

# Interpreter

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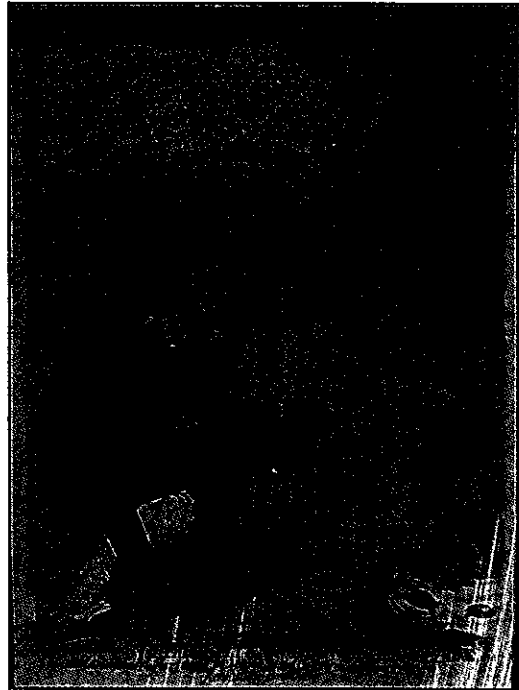
**"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country."**

(from *The Crisis*, by Tom Paine, December 1776)

As the war years commenced, people throughout America wondered what each new year would bring. The following quotations offer insights into the personal views of several of them during those "bleak mid-winters."

*Leesburg, Va.—Sunday, Dec. 31, 1775.*

*This is the last day of the year 1775, which I have spent but very indifferently. In short I have done nothing, but wore out my clothes and constitution, and according to the present prospect of affairs, the New Year bears a forbidding aspect. I am here a prisoner at large. If I attempt to depart and don't succeed, a prison must be my lot. If I do anything to get a living, perhaps I must be obliged to fight against my King and Country, which my conscience abhors. I will wait with patience till summer and then risk a passage.*



This satirical print of Thomas Paine, engraved by James Gillray and published on May 23, 1791, illustrates the attitude of many Britons toward Paine as a promoter of revolution and an antimonarchist.

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—Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774–1777 (Cresswell was a young Englishman who arrived in Virginia in 1774 hoping to acquire land and settle in the colonies permanently. He returned to England at the beginning of the Revolution.)

My Dear Sister [Mrs. Anne Fleming—Botetourt County]

Williamsburg Jany. 14th 1776

I now have the pleasure of telling you that we are all well, tho I have been very unwell since I come here to live for about a fort night, but thank god am now recovered. I am really quite tired of this place and were it not

for being with Mr Christian I should very soon leave it, however I dont think we shall get leave to stay here much longer, without affairs take a more favorable turn that [sic] we expect they will at present, we have heard this day of 1000 men to be here shortly, & the Govourner [Dunmore] is expected at York every day & the people there are quite unprepared for an attack there—things in general appear very discouraging here, we have not more than 300 men in this Town, all our Army is still at Norfolk, tho that place has been reduced to ashes since new years day—I hate much to enlarge on the publick news for none of it is good, nothing here is to be expected but wars and fightings in the Spring, I wish to god we were out of the reach of them, living peaceably at home again which is one of the greatest blessings this life can afford—we are still living in Town but every day expecting an alarm, which may drive us up to Hanover, Mr Christian is very well, & what surprizes me much seems more contented then [sic] I can possibly be, at this great distance from home, yet I must conclude myself better here with him then [sic] at home with out his Company, God only can see the event of all this Confusion which at present our lower Country is in—but I heartily wish I may see an end to it soon & once more enjoy the bles'd retreat of a country life—I beg you'll remember me to your dear Mother & tell her I woud wrote to her but one letter will give you & her the news at once [ ] My kindest wishes attend [Mr] Fleming, Ro[x]y, M[r Smith], & Children & believe me to be with much esteem Dear Sister your ever affect.

Annie Christian

Annie Christian was Patrick Henry's sister. Her husband, William, was lieutenant colonel of the First Virginia Regiment in the fall of 1775. He came to Williamsburg with the regiment in September 1775. His brother-in-law Patrick Henry was colonel at that time. Anne Fleming, the recipient of this letter, was probably the sister of Annie Christian's husband, William.

Head Quarters, December 25, 1776

Dear Sir: I have obliging favors of the 21st. and 23rd. the Blankets are come to hand, but I would not have any of the other Goods sent on, till you hear again from me. I agree with you, that it is in vain to ruminat upon, or even reflect upon the Authors or Causes of our present Misfortunes, we should rather exert ourselves, and look forward with Hopes, that some lucky Chance may yet

turn up in our Favour. . . . From an intercepted Letter from a person in the Secrets of the Enemy, I find their Intentions are to cross the Delaware [River] as soon as the Ice is sufficiently strong. I mention this that you may take the necessary steps for the Security of such public and private property as ought not to fall into their hands, should they make themselves Masters of Philadelphia of which they do not seem to entertain the least doubt. I hope the next Christmas will prove happier than the present to you.

—Gen. George Washington to Robert Morris in Philadelphia. (Morris was a prominent merchant and close friend of Washington's. He served as a delegate to the Continental Congress.)

[Winchester, Virginia] Wednesday, January 1, 1777. This is the first day of the New Year, which I am afraid will be spent, by me, to as little purpose as the two last have been. I am now in a disagreeable and precarious situation . . . In fear of going to Jail every day on account of my political principles, and no prospect of this unnatural rebellion being suppressed this Year . . . Spent the day very happily at Mr. Gibbs with a few of his friends, dancing and making ourselves as merry as Whiskey, Toddy and good company will afford.

—Journal of Nicholas Cresswell

Scotland, Loudoun County, Virginia—Monday, Jan. 6, 1777. News that Washington had taken 760 Hessian prisoners at Trenton in the Jerseys. Hope it is a lie. This afternoon hear he has likewise taken six pieces of Brass Cannon.

—Journal of Nicholas Cresswell

Head-Quarters, Valley Forge [Pa.] December 29, 1777

Without arrogance or the smallest deviation from truth it may be said that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army's suffering such uncommon hardships as ours has done and bearing them with the same patience and fortitude. To see men without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie on, without shoes (for the want of which their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet), and almost as often without provisions as with them, marching through the frost and snow, and at Christmas taking up their winter quarters within a day's march of the enemy, without a house or a hut to cover them till they could be built, and submitting without a murmur, is a proof of patience and obedience which in my opinion can scarce be paralleled.

—Diary of George Washington

# The White Loyalists of Williamsburg

by Kevin P. Kelly

*Kevin is a historian in the Department of Historical Research.*

*A version of this article appeared in the summer 1996 issue of the Interpreter.*

The climactic moment in *Williamsburg—The Story of a Patriot* comes when John Fry answers John Randolph's question whether he, too, is going home: "I am home." The movie quickly moves to resolution with John Fry bidding his son farewell as he marches off to war, and the old flag is replaced by the flag of a new state. John Randolph's leaving is portrayed as cordial; Fry and Randolph shake hands as respected friends. But the actual departures of several other loyalist residents of Williamsburg were far from cordial. The first stories fled from what Robert Beverley labeled "the Terrors of Torture or the Spirit of Persecution" during 1775 and 1776.

The tension of those years had been building since at least the spring of 1774 as news of the closing of the port of Boston became widespread in Virginia. Shortly after his arrival in Virginia, Nicholas Cresswell, an English traveler, noted that on Monday, May 30, 1774, "Nothing talked of but the Blockade of Boston Harbour." Cresswell also caught the tone of the conversations, "[The people] talk as if they were determined to dispute the matter with the Sword."

During the next several months the debate about how Virginians should respond to Boston's plight remained genuinely open. For example, in mid-June James Parker, a Norfolk merchant, wrote that the colony's political leaders were split. Even in September he felt "the honest 6 hhb [hogshead] planters" were still unsure of the proper course of action.

Yet, by autumn of 1774, as the Continental Association was put into effect, rebel rhetoric hardened and real open debate ceased. Again Cresswell, who had returned to Virginia after spending the summer in the West Indies, observed this new state of affairs: "October 24th 1774. Everything here [Alexandria] is in the utmost confusion. Committees are appointed to inspect into the Character and Conduct of every

tradesman. . . . Independent Companies are raising in every County." Rumors of intimidation against those who did not conform circulated widely. In late November, James Parker reported that a liberty pole had been erected opposite the Raleigh Tavern, "upon which was hung a large map & a bag of feathers, [and] under it a bbl [barrel] of tar." At nearly the same time, Cresswell confided in his diary that he must be careful what he wrote in letters because he believed they would be opened before they got to England.

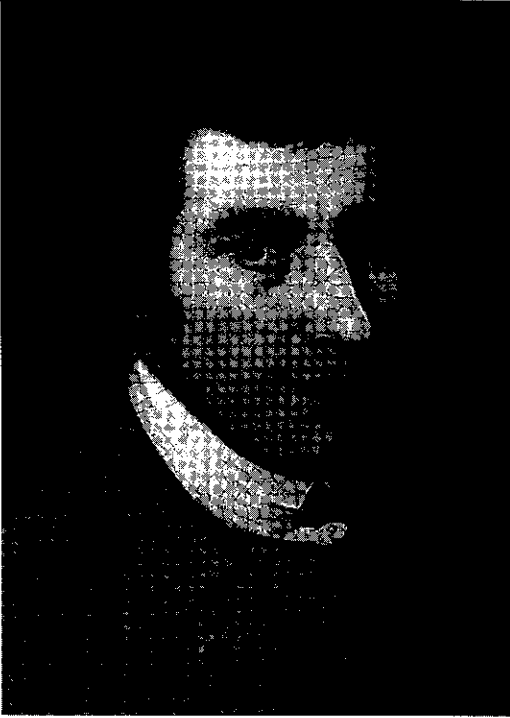
The climate of fear did not improve during the spring of 1775. County committees of safety continued to ferret out those not complying with the association. They seized and inspected merchants' account books, intercepted and read letters, and closely monitored public conversations. Individuals that the committees

judged to be "inimical to the liberties of America" might find their names and sins published in the *Virginia Gazette*. Or they might be forced to sign a public confession acknowledging their wrongs and promising to reform. Parker declared it was by such "bullering conduct" that the rebels expected to bring the British government around to their terms.

Governor Dunmore's removal of the gunpowder from the Magazine, coupled with news from Lexington and Concord, only compounded a tense situation. Nor was the situation helped in and around Williamsburg when several independent companies—at least 200 armed men in all—encamped in the capital city in June and July 1775. In July, Robert Beverley wrote his good friend William Fitzhugh decrying the changes in public life as he had known it. Men once could hold different opinions free from "inflamed passions," he declared. Now, he said, the person in the minority must withdraw his opinion or face the "Vengeance or Persecution of the Majority."



GEORGE the III<sup>d</sup> KING of GREAT BRITAIN, &c.



*Nicholas Cresswell, by an unidentified artist, ca. 1780, in the Colonial Williamsburg collections.*

If that were not bad enough, Beverley wrote, during these “tumultuous Times” even formerly close friends would mistreat those thought to be Tories. Neutrality was quickly becoming impossible. The steady number of suspected Tories carted through town toward the Public Gaol in late 1775 and throughout 1776 was a reminder, if any was needed, of the price of loyalty.

Given the oppressive climate in Virginia, it is not surprising that most of the Williamsburg loyalists who left town in 1775 and 1776 reported the verbal and physical abuse they received as a principal reason for their choice. Richard Pitt testified that because his father, Dr. George Pitt, the keeper of the Magazine, refused to turn its key over to the rebels, he was the target of angry abuse in June and July. Robert Miller noted his outspoken contempt for the acts of some Bostonians, and, in his position as a revenue officer, he was subjected daily to threats and insults before he joined Dunmore in June 1775.

The Reverend Mr. Thomas Gwatkin testified that after he refused Richard Henry Lee’s and Thomas Jefferson’s invitation to write a defense of the Continental Congress, a gang of armed men came to the college intent on forcing him to change his mind. On September 5, 1775, Joshua Hardcastle was dragged from his lodging to Benjamin Waller’s woods. There he underwent a mock court martial that threatened to give him a “coat of thickset.” On September 9,

he published his intent to leave Virginia “soon.” Richard Corbin Jr. reported that he, too, was nearly tarred and feathered.

