rooms was fashionable enough—an entry in the southwest corner provided a social barrier to the hall located to the east and a dining room to the north. In the far northeast corner was the principal chamber. This arrangement was precocious for Virginia in the 1710s; dining rooms and internalized entries (more progressive than exterior porch towers, such as that used at Bacon's Castle and at the Page House) were still quite rare at this time. (Figures 4 and 5) Yet it appears that only two rooms were finished in period I—the chamber over the hall and the chamber over the dining room. In these cases, moreover, there were no baseboards, chair boards, or cornices. The walls and ceilings were simply plastered. The third upstairs room (presently referred to as the oak chamber) was eventually plastered, but only on the backs of the weatherboards and this without benefit of lath to hide the building's frame. No finish was added to the ceiling, leaving the attic visible from below.

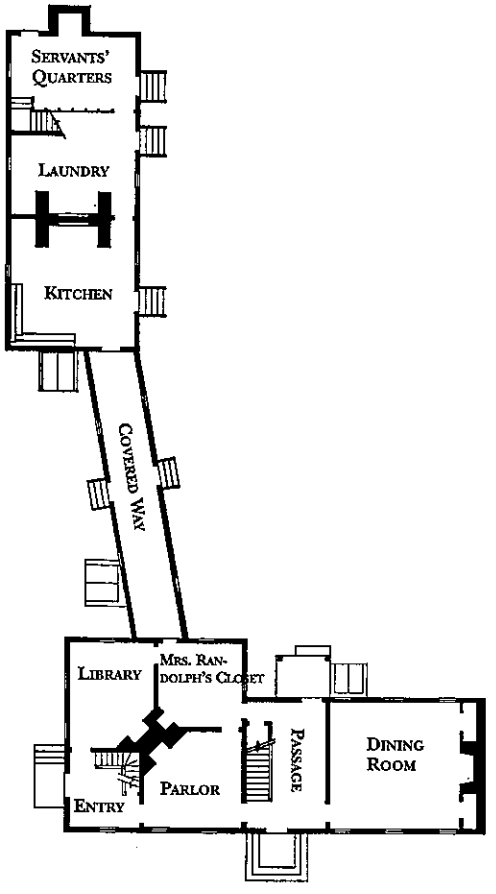

Figure 4. First-floor plan of house, covered way, and kitchen-laundry-quarter as it will appear when reconstruction of the rear wing is completed. Investigations are continuing into the original configuration of the main stair. Drawing by Mark R. Wenger, 1999.

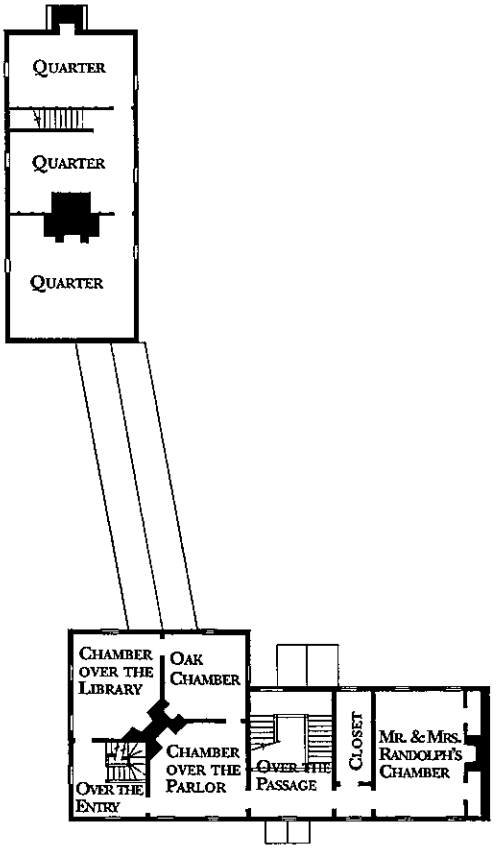

Figure 5. Second-floor plan of house, covered way, and kitchen-laundry-quarter as it will appear when reconstruction of the rear wing is completed. Drawing by Mark R. Wenger, 1999.

Clearly the hall was not plastered—neither the walls nor the ceiling were covered. Evidence in all rooms is not yet conclusive, but does suggest that a large portion of the house was left with rough, exposed framing.[6]

Why so few rooms with finish in a dwelling so outwardly refined? Perhaps the answer lies in the dwelling's early construction date or in the manner in which it was first occupied. It seems that William Robertson actually continued to live in his previously renovated dwelling, the Nelson-Galt House, and that his new dwelling on England Street served others as a tenement, as did three buildings he erected in the side yards. While either circumstance could explain the dwelling's minimal finish, the inclusion of plaster in secondary rooms and the unfinished state of the best spaces would indicate that work on the inside simply remained incomplete for an extended period. Such was often the case in Virginia houses—John Brush's passage remained without plaster for about twenty years. The task of completing Frances Eppes's Chesterfield County house, Eppington, was left to his son more than thirty years after work first started. Notwithstanding a succession of well-to-do owners, Robertson's house took thirty years or more to complete.

In 1724, Peyton Randolph's father purchased the house. Following Sir John's death in 1737, his widow, Lady Susannah, received life rights to the property. By 1751, the house was referred to by local residents as "Mr. Attorney's," indicating at the least that Peyton and his wife, Betty, were living there, and suggesting that Peyton had assumed control of the property, whatever his mother's legal right. Susannah is last heard from in 1754, and by the end of the growing season that year, trees were felled for the eastern extension that became Peyton's principal contribution to the house.[7]

Physical evidence suggests that Peyton renovated the house in two closely timed phases, and in doing so, left virtually no surface untouched.[8] First to be addressed was interior finish. All ceilings were plastered, and walls were paneled floor

to ceiling except in the passages and in the chamber over the hall. The passages were trimmed with chairboard-height wainscoting and plaster above, while the one odd chamber was finished with a grid of horizontal rails and vertical stiles intended to accommodate wallpaper. Two spaces were elaborated more than the rest. First, the room over what had been the first-floor chamber was wainscotted in oak, a material known to have been used for paneling in only one other instance in Virginia—the 1752 reredos in Bruton Parish Church. Clearly, since all other paneling was made of yellow pine, the use of oak served to heighten the importance of this space.

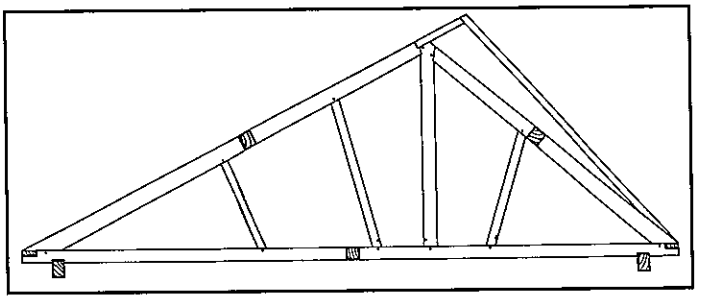

Figure 6. Elevation of a roof truss in the mid-eighteenth-century wing. In an unusual fashion, the angled struts extend to the bottom chord of the truss instead of springing from the base of the (vertical) king post, the more common method of attachment. Note that the peak of the roof was initially intended to be lower but was raised during construction to match the height of the western block. Drawing by Willie Graham, 1999.

The old hall also received special treatment with the addition of paneled wooden keystones over each window, with the cornice breaking over them. This feature offers an essential clue concerning the division of the younger Randolph's changes into two distinct building campaigns. If one attempts to conflate the east addition and the woodwork in the old house into a single period, the keystone on the east wall makes no sense. However, put a little time between the two projects, and everything becomes clear. Before the addition of the wing, there was a window in the east wall of what is now the parlor. When the wing was added, workmen removed the old east window and closed the void it left in the paneling, but the keystone remained. That the two phases took place over a short period of time is suggested by paint evidence. Although the parlor—and all finish in the old house—remained unpainted until trim in the east wing was in place, there was no time for dirt to accumulate on the older paneling before painting occurred. With the erection of the east wing, a shellac sealer was applied to all woodwork surfaces, inside the house and out, and then all was given a red-brown finish coat.

Additional work on site began in earnest in 1755, presumably following the death of Lady Susannah. Salvaged bricks from Sir John's kitchen were reused below grade in the east wing of the house and in the kitchen foundations, linking in time Peyton's reworking of the backyard and his extension to the main dwelling. The landscape behind the house was transformed by this work, wiping out virtually all earlier tenements and outbuildings. The space was then reordered to create two new realms: a courtyard of sorts surrounded by outbuildings for the support of the main house, and a group of more coarsely constructed buildings beyond for storage of grain and goods needed for the management of his plantation. A stable stood beyond this complex, and a garden was somewhere in the vicinity. Most impressive was a two-story structure that served as kitchen, laundry, and quarter. A covered way connected it to the main house, creating a structure that extended nearly one hundred feet beyond the rear of the house.

At the same time, Peyton Randolph continued work on his house, finishing the original structure and extending it four bays to the east. The exterior was thoroughly re-trimmed to update finishes and mask the junction between old and new construction. The new wing included a central passage, a large dining room, and a generous second-floor chamber suite. Room functions in the old house were redefined with the old hall becoming a fashionable parlor and the old dining room serving as Peyton's study. New rooms were fitted with floor-to-ceiling wainscot that closely resembled recent work in the old wing, but with enough subtle differences in molding profiles and construction details to indicate that the two were created at different times. The passage, too, was paneled floor-to-ceiling at the second-floor level, but below and in the stairwell, the walls were plastered above wainscoting, a portion within a frame of stiles, to accommodate wallpaper. Walnut doors were used universally in the new wing, as well as adorning the first floor of the old house and the second-floor doorway leading to the chamber over the parlor. Much of this work included walnut casings and brass mortise hinges with acorn finials, the most elaborate hardware available in Virginia during the period.

To a large degree, the dwelling's interior survives from this era, major exceptions being mantels in the older portion of the house and

two staircases. The missing main stair was reconstructed early in this century by the Ball family, while the remainder of the work occurred during Colonial Williamsburg's first restoration of 1939–1941 and in a 1967 campaign preparing the house to become an exhibition building. Also missing has been a large closet at the western end of Peyton and Betty Randolph's new chamber. This closet is evident in Peyton's 1775 probate inventory, surviving paint evidence, and physical remains, such as filled mortises in the flooring and nail holes for stud attachments to the ceiling joists. This space was part of an original chamber suite and remained until early in the twentieth century. It was re-created as part of restoration efforts this past spring. Investigations revealed the character of another missing partition, this one removed in 1967. The missing wall once formed a narrow corridor from the stair passage to the oak chamber so that traffic moving between these spaces would not intrude on the chamber over the parlor. The partition dated from the last years of the eighteenth century and was probably erected by Joseph Hornsby after the house passed out of Randolph hands. Because of its post-Revolutionary date, it was not reinserted as part of the recent work.

Acknowledging the new importance of Market Square, Peyton Randolph reoriented his house to face it. Now the dwelling presented a fairly regular seven-bay facade to the square. Below the level of the cornice, Randolph was able to achieve perfect symmetry. The roof was more difficult. One end of the reworked elevation was hipped, but the east end was gabled, perhaps to accommodate the chimney, to avoid shedding water on the adjoining tenement, and to eliminate the complexity of hipping an asymmetrical roof. The front masked a less formal rear, with the old double-pile house projecting beyond the new addition. And yet, it was not inevitable that the front was to be as regular as it became. During construction of the wing, the roof was modified so that the ridge would correspond with that of the old house. Previous to the 1755 addition (presumably during the earlier mid-century work), the M roof had been extended to create a peak, evidently to control water problems created by the internal gutters. The new 1755 roof was built with asymmetrical trusses, initially with the front slope matching that of the existing roof, but with the ridge significantly lower. Before sheathing was installed, however, the front slope was extended to meet the older peak. In this way, the roof appeared as a single mass when viewed from the street. Only from the rear yard was its asymmetry apparent.[9]

So extensive were Peyton's changes, one wonders why he did not simply tear down the old house and start anew. After all, many of his neighbors and peers were building impressive Georgian brick dwellings—the Wythe, Lightfoot, and Palmer houses being good examples. Having started renovation before obtaining total control of the site, Randolph may have been too far into the process by 1755 to start over. This would have required demolition of a newly remodeled house.

As a result, he elected to work within the parameters laid down by an existing house, a decision with far-reaching consequences for his arrangement of the site. Since the extension abutted an earlier tenement to the east, it ruled out the option of symmetrically flanking dependencies. Thus, while brother John Randolph was able to arrange his new dwelling, Tazewell Hall, with perfect symmetry, Peyton was compelled to place all major domestic functions in one building. This structure was tethered to the house by a covered way, which angled across the site, pushing the new outbuilding to its western edge.

Randolph's new house embodied a series of contradictory qualities—a homely sort of richness that served him well as he entertained friends and political colleagues. On the one hand, the extent and amplitude of this house suggested considerable expense; on the other hand, its exterior finish must have seemed a bit old-fashioned. Red-brown paint, after all, was soon to be eclipsed by the near universal application of white paint on the exterior of Virginia's gentry houses, courthouses, and Anglican churches. Moreover, Randolph allowed even this modest finish to weather out of existence. The dichotomy is evident inside as well. Yes, the paneling is impressive, but modern wainscot (or chairboard-height flush-board paneling) was more fashionable by this time. Added to the retention of frame construction, Peyton's curiously outmoded choices contrast vividly with his fashionable use of brass mortise hinges, wallpaper, a large dining room with marble mantel, and sumptuous furnishings for which the building formed a backdrop.

This is not to say that Randolph was naïve or uncaring in matters of architectural fashion. His house was made of wood, but he dressed it in the appearance of something more permanent and substantial. Between the first and second floors he incorporated a belt course, a decorative device rarely found on any but masonry buildings. The use of red-brown paint may also have been intended to suggest the appearance of a brick building, an effect that the wooden belt course would have

enhanced. The riven clapboards that covered most pre-Georgian Chesapeake houses were closely associated with common, impermanent construction. Through the first half of the eighteenth century, masonry was a symbol of permanence, status, and wealth. During this period, not everyone of means did build in brick, but increasingly, sawn and planed weatherboards afforded the degree of regularity Georgian buildings required, and painting them red-brown emphasized their more permanent nature. This brick color may have been old fashioned, but it did help convey the intended impression of conservatism, permanence, and wealth.

As noted earlier, Peyton allowed this exterior to wear to such an extent that the paint was barely visible when the structure was finally whitewashed, most likely by his widow, Betty, or perhaps by executors of her estate in preparation for the building's sale. On the interior, though, public rooms and the most important of the second-floor chambers were repainted, probably during Peyton's lifetime. Because interpretation of the house reflects the period just prior to his death, these rooms have been painted the newer color—gray. Later, at least some of the gray rooms were given a protective coating of wax, possibly again by Betty or her executors.