In Adam Allan’s case, it was more than a threat. Allan, the proprietor of the Stocking Manufactory, moved to Fredericksburg in February 1776 after making himself very unpopular in Williamsburg by capturing and returning the colony’s seal to Dunmore. But Allan was even less popular in Fredericksburg. He reported that on June 6, 1776, he was “stript naked to the waist tarr’d & feather’d” and in that situation, “carted through Fredericksburg upwards of two hours.”

Sixteen Williamsburg individuals or families have been identified who felt compelled to leave the city in 1775 and 1776 because of their loyalty to the king. Lord Dunmore and Attorney General John Randolph and their families were the most socially important. John Randolph Grymes and Richard Corbin Jr., both Virginia-born, were younger sons in two of the more prominent gentry families. Not all were as prominent as these men. Although Joshua Hardcastle was first noted in the York County court records in 1770, few other circumstances of his life are known. Irish-born Bernard Carey, a linen draper, was described as a “Middle Trader, not one of the first rate.” The social distance between Carey and Randolph, fellow residents and loyalists, was great; Randolph testified that all he knew about Carey was that he kept a shop in Williamsburg.

Despite the lowly status of Hardcastle and Carey, most of the first wave of Williamsburg loyalists were either merchants like William Maitland, professionals like Dr. Alexander Middleton and the Reverends Gwatkin and Henley of the College of William and Mary, or placemen like Robert Miller, treasurer of the college, and James Menzies, private secretary to the governor. Other defining characteristics of these early Tories were that most were born in Great Britain, were unmarried, and had lived in Virginia less than ten years. Most, like William Maitland, who said he came to Virginia in 1771 as an “adventurer,” migrated to the colony hoping to establish themselves in the New World. But the “troubles” of 1775 and 1776 occurred before they could develop the ties that would make Virginia their “home.”

But even an immigrant as well rooted as George Pitt chose to leave. Born in Worcester, England, in June 1724, he studied to be a surgeon and an apothecary with his father and at age twenty sailed to Virginia. In 1753, he married Sarah Packe Garland, the wealthy widow of Mr. John Garland. His medical business prospered, gaining him wealth independent of his wife’s, and he also held several important public offices.

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**ADVERTISEMENTS.**


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WILLIAMSBURG, Sept. 9, 1775.

**I intend to leave the Colony**

soon.

**JOSHUA HARDCASTLE.**

In the summer of 1775, Dr. Pitt was a widower with seven children, the eldest not yet twenty-one. In possessions and experience, he was as much a Virginian as any of his neighbors. Yet his refusal to become a rebel and the insults that decision earned him forced his departure. It was a costly choice. His son reported that once in England the thought of all his father had abandoned preyed on Dr. Pitt's mind and health. Broken, George Pitt died four months after his arrival.

By the end of 1776, loyalist departures from Williamsburg had subsided. For the next four years only three individuals with a link to Williamsburg are known to have left Virginia. William Francis Bickerton, a British merchant, moved to Williamsburg in 1773 to oversee his company's affairs. When he was confronted to take the oath of allegiance to Virginia in 1777, he refused and was made a prisoner on parole and "sent up the country." He escaped to New York in 1779.

Edith Robinson, the elderly widow of the Reverend Thomas Robinson, a former professor at the college, left Williamsburg sometime before 1778. A teenaged William Tarpley joined the British army in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1780. The grandson of Elizabeth Rippling Tarpley and a nephew of Williamsburg merchant James Tarpley, he had been a grammar school student at the college from 1772 to 1775.

Why so few Williamsburg residents who still harbored loyalist sentiments chose not to leave in those four years is unclear. The establishment

**W I L L I A M S B U R G .**

**I**N consequence of a report at Tuesday morning that a certain Joshua Hardcastle, of this city, had the preceding evening been guilty of uttering expressions highly degrading the good people who compose the several companies now in this place; and moreover, that he had frequently spoke of the cause of America in a most disgraceful and menacing manner; the volunteers, exasperated at this insulting behaviour, and thinking themselves bound, by the ties of honour and love of country, to enquire into the nature of the offence, accordingly waited upon the said Hardcastle, and conducted him to the Grove (the habitation of the soldiers) where the officers and men were immediately drawn up. They then proceeded to his trial, and after a candid, mature, and deliberate examination of the witnesses, found him guilty of the facts laid to his charge. One of the principal officers then made the following propositions: Whether the said Hardcastle should be complimented with a coat of *thickset*; whether he should be *drummed* through the city; or whether he should make *public concessions*. The officers then divided, when ten were for **DRUMMING**; and a like number for **CONCESSIONS**. However, they at last agreed that he should *only* ask pardon of all the officers and soldiers present, and give his promise that he never would be guilty of a like offence, and also be published in the Virginia gazettes, as a warning to those who may hereafter sport with the great and glorious cause of America.

Virginia Gazette 1775

of a stable government on June 29, 1776, and the final departure of Lord Dunmore from the Chesapeake Bay on August 5 may have eased rebel fears of Tories as a subversive element. Furthermore, the most vocal early loyalists were either in exile, in jail, or on parole in the backcountry out of harm's way.

Although the newspapers stopped mentioning Tories being imprisoned in the Public Gaol after 1777, it is likely that some of the 300-plus prisoners housed in the Williamsburg jail between December 1777 and March 1780 were there for committing political crimes. If so,

any political prisoners jailed in town would serve as a reminder to Williamsburg's "closet loyalists" that discretion was the better part of valor. This may also explain why some of those later loyalists served in the rebel militia or took the oath of allegiance to Virginia in 1777.

Furthermore, public officials may have tolerated a rising level of discontent. By 1779 and 1780, war weariness had settled on Virginians. Rampant price inflation caused real hardships. In July 1779, a number of Williamsburg's private citizens took the unprecedented action of calling a town meeting of all the free inhabitants; the meeting decided to fix the price of food items and also appointed a committee of overseers to enforce compliance. The failure to recapture Savannah, Georgia, in October 1779, the fall of Charleston, South Carolina, in May 1780, and the defeat of General Gates at Camden, South Carolina, in August 1780 were generally seen

as military disasters. Even as steadfast a Virginia patriot as George Washington was troubled.

The lack of an easy opportunity to escape may have been another reason why so few of Williamsburg's remaining loyalists left before 1780. After Dunmore's departure in August 1776, there was no sustained British military presence in Virginia until late 1780. In August 1777, a British fleet entered the Chesapeake Bay to ferry British troops to Head of Elk, bypassing Virginia. On May 8, 1779, a British expeditionary force captured Portsmouth, burned Suffolk, then sailed off on May 24. On October 20, 1780, British general Leslie led an invasion force into Hampton Roads but was recalled to South Carolina on November 22, 1780. With no British lines to cross or garrisons to flee to, any Williamsburg loyalist wishing to go over to the British faced the prospect of a long and dangerous trip to New York City. Furthermore, such an escape exposed a loyalist's property to seizure. Better to let events work themselves out and hope for a change in military fortunes.

That change came in late December 1780 when the newly commissioned British general Benedict Arnold led another expeditionary force

into Virginia waters. Unlike earlier intrusions, this force meant to stay. To make his intentions clear, Arnold led a lightning strike up the James River, capturing Richmond before settling into winter quarters at Portsmouth on January 19, 1781. His presence began to draw the attention of Virginia's remaining loyalists.

For example, James Tait of Cabin Point, a former engineer and land surveyor, offered his services as a guide and scout. Knowing Tait's knowledge of the region's geography would prove useful, Arnold accepted his offer. After Maj. Gen. William Phillips arrived with 2,800 reinforcements in March 1781, William Peter Matthews, a Hampton merchant who briefly operated a store in Williamsburg after he married Williamsburg milliner Margaret Brodie, joined the British. He, too, provided Phillips and Arnold with maps of the area and helped secure supplies for the army.

The presence of the British army also heartened the spirits of some Williamsburg loyalists. In

March, William Hunter, a former printer, was able to slip into Portsmouth to provide the British with important intelligence. On April 20, Phillips and Arnold passed through Williamsburg on their way to burn the shipyard on the Chickahominy River. John Jarret Carter, who had served under Washington at the battle of Trenton, volunteered to guide them. Loyalists such as Carter, Matthews, and Tait continued to provide essential aid to the British after Lord Cornwallis joined Arnold on May 20, 1781. With the arrival of 1,500 reinforcements from New York on May 21, Cornwallis commanded an army of approximately 7,000 soldiers.

Arnold's arrival caught Virginia off guard, and state officials reacted little better when Phillips

and Arnold took the offensive in late April. The arrival of Cornwallis only compounded the problem for Virginians. A widespread panic set in across the Commonwealth in the spring of 1781. It reached its peak in early June, when Lt. Col. Simcoe and his Queen's Rangers captured Point of Fork, Virginia's main military supply depot, and Lt. Col. Tarleton and his dra-

**Tuesday, 14 November 1775  
Royal Chief Magistracy**

*An Oath of Allegiance*

*Whereas a Set of factious men, under the Names of Committees Conventions and Congresses have violently under various false pretences usurped the legislative and executive powers of Government and are thereby endeavouring to overturn our happy Constitution and have incurred the Guilt of actual Rebellion against our Gracious Sovereign. I A.B. do therefore adjure all their Authority and solemnly promise in the presence of Almighty God to bear faith and true Allegiance to his sacred Majesty George 3d. and will to the utmost of my Power and Ability, support maintain and defend his Crown and dignity against all traiterous Attempts and Conspiracies whatsoever.*

*So help me God*

Doc., MS trans., in unidentified clerical hand (Loose Papers of the Fourth Virginia Convention, VSL)

goons nearly caught the entire General Assembly napping at Charlottesville.

Consequently, when the scattered legislators reassembled, they granted the new governor, Gen. Thomas Nelson, nearly dictatorial powers. With the advice of the Council, he could marshal the militia at will, commandeer necessary equipment, property (signaling a renewed hostility to those not fully committed to the American cause), jail any person suspected of "disaffection" without bail, and banish suspected tories upon pain of death. As in 1775 and 1776, the time to choose had come; neutrality was no option.

After the raids on Charlottesville and Point of Fork, Cornwallis pulled his army back toward the Tidewater, where he hoped to receive new orders from General Clinton in New York. On June 25, he reached Williamsburg, where he encamped until July 4. Cornwallis's army included not only 7,000 soldiers but also some several hundred slaves who had taken refuge with him and

a smaller number of loyalists and their families. Supported by civilians like Matthews and Tait, who were commended for procuring provisions in Williamsburg "by consent of the inhabitants without using force," the army's company of cattle drivers was soon herding cattle and sheep into town, and its carters brought in wagonloads of shelled corn, bacon, and other foodstuffs.

While the British army rested and replenished its supplies, a number of the town's residents decided the time had come to make their loyalty known. William Hunter did so happily. He had made an overture in March, but the British chances of winning were poor then, so he returned to Williamsburg. With Cornwallis looking unbeatable, however, Hunter saw little to risk and much to gain by joining the winners.

James Hubard may have joined the British as a way out of what was an intolerable situation. A prominent attorney before the war, Hubard had been an early supporter of the colony's protests against the closing of Boston's harbor. He was elected to the Williamsburg Committee of Safety in 1774 and 1775. He was also appointed a judge of the Admiralty Court on July 4, 1776. But he must have harbored doubts about the direction the protest was taking, because he declined to serve on July 5, and he refused to take the oath of allegiance to Virginia in 1777. As a result, he was imprisoned briefly, and his law practice was destroyed.

By 1780, Hubard, his wife, and eight children were living in greatly reduced circumstances. Furthermore his steadfast refusal to abandon his loyalty caused dissension within his family; his oldest son, James, joined the American side, while his second son, Matthew, strongly supported his father. Hubard may have attempted to return to Williamsburg after the siege of Yorktown, only to have to flee back to the protection of the British fleet.

He sailed on the *Bonetta* with other loyalists to New York. In spring 1782, Matthew Hubard traveled with his mother to New York to visit his ill father. They arrived shortly after James Sr.'s death. The fifteen-year-old Matthew refused to return to Virginia, placing himself instead under the care of Lord Dunmore, who sent him to England with James Menzies.

Two other residents joined Cornwallis's army while it was in Williamsburg, and, like Hunter



James Hubard bookplate. Bowyer-Hubbard Collection, Special Collections, Colonial Williamsburg.

and Hubard, they escaped to New York after Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown. Of the four, William Parker was the only one actually to enlist; he joined the American legion. The other three served as citizen volunteers. Except for the fact that he was married, little else is known about Parker. Theodorick Bland, who had married into the prominent Fitzhugh family, was the other individual who joined in June. The only reason he gave for doing so was that he found it "prudent to place himself under the protection of Lord Cornwallis."

The Common Hall of Williamsburg also accused six additional townsmen (Jacob Williams, Joseph Thompson, Henry Drake Watson, William Hill, James Ross, and Benjamin Bucktrout) of joining Cornwallis's army. The Common Hall felt they warranted extra condemnation because they had returned to Williamsburg after the siege of Yorktown to resume their lives as if their betrayal was of little consequence.

Except for Bucktrout, the historical record offers no evidence on why these men may have joined. In August 1779, Benjamin Bucktrout put his house and personal property, including his cabinetmaking tools, up for sale. He also announced he was leaving Virginia in October. Again no reason was given, but the advertisement suggests he was willing to cut all ties to Williamsburg. Interestingly, only Bucktrout stayed in Williamsburg after 1781 for any length of time; he died in Williamsburg about 1813. All the others disappeared from town by 1784 at the very latest.

These six men may not have actually joined the British army the way Hunter, Hubard, and the others had. They may have simply sought out Lord Cornwallis's protection. This could have meant they were paroled by Cornwallis, which would have freed them from imprisonment as prisoners of war on their oaths not to take up arms against the British. They then could use these paroles as an excuse not to join the Virginia militia.

Needless to say, Virginia authorities viewed such actions as a sure sign of "disaffection to the state." Francis, John, and Thomas Jaram, father and two sons, asked for Cornwallis's protection. Sometime after Cornwallis left Williamsburg to move on to Portsmouth, the Jarams were ordered

arrested for "disaffection." Thomas, one of the sons, went into hiding, however, and eventually made his escape to Portsmouth and the safety of the British army. But Francis and John Jaram were not so lucky. They were taken to the public jail in Richmond, where they remained imprisoned until at least late 1781.

The social profile of the second wave of Williamsburg loyalists was similar in some ways to that of the 1775–1776 loyalists. The majority of both groups were born in Great Britain and, like the earlier loyalists, the later ones had lived in Virginia only a short time (seven years on average) before openly declaring their loyalty.

The Virginia-born loyalists of the second wave were a little younger on average than their 1775–1776 colleagues. More of the later loyalists were or had been married (40 percent versus 20 percent.) But the biggest difference between the two groups can be seen in their occupations.

The occupations for far more of the second group cannot be determined; they left too few clues in the surviving records. For those whose occupations are known, more who became or were suspected of being loyalists were artisans than was true in 1775 and 1776. Whereas the commercial and professional ranks dominated in 1775 and 1776, few of their kind can be found among the later loyalists. This is not surprising, since few British-born merchants should still have been in Virginia because they had been banished from the state in 1777.

As HMS *Bonetta*, a sloop of war, cleared the capes in late October 1781 on its way to New York City, its five Williamsburg passengers (Hunter, Hubard, Bland, Jaram, and Carter) faced an uncertain future. Already ill, James Hubard would die in New York. John Jarret Carter sailed in July 1782 to England, where he found part-time work driving a hackney coach. He

dropped from view in 1783. Thomas Jaram disappeared in early 1782.

After the peace treaty was signed in 1783, Theodorick Bland made repeated efforts to return to Virginia, but he had not been permitted to land. Nor had he received any messages from his wife and family at the time his memorial was written in March 1784. William Hunter also attempted to return to Virginia from Nova Scotia in 1783, only to be unceremoniously "banished from his Native Country." He moved to England, where he found work as a journeyman printer. Although he was recommended for an allowance of £30 a year, he was judged a person who "betrays a total Want of principles."



The Bostonians Paying the Excise-Man, or Tarring and Feathering, attributed to Philip Dawe, 1774, in the Colonial Williamsburg collections.

The fates of the other Williamsburg loyalists who went to England were equally mixed. Because of their former social standing, John and Ariana Randolph, Richard Corbin Jr., and John Randolph Grymes received some of the largest annual allowances and awards granted the Williamsburg loyalists. Still, they would remain exiled in England living in genteel poverty.

Yet their fate was better than Richard Floyd Pitt's. Soon after landing in England, he took up the upholstery trade and got married. But by 1783, he was bankrupted. In October 1786, Pitt,

along with his wife and child, was thrown into Fleet Prison as an insolvent debtor. When last heard from in February 1788, he and his family were still there.

Adam Allan settled in New Brunswick, and William Tarpley was given £20 to pay for his passage to Halifax. In 1783, Dr. Alexander Middleton petitioned the state to become a Virginia citizen. There is no evidence that his request was granted. He was living in Calais in 1788. William Parker and Edith Robinson reached England and petitioned for assistance. Edith Robinson moved to Warcop, Yorkshire, to live with her sister Mary Preston. She was still living at Warcop in 1786.



Nothing more is known about what happened to Parker. It is not even known if Joshua Hardcastle actually left Virginia, despite his published intent.

Although experiencing varying hardships upon arriving in England, many of Williamsburg's British-born loyalists seem to have been successfully reabsorbed into British society. Bernard Carey had been settled in Ireland for two years by the time he submitted a claim. His story was deemed preposterous. When no award was granted, it was likely he went back to Ireland. After living with relatives until 1779, William Maitland also settled in Ireland.

Because William Francis Bickerton and Robert Miller maintained commercial ties to Virginia during and after the war, they both seem to have avoided the economic distress other loyalists encountered. Although short of funds when he presented his claim, James Menzies had maintained close ties to Lord Dunmore. It was likely that Dunmore secured employment for him; Dunmore had done so for the Reverend Gwatkin. Because Dunmore felt obliged to his son's tutor, he had Gwatkin appointed vicar in Chousley, Berkshire, a position worth £80 a year. The Reverend Samuel Henley also easily reestablished himself in England. In 1776, he married and became assistant master of Harrow School. Later he was appointed curate in a parish in Northall, Middlesex.

As a peer of the realm, John Murray, fourth earl of Dunmore, never doubted he would resume a life of privilege when the war in America was over. He had hoped to return in triumph to his government in Virginia. In anticipation of a British victory, he and many Virginia loyalists set sail for Virginia in early October 1781. The news of Cornwallis's surrender dashed their hopes.

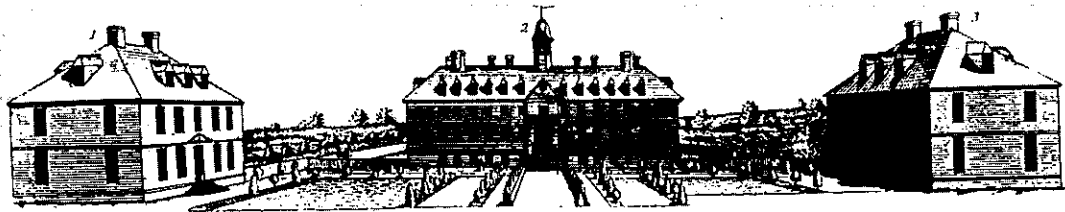
Upon return to England in 1782, Lord Dunmore had to settle for an award of £32,723 sterling (minus the £15,000 he had already received) for his lost property and an appointment as governor of the Bahamas worth £1,000 sterling per annum.

Only thirty-two individuals stand out in the record as confirmed or suspected loyalists. By at least one measure, their number was not impressive. Male loyalists accounted for only 14 percent of the military-aged men living in Williamsburg in 1776. Despite all the anxiety they may have generated, they posed no real threat to the rebellion. Yet their choices did ripple through the Williamsburg community.

William Parker's wife joined Arianna Randolph in following her husband into exile. Children, like Dr. Pitt's seven youngsters, were uprooted and carried into a strange country. Families were split as fathers and sons disagreed about revolutionary politics.

But families were split in other ways too. Sarah Bland would not see the father of her infant son, John, for three years at least. William and Joseph Hunter, neither one four years old in 1781, were twice orphaned, by the death of their mother and the desertion of their father. The ripples need not have had such tragic consequences, however. The Reverend Gwatkin worried that his departure would disrupt the education of his private students and asked the Reverend Bracken to take care of them.

The Revolution in Virginia and Williamsburg was a multilayered phenomenon. It was a story of triumph and promise, but it was also a story of dead ends and disappointments. No matter how dissonant a note the loyalists struck, they are a part of the texture of the piece. Their story deserves to be told.





## White Loyalists of Williamsburg

- |                               |   |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|--|
| <b>Name:</b>                  | Adam Allan  | <b>Name:</b>                  | Benjamin Bucktrout   |
| <b>Loyalist Evidence:</b>     | Claim   | <b>Loyalist Evidence:</b>     | Accusation   |
| <b>Place of Birth:</b>        | Great Britain   | <b>Place of Birth:</b>        | Great Britain  |
| <b>Date of Birth:</b>         | by 1751   | <b>Date of Birth:</b>         | by 1745  |
| <b>Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:</b> | 1772  | <b>Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:</b> | 1766   |
| <b>Departed Wmsbg./Va.:</b>   | February 1776/late 1776   | <b>Departed Wmsbg./Va.:</b>   | 1788 to 1793?  |
| <b>Occupation:</b>            | Proprietor, stocking manufactory  | <b>Occupation:</b>            | Cabinetmaker   |
| <b>Offices:</b>               | None known  | <b>Offices:</b>               | Petit juror, York Co., 1768, 1772; purveyor for the Public Hospital, 1777-1779; Williamsburg road surveyor, 1804                                     |
| <b>Family:</b>                | Appears to be unmarried   | <b>Family:</b>                | Married or widowed in 1781   |
| <b>Remarks:</b>               | Tarred and feathered in Fredericksburg, June 1776; in New Brunswick, 1786   | <b>Remarks:</b>               | Advertised property for sale and intent to leave Virginia, August 1779; accused of joining Cornwallis 1781; died in Williamsburg, ca. 1813           |
| <b>Name:</b>                  | William Francis Bickerton   | <b>Name:</b>                  | Bernard Carey  |
| <b>Loyalist Evidence:</b>     | Claim   | <b>Loyalist Evidence:</b>     | Claim  |
| <b>Place of Birth:</b>        | Great Britain   | <b>Place of Birth:</b>        | North of Ireland   |
| <b>Date of Birth:</b>         | Unknown   | <b>Date of Birth:</b>         | by 1748  |
| <b>Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:</b> | 1773  | <b>Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:</b> | 1766   |
| <b>Departed Wmsbg./Va.:</b>   | 1777/1779   | <b>Departed Wmsbg./Va.:</b>   | Fall 1776  |
| <b>Occupation:</b>            | Merchant  | <b>Occupation:</b>            | Linen drapery trader   |
| <b>Offices:</b>               | None  | <b>Offices:</b>               | None known   |
| <b>Family:</b>                | No evidence married while in Virginia   | <b>Family:</b>                | Not married in Virginia  |
| <b>Remarks:</b>               | Made prisoner on parole 1777 and sent to back-country; escaped to New York 1779   | <b>Remarks:</b>               | Imprisoned four days as "inimical to liberty"; in Ireland, 1781-1783   |
| <b>Name:</b>                  | Theodorick Bland  | <b>Name:</b>                  | John Jarret Carter   |
| <b>Loyalist Evidence:</b>     | Claim   | <b>Loyalist Evidence:</b>     | Claim  |
| <b>Place of Birth:</b>        | England   | <b>Place of Birth:</b>        | Unknown  |
| <b>Date of Birth:</b>         | ca. 1752  | <b>Date of Birth:</b>         | Unknown  |
| <b>Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:</b> | by 1772   | <b>Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:</b> | Unknown  |
| <b>Departed Wmsbg./Va.:</b>   | June 1781/October 1781  | <b>Departed Wmsbg./Va.:</b>   | April 1781/October 1781  |
| <b>Occupation:</b>            | Planter   | <b>Occupation:</b>            | Publican/tavernkeeper  |
| <b>Offices:</b>               | None known  | <b>Offices:</b>               | None   |
| <b>Family:</b>                | Married with at least one son   | <b>Family:</b>                | Married, probably with children  |
| <b>Remarks:</b>               | Found it "prudent" to seek Cornwallis's protection; not permitted to return to Virginia after 1783; still in England 1784 | <b>Remarks:</b>               | Served in the American army eight months; refused to take oath of allegiance; joined Cornwallis in April 1781; drove a hackney coach in England 1783 |