Houses are most informative when thought of not as works of art, but as places in which to live, or places that reflect the perceived needs of individual owners and the imperatives of society at large. To be sure, Peyton Randolph's re-creation of this dwelling reflected a wide range of practical concerns about how he wished to live. At the same time, he understood the importance of the house as a statement about himself. Clearly Peyton Randolph wanted to create a more regular and imposing house—some fitting expression of his social and political attainment. It was important, moreover, that this new house address the town in a manner appropriate to "Mr. Attorney's" place in the scheme of things. As a result, Randolph doubled the size of his house and turned it southward so as to present an expansive, nearly symmetrical face to the most important civic space in Williamsburg. In doing this, he made his house a part of the square—a landmark—a piece of the town's public landscape.

At the same time the expanded house answered Peyton and Betty's need for a viable private existence in the midst of an intensely public life. A new kitchen and covered way shielded the rear yard from public scrutiny. Inside the house, the old entry and stair became a conduit for private movement by family and servants. At the opposite end of the house, the same wing that had provided a new dining space and entry also established a new chamber on the second floor. Peyton and Betty Randolph had drawn their chamber (and a significant piece of their lives) deeper into the house. They were not unique in their desire to do these things. During the next half-century, hundreds of homes across Virginia would be transformed in similar fashion.

Whether viewed as a reflection of Peyton Randolph's individual circumstances or as an index of broader social trends, this house is remarkable for the richness of the stories it allows us to tell. We must not fail to make these stories known to our visitors.❦

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[1]For a discussion of room uses, see Mark R. Wenger, "The Peyton Randolph House," in the *Colonial Williamsburg interpreter,* CWF, 1993, pp. 1–4.

[2]This same archaic approach to carpenters' marks has recently been discovered at the John Blair House. Several bevel-lapped studs on the rear wall of the original 1720 section are marked in this manner.

[3]Another M roof survives in town at the Robert Carter House. To avoid water overflow problems like those undoubtedly experienced at the Randolph House, gutters at the Carter House were built upon the valleys. M roofs were likely much more common in the eighteenth century than represented by surviving examples. Their geographic distribution includes South Carolina, as indicated by illustrations of numerous gable-fronted M-roof buildings in the 1738 Bishop Roberts view of Charleston.

[4]The depth of the joist overhang and scars on a surviving corner board for the first-period bed mold suggest that modillions were needed to properly proportion the exterior cornice.

[5]Frank Welsh, Susan Buck, and Mark Kutney undertook recent paint studies for the house.

[6]There is no evidence of plaster behind the present cornice in the oak chamber, indicating that the ceiling could not have been plastered before the oak wainscoting was installed. Plaster evidence is also lacking behind the cornice and wall paneling in the hall (today's parlor), again demonstrating the lack of early finishes here.

[7]Herman J. Heikkenen, "The Years of Construction for Eight Historical Structures in Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, as Derived by the Key Year Dendrochronology Technique," Blacksburg, Va.: American Institute of Dendrochronology, 1984. See discussion of these dates in Willie Graham, "Building an Image: An Architectual Report on the Peyton Randolph Site," CWF, 1985.

[8]Ron Hurst was first to suggest that mid-eighteenth century alterations to the house might be best explained by dividing the work into two distinct periods.

[9]Note that king-post trusses were used in construction of this roof. The trusses are unusual in that the struts do not spring from the base of the king posts; rather, they extend from tie beams to principal rafters in less than academic fashion. The earliest known use of king-post trusses in the region are those employed in the roof of Merchant's Hope Church in Prince George County. The Randolph House is the only other known instance in which the struts do not connect with the king posts.

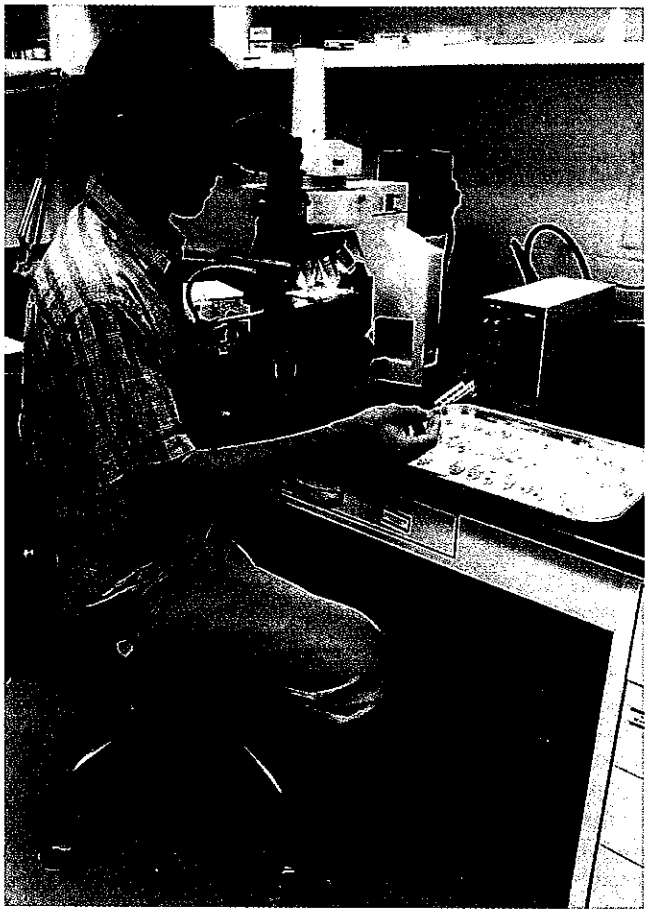

Figure 1. Mark Kutney examining architectural paint samples in the Analytical Lab of the Wallace Collections and Conservation Building.

Painting Peyton Randolph's House

by Mark Kutney

Mark is associate conservator of Architectural Materials in the Department of Conservation.

What color was Peyton Randolph's house just prior to his death in 1775? Finding the answer to that question has been like looking for a needle in a haystack. Take, for example, one of the panels on the south wall in the second-floor, east bedroom. The paneling was initially coated with shellac, then red paint, then gray. Later still, a dark olive green paint was added, followed by another gray, a light blue, and then several creams. At an early point in its history, the wall was aggressively scraped back down to the red and repainted. Over time, more paint layers were added. Thus, all we can observe are surfaces with incomplete paint histories. Unfortunately, at the Randolph house, every surface appears to have suffered this treatment during one or more previous restorations.

So how do we know where to find the evidence? This is where the detective work comes into play. Imagine yourself scraping the paint off the surface of the paneling with a flat, square-edged scraper. Even though you are aggressively removing paint down to the wood, the size of the job is so large and the work so tedious that you do not manage to remove every last fragment of paint. Curved surfaces and inside corners are very difficult to clean thoroughly, as are small details. Areas that are difficult to reach and others that will not be visible, such as the tops of doors and moldings, are usually overlooked. These are the areas where we can expect to find evidence, even after several restorations.

The first step in a paint study is to examine all the painted elements to determine their relative age. Carefully sampling original elements is the only way to obtain a complete paint history; this is especially important when examining structural changes. Obtaining the earliest layers at Peyton Randolph would be easy if we could walk into the room immediately after the scraping occurred and see where the evidence was left behind. But once a room is painted, the evidence is hidden. Often this cycle is repeated many times. Fortunately, the techniques used by paint analysts are based on forensic science. Many small samples can be removed using surgical scalpels under magnification. Samples typically range in size from 1/16" to 1/4".

Another potential difficulty in paint analysis is that portions of the house may have had different histories, both initial and subsequential. Because Randolph undertook two major remodelings in the 1750s, including the construction of the addition that joined the 1715–1718 structure with the one-and-a-half-story tenement to the east, one would expect completely different paint histories from each portion of the present structure. However, during the renovation, he renewed the siding and much of the interior and exterior trim on the older structure and applied red paint over everything. No pre-1750s paint evidence was gathered in the three previous paint investigations.

Figure 2. The modern paints were chemically removed from a portion of a paneling stile of the second-floor east bedchamber in searching for original curtain hardware evidence. What remained were the first-generation red paint and fragments of generations immediately following the red trapped in defects in the wood's surface. Early in the 20th century this board was scraped aggressively, removing almost all evidence of the early paint history.

The house was also restored twice in this century, the second time by Colonial Williamsburg in 1939–1941. The first paint analyst to examine the structure was Singleton Morehead, during Colonial Williamsburg's restoration.[1] He was able to determine colors for each of the rooms by simply scratching down through the paint layers until he arrived at what he thought was the first finish layer. He apparently had the benefit of examining some early surfaces that had not yet been aggressively scraped.

It wasn't until the last five years that the paint history was examined again—this time by noted paint analysts Frank Welsh in 1994 and Susan Buck in 1998. Welsh conducted phase one of the investigation by gathering a general color history for each room and the exterior. Buck carried the work further by more closely examining a new set of samples and focusing on the first two generations of paint. In the fall of 1998, I was asked to examine architectural fragments found in the attic and to help answer questions generated by Welsh's and Buck's studies.

After the samples are collected, they are examined for quality and completeness under magnifications of 30 to 50 times their size. Each sample can be made up of one fragment or multiple tiny fragments of paint and wood. Most representative fragments are cast into the center of small polyester cubes. The cubes are turned on edge and ground on a stationary sander up to and just into the paint fragment. This surface is then polished with progressively finer abrasives to a high clarity. This allows us to closely examine each layer in cross-section under the microscope.

The cross-sections are examined and photographed under reflected light at magnifications of 40 to 1,000 times their original size. At these levels, individual pigment particles can be examined, but more important, the first paint layer and all subsequent layers can be observed and counted. To pick out the first layer of paint on wood, researchers examine the cellular structure of the wood and determine which paint has actually filled the top one or two layers of cells. That is why it is so important to include the wood or other substrate in the paint sample. Although aggressive scraping or severe weathering can remove the first paint layer, rarely will it also remove the paint from the wood's cellular structure.

Counting the layers will only tell us how many times paint, or other material was applied to a surface, not how many generations of painting have taken place. For example, the first time a surface was painted, it was often sized before it was primed, and then an intermediate priming layer may have been included before the finish layer, resulting in three layers in the first generation. Often, to create the effect of marble or wood grain, several layers of paint, glaze and/or varnish were applied. So, the appearance of ten layers in a sample may only represent four or five painting generations. Determining where one generation ends and the next one begins can be a challenge.

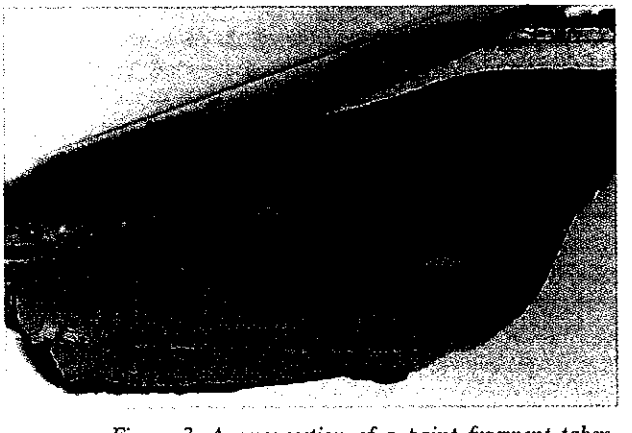

Figure 3. A cross-section of a paint fragment taken from a raised panel in the library displaying the first generation red paint followed by the second generation gray. To see the restored interior paint, see Hurst, Figure 3.

Figure 4. Tiny fragments were removed from the first generation red paint layer, crushed, and dispersed onto a microscope slide. At 450x magnification, polarized light microscopy helps us to identify the pigment composition of a paint. Shown are the red ochre, burnt sienna, and red lead pigment particles making up the red paint.

Several clues help sort out painting generations. One primary clue is dirt layers. On a newly painted surface, the time between application of a primer coat and the finish layer is probably overnight. On the other hand, if ten to twenty years pass between paint generations, a visible layer of dirt will usually accumulate—especially on the exterior of a building. This dirt layer is a clear indicator of separate paint generations.

Aged paint may also crack along its top edge and downward through several layers. The next paint that is applied will seep down into these cracks and give itself away as a later application. Layers applied within a generation usually have smooth interfaces. The top surface of a finish coat that has been exposed to weather will become jagged and irregular as will a surface that has been sanded or scraped.

The exterior samples from the Peyton Randolph House displayed a first-paint generation that exhibited an initial application of shellac that had penetrated several layers of cells into the wood. The shellac was followed by a red paint that penetrated only into the uppermost cells. The function of the shellac was to act as a sizer or sealer to promote the integrity of the red paint layer by not letting the wood absorb much of the oil in the paint. The top surface of the red paint was very degraded and dirty, giving the impression that it was left to weather a long time before the next paint was applied. No fragments of a second coating contemporary with the red were ever observed, despite an intense search over all of the old surfaces.

Ed Chappell asked us whether the Randolphs could have painted the house again before 1775, the year that Peyton died. In such a case, the most significant layer becomes the second paint generation. In fact, what we found after the red paint outside was a thin white layer, followed by a cream, and then a yellow ochre. So the issue that had to be addressed was whether or not this white layer was applied to the house during Peyton's life. It is certainly plausible that the Randolphs painted the exterior of the house more than once in the twenty-five years they had occupied it. Given this possibility, the white layer was further investigated.

Microanalysis of the white layer using polarized light and ultraviolet light to characterize the pigments and the chemical nature of their binder allowed Buck to identify this layer as a whitewash.[2] She found that the rough surface characteristics, along with the presence of dirt along the top surfaces, allowed her to identify the cream and yellow ochre layers as separate generations as well. Whitewash is a thin-bodied, lime-based paint that has a very low durability, especially in an exterior application. Applying this over the darker red paint would have produced a very uneven appearance, and the whitewash would have worn off rapidly, allowing the red to show through in a short period of time. White lead, the best material for painting the exterior of a house white during the period, was only moderately expensive, but it had to be imported from England. Whitewash, on the other hand, could be produced from locally available ingredients.

Curators, conservators, and architectural historians gathered to discuss circumstantial arguments that address the issue of the house colors late in Peyton Randolph's life. One argument suggests that since Peyton Randolph was one of the leading proponents of the nonimportation agreements adopted in 1769,[3] he would not have sent a mixed message to the

town by painting his house with lead white. By choosing a locally available, inferior product, he was, by example, making a sacrifice to avoid supporting the crown.