**Name:** Richard Corbin Jr  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** Virginia  
**Date of Birth:** 1751  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:**  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** August 1775  
**Occupation:** Private secretary to father, Richard Corbin Sr., Receiver General  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Second son of Richard Corbin Sr.; unmarried  
**Remarks:** Nearly tarred and feathered before leaving Virginia

**Name:** John Randolph Grymes  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** Virginia  
**Date of Birth:** 1747  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:**  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** March 1776  
**Occupation:** Private gentleman un-concerned with profession or trade  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** A younger son of Philip Grymes, Esq.; unmarried in Virginia; married Susannah Randolph, daughter of John and Ariana Randolph by 1780  
**Remarks:** A leading Virginia loyalist in England; probably died in England by 1797

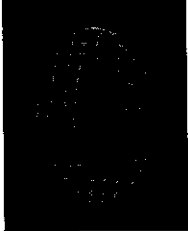
**Name:** Thomas Gwatkin  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** Hereford Co., England  
**Date of Birth:** 1741  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:** January 1770  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** June 1775  
**Occupation:** Professor of natural philosophy (1770) and language (1775), College of William and Mary; private tutor  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Not married in Virginia  
**Remarks:** Tutor to Lord Fincastle; accosted by armed men at college; awarded a small living in Berkshire

**Name:** Joshua Hardcastle  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Named in the Virginia Gazette  
**Place of Birth:** Unknown  
**Date of Birth:** Unknown  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:** by 1770  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** After September 9, 1775  
**Occupation:** Unknown  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Unknown  
**Remarks:** Subjected to a mock court martial by the Independent Companies encamped around Williamsburg, early September 1775

**Name:** Samuel Henley  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** England  
**Date of Birth:** ca. 1740  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:** 1770  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** May 24, 1775  
**Occupation:** Professor of moral philosophy and college chaplain, College of William and Mary  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Not married in Virginia; married by December 1776 in England  
**Remarks:** Planned to leave before 1775 but stayed to ensure John Randolph was elected the College Burgess

**Name:** William Hill  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Accusation  
**Place of Birth:** Unknown  
**Date of Birth:** Unknown  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:** by 1773  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** by 1782  
**Occupation:** Carter  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Unknown  
**Remarks:** Took oath of allegiance 1777; accused of joining Cornwallis 1781; lot owner until 1784 (not on personal property tax lists)

**Name:** James Hubard  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** Virginia  
**Date of Birth:** by 1738  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:**  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** June 1781/October 1781  
**Occupation:** Attorney  
**Offices:** Williamsburg Committee of Safety, 1774 and 1776

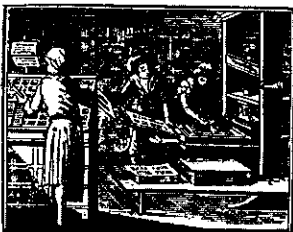


*James Hubard silhouette.  
 Bowyer-Hubbard Collection,  
 Special Collections,  
 Colonial Williamsburg.*

**Name:** Matthew Hubard  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** Virginia  
**Date of Birth:** 1767  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:**  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** April/May 1782  
**Occupation:** None  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Unmarried; second son of James Hubard  
**Remarks:** Traveled to New York to join dying father; refused to return to Virginia; sent to England under care of Lord Dunmore; planned to go to East Indies with Cornwallis spring 1783

**Name:** William Hunter  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** Virginia  
**Date of Birth:** 1754  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:**  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** June 1781/October 1781  
**Occupation:** Printer  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Married (widowed by 1784) with two young children

**Remarks:** Took oath of allegiance; served in Virginia militia; joined Cornwallis out of loyalty and belief British would win; unable to return to Virginia; journeyman printer in England in 1787



**Name:** John Jaram  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Imprisonment  
**Place of Birth:** Probably Great Britain  
**Date of Birth:** Unknown  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:** 1774  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** by 1782  
**Occupation:** Unknown (owned cattle and sheep in 1777)  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Unmarried/widower? (It is not clear which Jaram, John or Francis, was the father, which was the son.)

**Remarks:** Took oath of allegiance 1777; put on parole by Virginia June 1781; jailed for "Disaffection" in late 1781

**Name:** Thomas Jaram  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** Great Britain  
**Date of Birth:** ca. 1754-1758  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:** 1774  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** July 1781/October 1781  
**Occupation:** Unknown (father or brother was a carpenter)

**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Unmarried (father and brother lived in Williamsburg)  
**Remarks:** Escaped imprisonment for disaffection; joined Cornwallis in Portsmouth, in New York City spring 1782

**Name:** William Maitland  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** Great Britain  
**Date of Birth:** ?by 1755  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:** 1771 as an "adventurer."  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** January 1776/April 1776  
**Occupation:** Merchant; partner with Robert Miller

**Offices:** Assistant treasurer at the College in Robert Miller's absence, June 1775  
**Family:** Not married in Virginia; was a dependent in Robert Miller's household in 1774  
**Remarks:** Treated with violence and malice; settled in Ireland by 1779

**Name:** James Menzies  
*Loyalist Evidence:* Claim  
*Place of Birth:* Scotland  
*Date of Birth:* ca. 1745  
*Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:* 1763  
*Departed Wmsbg./Va.:* June 1775/August 1776  
*Occupation:* Private secretary to Lord Dunmore 1772+  
*Offices:* Deputy auditor in Auditor General's Office 1763–1772; superintendent of Auditor General's Office, 1772–1775; clerk to the Committee to Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures  
*Family:* Unmarried in Virginia; lived in Dunmore's family after March 1772  
*Remarks:* Appointed Receiver General, Bahamas, 1795

**Name:** Alexander Middleton  
*Loyalist Evidence:* Claim  
*Place of Birth:* Unknown  
*Date of Birth:* Unknown  
*Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:* 1776  
*Departed Wmsbg./Va.:* After spring 1776  
*Occupation:* Physician  
*Offices:* None  
*Family:* No evidence married in Virginia; married by 1778  
*Remarks:* Kind treatment of political prisoners in Public Gaol earned rebel displeasure; captain of Maryland loyalists; petitioned to be a Virginia citizen 1783; living at Calais 1788

**Name:** Robert Miller  
*Loyalist Evidence:* Claim  
*Place of Birth:* Scotland  
*Date of Birth:* ca. 1730  
*Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:* 1749  
*Departed Wmsbg./Va.:* June 1775  
*Occupation:* Merchant  
*Offices:* Treasurer of the College (1770); comptroller of the port of Williamsburg (1773); member Williamsburg Common Council (1773)  
*Family:* Single; no evidence ever married  
*Remarks:* Received daily threats and insults for being outspoken and a revenue officer

**Name:** John Murray, fourth earl of Dunmore  
*Loyalist Evidence:* Claim  
*Place of Birth:* Scotland  
*Date of Birth:* 1732  
*Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:* September 1771  
*Departed Wmsbg./Va.:* June 1775; August 1776  
*Occupation:* Royal governor  
*Offices:* Same  
*Family:* Married Charlotte, daughter of the earl of Galloway, 1759; seven children  
*Remarks:* Governor of Bahamas, 1786–1798; died 1809

**Name:** William Parker  
*Loyalist Evidence:* Claim  
*Place of Birth:* Unknown  
*Date of Birth:* Unknown  
*Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:* by 1774  
*Departed Wmsbg./Va.:* June 1781/October 1781  
*Occupation:* Unknown  
*Offices:* None  
*Family:* Married, probably had children  
*Remarks:* Enlisted in the "American Legion"; moved family to New York upon his discharge; in England June 1783

**Name:** George Pitt  
*Loyalist Evidence:* Claim  
*Place of Birth:* Worcester, England  
*Date of Birth:* 1724  
*Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:* 1744  
*Departed Wmsbg./Va.:* August/September 1775  
*Occupation:* Surgeon and apothecary  
*Offices:* Keeper of the Public Magazine 1755–1775; Muster Master General  
*Family:* Widower (Sarah Packe Garland Pitt died 1772) with seven children, none older than 21 in 1775  
*Remarks:* Refused to give key to the Magazine to the rebels; thought to have helped Dunmore remove the gunpowder; granted a royal patent for a process to make gunpowder; died at Stratford on Avon early 1776

**Name:** Richard Floyd Pitt  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** Virginia  
**Date of Birth:** November 15, 1754  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:**  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** August/September 1775  
**Occupation:** None in Virginia; upholsterer in England  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Not married in Virginia; in England, married with one child by 1788  
**Remarks:** Bankrupted 1783; imprisoned for debt at Fleet Prison October 1786–February 1788+

**Name:** John Randolph  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** Virginia  
**Date of Birth:** ca. 1727  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:**  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** September 1775  
**Occupation:** Barrister  
**Offices:** Attorney General and Judge Vice-Admiralty Court  
**Family:** Married with two daughters and one son; son Edmund stayed in Virginia as a rebel  
**Remarks:** Leading Virginia loyalist; died in England 1784; daughter Ariana married loyalist James Wormley; daughter Susannah married loyalist John Randolph Grymes; widow Ariana died in England 1801

**Name:** Edith Robinson  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** James City Co., Virginia  
**Date of Birth:** 1726–1731  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:**  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** by 1778  
**Occupation:**  
**Offices:**  
**Family:** Since 1765, widow of the Rev. Thomas Robinson; daughter Mary and son-in-law Thomas Jameson died in 1771; grandchildren underage in 1778  
**Remarks:** Forced to leave Virginia by the violence of the rebels; joined widowed sister, Mary Preston, in Warcop, Yorkshire; still there in May 1786

**Name:** James Ross  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Accusation  
**Place of Birth:** Virginia  
**Date of Birth:** ca. 1758  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:**  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** After 1781  
**Occupation:** Carpenter  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Probably unmarried  
**Remarks:** Convicted of breaking the peace in July 1780 and September 1780; accused of joining Cornwallis 1781



John Randolph's Home, Tazewell Hall. Drawing by Lucy Smith.

**Name:** William Tarpley  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Claim  
**Place of Birth:** Virginia  
**Date of Birth:** ca. 1762 (father, John died 1762 or 1763)  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:**  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** by 1780  
**Occupation:** Unknown  
**Offices:** Unknown  
**Family:** Not married; grandson of Elizabeth Rippling Tarpley, son of John Tarpley, and nephew of James Tarpley; grandmother left William one-half of some lots in town and a plantation near Williamsburg  
**Remarks:** William and brother Thomas students at William and Mary 1772–1775; enlisted in the 84th Foot in Charleston, S.C., 1780; provided passage to Halifax

**Name:** Joseph Thompson  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Accusation  
**Place of Birth:** Unknown  
**Date of Birth:** Unknown  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:** by 1777  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** between 1782 and 1784  
**Occupation:** Gardener  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Probably not married  
**Remarks:** Accused of joining Cornwallis, 1781; advertised lot for sale September 1782

**Name:** Henry Drake Watson  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Accusation  
**Place of Birth:** Unknown  
**Date of Birth:** Unknown  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:** by 1780  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** by 1782  
**Occupation:** Unknown  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Unknown  
**Remarks:** Accused of joining Cornwallis 1781

**Name:** Jacob Williams  
**Loyalist Evidence:** Accusation  
**Place of Birth:** Unknown  
**Date of Birth:** Unknown  
**Arrived in Va./Wmsbg.:** Unknown  
**Departed Wmsbg./Va.:** 1781  
**Occupation:** Unknown  
**Offices:** None  
**Family:** Unknown  
**Remarks:** Accused of joining Cornwallis 1781; jailed for "disaffection" late 1781. (There was a Jacob Williams living in the Norfolk area, 1774–1782.)