A second theory is that the house remained red past Peyton's death and into Mrs. Randolph's occupation. Mrs. Randolph, in preparing her will, specified that the house be sold to pay off debts of the estate. Perhaps the whitewash was applied when the house was being prepared for sale after Betty Randolph's death. The estate's executors may have chosen an inexpensive material to quickly spruce up the exterior. In addition, Peyton Randolph's involvement in the non-importation association might also support the suggestion that the Randolphs left the house in need of paint—the degraded red—for a longer period of time.

Regardless of the reasons for using whitewash, the physical evidence points to the house being red for a long time before the white was applied, and therefore for all of Peyton's later life. What we found preserved under all the subsequent paint layers were mostly fragments of the red paint remaining in the wood's cellular structure. In many areas the red paint did not survive, and what we see is an oxidation or weathering of the wood's unprotected surface. It appears that by the time the white was applied to the surface the red paint was in very poor condition.

Typically eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century houses were repainted much less often than homes in the twentieth century. For the red paint to be significantly more degraded than these later layers indicates that it was exposed for an unusually long period of time.

When examining the interior of the house, one has to consider that the twelve rooms may each have a unique paint history. Elements, such as baseboards and doors, are sometimes picked out in different colors. Often the most prominent rooms in a house would be decorated in the most fashionable mode the owner could afford. One would assume that in the Randolph house, this included the main passage, the dining room, and the parlor. As it turns out, early in the house's history the library received at least as much paint activity as these other rooms, indicating that it, too, was of importance to Peyton Randolph and that he very likely received visitors there.

Interior structural changes from previous remodelings create the need to take numerous samples from each room. For example, when the second-floor east bedchamber was enlarged by removing the closet, a new window and new sections of paneling were introduced. The old paneling in this room initially had red paint and the painted trim was walnut with a clear varnish. The first paint layer on the new material was no earlier than the fifth or sixth paint generation in samples containing the complete paint history. This evidence allowed us to determine that the window and paneling sections were introduced after the Randolphs' occupation of the house and led Colonial Williamsburg to reintroduce the closet in this latest restoration, returning the room to its original size. Architectural fragments found in the attic were determined to be part of an early partition in the room over the parlor also had a later paint generation as their first layer.

Figure 5. This corner board was still held in place by an original wrought nail at its lower end. The board survived between the southeast framing member of the 1715–1718 structure and the southwest framing member of Peyton Randolph's 1750s addition.

Three rooms on the west end of the house—the northwest second-floor bedchamber, the west entryway, and the room above it—display a distinct decrease in paint activity. The second and third paint generations found elsewhere in the house are not found in these locations, and, therefore, tell us these spaces remained red longer. These rooms seem to have become isolated on the west end of the house after the addition was constructed.

Because of the amount of structural change

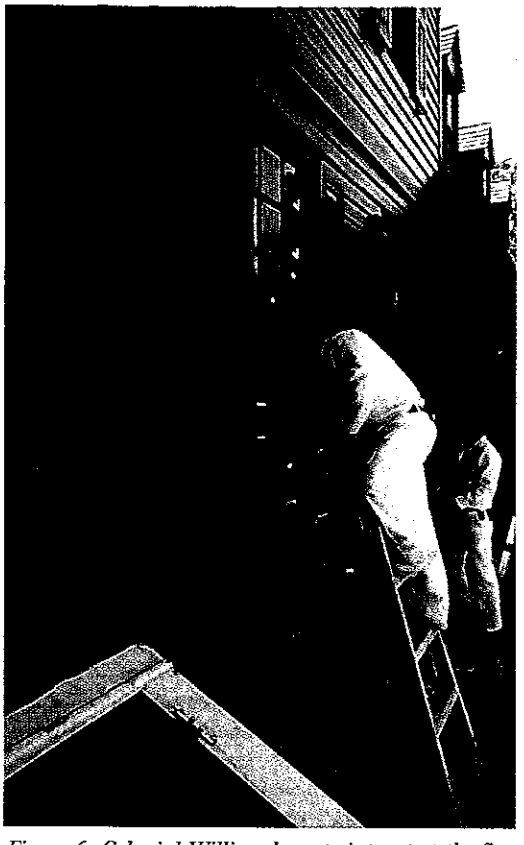

Figure 6. Colonial Williamsburg painters put the finishing touches to the front of the house.

and restoration that had taken place on the interior, finding a second generation of paint throughout the rest of the house was difficult. After numerous samples had been taken, we discovered an opaque gray in some rooms and a translucent gray in others. The translucent second paint generation consisted of white lead, calcium carbonate, and lampblack. But what caused the paint to be translucent? We had the material tested at the analytical lab of the Winterthur Museum in Wilmington, Delaware, using Fourier Transfer Infrared Spectroscopy (FTIR), a technique that determines the chemical nature of the organic components within the paint's binder. The unusual and unexpected detail in the results was the presence of wax in the translucent layer.[4]

Fortunately, while continuing to look for clues, we found a sample in the dining room that displayed a very thick second layer. Although this layer was predominately opaque in nature, portions of it displayed the translucent behavior identical to that found in the room over the parlor. Could this be the missing link between the opaque paint found in some areas of the house and the translucent layer found in others? Would the answers from this sample tie the interior spaces together?

Again, Winterthur's FTIR analysis identified wax in addition to the other main paint components. What we were actually looking at was the transformation of the opaque gray paint found throughout the house into a greenish-gray translucent paint possibly caused by the secondary application of a wax. The wax was very likely applied to improve the gloss of the paint after it had become old and dull. Could this have been applied at the same time that whitewash was applied to the exterior? We can only speculate about the time frame of the wax application, but we can now sucessfully identify all the second-period colors as either gray or red.

Once colors are identified, this information is used to produce a paint. Original paint fragments are used to make a visual color match using the musell color system. Additional information such as pigment and medium analysis, pigment density, and material degradation over time are also taken into account. This information is used by Albert Lucas in Colonial Williamsburg's paint shop to produce a paint that faithfully reproduces the original appearance while meeting today's environmental standards. Color accuracy is painstakingly maintained througout the process.

Just days before the opening of the house in June, I received a call from architectural curator Willie Graham telling me that Colonial Williamsburg's carpenters had uncovered

Figure 7. A closeup of the corner board showing the earliest known paint found in Williamsburg. The orange color represents the second-generation primer, made up of mostly red lead. The dark color represents the dark gray covered with layers of dirt.

an original corner board from the 1715–1718 structure, with well-preserved original paint. I had only hours to examine it and take paint samples before it was to be re-covered. The board, preserved inside the wall and covered over by Peyton's 1750s siding on the south face, was lodged between the framing members of the addition and the earlier structure.

So what color was this fragment? Bright orange over red, followed by white and then a deep blue-gray. The red appeared alone as the first generation paint. The orange—a very coarsely ground paint made up primarily of red lead—was applied as the second generation primer. The lead white that followed was either a second generation intermediate layer, or the second generation finish layer. The blue-gray represents either the second or third generation finish layer. Additional work may resolve these questions. To date, this evidence represents the earliest exterior paint found in Williamsburg.

Was the whole house painted in this manner, or was the 1715–1718 house rendered in different colors? We can only answer that the paint evidence represents the element we sampled and no more. The north edge of this board would have butted against the siding. This edge might have contained the paint history of the siding. Very often paint overlap is observed on adjoining boards, but since the board was between framing members with only about four inches between them, I was not able to collect a sample from this edge. There was only enough room to get a small mirror behind it to do a visual inspection. This edge did not appear to have the blue-gray or orange layers on it, but only red. So, was the older house red with blue-gray trim?

We considered removing the board to study it further, but decided to leave it undamaged and in its original location, preserved inside the wall. Some questions will have to be left for future research. Sometimes, when I look at the front of the house, I imagine the corner board exposed and think about what the 1715–1718 structure would have looked like. I think of those unanswered questions; if we went back in time, what would I see?❦

[1]Willie Graham, *Building an Image: An Architectural Report on the Peyton Randolph Site* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1985), p. 22.

[2]E-mail message from Susan Buck to Willie Graham, October 28, 1998.

[3]Mary Stephenson and Jane Carson, *Peyton Randolph House Historical Report, Block 28, Building 6 Lot 207 & 237* (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; 1952, rev. 1967), p. 115.

[4]E-mail message from Susan Buck to Willie Graham, January 1999.

The Cycle of Building in the Randolph Yard

by Garland Wood

Garland is supervisor of building trades in the Education Divison/Midtown area.

Reconstructing the Peyton Randolph kitchen and outbuildings is the single most challenging reconstruction project that the building trades program has undertaken. The kitchen and covered way make up a roughly 2,500-square-foot addition to the Randolph house, requiring the production of about 15,000 feet of lumber. We agreed on a building schedule that left us about a year to make all of this material—with some extra help. The crew hired for 1998 has been working diligently behind the Cabinet Shop since last summer while others have worked in the Randolph yard.

Visitors constantly comment on how difficult the work looks, how physical it is. This is a great opportunity for us to talk about hard work in general and how it shaped the lives of so many people in colonial Virginia. One of the hardest parts of the job is finding the quality of wood today that matches what is seen in the original buildings. We need oak, poplar, white cedar, cypress, and pine—and the most difficult material to find is the pine.

We need what today is commonly called "heart pine." This wood comes from several species of southern yellow pine, including shortleaf, slash, and especially longleaf, pine. There are two suitable sources: the first is antique wood (lumber salvaged and reclaimed from old buildings or from river bottoms), the second is old trees still standing. Once the dominant species of the southern coastal plain, longleaf pine grew in one large, continuous forest from southeast Virginia to the Gulf of Mexico, some 90 million acres. The agriculture, lumber, turpentine, pitch, and tar industries have all taken their toll on this original forest. Today, less than three million acres remain in Alabama, southwest Georgia, and the panhandle of Florida.

The trees grow very slowly in old-growth forests, producing rich, resinous heartwood with very tight growth rings. This type of slow-grown heartwood is necessary to match the quality of wood used in the original buildings throughout the Historic Area for floorboards, stair treads, porches, trim, sash, and doors. Some of the nicest original heart pine woodwork can be seen today on the walls of the

front entranceway at Carter's Grove.

Kerry Shackleford, manager of rural trades, has devoted almost all of his time and energy to finding the size and quality timber needed to build the Randolph kitchen. He located the best sources for longleaf pine on the Internet, and now has contacts in the deep South looking for wood for the project. The best pine we will use in the building was donated to Colonial Williamsburg by the Champion Paper Company, with the help of Auburn University and the Longleaf Alliance. It consists of two- to four-hundred-year-old-trees cut for the expansion of the Hurricane Evacuation Routes out of Mobile, Alabama, and Pensacola, Florida.

Since the longleaf plank required for the kitchen and covered way floors, sheathing, doors, sash, and trim needed to be as dry as possible when worked up and installed in the building, it must be sawed first. The old English rule for drying plank was one year per inch of timber.

We started sawing in the spring of 1998, and, as the June sun crept higher in the sky, it became unbearably hot. We decided to build a temporary roof over the sawpit, which involved raising an earth-fast wall some twenty-five feet high over the frame. Try as we might, we were unable to raise the thing up—despite recruiting many willing hands from onlookers. One fellow lingered behind, a very eager and excited engineer in Williamsburg on his honeymoon, who exclaimed, "It's a classic force-vector problem!" and proceeded to lay out a very complicated scheme involving chains and come-alongs to accomplish the raisings. "I'll be back tomorrow to help, no later than 10!" he promised, and his annoyed wife led him away.

"Guys, we've got till ten o'clock tomorrow to get this up," I said, and this was incentive enough. We tore down the saw frame to get it out of the way and raised the wall early the next morning without incident.

The heart pine sawed easily enough, except for the resin. It varied from log to log, but in the worst cases just one foot of sawing would cause enough resin to build up on the blade that the saw would start to chatter and jam in the kerf. (*Kerf* is the term sawyers use for the cut made in the wood.) We would grab the terps jar and rub a terpentine-soaked rag across the teeth until they were clear of the resin, and then proceed to saw another foot or so. The boards were then sealed on the ends with wax or paint to slow the drying and prevent shaking (cracking), labeled, and stored in open sheds until we needed them again.

Traditionally, much of the building timber used in an eighteenth-century Virginia house frame was either totally or partially hewn or shaped with axes. Sills, the largest timbers in the house were hewn on all four sides. Rafters and studs, the lightest members, were sawn out of hewn timber. There were many reasons for hewing a timber square. It was a process that could be done in the woods, to lighten a log before transporting it elsewhere. The process also removed the sapwood, revealing the more valuable heartwood.

Standing atop a log in the summer, swinging an ax down below the feet to score or cut notches in the side of a log is a natural draw for the curious. But people are much more interested in seeing the broad ax used. There is a fascination in watching hot, tired people swinging razor sharp axes toward their feet.

"How come you're out here chopping on this log, mister?"

"Work release, ma'am."

The majority of the frame for the kitchen will be tulip poplar, a wood found in 18th-century framing across the Historic Area. Once again, the heart of the tree is the most useful. Heartwood is more durable and rot resistant than the sapwood. But not all poplars have a lot of heartwood, so getting the right tree meant going to log yards and inspecting hundreds of logs on the ground just to purchase a few. When we buy logs we are competing with Asian and European buyers—quality American hardwoods are coveted all over the globe. One day in particular we were in Ashland, Virginia, looking to buy white oak. The log yard was a cleared lot the size of the Historic Area covered with tree trunks, sometimes piled up in heaps twenty feet high. We had marked some timber when the owner walked over shaking his head. "See those two guys over there?" he asked. "They're from Belgium. They just bought every stick of lumber on the lot." We came home empty-handed that day.

Poplars often make for huge timbers, sometimes forty inches across at the butt end. There is not much debate about hewing them. We have to hew them square to be able to move them onto the pit. The process of squaring them with axes might remove as much as one-third of the weight. The squared timbers are rolled to the base of the saw frame and then inched, one end at a time, up the ramps to the top of the frame. Finally, they are flipped over one last time on top of the rollers.

The largest timber we have put up on the pit weighed more than 1,500 pounds. There are always eager visitors to recruit to help with the pushing—sometimes we will have a dozen people sharing the load with us. This is not hands-on for its own sake, but real and valu-

able help in the process of constructing these outbuildings. We thank them for their help, and invite them to come again when the buildings are further along. Most of them assure us they will.

"When were sawmills invented?" we will invariably hear. Sawmills are an old idea and appeared early in Virginia history. But the first mills were simply a mechanized form of pitsawing—a reciprocating frame with one or more sawblades powered by a waterwheel. The Peyton Randolph House was built with a combination of pitsawn and millsawn plank, the majority being pitsawn.