### A Short Bibliography on Loyalists

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## Arts & Mysteries

### Rediscovering Governor Dunmore's Coat-of-Arms

by Chris Wright

*Chris is a riding chairmaker and vehicle body specialist with the wheelwright shop in the Department of Historic Trades.*

In 2003, I was informed that plans were under way to commission another coach for Colonial Williamsburg. This would likely be the last substantial addition to our fleet of passenger vehicles for the foreseeable future. After some discussion, a decision was made to stylistically "round out" the variety of coaches used in town by building one representative of a town coach. The eighteenth-century town coach was typically the most elaborate form of personal transportation. So who would have owned such a vehicle?

There was a town coach listed among the vehicles produced by coach maker Elkanah Deane for John Murray, earl of Dunmore, during his tenure as governor of New York. Dunmore brought this coach with him when he was appointed to his post in Virginia. Elkanah Deane relocated his business from New York to Williamsburg, and in an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* for October 23, 1773, Deane states, "I made, in the city of New York, for his Excellency the Right Honourable the Earl of Dunmore, a coach, phaeton, and a chaise, which may now be seen by any gentleman that has an inclination."

It was decided that Colonial Williamsburg's new coach would be Governor Dunmore's coach, and as such should be appropriately identifiable by its livery color combinations, door handles, interior appointments, and a surprising array of details including Dunmore's coat-of-arms emblazoned on the doors of the coach. Richard Nicoll, Colonial Williamsburg's director of Coach and Livestock, headed the project, and gave me the task of providing a copy of the arms.

I checked multiple sources within Research and Collections and was as surprised as everyone else seemed to be to discover that no complete copy of the arms existed anywhere in the Foundation. In 1993, I had visited Scotland, in-

cluding Blair Atholl, the location of Blair Castle, the Murray family seat. The earls of Dunmore descended from this line. I contacted Blair Castle via email and was shortly provided with a black-and-white copy of the shield from the arms of the earl of Dunmore. I also received a copy of the written description of the complete arms—in heraldic language. I next contacted Colonial Williamsburg's paint conservation lab and was told that if I provided a translation from the heraldic to common English, they would likely be able to define the individual colors.

I next turned to The College of Arms in London, where, for a nominal fee, they will locate and translate coats-of-arms. The translation was undertaken by the Windsor Herald, who had also contacted his counterpart in Scotland. Together, using documentation from *The Pocket Peerage of 1788* and *Peers Arms*, which he described as "being roughly contemporary with the fourth earl of Dunmore," they completed the translation. I received the materials, including several photocopies of versions of the arms of the earl of Dunmore, all in black and white. On December 17, 2003, I completed my color composite based on that information, gave a copy of the arms to Richard Nicoll, and also sent a copy of the translation to paint conservation for the paint samples, which would surely be more accurately interpreted than mine.

During my original search for the arms, I was directed to the Department of Archaeological



China fragments with coat-of-arms from the Colonial Williamsburg collections.



Research, whose collection includes a number of china fragments that exhibit a coat-of-arms. These may have been part of a china service used by Lord Dunmore. Bill Pittman, curator of collections, was very accommodating and provided me the opportunity to examine the fragments.

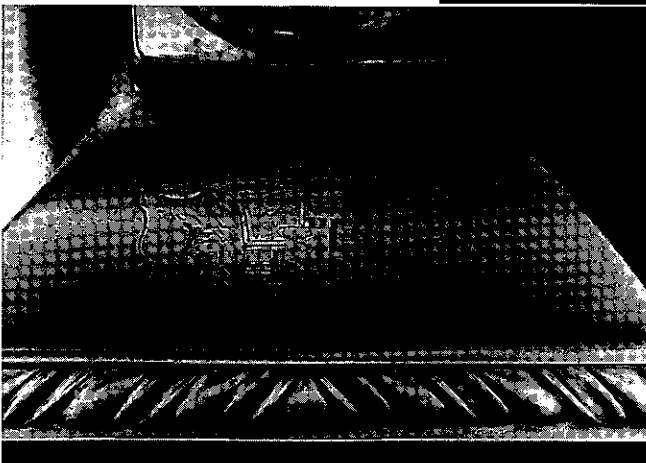
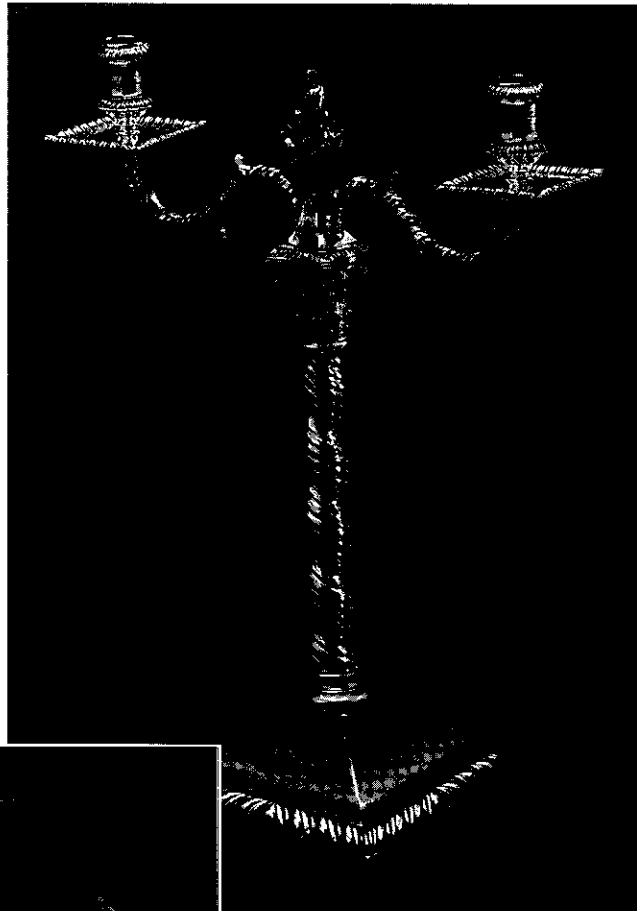
As we discussed various details of the plate, he told me that the archaeologists had dated the fragments circa 1750. Unlike the arms provided by the Windsor Herald, the arms on the plate shows a pinwheel of three armored legs joined at the hip on a shield within the shield of the Dunmore arms—yet another variation on the arms to confuse the issue further!

While researching traditional coachmaking techniques, I read William Felton's eighteenth-century treatise on coachmaking and quite unexpectedly came upon this shield within a shield motif. Felton described it as the proper way of displaying the arms of a lady if she is an heiress (known as an *escutcheon of pretense*) on her spouse's arms, just as previously described on the Dunmore arms.

Again, I turned to Blair Castle and found that the *legs* represent the Isle of Man, which was inherited by the second duke of Atholl through his grandmother (the heiress in question). The second duke died in 1752, putting the addition of the legs within a believable time frame for use in the arms of the subsequent earls of Dunmore. The archivist at Blair Castle also confirmed that additions or alterations to coats-of-arms typically remain through the successors to the arms, although they have the option to change them. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume the china fragments found scattered around Colonial Williamsburg's Historic Area exhibit the coat-of-arms appropriate to the fourth

earl of Dunmore, and that the china service may even have been made for the third earl and brought to America by his son, John Murray, the last royal governor of Virginia.

The coat-of-arms represents a variety of familial and regional associations. The arms specifically are of Murray, earls of Dunmore: grand quarters 1 and 4 (upper left and lower right) displays silver stars on a blue field, contained by a border with fleur de lis facing in alternate directions, for Murray; grand quarters 2 and 3, with a silver and blue checker pattern, for Stewart; the additional quarters within grand quarters 2 and 3 with gold and black stripes, for the earls of Atholl; in pretense the arms of Man, and finally the supporters and crest of the earls of Dunmore. The coronet in the crest is that of



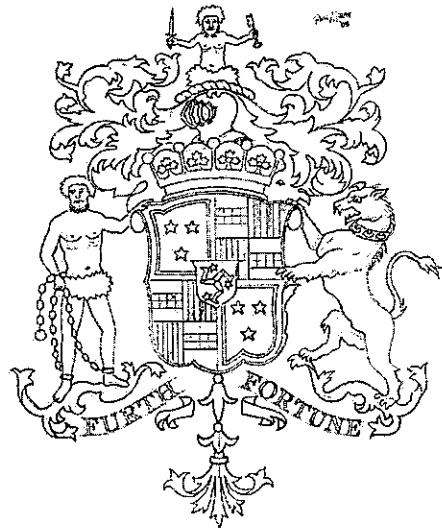
One of a pair of candelabra (CWF G1981-61,1-2) belonging to John Murray, the fourth earl of Dunmore, these lighting devices were engraved with an armorial (see detail), as opposed to coat-of-arms, proclaiming them to be Dunmore's property. While the branches date to the 19th century, the candlesticks have the date mark for 1759 and descended in the Murray family. They are on exhibit in the Governor's Palace.

an earl, and the helm's position and style indicates the rank of peer of the realm.

When next you see the arms prominently displayed, it will be on the Dunmore coach which has been commissioned and is currently under way in the shop of the same master builder in Vienna, Austria, who created the Carter coach for us several years ago.

The painting of the arms, however, will showcase the skill of Colonial Williamsburg's own master painter, Phil Moore. The door handles and harness buckles will be cast by master of the foundry Doc Hassel and the staff at the Geddy Foundry using the pattern of an original handle, which was unearthed at the Deane coachmaking site here in town.

Once again, the generosity of James and Maureen Gorman has made the commission possible. The coach being produced is based on an eighteenth-century antique known as the Berlina di Gala, which is displayed in the Musei Civici di Palazzo Farnese in Piacenza, Italy.



*Dunmore coat-of-arms. Drawn by Phil Moore, Colonial Williamsburg Print Shop.*

## A Convict Servant, a Slave, an Indentured Servant: Three Building Tradesmen at Mount Vernon

by Jason Whitehead and Marshall Scheetz

*Jason is an apprentice brickmaker in the Department of Historic Trades. Marshall is an apprentice cooper in the Department of Historic Trades.*

In 1774, Mount Vernon was about to undergo a renovation that would last the next thirteen years. When it came to building and remodeling, George Washington was no different than any other homeowner of any time in history. He faced the same problems that confounded his peers: how to get the best building materials available and the skilled labor necessary to execute his grand schemes. And just as his peers were doing, Washington solved these problems by purchasing the skills possessed by laborers—enslaved and bound.

Over the course of those thirteen years, many hands would come and go on the plantation. A war would be fought and won. And George Washington would see very little of his beloved home. In hindsight, Washington couldn't have picked a more inconvenient time to renovate his dwelling. While his troops were camped out around Boston, he was writing to Congress concerning the upcoming ending of enlistments of his army. At the same time he was trying to secure adequate clothing and supplies for his men preparing for winter in New England.

Yet he was also dealing with preparing fields, sowing crops, the butchering hogs, and protecting his own property, all from hundreds of miles away. What that meant to Washington was that it would take several weeks to receive any sort of correspondence from his farm manager whose duties now included the defense of a home held sacred in its owner's heart as well as overseeing the crop production and renovation. Washington relied almost entirely on the managers, close friends, or relatives he hired to run his holdings during his absence. These managers provided Washington with all of the information they felt he would need to instruct them as to his wishes, even from a distance. Much of their correspondence survives.

As manager, Lund Washington wrote to Cousin George from the farm, "it looks like lost labour to keep on with our Building—for shoud they get Burnt it will be very provoking—but I shall keep on until I am directed to the contrary by you." Lund also served as Washington's rep-

resentative working with local officials to guard navigation on the Potomac by investigating where best to set up batteries that might protect against enemy ships.

One can only think that allowing himself to worry about the progress of his wheat crop or the bricklayers' work mending the greenhouse foundation may have provided Washington with a welcome diversion from the endless details of managing an undersupplied army in the field of combat.

These exchanges between master and manager served as the only link between a man whose duties took him far away from where he longed to be. These records reveal much about those who helped shape Mount Vernon into what it still is today. Passing references such as "The Stoco [stucco] man is at work in the dineg Room. God knows when he will get done," might have reassured a determined homeowner anxious to know how the work was progressing.

Other letters give more details about illness and death; about certain projects a person was working on; their strengths and weaknesses as a worker; and sometimes Washington's own personal feelings on a particular subject or individual. From one of these volumes of records, a story of three individuals emerges: one a slave, one a convict servant, one an indentured servant.

### *A List of Tithables in Truro Parish Fairfax County July 1774*

*George Washington, Jno. Park Custis, Lund Washington*

*Geo: Young, Thos. Bishop, Caleb Stone, Chrr Shade, Wm Skilling, John Knowles, Andrw Judge, Jno. Broad, Phil: Bate-man, Wm Webster. [House Servants] Breechy, Will, Frank, Giles, Heculas, Joe, Nell, Doll, Jenry, Betty, Moll, Sall, Alice, Sarah, Alice. [Home House] Frank, Jack, Schomberg, Peter, Lewis, Bacchus, Boson, Gunner, Bristol . . .*

All three men whose names appear in bold above—William Webster, John Knowles, and Gunner—were new to Mount Vernon in July 1774, having arrived within the previous year. They came from different circumstances, one choosing to be there, while the other two found themselves taken away from their native lands and forced to make the best of it far from home. Each man brought with him skills that Washington saw as vital to the renovation of his house. These three show how different individuals worked together in the process of production and construction.

Production and construction, and even more so brickmaking and bricklaying, require dif-

ferent skills. Though some laborers can work sufficiently at both, most work best at one or the other. William Webster, the first on our list, worked at brickmaking more often than bricklaying. Webster was one of tens of thousands of British subjects who made their way to the colonies as convict servants. They came not from any desire to seek land and wealth, but only because they were presented with a choice between life or death.

Born in Scotland in 1745, William Webster's life took him south into the English border county of Northumberland. There, in 1773, Webster was arrested for stealing a watch. During the summer of that year, having been found guilty, he was sentenced to serve as a convict indentured servant in "His Majesties Plantation of Virginia and Maryland" as is recorded on his assignment.

Since his crime was not of a heinous nature, he was given the merciful term of seven years instead of fourteen. Whether his trial occurred in Newcastle, a bustling northern English port, we are not certain. If his trial had occurred in the countryside, then he would have been transported to Newcastle until such time as a *cargo* (the term commonly used in reference to a load of convict servants) had been gathered and readied for shipment. It was from Newcastle that the brig, *Swift*, Captain James Straker, departed for America in early January 1774.

The *Swift* arrived in Baltimore and cleared customs on February 26. Almost all of the convict servants transported to the colonies in the eighteenth century—some estimate tens of thousands of people—were sent to Maryland and Virginia where they could be bought for £8 to £10 each, with skilled convicts sometimes going for £25. They were typically the cheapest form of labor to be purchased, the buyer having to take into account the flight risk as well as the potentially villainous nature of the person acquired.

On March 12, Valentine Crawford acting for George Washington acquired Webster. He was one of four convict servants in addition to the four indentured servants and a man and his wife all purchased by Crawford for £110. They were intended for the Great Kanawha expedition, an attempt by Washington to explore and develop some of his holdings on the frontier. This expedition was cut short by the outbreak of Dunmore's war. It does not appear that Webster joined Crawford and his party as they headed west because Crawford sent a letter back in which he described selling off almost all of the servants from the expedition to some of the local men. Webster, at the same time, was listed as a tithable

in Fairfax County (the only one of the group of the servants purchased in March by Crawford).

Though there is no direct evidence explaining why Webster did not make the trek west, it may have been that he had already made an attempt at freedom. At the end of April, George Washington paid 9d to William Skilling (also listed in the tithables above) for going after Webster. Webster again attempted freedom a year later:

*Forty Dollars Reward*

*Ran Away from the Subscriber, on the 19th instant, at night, two servant men, viz. Thomas Spears, a joiner, . . . William Webster, a brickmaker, born in Scotland, and talks pretty broad. He is about 5 feet 6 inches high, and well made, rather turned of 30, with light brown hair, and roundish face. He had on an olive coloured coat, pretty much worn, with black horn buttons, duffile waistcoat and breeches (same as Spear's) oznabrig trowsers, and check and oznabrig shirts . . . the above reward is offered to any persons who will deliver them at my dwellinghouse, in this county, or twenty dollars for each, from George Washington. Fairfax County, April 23, 1775*

Freedom was not to be had this time for either Spears or Webster. William McDaniel was paid £6 "for taking up William Webster" not long after the ad was published. Spears was back at Mount Vernon by February.

There are only a handful of references to Webster and his time at Mount Vernon. In October 1775, a letter to George Washington from one of his farm managers records, "Webster is still making bricks & will keep at it until the weather is cold, we have met with many losses & interruption by the wet weather." By the end



of that month, Webster was recorded as "sick." This is not the last we hear of Webster, for at the end of November, he was mentioned as being "sound." Although a positive and reassuring notation, this is unfortunately where the recorded life of William Webster comes to an end.

It was about this time that news of Governor Dunmore's Proclamation reached Mount Vernon, offering freedom to any servants or slaves of rebel masters who made their way to His Majesty's forces willing to fight for the British crown. The Proclamation was received with great nervousness by many landholders throughout Virginia.

Lund wrote to Washington, "I think if there was no white Servts in this family I should be under no apprehension about the slaves." He declared to make an example out of anyone who tried to escape. We do not know whether Webster attempted to join Dunmore. One can only speculate as to the rest of William Webster's life. If he served out his entire indenture, he would have remained at Mount Vernon until 1781, trying times for freemen and servants alike.

Possibly working with Webster as a laborer during this tense time was the slave Gunner. The bulk of the labor force at Mount Vernon, just as on any large plantation in eighteenth-century Virginia, were enslaved Africans. Though not a large slaveholder himself before 1759, Washington acquired eighty-four slaves when he married the widow Martha Custis. Washington acquired forty more slaves, including Gunner, from the time of his marriage up until the Revolution.

Washington's contemporaries wrote that he treated his slaves "far more humanely than do his fellow citizens of Virginia." For example, he was fair and sometimes sympathetic to his slaves' situation as in the case of Neptune. Washington hired Neptune with intent to purchase him from John Lawson. Neptune arrived at Mount Vernon and was set to work with one of the bricklayers. However, when Washington informed Neptune of his intention to purchase him, the slave became upset at being so far from his wife. "This also embarrasses me as I am unwilling to hurt the feelings of anyone," Washington wrote to Lawson. Neptune was sent back, and Lawson was paid for the time Neptune was hired out to Mount Vernon.

When he felt it necessary, Washington was firm with his slaves he felt were not working to their full capacity. This firmness did not always just imply the whip. He implored his manager to use psychological motivation with the slave Muclus saying, "that if his pride is not enough to stimulus to excite him . . . that I have directed you to have him severely punished and placed

under one of the Overseers as a common hoe negro." Essentially Muclus was demoted.

In notes following the July 1774 list of tithables, Gunner is described as one of nine new slaves to appear at Home House, one of Mount Vernon's several farms that made up the plantation. He was approximately thirty-two years old when he arrived at Mount Vernon in 1774. We do not know what Washington paid to acquire Gunner. In his prime working years, he may have been valued around £40 to £50. Skilled slaves such as carpenters or bricklayers could be valued from £60 to £100. Gunner married another of Washington's slaves, Judy, and fathered at least one child by her.

Brickmaking was, by its nature, a very physical and labor intensive operation. Digging and hauling the clay, moving unfired and fired brick, and chopping and stacking cords of firewood took their toll on the human body. From the written accounts, we know that Gunner was in generally good health, missing on average about eight days of work per year for illness in the 1790s. However, in late 1775 and into 1776, Gunner missed almost six months of work due to a sore foot. Though his foot wasn't in good shape, his hands were still put to work doing chores around the house such as carding tow for the spinners.

There is no direct evidence of Gunner working as a brickmaker at Mount Vernon until a reference to him in a letter from 1781. On April 18, Lund's earlier fears of invasion came true when the British sloop *Savage* landed at Mount Vernon. Seeing the home of the rebel leader as a prime military target, officers on board demanded an audience with the farm manager.

Lund Washington, General Washington's cousin, boarded the vessel and offered the officers refreshments in return for sparing the mansion. Mount Vernon remained unscathed, but the British made off with seventeen slaves, among which several were listed as skilled and "valuable." In a letter describing the event to the general, Lund mentioned Gunner "about 45 years old, valuable, a brickmaker" as one of those taken.

Upon learning of this event, Washington was quite upset about the loss of his slaves and the shame Lund must have felt. However, he also felt that Lund should have refused to yield to the enemy. He wrote Lund that "you ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of communicating with the enemy." He continued that he wished "they had burnt my house, and laid the plantation to ruins" than to have made a voluntary offer of refreshments.

Gunner and several others were recovered in Philadelphia about two weeks later.

Gunner's skill and value was his experience as a laborer in the brickyard. One cannot tell how much brickmaking was undertaken in the early 1780s at Mount Vernon. Perhaps that is why Gunner is simply listed as a laborer there in February 1786. Yet Gunner's skills were once again in use by June of that year as a laborer for Cornelius McDermott Roe, an Irish brickmaker, hired by Washington for one year of service.

Gunner continued to work in the brickyard through the 1780s. In fact, in December 1792, at age fifty, he was still put to the task of digging up clay for brickmaking the next year. Gunner was not a brickmaker in the true sense of the term. He was not the one who oversaw the general production or the firing of the kiln. Those who did possess those skills were hired by Washington. Men like Webster, Roe, Charles Hagan, and others appeared at Mount Vernon because of their skill as brickmakers. This is not to say that Gunner himself did not possess such skills. Having worked in the brickyards at Mount Vernon for nearly twenty years, one would expect Gunner to be as adept at brickmaking as anyone Washington could have brought in. His likely continued to be viewed as a laborer, however.

Throughout his life, Washington's view on slavery would evolve. Like many of his time, the young George Washington saw slaves as simply property to be bought and sold as needed. However, as historian Mary Thompson explains in her report "The Only Avoidable Subject of Regret: George Washington and Slavery," his views on slavery "did a complete turnabout over the course of his life."

During the Revolution in which he sacrificed so much of his life and fortune, he witnessed the brave actions of black soldiers fighting with the Continentals. He eventually approved the enlistment of free blacks. After the war, he encouraged his friend Lafayette in a scheme of allowing slaves to work private land as tenants and eventually to gain their freedom.

Though not an abolitionist by title, he did not disagree with the idea. That is why at the time of his death, Washington, hoping to lead by example yet again, directed that all of the slaves under his direct ownership, 123 of the 318 slaves at Mount Vernon (the rest were Martha's dower slaves), be granted freedom upon the death of his wife. He also ensured that those who were sick or elderly would be cared for by his estate. This was in accordance with the revision in the slave manumission laws enacted in Virginia in 1782, which eased restrictions on masters who wanted to free their slaves.

On the 1799 enumeration of Washington's Mount Vernon slaves, Gunner was listed on

the roll of those at the mansion house farm. Described as being ninety years old and "passed labor," he, his wife, Judy, and son Will would all become free when Martha Washington made it effective in January 1801.

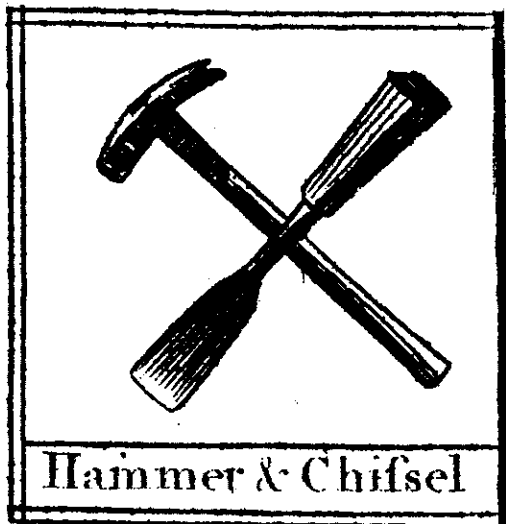
In addition to slave labor, Washington also actively used covenant indentured servants, more commonly known as *indentured servants* (as opposed to convict servants like Webster), at Mount Vernon. The term *covenant* refers to a binding agreement between two parties. The workers entering into these agreements desired to come to America for a variety of reasons. Some sought the land and prosperity they thought the New World offered. Others were simply escaping the crowded conditions and squalor of living poor in crowded urban areas such as London. The one thing they all had in common was the inability to pay for passage across the ocean.