In the antebellum South, production of building materials was often a by-product of plantation agriculture, and with the ease of water transportation in the Tidewater, the rivers were filled with boats carrying shingles, clapboards, plank, scantling, bricks, oystershell, and lath to various markets—the cities and towns along the rivers, the West Indies or even Europe. The lack of millsawn lumber in so many original buidings is telling. Building a sawmill was an expensive and complicated job, and a finished mill would compete against slave labor. This is a very timely story to tell in this year of the Enslaving Virginia story line. Slaves played the major part in making building materials, such as sawn plank and shingles and brick, carted and ferried them to building sites, and worked alongside white artisans to assemble buildings. Williamsburg was built by black and white hands together, and the inequality that divided them in life is never discernible in the finished building. You cannot tell the race of an artisan by the work he left behind.

Every part of the kitchen frame that touches masonry will be white oak. Oak is hard and heavy, but when worked green hews and saws surprisingly easily. It has a crispness to it that the pine and poplar lack. We will hew up about 250 feet of sill, the lowest part of the timberframe, and two gigantic oak lintels for the kitchen and laundry fireplaces. The lintels weigh about 600 pounds apiece. We will also use white oak for the pegs for the frame, used to pin together the mortice and tenon joints.

The oak will be the last material worked, as the practice of timber-framing is usually done in green, unseasoned wood. There will be plenty of time for the frame to season inside the new building, getting lighter and stronger with age, and there will be plenty of room for shrinkage.

We started cutting the kitchen frame in the summer and look forward to raising the kitchen in the fall. The long walls of the two-story frame will weigh several thousand pounds apiece, and we will need many hands to help with the raising. I particularly like the account of a raising in nineteeth-century New York:

> *When the moment came for lifting the first bent from the ground, a line of men took their places before the heavy beams. Pike poles could not be used till after the bent was high enough in the air so that poles could be slipped under it. Pike poles were long or short according to the height needed, with a sharp steel tip. The head carpenter was usually chosen leader to give the signals, for he knew best how all must pull together, and his keen eye could see in an instant any slackening in the line before the right height was reached. A last survey—then he waved his arms and shouted "He-oh-heave." With the cry of "heave" every man strained to lift his part of the bent the required distance and hold it till other men could thrust poles into it. There was a breathing space and then again all eyes on the leader. "He-oh-heave!" and another yard gained.*

And in keeping with tradition, I feel obliged to add the following entry:

> *The timbers of the roof were now raised, and a bottle of liquor being procured, Joe Griffin broke it upon the ridgepole, having first delivered himself of a poetic effusion, full of humor and sly hits, which was received with shouts, and pronounced first rate.*[1]

The roof and walls will go on next, and we will move our workbenches into the building to finish off the interior through the winter and spring and summer of next year. By the end of the year 2000 the kitchen and covered way will be complete, and the cycle of material production and construction will begin again for the rest of the Randolph outbuildings.

[1] Elric Endersby, Alexander Greenwood, and David Larkin, *Barn: The Art of a Working Building* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992), pp. 140–146

"The Sweat of the Laborer's Brow": Brickwork for the Reconstruction of the Peyton Randolph Outbuildings

by Andrew Barry

Andrew is brick specialist in the Education Division/Midtown Area.

Thump, splat, and sizzle. These were the sounds at the brick burn as dawn approached and the final night of the seven-day and -night watch neared its end. The sleep-deprived brickmakers staggered about the hot kiln, placing heavy iron doors tight against the openings of the eight fire tunnels and throwing wet clay upon the doors to seal the kiln. They paused briefly to gaze contentedly at the final few flames peeking out of the top of the kiln—the first firing of this recently built oven in the new brickyard was a success.

Over the past several years, there have been numerous advances in understanding the tradeswork of brickmaking, lime burning, mortar making, and bricklaying. The recently relocated brickyard—situated along the midtown path between the Peyton Randolph rear yard and the cabinetmaker's shop—is producing a sizable number of bricks for the reconstruction of the Randolph outbuildings. Experiments of burning shell to produce lime and mixing mortar from period recipes are ongoing. The first efforts in eighteenth-century bricklaying for the Historic Area trades program are visible in the foundations of the first three of the Peyton Randolph outbuildings. Undertaking the brickwork for this project is an ideal opportunity to make use of our ongoing research in eighteenth-century masonry trades.

The brick production for the first three structures—the smokehouse, new dairy, and north storehouse—began in the old brickyard in 1996. Approximately 8,000 well-fired bricks were made over the course of two summers. Each batch passed rigorous modern testing for compressive strength and water absorption, a requirement for use in construction. In constructing the foundations of the three Randolph outbuildings, the brick trades program met a long-time goal to undertake a project using Colonial Williamsburg bricks exclusively.

Over the next two years, the entire production, with the exception of a small order to repair the wall surrounding Bruton Parish Church, will be devoted to the third phase of the project: the east storehouse, granary, old dairy, and south storehouse. Further needs may include bricks for a bake-oven and perhaps specialty-shaped trapezoidal bricks to line the site's well. All told, the Randolph project will require five years of brickmaking.

The brickwork for the kitchen and covered way, the second phase, was last summer's project. These two structures called for approximately 30,000 bricks. The large quantity required and time constraints of the project did not permit the use of the Historic Trades' bricks for the majority of the masonry work; however, a few thousand bricks were made in the brickyard for the chimneys and fireplaces. Restoration quality bricks were chosen for the remainder of the work, including the foundations, the vaulted arch of the cellar beneath the kitchen, and the majority of the bricks in the chimneys and fireplaces. Willie Graham, curator of architecture, and the author handpicked the commercially made bricks from the New London Brick Works in Gold Hill, North Carolina.

With so many of the original eighteenth-century bricks remaining in the foundation of the kitchen, the goal was to match the size, surface appearance, and color to the period examples. To produce bricks aesthetically indistinguishable from the originals required some consideration. Wooden molds were constructed by the Foundation's toolmakers specifically to match the bricks. It was important to size the molds to account for shrinkage; clay

Figure 1. In the new Brickyard, Bobby Clay, Christine Trowbridge, and Jack Underwood mold bricks for the Randolph project.

Figure 2. Burning a fiery kiln of oyster shells for lime mortar.

bricks lose approximately 15 percent of their volume through air-drying and kiln firing. Attempts were also made to match the colors—hues of red, purple, and brown—visible in the originals. The mineral content of the clay, the amount of iron oxide or manganese present, and the firing temperature of the kiln are the critical determinants of color. The atmosphere of the kiln affects the color as well. For example, a reduction atmosphere or a lack of oxygen in the kiln toward the end of the firing tends to produce bricks with hints of brown. The sand used to lubricate the mold was another factor. The reflecting sunlight from large-grained sand results in a luster causing the bricks to appear whiter than their actual red color.

In between molding the necessary bricks, we began to research eighteenth-century mortar recipes. The ingredients and the method of preparing period mortar are different from the parts and mix of modern mud. The greatest contrast between the two is the binder. The adhesive in an eighteenth-century mix is lime derived from oyster shells. (Although not present in Tidewater Virginia, limestone—not shells—was the raw material used elsewhere.) Modern brick mortar takes its strength from portland cement. Understanding the production of this raw material was an important step toward laying the outbuilding foundations.

An article documenting a nearby excavation of a brick kiln presented the idea to cook the oyster shells on top of a burning brick kiln.[1] The crew experimented with this technique upon two kilns with little success. The temperature across the top was too inconsistent. A few of the shells burnt well, but most were either under- or over-fired.

These poor results suggested the need for a different approach. Southern coastal tradition spoke of a kiln of simple construction. Architectural historian Marcus Whiffen describes this type of kiln as:

> *An open crib of pine logs, the successive layers crossing each other at right angles and the structure being about twelve feet square on plan, was built up to a height of five feet; on it was laid a floor of parallel contiguous logs to hold a layer of oyster shells, and on that the whole structure was repeated two or three times so as to form a square tower.*[2]

Further clarification for construction of this vernacular oven, often termed a "rick" kiln, was related to the author by researcher and lime burner Curtis Childs of St. Simons Island, Georgia. The kiln should be constructed over a three- or four-foot-deep hole with an inclined trench dug to one side of the cavity to create a draft. Hardwood, intermingled with quick-burning knots of resinous pine, is packed beneath the kiln.[3]

Experiments with burning this style of kiln were more successful. Unlike a brick kiln, the

Figure 3. Working on the corner of the foundation of the north storehouse, Andrew Barry slides some mortar off his trowel.

Figure 4. Raymond Cannetti lays a brick to the wooden form of the vaulted arch beneath the kitchen.

lime rick did not require stoking; the entire wooden structure, including the wood in the pit beneath, was set ablaze. After burning violently for the first few hours, the kiln smoldered for approximately twelve more.[4] Firing the rick required little work other than watching the blaze.

Carbon dioxide gas was driven off during the burn, rendering the shells into quicklime. "And the Fire in Lime burnt, Asswages not, but lies hid, so that is appears to be cold, but Water excites it again, whereby it slacks and crumbles into fine powder," described Joseph Moxon in his eighteenth-century text, *Mechanic Exercises or the Doctrine of Handy-Works*.[5] The quicklime shells were slaked with water directly in the pit dug for the rick's construction. Spitting and bubbling, a violent chemical reaction occurred, and the shells broke apart into a putty. Moxon warned, however, that the slaking will "fire Boards or Timber against which it lies"; this hole was sometimes sided with wooden boards.[6] The lime has the appearance and consistency of a soft cheese. The putty was left in the pit to season or age. After two weeks of aging, the lime was slaked sufficiently and suitably for use in mortar.[7]

English restoration mason Gerald Lynch explained, "mortar" binds the bricks together, is used as an aid for leveling irregularly sized bricks, gives a certain measure of impermeability to the weather, and adds to the overall appearance of the finished brickwork."[8] The mortar used by eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Williamsburg bricklayers consisted primarily of lime and sand, with a variety of additional ingredients such as small pieces of shell, clay, charcoal, and tiny pieces of bricks.

The mortar was beaten or "knocked-up" combining all the materials thoroughly. Peter Nicholson, author of an early nineteenth-century trades manual explained, "before the mortar is used, it should be beaten three or four times over, so as to incorporate the lime that may have passed the sieve. This very much improves the smoothness of the lime, and by driving air into its pores, will make the mortar stronger."[9] In preparation, little water was blended into the mix. Lime putty leached water as it was beaten, negating the need for adding much water to the mortar. As period folklore related, only the "sweat of the labourer's brow" was required to temper the mortar.[10]

The experiments in burning lime and making mortar were put to practice in phase I of the Randolph project. Unfortunately, with the exception of eighteenth-century Williamsburg bricklayer Humphrey Harwood's account books, a few references in colonial writings, and contemporary architectural histories, little written instruction on bricklaying in colonial Virginia was available. To combat this absence of information, a comprehensive, hands-on study of brickwork was undertaken. Colonial Williamsburg's team of architectural historians recommended a long list of period work to study. Most appropriate to the Randolph project were the foundations of the few remaining eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century outbuildings: the dairy and smokehouse of the Grizzel Hay and Powell Houses, the Tayloe office, and the Brush-Everard kitchen.

Surveying these original outbuildings revealed a simple, utilitarian style of brickwork. For the foundations, the laying pattern seemed to be English bond, although adhering to a regular pattern often appeared a low priority. Brick-bats and make-up bricks were common. And rowlocks—bricks laid depth side up—set as the final, leveling course in the foundation were also noted.

Characteristics of the mortar confirmed the quality of construction in the outbuildings. In comparison to the more prominent brick structures in Williamsburg, the width of mortar joints are considerably larger, varying between three- and five-eighths of an inch with a few examples measuring even wider. The color of the mud was also inconsistent. Broad spectrums of gray, white, and buff hues were identified among the period work. And many sizable pieces of oyster shell and brick were visible in the mix as well as chunks of charcoal and clay.

The finish of the mortar was another contrast. A ruled or grapevine joint—characterized by a thin, rectangular indentation centered in the joint—was the ubiquitous detail of high-style, eighteenth-century brickwork in Williamsburg. Outbuilding founda-

tions more often exhibit a simple, struck joint. For this finish, the excess mortar is removed first and the remainder is pressed inward and slightly undercut with a trowel.

Assembling a set of eighteenth-century bricklaying tools was the final hurdle. The Anderson Shop blacksmiths were approached for help. Using their knowledge and images of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century tools from Moxon and Joseph Smith's *Key* (an early nineteenth-century tool manual), they fabricated a skeleton tool kit: several laying trowels, a pointing trowel, line pins, and a striking iron.

Although varying greatly, portions remained from the original, eighteenth-century brickwork of the smokehouse, new dairy, and north storehouse. Of the three, the twelve-by-twelve-foot-square, one-brick-length-thick foundation of the smokehouse was in the best shape. It simply required replacing a few worn bricks, and carefully laying the upper several courses to level the foundation. Preparatory work on the new dairy was more complex. While three of the four eighteenth-century walls remained intact, the foundation for the east wall did not survive. Brickwork from a twentieth-century structure, revealed through archaeology, adjoined the ghost of the period foundation. This later work could be used as the footer, enabling bricks to be laid directly on it and tied together with the three remaining sides of the eighteenth-century dairy.

The re-exposed foundation of the storehouse posed another dilemma. Archaeology presented the location and the size of the structure; however, the period bricks were too soft to reuse. The solution was to begin anew and lay a "spread brick footer" beneath this brick-and-a-half-thick foundation. Moxon tells us, "all walls ought to have a Basis or footing, at least 4 inches on a side broader that the thickness of the wall."[11] The foundation must also rest on stable soil. This outbuilding required an unusually deep excavation of four feet before undisturbed earth was found. The base of an early twentieth-century house had loosened the soil. The added depth required an additional thousand bricks, increasing the total to 2,500 for the foundation, a quarter again as many bricks as the number needed for the smokehouse or dairy.

After creating a level base, the remaining brickwork was straightforward. All three foundations were laid in English bond. The bricklaying for the smokehouse and storehouse was simpler in quality. These foundations are laid with a higher percentage of brick-bat and struck mortar joints. In contrast, the dairy brickwork is refined. Tighter joints, with a ruled or grapevine finish, and fewer brick-bats, effected a better look.

Our understanding of eighteenth-century brickwork matured through the first phase of this reconstruction project. However, much remains to be learned. Further documentary research is required to broaden the social-historical interpretation. Plastering will be added to the growing list of brick trades; research in this area will soon be tried on the interior of the new dairy. The ongoing bricklaying for the Randolph kitchen will provide the chance to work with and learn from artisan Raymond Cannetti. With Ray, a series of collaborative experiments in lime burning and a comprehensive survey of eighteenth-century Chesapeake mortars are planned.

The four additional outbuildings of the Randolph project's third phase will provide plenty of opportunity to refine our understanding of these trades. Continued research and the sweat of the laborer's brow are the necessary ingredients in laying the groundwork for a program capable of undertaking eighteenth-century brickwork for Colonial Williamsburg's reconstructions.

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[1] Worth Bailey, "Lime Preparation at Jamestown in The Seventeenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly* (January 1938), p. 12.

[2] Marcus Whiffen, *The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), p. 12.

[3] Interview with Curtis Childs, retired Fort Frederica employee, Saint Simons Island, Ga., 8 Feb. 1997. During this conversation, Mr. Childs spoke of his rick burning efforts at Fort Frederica National Monument, St. Simons Island, Ga. Also: Lauren Sickels Taves, "Southern Coastal Lime-Burning" (unpublished report), pp. 1–12. This report outlines her experiment at Wormsloe State (Ga.) Historic Site.

[4] The brickyard crew learned much by burning a kiln of this design, 27, 28 Sept. 1997 and 9, 10 Nov. 1998.

[5] Joseph Moxon, *Mechanic Exercises or the Doctrine of Handy-Works* (Scarsdale, N. Y.: The Early American Industries Association, 1975), p. 242.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Gerald Lynch, *Brickwork: History, Technology and Practice* (London: Donhead Publishing, Ltd., 1994), p. 121.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[9] Peter Nicholson, *The New Practical Builder* (London: Thomas Kelly, 1823), p. 354 as quoted in Harley McKee, *Introduction to Early American Masonry* (Washington, D. C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1973), p. 65.

[10] Isaac Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture* (1756), quoted in Lynch, p. 123.

[11] Moxon, p. 255.

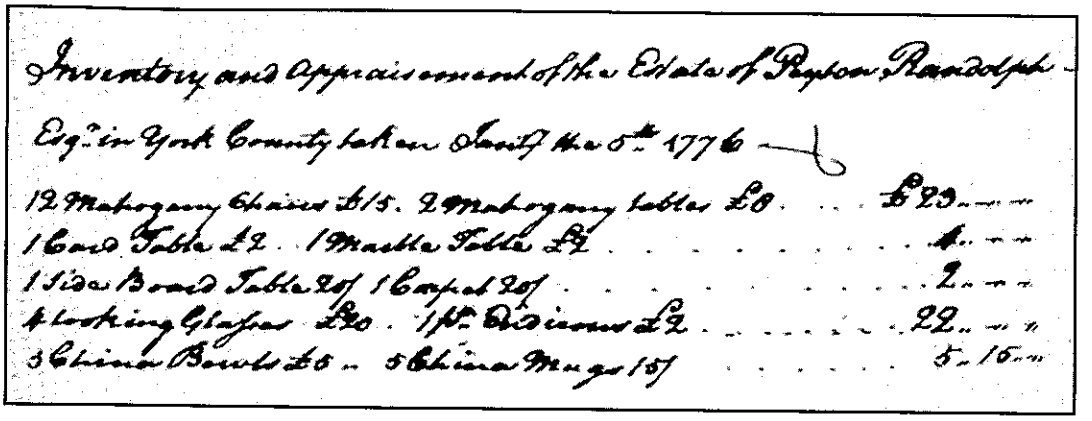

Inventory and Appraisement of the Estate of Peyton Randolph
Esq.r in York County taken Janry the 5th 1776
12 Mahogany Chairs £15. 2 Mahogany tables £8 . . . £23 . . .
1 Card Table £2 . 1 Marble Table £2 . . . . . 4 . . .
1 Side Board Table 20/ 1 Carpet 20/ . . . . . 2 . . .
4 Looking Glasses £20 . 1 pr. Andirons £2 . . . . . 22 . . .
3 China Bowls £6 . . 5 China Mugs 15/ . . . . . 5 . 15 . . .

Figure 1. "Inventory and Appraisement of the Estate of Peyton Randolph Esq." The original document survives in the York County Court records.

Refurnishing the Randolph House ... Again?

by Ronald Hurst

Ron is chief curator and vice president of Collections and Museums.

Anyone who has spent more than a few years observing the exhibition buildings at Colonial Williamsburg knows that the furnishings exhibited in our historic houses, taverns, and workshops have changed from time to time. These changes can be pleasing or disconcerting, but most important, they offer exciting opportunities to get closer to the past. As each generation has built on the research of earlier scholars and as new scientific tools have come to hand, the state of our knowledge about eighteenth-century life has improved dramatically. Over the last fifty years, there have often been surprising discoveries. In 1975, who would have guessed that scores of firearms were once arrayed on the walls and ceiling of the front hall at the Palace? That the wallpaper Thomas Everard installed in his dining room was not the dark ochre we had come to know, but a strong yellow? That green Windsor chairs like those now exhibited in George Wythe's passage were considered fashionable enough for the front of the house in 1775? With each new iteration, the furnishings shown in our exhibition sites get closer to the truth of eighteenth-century Williamsburg. The recent refurnishing of the Peyton Randolph House—the building's third since 1968—is only the latest example of that phenomenon. It is also the best documented of these exercises to take place since the 1980 refurnishing of the Governor's Palace.

Like the architectural and archaeological investigations of the Peyton Randolph site, the study of the Randolphs' furnishings has a long history. Aspirations to refurnish the house were first voiced in the late 1970s when Foundation curators began to reassess the early records associated with the property. In fact, it is those records—Peyton Randolph's 1776 probate inventory, Betty Randolph's 1780 will, and her 1782 codicil—that have long made the site so interesting to the staff (Figure 1). Now, after years of research, the level of documentation supplied by the Randolphs' estate records has made possible the production of an uncommonly accurate series of historic interiors. When the kitchen and other outbuildings are completed over the next few years, their furnishings will be held to the same high standards.

That said, it must be admitted that the importance of the Randolph records has not always been apparent. When John Dixon, William Pierce, and Alexander Craig listed and appraised the contents of the house and outbuildings in January 1776, a few months after Peyton Randolph's death, they did so without signifying the names of individual structures and spaces. Moreover, a seemingly odd juxtaposition of materials resulted as the appraisers moved back and forth from the main house to the outbuildings. To generations of modern observers, it appeared that the document Dixon, Pierce, and Craig created was little more than an unbroken roster of miscellaneous and unrelated household implements. A "Mahogany tea Board" and "Japan'd Waiter" (or tray) were followed in the list by a "Chariot and 8 Harness." A "parcel of Sylabub & Jelly Glasses" and "100 lbs. Wt. [white] Sugar" were grouped with quantities of uncut textiles, and all were associated with a series of bedsteads and other chamber furniture. So confusing was this seemingly jumbled list that, when the Randolph

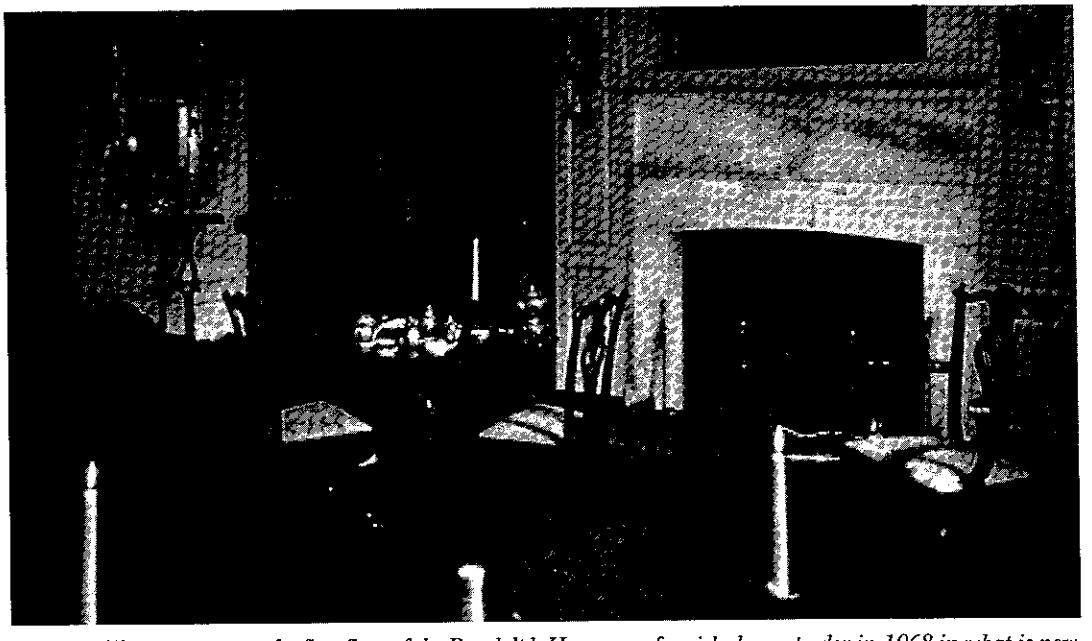


Figure 2. The east room on the first floor of the Randolph House was furnished as a parlor in 1968 in what is now considered a colonial revival style.

House was first readied for public viewing in 1968, the inventory was only selectively used as a guide for furnishing the interiors.

Fortunately, earlier assumptions about the document eventually were proved wrong. Peyton Randolph's inventory is, indeed, a room-by-room accounting of the family's possessions. But this fact came to light only in 1985 after curators compared the document to scores of other Chesapeake probate records and were thus able to isolate a full series of discreet room groupings. Even with this discovery, it was at first difficult to fit the emerging suites of objects into the house as it had traditionally been interpreted. The breakthrough came when it was realized that the contents of the Randolphs' dining room could only have been housed in the east room on the first floor. This space had long been assumed to be the parlor since it was the largest room in the house, and researchers believed that dining rooms were always secondary to parlors in size (Figure 2). However, new evidence soon revealed that there were other options in colonial America.

Chesapeake documents, such as Philip Fithian's diary, had already confirmed that dining was the principal means of entertainment in the eighteenth century for most gentry householders. Furniture historians also realized that the once common practice of seating dinner guests at several separate round or oval dining tables went out of fashion before the middle of the century. In order to bring all guests together in one seating, gentry hosts and hostesses turned to the use of rectangular tables arranged end-to-end in a single long row. This emerging practice meant that dining rooms in new houses were increased in size in order to accommodate the newly fashionable table arrangements. During the second half of the century, many (though not all) Chesapeake dining rooms consequently exceeded their companion parlors in size.

The Randolph House is a case in point. The large east room is the only space in the house of sufficient size to hold the furniture specified in the dining room inventory—a dozen chairs, a pair of rectangular dining tables, two serving tables, a card table, a bottle case, and a candlestand. This is the only room that has wall spaces suitable for hanging the specified set of "4 looking Glasses." Importantly, the east room also features what have turned out to be two bowfats, or built-in cupboards, previously assumed to be ordinary closets. Originally lined with shelves, the bowfats were constructed to hold the vast quantity of silver, ceramic, and glass tablewares listed in the inventory immediately after the dining room furniture (Figure 3).

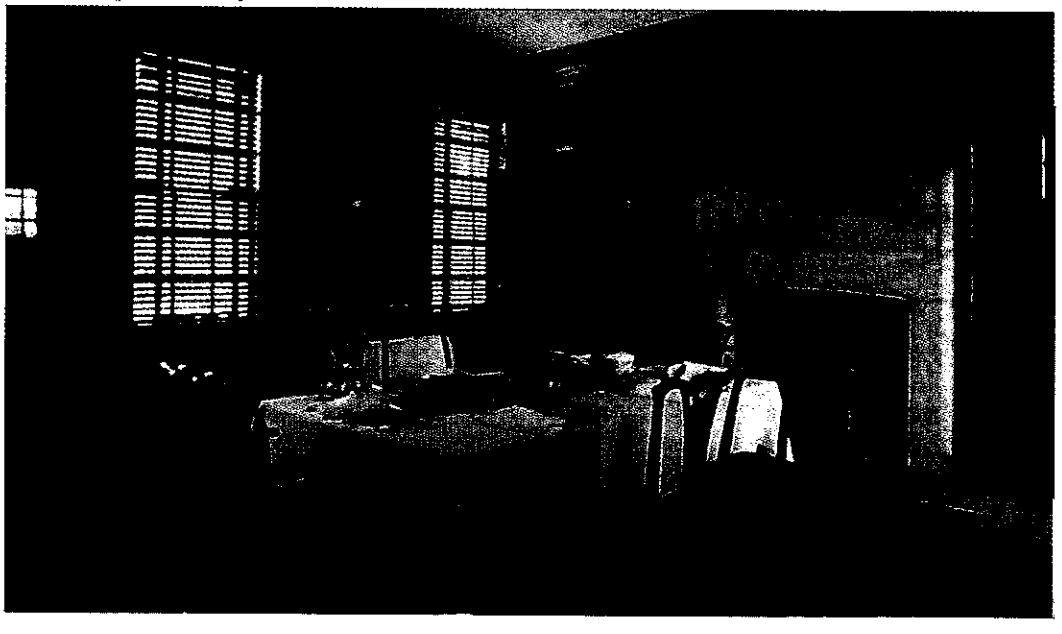
With the location of the dining room identified, it finally was possible to re-create the route that the appraisers took as they recorded the contents of the house and outbuildings in 1776. By following that same route, the curators could thus reassign original room functions with confidence and make sense of the domestic and workspaces. Beginning in the dining room, the eighteenth-century appraisers walked through

the center passage, out the back door, and into the yard. After recording the contents of the stable and one or more outlying buildings (hence the juxtaposition of the "Japan'd Waiter" in the dining room bowfat and the "Chariot," noted earlier), they returned to the house by the same route. The men then inventoried the remaining first-floor spaces sequentially, moving from the passage and the closet under the stairs to the parlor (just west of the front door) and into the room north of the parlor, which they called "Mrs. Randolph's Closet." Dixon, Pierce, and Craig next went through the adjoining covered way, into the kitchen and laundry, and returned by the same route to inventory the adjacent library and west entry. Moving upstairs, they recommenced their work in the east bedchamber, proceeded to the large (recently reconstructed) closet in that room, and then finished their list in the series of small bedchambers in the west wing.

With this route as their guide, the curators next used the inventory to place objects in specific rooms. As they did so, the hierarchical nature of the spaces became apparent. Analyzed in terms of value, the individual categories of furnishings in the parlor were found to be the most costly and probably the most elaborate in the house. Those in the dining room came next in value, followed by those in the east bedchamber on the second floor, the room occupied by Peyton and Betty Randolph. This arrangement was not surprising, but a comparatively puzzling hierarchy emerged among the remaining bedchambers on the second floor. Object for object, the oak-paneled room above Mrs. Randolph's Closet was almost as expensively furnished as the Randolphs' own chamber, suggesting that a person of some status occupied the space. On the other hand, the chambers over the library and parlor were fitted with cheap low-post bedsteads and other inexpensive goods, many of them described as "old" or made of low-cost pine. Some of these furnishings likely survived from the time when Peyton Randolph's parents, John and Susannah Randolph, furnished the west wing of the house as early as the 1720s. Why were they still being used in Speaker Randolph's prominent house half a century later?