They entered into a covenant with someone—perhaps a ship captain or by prearranging for a fixed number of years with a person in Virginia—who could foot the bill for the Atlantic voyage. When an indentured servant finished the agreed term, he (or she) was allowed freedom dues which varied from colony to colony but usually included some money or even clothes, tools, and guns.

Upon arrival the servant not already bound to a particular person was sold by the ship's captain to the highest bidder for a term of usually four years. Almost all were from Britain—England, Scotland, or Ireland. Washington was also interested in hiring Palatines for developing some of his western holdings. (Palatines were German immigrants brought over as redemptioners—indentured servants who were able to pay part of the cost of crossing the ocean and were allowed time once they arrived, usually ten to fourteen days, to pay the rest of the cost. If unable to do so, they would be sold into servitude to pay off the remaining debt.) Living near the ports of Alexandria, Baltimore, and Annapolis, as well as having business and dealings in Williamsburg, provided Washington with the opportunity to hire skilled workers directly from Europe.

Indentured bricklayer and stonemason John Knowles first appeared in the Washington accounts on July 1, 1774, when Washington recorded "John Knowles Bricklayer for tools and Cloaths . . . to 1 swite cloaths, 2 pair shoes, to cash paid Baker Brookes for him" amounting to £45.6.8. The price also included John's wife, Rachel, who worked as a house servant.

Knowles's skill as a bricklayer was much sought-after by plantation owners such as George Washington. Unlike carpenters who were plentiful throughout the colonies and could be put to work on the simplest dwelling to the grandest



mansion, bricklayers were harder to come by. Because of their relative scarcity and possessed of a skill that was in demand, bricklayers could also earn a better living than some of their building trades counterparts. Yet even they were sometimes performing several different roles such as brickmaker and plasterer.

Knowles was probably put to work in 1774 and 1775 on such chores as repairing chimneys, underpinning foundations, or building the garden wall. Most likely the bricks produced by Webster and Gunner. Unlike Monticello, Mount Vernon is not a brick home. Thus the majority of brickwork on the plantation was not directly related to the house itself, but the plantation as a whole. Wash houses, store houses, sheds and barns, quarters for slaves, mills and distilleries were the projects that occupied much of a bricklayer's time at Mount Vernon.

As an example of the many jobs even someone like a bricklayer could be called upon to perform on a plantation, we know of one job—totally unrelated to laying bricks—that nearly cost John Knowles his life. In a letter to George Washington dated November 24, 1775, Lund Washington writes of a bull with a “mischievous disposition” that had gored several of the horses. An attempt to saw the horns off the beast ended with Knowles sustaining a wound and the bull retaining his weapons.

Because of his injury, Knowles was unable to work for some time. In a letter dated December 3, it is mentioned that because of his injuries “he has done no work for 10 days past, otherwise the chimneys would have been done.” A week later Knowles still had “not yet recovered.” He did survive and continued to serve at Mount Vernon until late 1777 when an entry in the Washington Account Books records the payment of £3.10 freedom dues.

Knowles's time at Mount Vernon did not come to an end with the completion of his indenture. As a free man, he could negotiate his own working conditions and pay. He appeared in the Mount Vernon records for the year 1786 working for £5 per month and a pint of rum per day. He and Rachel returned in 1789 and were put to work for another year. In the contract below, Knowles was given work not only as a bricklayer, but as a brickmaker as well.

*Articles of Agreement made and entered this seventh day of July Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine by and between George Washington for and in behalf George Washington Esq. of Mt. Vernon as his true and lawful attorney on the one part, and John Knowles and Rachel his wife on the other part. Witnesseth that the said John & Rachel in consideration of the covenants and wages herein after expressed to be expressed to be fulfilled and paid by the said George Washington for and in behalf of George Washington Esq. as his true and lawful attorney do agree to serve him the said George Washington Esq. of Mt. Vernon for the full term of one year from the date hereof, viz., the said John agrees to make, burn, and lay bricks and to do everything which he is capable of performing in his profession as a brickmaker and bricklayer to the best of his knowledge with the utmost fidelity and dispatch. And at such times as he is prevented working at his trade he is to ditch, break flax, or do anything that may be properly required of him. His wife Rachel is to be allowed one day each week Saturday for doing her own business, and the remaining five days she engages to spin wool, cotton, flax and to prepare the latter from the break in the best manner and to perform such services as may properly be required of her which she binds herself to discharge with the utmost fidelity and industry. They also both agree to take under their directions, and care, fully instruct such Negroes as the said George Washington Esq. may think proper in the different duties required of them. All loss time to be repaid.*

*In consideration of the above things being well and truly done and performed by the said John and Rachel the said George Washington for and in behalf of George Washington Esq. of Mt. Vernon as his true and lawful attorney doth covenant and agree to pay them the sum of thirty pounds current money of Virginia in specie—He*

likewise agrees to furnish them with a dwelling house—to allow them a spot of ground for a garden, to give them three hundred weight of fresh pork at killing time and one hundred weight of fresh beef, three hundred barrels of corn and one hundred weight of midlings—one barrel of salted herrings one quart of rum per week and to allow them the use of a cow(?).

On witness of the [illegible] and [illegible] true performance thereof the parties have hereunto set these hands and seals the day and year first written.

John Knowles

George (Augustine) Washington

The task of brickmaking must have been a job he had not shown much skill toward in the past for Washington wrote from Philadelphia to his manager, George Augustine Washington, at Mount Vernon that he didn't know "that Knowles professed, or in any degree understood brickmaking." He was worried that "he will spoil any bricks he attempts to burn." Washington could only hope that Gunner's experience in the brickyards might help Knowles in his production. Whether his brickmaking venture was successful, we can not be sure. There is no record that Knowles's career at Mount Vernon continued into the next decade.

In a great painting, every brush stroke is vital to finished detail of the masterpiece. So it was with Mount Vernon, where every detail, no matter how large or small, was considered equally vital to putting together Washington's fine house. Everyone, including Webster, Knowles, and Gunner as well as the many others who remain lost to history, each added subtle details to Washington's great masterpiece.

Our three workmen serve only as examples of the pool of laborers whose sweat and blood built Mount Vernon. Each relied on the work of the

others. Knowles could not lay the bricks to build the chimneys in 1775 if Webster had not made them. Webster and Knowles relied on the strong brickyard labor provided for more than twenty years by Gunner.

Who's to know if George Washington personally spoke with any of these three men, or would even have recognized them as he rode around the different farms of Mount Vernon inspecting the progress of construction on his lands? He did know their names, if not their faces. We know he was acquainted with the work they were executing and was keen on keeping up-to-date. And because he knew their names, we do as well.

What can be hoped for is that the names Gunner, John Knowles, and William Webster will find their way into the general discussion of masonry trades, not just as practiced at Mount Vernon, but as practiced throughout the plantations of eighteenth-century Virginia where workers—enslaved, indentured, and convict—worked side by side, each dependent upon the other.

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(A footnoted copy of this article is available from the editor.)





## A Brief History of Chocolate in Colonial America

by Jim Gay

*Jim is a journeyman in historic foodways in the Department of Historic Trades.*

Chocolate has been a part of the North American diet for more than 330 years. One of the earliest records of chocolate in colonial America dates to 1670 when Dorothy Jones and Jane Barnard were given approval to serve "Coffee and Chucaletto" in houses of "publique Entertainment" by the selectmen of Boston. For the previous three thousand years and until the middle of the nineteenth century, it was primarily a beverage. One of the earliest hand-written recipes using chocolate in North America comes from an anonymous Virginia housewife and is dated circa 1700.<sup>1</sup>

American-made chocolate was available in Williamsburg's stores throughout the colonial period. It was imported from Boston, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia. Virtually none came from Britain. The essential ingredient for making chocolate is cocoa (called *cocoa beans* today, and *chocolate nuts* or *cocoa nuts* then). It was imported from the West Indies and South America. Cocoa arrived in the Chesapeake no later than 1694.<sup>2</sup> Chocolate, along with coffee and tea, was the nonalcoholic alternative to start out the day. Unlike coffee and tea, however, chocolate offered nutritional value and was as much a food as a beverage. All three are stimulants, as opposed to alcoholic beverages, and became increasingly popular from the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup>

### But first, the essentials

Everything chocolate begins with cacao. Carl Linnaeus, the eighteenth-century scientist, labeled it *Theobroma cacao*—food of the gods. It is one of the most chemically complex foods on the planet.<sup>4</sup> The fruit of the cacao tree (the "chocolate nut tree" as eighteenth-century scientists called it) is unique. Think of fruits on a tree and

you imagine them hanging from the horizontal branches. Cacao pods grow from the trunk. There is no growing season as there is for apples and oranges. The tree flowers and produces fruit simultaneously, year-round.

The fruit is about the size of a summer squash and has semisweet, citrus-flavored pulp on the inside. The outer skin is smooth, ribbed, or mottled and ranges in color from yellow to red-orange. The pulp is similar to that of a cantaloupe or a pumpkin. The seeds are about the size and shape of an almond and have a white outer membrane. Peel away the membrane and you will find a purple seed. The fresh seed is bitter, but not overpoweringly so. No flavor at this stage resembles chocolate. Surprisingly, the whole essence of processing is to discard the sweet stuff and retain the bitter.

Once the fruit is picked, it is cut open and the seeds are piled on plantain leaves on the forest floor. Workers pile the seeds high and then put more plantain leaves over the whole heap. Left for one to three days, the seeds ferment, killing the endosperm, thus preventing germination.

This fermentation does not result in alcohol as does the fermentation of yeast for making bread or beer. Rather, it energizes enzymes or proteins, which are critical to the ultimate chocolate flavor. The longer the seeds are allowed to ferment, the greater the fat content. Fermented cacao seeds contain somewhere between 46 and 61 percent fat.<sup>5</sup>

The magic continues. The seeds have turned color from white to brown. Once fermented and dried, they are referred to as *cocoa*. The cocoa is then consolidated, bagged, and sold. From then on, cocoa is in the hands of the sailor, the merchant, the chocolate maker, the grocer, and finally, the cook.

Religions of the world through the ages often trace heavenly gifts to mountains and so it was with cacao. According to Mayan and Aztec beliefs, humans acquired cacao from a feathered serpent that found it on a mountain along with

other foods. They might have been right. Modern plant scientists trace the original cacao to the eastern slope of the Andes and the Amazon basin. More specifically, chocolate historian and heirloom cacao maven Maricel Presilla identifies an area south of Venezuela—Lake Maracaibo—as the seedbed for the cacao that was to eventually dominate palates up until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

Humans carried it north to Central America and Mexico. Several thousand years later, Europeans distributed it throughout the West Indies and the Philippines. In the nineteenth century, the Dutch took it to the East Indies, the British to Sri Lanka, and the Portuguese to Africa.<sup>7</sup>

This type of cacao is called *criollo*. Today, cocoa beans from criollo cacao represent less than 10 percent of the chocolate we eat. It is still considered the best of the best by chocolate manufacturers the world over. Venezuelan criollo, called *caracas* in the eighteenth century, was the preferred type of cocoa known to Americans and Europeans during the colonial period.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, a wild variety was found growing in the Amazon basin and Ecuador. Called *guayaquil* during the colonial period and *forestero* today, this wild varietal was more hardy and disease-resistant than the more delicate and shade-loving criollo.<sup>8</sup> Less desirable and harsher tasting than criollo, *forestero* tolerates direct sunlight. Eventually, *forestero* cacao was transplanted to other regions of the world and is 95 percent of the cocoa eaten today. *Forestero* from West Africa is the flavor we recognize as chocolate. Whereas most of today's cocoa comes from West Africa, the growing region extends around the world within twenty degrees of latitude either side of the equator.

A third type of cacao is a hybrid of criollo and *forestero* originating on the island of Trinidad. Called *trinitario*, it combines the flavor characteristics of criollo and the hardiness of *forestero*. It did not become commercially available until the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Today, approximately six million cacao growers account for three million pounds of cocoa traded internationally. Most of them live on small family farms, as it has been since the time of the Maya.