The disparate values of the chamber furnishings were explained recently when historian Cathy Hellier assembled evidence strongly suggesting the presence of children in the Randolph household. Betty Harrison, probably the oldest child in her family, was orphaned in 1745, the year before her marriage to Peyton Randolph. She had at least eight surviving siblings, the youngest only three years old. Some of these children probably went to live with their only other married sibling, Anne Harrison Randolph of Wilton. It is quite likely that the rest came to Williamsburg to live with Peyton and Betty Randolph, especially since the boys eventually attended the College of William and Mary. Judging from records of other Chesapeake households, these younger children (and later the adolescent boys) would have used the low-post

Figure 3. The east room, now known to have been the Randolphs' dining room, has been furnished according to Peyton Randolph's inventory.



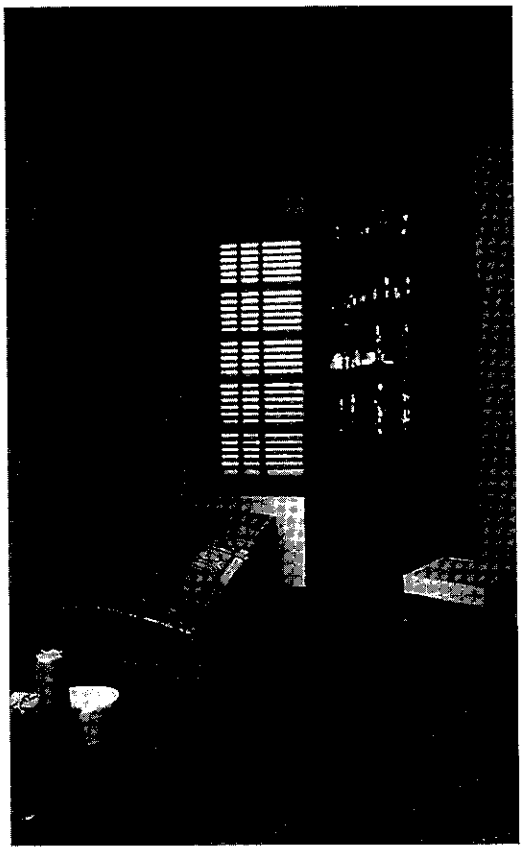


Figure 4. The recently reconstructed closet adjacent to the best bedchamber.

Figure 5. Mrs. Randolph's Closet.

beds in the modestly furnished rooms over the parlor and library.

But what about the expensively furnished oak chamber? Hellier's research on the lives of teenaged girls in colonial Virginia and additional inquiries by curator Tanya Wilson strongly suggest that Betty Randolph's thirteen-year-old niece, Elizabeth Harrison, came to live in the house by 1772, when her widowed father (Betty's brother Henry) died. That Elizabeth remained with her aunt and uncle Randolph until adulthood is indicated by Betty Randolph's will, which includes several references to "my niece Elizabeth Harrison who lives with me." The bond of affection between young Elizabeth and her aunt and uncle was apparently strong and almost parental. When Elizabeth later married Lewis Burwell, she named her second son Peyton Randolph Burwell for her long-deceased uncle by marriage, an extremely uncommon practice.

In addition to clues about who lived in the house, other pieces of information that illuminate aspects of the Randolph family's life also emerged from the estate records. For instance, it became clear that Betty Randolph followed the practice of many other Chesapeake gentry women by keeping some of her most important tablewares and kitchen supplies in or near her own bedchamber. Like Anne Eilbeck Mason (d. 1773), mistress of George Mason's Gunston Hall in Fairfax County, Betty Randolph kept the "physic" or medicine for the entire household in her large chamber closet, along with the one hundred pounds of white sugar noted above. Also stored there under lock and key were a number of wineglasses, a quantity of her best dessert glass, most of her spare textiles, and a few other valuables (Figure 4).

Even more interesting were conclusions about Betty Randolph's center of household operations, the room referred to by Dixon, Pierce, and Craig as "Mrs. Randolph's Closet." The "Closet"—used here in the period sense of a private room—was a logical place from which to direct household affairs and supervise the many slaves who lived and worked on the property. It was located on the first floor with access to the front and back doors via the adjacent center passage and to the kitchen and laundry via the covered way. Most of the objects listed in the room were described as old, and their values were commensurately low, suggesting that

Betty Randolph did not entertain here. In fact, the room also contained almost everything one would expect to find in a gentry bedchamber—a dressing table and glass, an easy chair, and a set of six side chairs. There was even a set of old, blue bed curtains listed, apparently stored in a drawer. The only thing missing was a bedstead, which was found elsewhere in the inventory among goods stored in an outbuilding. These remnants of an old-fashioned bedchamber on the first floor suggest that Peyton Randolph's mother, Susannah, may have occupied this room until her death in the 1750s. Seeing the utility and convenience of the space, Betty Randolph probably removed the old bedstead and replaced it with a desk and bookcase after her mother-in-law's death. That she used the desk as her own is suggested by references in her will and codicil. There, Mrs. Randolph bequeathed "my Books"—as distinct from those in her late husband's library—to her niece Lucy Randolph. She also made reference to the small "Cabinet" or spice box "on the Top of the Desk." The spice box form was associated almost exclusively with women's activities (Figure 5).

The Randolph estate documents have also provided other kinds of information that furthered the restoration effort. In the main bedchamber on the second floor, the inventory listed "4 pr. Window Curtains," yet until recently, the room in question had six windows. The inventory also listed a group of large objects, including a corner cupboard and four trunks, all of which seemed out of place in the bedchamber. These and similar anomalies led to a search for a missing room or closet. Investigations by the Foundation's architectural historians eventually revealed that a large closet originally stretched across the west end of the chamber, cutting off two of the six windows. That space has now been reconstructed and furnished with the goods listed (Figure 4). Similarly, the listing of coal scuttles, pokers, grates, and fenders—and only one set of household andirons—led to the realization that the family had already converted most of their fireplaces from wood-burning to coal before Peyton Randolph's death. Consequently, several of the fireboxes were reduced in size during the recent restoration in order to accommodate the requisite coal grates.

Perhaps the most surprising discoveries to arise from the documents came to light near the end of the project. By comparing the values of specific categories of objects listed in the Randolph inventory with similar goods in other local documents, it became clear that the Randolph House included some of the most richly furnished domestic spaces in pre-Revolutionary Williamsburg. Consider the possessions of wealthy Williamsburg merchant John Prentis, inventoried and appraised by Alexander Craig and two other men in December 1775, just three weeks before the Randolph inventory was compiled. Prentis's best mahogany chairs were worth the respectable sum of £1 each, but Randolph's best chairs

Figure 6. The Randolphs' parlor with its costly looking glass and other purely ornamental components.

were appraised at twice that amount. The finest looking glass in the Prentis House was valued at the expected sum of £4. By comparison, Randolph's dining room contained not one, but four mirrors worth £5 apiece, for a total value of £20. Even more surprising was the value of the looking glass in the Randolphs' parlor. At a remarkable £10, it is among the most valuable mirrors in any Williamsburg inventory. The Randolphs' bedding also stands out among that of their peers. With the value of mattresses and other bedding included, the best bed in the Randolph House was worth about £22.10, the second highest known value for a fully dressed bed in a pre-Revolutionary Virginia document. Finally, the "Sett of Ornamental China" that was almost certainly displayed on the mantel in the Randolphs' parlor was appraised at an incredible £20, almost equal to a local journeyman's wages for an entire year (Figure 6).

Equally unexpected was the current and fashionable nature of many objects in the house. Long presumed by twentieth-century observers to be a stodgy, childless, and thus conservative older couple, Peyton and Betty Randolph were apparently quite fashion conscious. Their conversion from wood- to coal-fired heat is one indication of that currency. Another is their ownership of "a parcel of Queens China Ware" (or creamware), which was introduced to Williamsburg patrons only a few years earlier. Similarly, the presence of a Wilton carpet valued at an impressive £10 suggests that the floor covering was quite new and stylish. Other clues suggest that the Randolphs' interest in household fashion was not newfound. When they expanded the house in 1755 or 1756, they caused the center passage and the chamber over the parlor to be framed for the installation of wallpaper. "Paper hangings," as they were often called, would become widely popular in Virginia during the 1760s, but this is the earliest known evidence for wallpaper in the colony (Figure 7).

Unfortunately, inventories and wills do not tell us everything we want to know. There were at least twenty-seven enslaved men, women, and children living on the Randolph site, but the estate documents offer little about their living conditions or their possessions. Neither do the records list every object in the main house. We know that Peyton and Betty Randolph owned clothing, jewelry, and other personal accessories, but such things were rarely recorded in estate inventories of gentry men and women. Even the Randolph family portraits escaped the appraisers, being of no value to anyone outside the family. Betty Randolph confirmed their existence in her will when she bequeathed "the Family Pictures" to her nephew, Edmund Randolph.

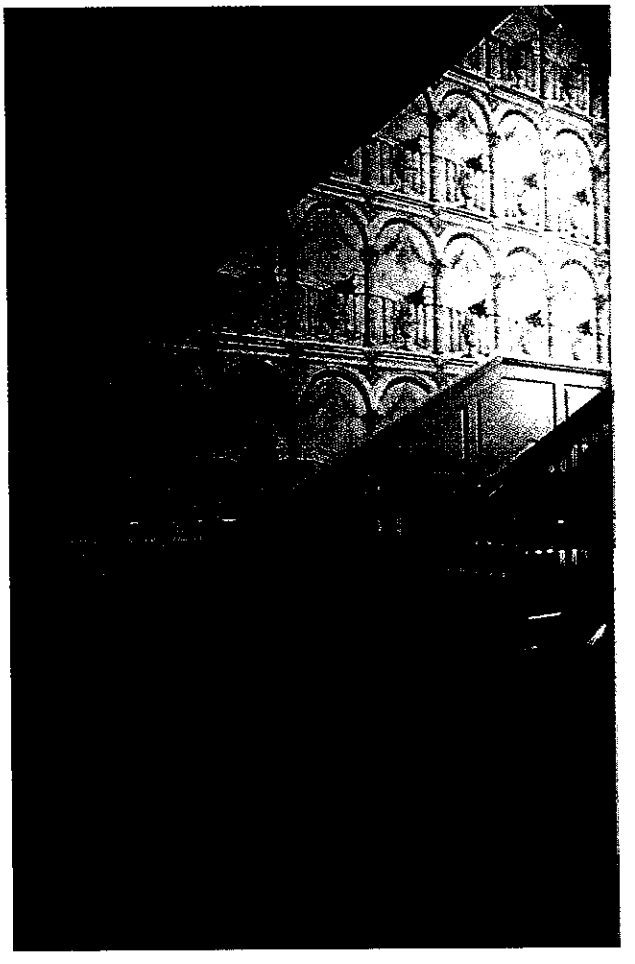


Figure 7. The passage, recently hung with reproduction wallpaper in the "pillar & Arch" pattern often advertised as "suitable for stair passages"

These shortcomings aside, there is no question that the written records have told us a great deal about life in the Peyton Randolph House at the end of the colonial era. Does that mean that the furnishings now on view will remain there indefinitely? Absolutely not. Just as the current generation of curators and historians has built upon the work of colleagues past, the next generation is sure to find something we missed. That is the wonderful thing about research. In the meantime, we can all have great confidence that the interior of the Randolph House now looks more like the building that Peyton and Betty Randolph knew than anything that has been on the site since the eighteenth century.

COOK'S CORNER

Foods for Fashionable Families, Fresh or Faux

by Tanya Wilson

Tanya is assistant curator of exhibition buildings in the Department of Collections and Museums.

In the eighteenth century, Abigail Adams stated, "The manners of our country are so intirely changed from what they were in the days of simplicity . . . unless you can keep a public table and equipage you are of but . . . small consideration." As representatives of two of the oldest and wealthiest families in Virginia, the Peyton Randolphs were indeed well equipped for such important social functions, and certainly were *not* "of but small consideration" as indicated from shards found in the various archaeological excavations on the property, surviving family heirlooms and documents, *and* endless references to Virginia's Attorney General, Speaker of the House, and first President of the Continental Congress.

Some 240 years ago, as she anticipated the completion of their newly enlarged and refurbished home, Betty Randolph certainly would have made plans to entertain friends and family members in the sumptuous dining room with a scrumptious, elaborate dinner that would not only please the palate but be a feast for the eyes. (Today, we conclude that the proper service of such elaborate meals would, indeed, be a means to make a statement about cultural values, economic status and social rank—just as Abigail Adam's statement implies—but how many ladies saw such entertaining as nothing more than an opportunity "to do their best"?)

Surviving documents provide several indications that Elizabeth Harrison Randolph was a very practical, self-sufficient individual. Therefore, she probably would have, well in advance, scanned through her favorite receipt book and her commonplace book and planned an appropriate menu. She would then have checked her store of preserved foods, which might be needed to augment the fresh foods available from their own gardens or the market, and would have begun the requisite preparations.

This year, to make ready for another completion date, it fell to the staff in Collections to make decisions about "the public table and equipage" for the Randolph House. Invariably, the hardest part of entertaining can be planning the menu. Fortunately, during an early March visit to our archaeology laboratory with the attendees of Williamsburg Institute's "Revisiting Peyton's Place" seminar, the problem that had loomed so large was solved instantly and relatively easily. There, organized in boxes by species, were the faunal remains from the Randolph property. Then, there was no question—we should use the information gleaned from the zooarchaeological work completed on the site to identify appropriate foods.

Research conducted by Colonial Williamsburg's curator of zooarchaeology, Joanne Bowen, provided the answers needed to determine which meats were appropriate. As part of an extensive N.E.H. study to reconstruct how urban residents obtained food, she worked alongside principal investigator Lorena Walsh and co-director Ann Smart Martin to produce a report titled "Provisioning Early American Towns. The Chesapeake: A Multidisciplinary Case Study." Between 1990 and 1997, Bowen and her staff of five zooarchaeologists incorporated decades of work completed by numerous zooarchaeologists into CWF's computer database. They also analyzed many faunal assemblages never before studied. Once done, they had thoroughly examined faunal remains from more than 100 domestic sites in the region and produced a fascinating story telling how households of different economic backgrounds and social status obtained staple foods from the nearby countryside.

Their research has shown that, in the mid-eighteenth century, people living on the Randolph property consumed similar types of meats in proportions comparable to those found on

other Chesapeake gentry-level properties. Beef made the greatest contribution to the diet, followed by lesser quantities of pork, mutton, and veal. These mainstays were augmented by a large variety of other foods that included fowl and fish, but all appeared in much smaller quantities. The following chart shows the percentage of meats consumed by the Peyton Randolph household. Calculated as "meat weight," a figure that is based on the average pounds of meat available on different wild species and colonial livestock, the bone fragments can be "fleshed out" into the following dietary estimates:

SOURCE	MEAT WEIGHT
Wild	
Wild Mammals	4.4%
Fish	2.9%
Wild Fowl	1.1%
Turtles	0.2%
Total Wild	8.6%
Domestic	
Cattle	49.0%
Swine	29.6%
Sheep/Goat	7.0%
Domestic Fowl	0.7%
Total Domestic	86.3%

In addition to telling us the relative dietary importance of different meats, these bones also tell us which cuts of meats were consumed. Typically, bone deposits found in every colonial site contain heads and feet along with the meaty body parts of cattle, calves, swine, and sheep, indicating *everyone* was eating *all* parts of the animal. While this fact might surprise our modern sensibilities, this zooarchaeological evidence shows the colonial Chesapeake culture valued all parts of the animal—heads, feet, and all. Depending upon the urban household's personal resources, they could provision themselves with animals they had raised on their own plantation or purchase meats from butchers and the local marketplace. Typically, the wealthy tended to draw upon their rural resources, and immigrants and those lacking rural contact tended to rely upon the marketplace, but evidence shows households relied to a greater or lesser extent upon both sources. The Randolph faunal assemblage shows Peyton's household provisioned themselves both with animals they produced as well as others purchased upon the marketplace.

Evidence from the N.E.H. database shows calf heads were consumed by everyone and that, by the second half of the eighteenth century, they had become a hallmark of the elite table. The Custis and Randolph faunal assemblages contained relatively large numbers of calf heads. When asked why colonists consumed a cut of meat we don't think edible, Bowen answered that she sees the custom of serving and eating heads at the table as "a celebration of the animal" (or for the hunt, in the case of wild fowl and animals). Wendy Howell, manager of the Foundation's Foodways Program, points out that the head typically provided the tastiest, best meat.

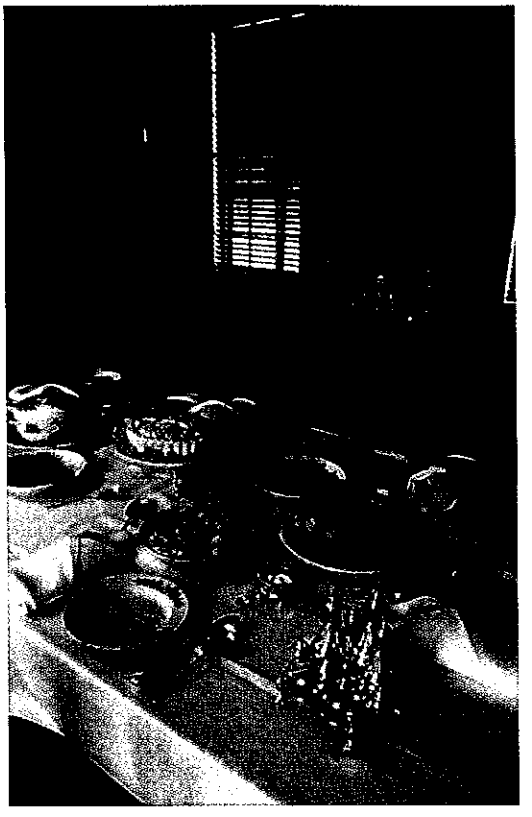


Figure 1. The Menu for the Spring Dinner for Six in the Peyton Randolph Dining Room. A Tureen of Turtle Soup with a Remove of Sheepshead Fish, Scalloped Oysters, Leg of Lamb, a Veal Pye with side dishes of asparagus, fresh peas, and carrots. Rolls are shown in the napkins.

It is also interesting to note that there was a definite seasonality in the availability of these meats. Calf heads were consumed during the period between February and June, with a drop during the summer, then a slight rise again in September and October. This research reminded us again that, if we seek to be accurate in our table settings in the Historic Area houses, we must be ever mindful of that seasonality.

In addition to the Randolphs being particularly fond of calf heads, it was surprising to find that mutton accounted for as much as 7 percent of their meat consumption, and the remains of certain species of fish no longer

Figure 2. Sheepshead Fish wait on the Sideboard Table to replace the Tureen of Turtle Soup.

common in markets—such as black drum, sheepshead, and sturgeon—were found in significant quantities. (In fact, sturgeon is on the endangered list now.)

With this research to guide us in our menu planning, combined with a quick refresher trip through our collection of foodways documents, the next step was to inventory *our* supply of "preserved" foods. In our case "permanent" foods would be more accurate—foods made of wax, plaster, and papier-mâché—as well as being conservation safe and totally unappetizing to all sorts of potential consumers. (Senior members of the staff remember, when real foods were on our tables in the buildings, walking into the Palace Supper Room and finding a mouse sitting on the table munching away on a particularly enticing morsel, or the self-appointed humorist in a group going through the Raleigh Tavern, who reached across the barrier to grab a fruit tart and take a bite.)

Our inventory revealed that, although we have been actively acquiring these permanent faux foods for years, we lacked some of the foods that ranked highest among the Randolphs' preferences. We did not have properly butchered, correct sizes of meats, particularly mutton, lamb, and veal. Neither did we have a calf's head, the more appropriate fishes, a suitable supply of "made dishes" (pies, ragouts, fricassees, hashes, etc.) or a large assortment of vegetables and fruits. Obviously before June we had a lot of work to do.

In the eighteenth century, as Betty Randolph planned to entertain guests, she may have turned to Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, where she would have found "To Dress Carrots" instructing her to

> *Let them be scraped very clean, and when they are enough, rub them in a clean cloth, then slice them into a plate, and pour some melted butter over them. If they are young spring carrots, half an hour will boil them; if large, an hour.*

In the twentieth century our recipe reads:

> *Let them be scraped very clean, and when they are enough, rub them in a clean cloth, then place them into a plate and microwave them for approximately four minutes. Place them on an aluminum tray, leaving at least an inch space around each one. Measure into small paper cups a quantity of Dow Corning Silicone Rubber (3110 RTV) that will be sufficient to cover the carrots with a layer of silicone approximately 1/8 to 1/4 inch thick.*

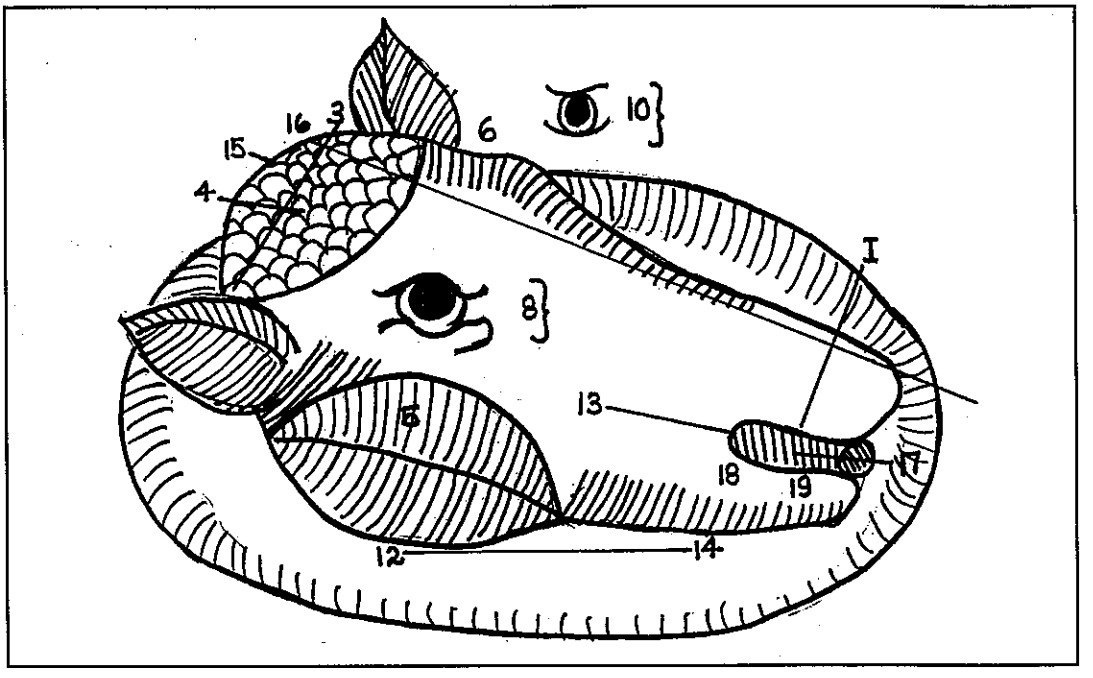


Figure 3. Adapted from Giles Rose's A Perfect School of Instructions for the Officers of the Mouth, *published in London, 1682. The above diagram shows the carver's progression of cuts made at the table upon a calf's head. The accompanying text suggests the proper dispersal of the portions to the guests. It is recommended that after the eyes have been served the sliced chops and tongue should follow, leaving the brains to be served last.*

Working with only one cup at a time, place a cup of silicone rubber on a lab scale to determine its weight. Add carefully a small measure of Dow Corning Catalyst 4 to the silicone = 1 part catalyst to 100 parts silicone rubber. Mix well but quickly. Once the catalyst has been added, you have approximately one and a half minutes before the rubber will set up. Pour over the carrots to make the mold. Let the mold "set" thoroughly before removing the "real" carrots from the mold. Wash and dry the mold thoroughly.

Meanwhile melt Gulf Wax in a clean recycled metal can, in a double boiler. When wax is melted, tint it, by using either Crayola Crayons or a wax dye, to replicate the orange of the cooked carrots. Pour the melted wax into the mold. After the wax has partially cooled it may be necessary to pour an additional amount of wax in the center of each carrot to fill the void that has formed as the wax cools and contracts. When completely cool, carefully turn the carrots out of the mold and repeat the process until enough carrots have been made.

Glasse's cookbook also included the perfect recipe for one of the important, missing meats for our collection of "movable meals," —Baked Calf's Head—which will be used in not only the Randolphs' house but at the Everards' and Wythes' as well.

Baked Calf's Head

Take the head, pick it and wash it very clean; take an earthen dish large enough to lay some long iron skewers across the top of the dish, and lay the head on them; Skewer up the meat in the middle that it do not lie on the dish, then grate some nutmeg over it, a few sweet herbs shred small, some crumbs of bread, a little lemon-peel cut fine, and then flour it all over; stick pieces of butter in the eyes and all over the head, and flour it again. Let it be well baked, and of a fine brown; you may throw a little pepper and salt over it, and put in the dish a piece of beef cut small, a bundle of sweet herbs, an onion, some whole pepper, a blade of mace, two cloves, a pint of water, and boil the brains with some sage. When the head is enough, lay it on a dish, and set it to the fire to keep it warm, then stir all together in the dish, and boil it in a sauce-pan; strain it off, put it into the sauce-pan again, add a piece of butter rolled in flour, and the sage in the brains chopped fine, a spoonful of catchup, and two spoonfuls of red wine; boil them together; take the brains, beat them well, and mix them with the sauce; pour it into the dish, and send it to the table. You must bake the tongue with the head, and do not cut it out; it will lie the handsomer in the dish.

It was now time to call in the frontline foodways forces—Wendy Howell and the full complement of "professionals" from the Wythe and Palace kitchens—who would be the source for our perfect "real food models" prepared in the proper fashion. Without their help in this step of the process, we would have no hope of presenting our faux foods accurately. Presentation was perhaps even more important in the eighteenth century than it might be to us and was certainly part of the effort to keep a "public table."

Once the calf's head had been baked, the molding began. The recipe used in April was very similar to the "carrot process," except the casting material was plaster rather than wax. Also a "mother mold" of plaster was made to surround and support the thin silicone mask. Finally, the plaster head was taken to Richmond to be painted by Sandra Jensen. She brought a great deal of talent to the task precisely duplicating the coloration of the real baked calf's head using very modern paints and shellac.

Last October, Jensen came to Williamsburg for an afternoon workshop to begin our schooling in the process of making simple faux foods. Her expertise has guided us in our attempt to be more self-sufficient as we add new and different foods to our larder. Our first efforts in faux food production took place in the fall, following the workshop, when we made a variety of small finger foods, beans, stewed apples, and ice cream for use during the Christmas season. A graduation of sorts took place with the addition of a leg of lamb, a meat pie, two sheepshead fish, and a variety of vegetables to our now growing supply of foods. Numerous other dishes and meats must still be added to replicate the full range of foods commonly consumed in eighteenth-century Tidewater Virginia.

The question is often asked here in Williamsburg, "Would the individuals who actually lived here in the eighteenth century recognize their homes today?" We are confident that if the Randolphs returned to their home today, they would be very comfortable as they observed their surroundings. The paints, wallpaper, and furniture would closely resemble their third-quarter-of-the-century changes to the house. Certainly in the dining room they would recognize some of the family silver and the blue and white porcelain that is almost identical to their own. And we sincerely hope that they would at least recognize the foods that have been set out for the first course of dinner, but truly hope that they are not tempted to taste!❦

Special thanks are extended to Dr. Joanne Bowen for her review and support of this article.

The reconstructed calf's head can be seen as a component of the archaeology lab tours, offered by Colonial Williamsburg on Tuesdays. Tickets are available at the Visitor Center.

"The Speaker's" Men and Women: Randolph Slaves in Williamsburg

by Julie Richter

Julie is a historian in the Department of Historical Research and is a member of the Enslaving Virginia Story Line Team.

When John Dixon, William Pierce, and Alexander Craig appraised Peyton Randolph's Williamsburg household on January 5, 1776, they noted that he had twenty-seven slaves. The majority of his enslaved men, women, and children slept in one of the outbuildings on the Speaker's property. In the re-opened Randolph House, four slaves—Johnny, Eve, George, and Violet—have sleeping spaces in the main house.

Johnny

Johnny was Peyton Randolph's personal slave. He received training that prepared him to assist Randolph, and, like a number of other personal slaves, he learned to read and write. Johnny probably helped his master dress in the morning in addition to shaving him and dressing his hair and wigs. It is possible that this enslaved man also knew how to manage horses and supervise slaves who worked in Randolph's garden so he could step in when necessary. Johnny wore livery as a reflection of his position in the Randolph household and of the Speaker's place in Virginia.[1]

In the 1760s, Johnny's duties included running errands in Williamsburg. He bought sealing wax and paper at the Printing Office for Randolph in 1764 and 1765. Johnny received a tip of three shillings and nine pence from William Marshman, Governor Botetourt's butler, in April 1769. Marshman described John-

ny as "the Speaker's Man."[2]

Johnny might have traveled to Yorktown when Randolph sat as a justice of the peace for York County or as a justice for an oyer and terminer trial. Trips to Yorktown enabled Johnny to meet with other slaves and to hear political discussions. The various offices that Randolph held in the years before the Revolution (Speaker of the House of Burgesses, member of the first three Virginia Conventions, and President of the First and Second Continental Congresses) made his house a gathering place for men to discuss the actions that Virginia and the other colonies should take against Great Britain. It is even possible that Johnny heard Virginia's leaders read and discuss Thomas Jefferson's *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* at the Randolph House in August 1774. Jefferson was not able to attend the First Virginia Convention and sent a copy of the resolutions that he had prepared to Peyton Randolph. Among other things, Jefferson criticized King George III for refusing to accept the Virginia legislature's attempt to limit the slave trade by adopting a prohibitive tariff on imports. Jefferson also accused Parliament of trying to reduce the colonies to slavery. Edmund Randolph wrote, "I distinctly recollect the applause bestowed on the most of them [the resolutions], when they were read to a large company at the house of Peyton Randolph."[3]

Peyton Randolph took his "man Johnny" and an enslaved boy with him when he traveled to Philadelphia to attend the Second Continental Congress in August 1775. It is possible that Johnny accompanied Randolph on all of his trips to Philadelphia. Johnny ran errands and waited on his master until Peyton's death on October 22, 1775. Johnny ran an errand for Thomas Jefferson and received a tip of seven shillings and six pence five days after Randolph's death.[4]

It is probable that Johnny returned to Williamsburg with Betty Randolph following the Speaker's funeral. He might have accompanied the widow Randolph to Yorktown on November 20, 1775, when she took her deceased husband's will to the York County Courthouse to be probated. Randolph bequeathed his "man Johnny" to his nephew, Edmund Randolph. Johnny was valued at £100 in the January 5, 1776, inventory of Randolph's estate in York County. Dixon, Pierce, and Craig placed Johnny's name at the top of the list of slaves in Randolph's urban household.

Evidence suggests that Johnny and Edmund Randolph did not develop a close relationship. In December 1777, Edmund Randolph offered a reward for the return of Johnny who had run away. He noted that he would

> *give a reward of five dollars, besides what the law allows, to any person who will apprehend Johnny, otherwise called John Harris, a mulatto man slave who formerly waited upon my uncle, the late Peyton Randolph, Esq.; and secure him, so that I may get him again. He took with him, when he went away, a green broadcloth coat, and a new crimson waistcoat and breeches, a light coloured Bath coating great coat, a London brown Bath coating close bodied coat, a pair of old crimson cloth breeches, and some changes of clothes. He is about five feet seven or eight inches high, wears straight hair, cut in his neck, is much addicted to drinking, has gray eyes, can read and write tolerably well, and may probably endeavour to pass for a freeman. The above reward of five dollars will be given if he is taken in Virginia, but five pounds, besides what the law allows, will be paid to any person who apprehends him out of Virginia, and conveys him to me.*[5]

The fact that the younger Randolph mentioned a reward for someone who found Johnny in a place other than Virginia suggests that he believed his slave might try to leave the state. The trip that Johnny took to Philadelphia in 1775 exposed him to life in the largest city in North America, a city with a large, thriving free black population.[6] Perhaps Johnny returned to Philadelphia to renew contacts with friends and to try to pass as a free man. There is no evidence that Edmund Randolph regained possession of him.

Eve and George

Betty Randolph, like her husband, had a slave who helped her to dress each morning and attended to her personal needs during the day. In addition, this enslaved woman might have learned how to perform other household tasks such as sewing, ironing, washing clothes, spinning, and weaving.[7] It is likely that Eve was Betty Randolph's personal slave. Eve, the first female to appear on the list of Randolph's urban slaves, was the mother of George, who was baptized on July 6, 1766. Peyton Randolph left Eve and her children to Betty Randolph. Eve's value of £100 indicates that she played an important part in the day-to-day activities in the household. The appraisers noted that George was worth £30.

Betty Randolph, on her copy of her deceased husband's inventory, recorded the fact that Eve and George ran to the enemy during the Revolution. Unfortunately, the widow Randolph did not note when they left her Wil-

liamsburg household.[8] It is known that Eve and George were in Williamsburg in June 1780 when Betty Randolph wrote her will. The widow Randolph bequeathed this enslaved woman and her children to her niece, Ann Copeland. In August 1780, the York County justices of the peace noted that Betty Randolph's nineteen tithes were to be added to the list for Bruton Parish, an indication that all of her bond laborers were still in Williamsburg.

The best opportunity for Eve, George, and other Randolph slaves to join the British was in 1781.[9] British troops occupied Williamsburg for two days in April 1781 and also between June 25 and July 4 of that year. A letter from St. George Tucker to his wife, Fanny, on July 11, 1781, reveals that several Williamsburg slaves joined Cornwallis in June and July of that year. Tucker also informed his wife that Betty Randolph did not have any slaves in her household at that time. Tucker wrote that

> *The small-pox, which the hellish polling of these infamous wretches has spread in every place through which they have passed has now obtained a crisis throughout the place so that there is scarcely a person to be found to nurse those who are most afflicted by it. Your old friend Aunt Betty is in that situation. A child of Sir Peyton Skipwith's who is with her, was deserted by its nurse, and the good lady was left without a human being to assist her in any respect for some days.*[10]

The thirteen Randolph slaves who ran to the enemy probably did so between April and July of 1781. Perhaps Betty Randolph moved the remaining household slaves to Berkeley Plantation in Charles City County so that they would not get exposed to smallpox or be tempted to join Cornwallis.

Betty Randolph indicated her displeasure with Eve in the July 1782 codicil to her will. She noted "Eve's bad behaviour laid me under the necessity of selling her." The money from the sale was to be used to buy a slave girl for Ann Copeland and a slave boy for her nephew, Peyton Harrison.[11] The widow Randolph's decision to sell Eve indicates that she was upset by Eve's bad behavior, but she did not say what the bad behavior was.

Perhaps Betty Randolph took greater offense to Eve's choice to join the British than she did to the departure of the other twelve slaves who ran to the enemy because Eve was her personal slave. If so, the widow Randolph might have felt hurt by Eve's decision to leave. It is also possible that Betty Randolph decided to sell Eve because this enslaved woman did not return to Williamsburg after the surrender of the British. Some slaves tried to use the confusion that followed the Siege of Yorktown to their own advantage by passing themselves off as free people. On October 25, 1781, General George Washington tried to prevent that by issuing orders to set up checkpoints to sort out the slaves from the free blacks.[12]

The widow Randolph did not mention who purchased Eve from her. Perhaps her nephew, Harrison Randolph, bought Eve. He might have done so because of her domestic skills and as a favor to his aunt. An advertisement placed by Randolph in the *Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser* in February 1782 indicates that he owned a slave named Eve:

> *TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD,*
> *FOR apprehending EVE, Negro woman slave, who left York after the surrender; she is about forty years old, very black and slender, has a small mouth for a Negro, and a remarkable mole on her nose: She has since been seen on her way to Hampton. She carried with her a variety of striped and checked Virginia cloth cloathes. Whoever delivers her to the subscriber in Richmond, shall receive the above reward.*[13]

There is no evidence that Eve returned to Randolph's household.

Violet

Elizabeth Harrison, daughter of Betty Randolph's brother Henry Harrison, may have moved to the Randolph House soon after the death of her father in early 1772.[14] She inherited a slave girl, Violet, from her grandfather, Richard Avery.[15] Violet was probably Elizabeth Harrison's personal slave. There is no evidence about how long Violet might have lived in Williamsburg, but Elizabeth Harrison lived in Williamsburg until the time of Betty Randolph's death in January 1783. Betty Randolph bequeathed an enslaved girl named Kitty to her niece in her June 1780 will. Kitty, Little Aggy's oldest daughter, was valued at £20 in the January 5, 1776, inventory of Peyton Randolph's York County estate. Perhaps by 1780 Kitty had learned the skills of a personal slave from Eve and attended to Elizabeth Harrison's daily needs.

Elizabeth Harrison lived in Mecklenburg County after she married Lewis Burwell on November 13, 1789.[16] She moved Kitty and the slaves she inherited from her father, Henry Harrison, to the Burwell plantation known as Stoneland. Kitty's name appeared on the list of Burwell's tithable slaves from 1790 to 1798 and again in 1800. Burwell died in 1800, and Kitty was one of the slaves assigned to Elizabeth Burwell during her lifetime. The 1803 inven-

tory of Burwell's "Home House" in Mecklenburg County included "Kitty & her children Claray, Nathan & Walter Harrison" valued at $160.[17]

The surname of Harrison is an indication of the tie that Kitty and her children had to the slaves whom Betty Randolph moved to Williamsburg when she married Peyton Randolph in March 1745/6. It is known that Kitty was part of Elizabeth Burwell's household between 1801 and 1812, the last year that slave names appeared on the Mecklenburg County Personal Property Tax List. Kitty's daughter, Claray (born c. 1795), and Nathan (born c. 1800), her oldest son, were also among the slaves held by Elizabeth Burwell in 1812. The widow Burwell paid taxes on nine slaves over the age of sixteen and two slaves between twelve and sixteen years old in 1813. It appears that Elizabeth Burwell chose to divide her slaves among her children shortly after her second son Peyton Randolph Burwell turned twenty-one in July 1813. The Mecklenburg County Personal Property Tax Lists indicate that the widow Burwell had one slave, possibly Kitty, in her possession from 1814 to 1819. Elizabeth Burwell did not appear on the annual tax list between 1820 and 1824. She might have lived with one of her children until her death on November 19, 1824. The following year Elizabeth Burwell's estate included three unnamed slaves over the age of sixteen.[18]

Unlike the rest of the Randolph family's urban slaves, Johnny, Eve, Violet, and Kitty worked and slept in the main house so they could attend to the needs of their master or mistress. They also received training that was different than that of other domestic slaves. However, the fact that Johnny, Eve, Violet, and Kitty were personal slaves did not change the reality of life as a slave. The actions and decisions (sales, legacies, moving family and slaves) of an owner had a large impact on the lives of his or her enslaved men, women, and children and their family and friendship ties.

[1]See William Roane's description of the responsibilities of his personal slave, Joe, in *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 19 March 1772; James Mercer's account of the duties of his personal slave, Christmas, Ibid., 19 March 1772; Thomas Gaskins's advertisement for David, his personal slave, Ibid., 6 August 1772; William Park's announcement concerning Peter in *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon), 19 December 1777; Charles Yates's discussion of Robin in *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* (Nicolson and Prentis), 20 September 1783; John Breckinridge's report on Joe in *Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser* (Hayes), 10 May 1786; and John Fox's list of Gloucester's skills in *Virginia Independent Chronicle and General Advertiser* (Davis), 28 July 1790. These advertisements also appear in the May 6, 1999, issue of "The Network."

[2]Joseph Royle, *Virginia Gazette Journals*, 1764–1766 (Colonial Williamsburg Microfilm M-1136; original at the Alderman Library, University of Virginia), pp. 12, 27, 213; William Marshman, "Dayly Account of Expenses" kept by William Marshman at the Governor's Palace (Colonial Williamsburg Microfilm M-1395; original at Badminton), f. 16.

[3]Edmund Randolph, "Essay on the Revolutionary History of Virginia (1774–1782)" reprinted in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XLIII (1935): p. 216.

[4]James A. Bear, Jr., and Lucia C. Stanton, eds., *Jefferson's Memorandum Books. Accounts, with Legal Records and Miscellany*, 1767–1826, 2 vols. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), I: 408.

[5]*Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 12 December 1777.

[6]For information about slaves and free blacks in Philadelphia see Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), and Billy G. Smith and Richard Wojtowicz, comps., *Blacks Who Stole Themselves: Advertisements for Runaways in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 1728–1790* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).

[7]See Martha Massie's description of Moll in *Virginia Gazette*, 27 October 1752; Mary Clay's account of Jude's abilities in *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), 20 October 1768; the advertisement for Kate or Catherine in *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), 8 August 1777; and Thomas Turner's report of Charity's skills in *Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser* (Hayes), 16 October 1784. These advertisements also appear in the May 6, 1999, issue of "The Network."

[8]The exact time that the Randolph slaves decided to join the British will never be known. What is known is that Betty Randolph's note—"gone to the enemy"—indicates that these enslaved men, women, and children decided to run to the British and acknowledges their ability to make a decision that affected their lives.

[9]See "The Randolph House" in the *Enslaving Virginia Resource Book*, pp. 396–405.

[10]St. George Tucker to Fanny Tucker, July 11, 1781, in Mary Haldane Coleman, ed., *St. George Tucker: Citizen of No Mean City* (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1938), pp. 66–67.

[11]York County Wills and Inventories (23) 4–5, dated 1 June 1780, codicil dated 20 July 1782, and recorded 17 February 1783.

[12]In 1782, Virginians complained that French troops concealed slaves in Yorktown instead of returning them to their owners. Governor Benjamin Harrison wrote to Count Rochambeau in June 1782 to request his assistance in returning enslaved persons to their owners. See the *Enslaving Virginia Resource Book*, pp. 467, 474–475.

[13]*Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser* (Hayes), 9 February 1782 in Lathan A. Windley, comp., *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790*, 4 vols. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), I: 336.

[14]Elizabeth R. Harrison (1760–November 19, 1824) was the daughter of Henry and Elizabeth (née Avery) Harrison. Elizabeth was close to her uncle and named one of her sons Peyton Randolph Burwell (born July 29, 1792). See Inventory of the Estate of Henry Harri-

son in Sussex County Wills (C) 36–38, dated 23 April 1772 and recorded 18 March 1773; Stuart E. Brown, Jr., *Burwell: Kith and Kin of the Immigrant Lewis Burwell (1621–1653) and Burwell Virginia Tidewater Plantation Mansions* (Berryville, Va.: Virginia Book Company, 1994).

[15]Will of Richard Avery in Sussex County Wills (C) 199–201, dated 23 December 1775 and recorded 18 April 1776.

[16]Lewis Burwell was the eldest son of Armistead and Christian (née Blair) Burwell, the brother of John Burwell, and the brother-in-law of Ann (née Powell) Burwell.

[17]Mecklenburg County Personal Property Tax Lists 1790 to 1800; Will of Lewis Burwell in Mecklenburg County Wills (4) 227–230, dated 18 June 1800, proved 2 September 1800, and recorded 9 February 1801; Inventory of Lewis Burwell's property in Mecklenburg County, *Ibid.*, (5) 64–69, recorded 13 June 1803.

[18]Mecklenburg County Personal Property Tax Lists 1801 to 1825.

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