While North Americans and Europeans were importers of cocoa and manufacturers and consumers of chocolate, they had nothing to do with its introduction into the food supply. Cacao has been consumed by humans for about three thousand years. The Olmecs of pre-Columbian Mexico were probably the first people to exploit it. The Olmecs, who lived in the coastal lowlands of southern Mexico on the Gulf of Mexico from

around 1500 B.C. to 400 B.C., were the mother culture of the later Mayans and Aztecs.<sup>10</sup>

The Mayans were next. From the remnants of the Olmec, they received the word *cacao*, its myths, and its usage. When the Spanish arrived in Mexico in the early sixteenth century, the Maya civilization was dead. The people had broken up into warring tribes living in the Yucatan and highlands of southern Mexico. They still grew cacao, which they used for trade with the Aztecs. Throughout Mexico and Central America, cacao seeds were a form of money.<sup>11</sup>

From there, the story goes to kitchens in colonial Mexico. Not only did the Mexican creoles (the first, probably a woman)<sup>12</sup> take a room-temperature, bitter, spicy, and foamy Aztec ceremonial beverage called *cacahuatl* made from cacao seeds, they added Old World cane sugar, drank it as hot as possible, and called it *chocolat*.

Unlike the Aztecs, the Spanish did not wait for special occasions to drink chocolate. They found as many reasons as possible to consume it as often as possible. These Spanish creoles were the first to grind cocoa with metal tools and mass-produce chocolate with a rotary machine. The Spanish were to first to make an international business of growing and trading cocoa.

### How It Was Used and Who Used It

Of the three nonalcoholic hot beverages in the eighteenth century, chocolate was associated with the bedchamber, coffee with the coffeehouse, and tea with the parlor. Chocolate, like coffee and tea, was synonymous with middle-sort industriousness in Protestant Europe and North America. Like all caffeinated drinks, they were consumed at the beginning of the day to energize the inner spirits for the world of work. In Catholic Europe, by contrast, chocolate was associated with aristocratic decadence. Portraiture from the period often showed half-clad aristocratic women sitting in bed being served chocolate for breakfast or before a late night seduction.<sup>13</sup>

In 1774, Pope Clement XIV was murdered. The initial rumor in Britain was that the pope was poisoned with a cup of chocolate, although the *Virginia Gazette* reported that he was poisoned with the sacrament.<sup>14</sup> The turmoil in the Catholic countries was caused in part by the dissolution of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), which had been a major player in the cocoa trade. Chocolate was expensive in Europe because of transportation costs and high import duties on cocoa. In 1728, a London court sentenced John Moor, alias Holland, to transportation to America instead of hanging him for the theft of one pound of chocolate.<sup>15</sup>

In 1776, there was only one commercial chocolate manufacturer in Britain. Newspaper advertisements in Boston, New York, Newport, and Philadelphia indicated that there were nearly seventy American chocolate manufacturers. Colonial newspapers also routinely ran advertisements for sales of chocolate manufacturing equipment; some of which were cutting-edge technology for the day.

To Americans, chocolate was not the exclusive province of the elite. It was available at cheaper prices and consumed by a wider variety of people. Cocoa was not taxed excessively and, therefore, was more available to Americans than it was to Britons. But as in all ready-made food-stuffs, then or now, quality varied according to price. Traveling in Maryland in 1744, Dr. Alexander Hamilton noted in his diary, "I breakfasted upon some dirty chocolate, but the best that the house could afford."<sup>16</sup>

Discussing the breakfasts of the "lower and middling sorts," the writer of *Smyth's Travels in Virginia*, in 1773, noted, "A man . . . breakfasts about ten o'clock, on cold turkey, cold meat, fried homminy, toast and cider, ham, bread and butter, tea, coffee, or chocolate, which last, however, is seldom tasted but by the women."<sup>17</sup>

Smyth's otherwise condescending account of his adventures in Virginia might have been tempered had he known that one of the earliest accounts of chocolate consumed in Virginia actually comes from the diary of Councillor William Byrd. On February 16, 1709, Byrd wrote, "I rose at 6 o'clock this morning and read a chapter in Hebrew and 200 verses in Homer's *Odyssey*. I said my [prayers] and ate chocolate for breakfast with Mr. Isham Randolph, who went away immediately after."<sup>18</sup>

Certainly not every woman or man who could afford chocolate for breakfast chose to consume it. Some wanted the stimulating effects of theobromine, cocoa's main alkaloid, but not the weighty feeling from the fat. Their alternative was a hot beverage made from steeping cocoa shells in hot water. The result is an infusion similar in color, flavor, and bitterness to coffee. When sweetened, more chocolate flavors emerge.

Northern chocolate makers and merchants routinely advertised cocoa shells for sale into the middle of the nineteenth century. While this might seem like a chocolate substitute for the poor or lower sort, it was used by the very wealthy also. Martha Washington apparently enjoyed this beverage. Writing to his agent in 1789, President George Washington noted, "She will . . . thank you to get 20 lb. of the shells of Cocoa nuts, if they can be had of the Chocolate makers." In 1794, he received a letter from his cousin. "I wd. take the

liberty of requesting you'll be so good as to procure and send me 2 or 3 Bush: of the Chocolate Shells such as were frequently drank Chocolate of at Mt. Vernon, as my Wife thinks it agreed with her better than any other Breakfast."<sup>19</sup>

Chocolate was also eaten in puddings, creams, and, for the very wealthy, such as at the Governor's Palace, ice creams. The first cookbook printed in North America was a copy of Eliza Smith's *The Compleat Housewife*. The printer, William Parks of Williamsburg, Virginia, culled Smith's 1732 British cookbook and in 1742, published the recipes that he felt suitable for Virginia dining tables. The only chocolate recipe that Parks printed was one called "chocolate almonds," which called for scraped chocolate, sugar, gum tragacanth as a binder, and orange flower water. These were shaped "into what form you please" and allowed to dry.<sup>20</sup>

Served as dessert, chocolate almonds had been part of Virginia cuisine since the beginning of the eighteenth century. One of the earliest manuscript cookbooks in North America including chocolate was handwritten by an anonymous Virginia mistress and dates circa 1700. Katherine Harbury writes, "Anonymous . . . appears to have been a well-educated woman of respectable standing who interacted with various members of the Randolph family, among others. She may well have been a Randolph or connected to them by marriage or social network." According to Anonymous,

*To Make Chocolate Almonds*

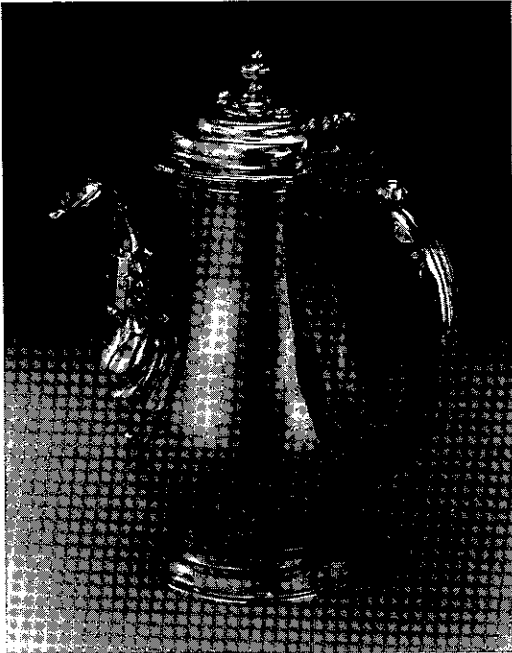
*Take your Sugar & beat it & Serch [sift] it then: great youre Chocolatt: take to 1 lb Sugar: 5 oz. of Chocolatt mix well together put in 2 Spoonfull Gumdragon Soaked in rosewater & a grn musk & ambergrease & beat all well together in mortar rowl out and mark wt: ye molds & lay on tin plats to dry turn every day.*<sup>21</sup>

Another unsigned Virginia manuscript dating to 1744 described "Almonds in Chocolat." This recipe might be the eighteenth-century ancestor of the red, yellow, blue, and green M&Ms™:

*Almonds in Chocolat*

*Take 3 quarters of a pound of Sugar and half a pound of Chocolat and make it a high Candy—then put in two pound of right Jordan Almonds and keep them Sturing till they are almost Cold then lay them out to dry on Sives and coulier [color] them thus for the coulier Red Scutcheneel [cochineal]—for Yallow Termermick o[r] Saffron for blew Stone blew for Green the Juice of Spinage and steep your Gum in ye Juice of your Green.*<sup>22</sup>

Thirty-one percent of 325 Chesapeake probate inventories compiled at Gunston Hall yielded chocolate-related items, including chocolate pots, cups, bowls, graders, molinet, and stones.<sup>23</sup>



*This chocolate pot (CWF G2003-6) bears a date mark for 1701/2 and was made in London by William Lukin. Only the wealthiest of consumers would have been able to afford such an object. It is on exhibit in Masterworks in the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum along with an original molinet, also called a chocolate mill or stirrer. The stirrer on the Lukin pot is a replacement.*

In pre-revolutionary Williamsburg, chocolate imported from New England, Philadelphia, and New York retailed for two shillings six pence per pound, Virginia currency. Coffee was less expensive at one shilling, six pence per pound. Tea by comparison cost twelve to fifteen shillings per pound but made more servings per pound. A free unskilled laborer or a sailor earning approximately two shillings a day might not have tasted chocolate very often, if at all. Likewise, the amount of money spent for a pound of chocolate could have also purchased fifteen pounds of salted fish, so an enslaved person's chance of tasting it was even less, unless she or he were the cook.<sup>24</sup>

### Chocolate South of the Mason-Dixon Line

Most of the southern colonies were importers and consumers, not producers, of chocolate. While Williamsburg merchants sold chocolate in their stores, no commercial chocolate makers advertised in the *Virginia Gazette*. Eighteenth-century commercial chocolate making required

an economic infrastructure, including cocoa merchants, experienced chocolate makers, supply, skilled metalsmiths to make or repair equipment, printers, papermakers who made wrapping paper, coffeehouses and other outlets, and a steady flow of retail and wholesale consumers such as in large northern cities.

Warm weather made chocolate manufacturing difficult on a commercial scale. In 1772, only two of nineteen seaports south of the Mason-Dixon Line imported any cocoa: one in Virginia (Lower James River) and Charleston, South Carolina. Their combined total was slightly more than 10,400 pounds of cocoa. Those same nineteen seaports imported nearly 52,000 pounds of chocolate from New England, New York, and Philadelphia. In the same year, 200 pounds of chocolate was (re)exported from the Lower James River to West Africa for barter in the slave trade.<sup>25</sup> The chocolate that was made in Virginia and perhaps other southern provinces was made by black hands on stones.

Grinding cocoa into chocolate requires special equipment. In traditional cultures, scraping a stone across a flat surface can reduce grains into meal, pigments into paint, or cocoa into chocolate. While the bulk of the chocolate was manufactured in New England, Philadelphia, and New York using machines, handmade chocolate using a chocolate stone was the technique used in Virginia.

Historic Foodways demonstrates this method at the Governor's Palace on the first Tuesday of each month, September through June. Making chocolate, like practically all other foodstuffs, was seasonal, requiring cooler weather. Chocolate was not manufactured in the summertime for the same reason you do not walk around with a candy bar in your pocket in July.

### Labor

Only chocolate makers ever tasted it unsweetened. The whole enterprise depended upon slave labor to grow and process the sugar and cacao. Likewise, cacao and sugar being grown in the tropics required shipping, primarily from New England. While New England and the Middle Colonies had many fewer slaves compared to the Chesapeake and Carolinas, the slaves they did have were concentrated in the larger cities where they were available to chocolate makers.

Pennsylvania and Massachusetts newspaper advertisements show chocolate makers buying and selling slaves and indentured servants. Likewise in Rhode Island, cocoa merchants were also involved with the transatlantic slave trade. They used local slave labor to grind chocolate for the local market.

According to Alan Taylor, "New England and the English West Indies developed in tandem as mutually sustaining parts of a common economic system. Each was incomplete without the other. New England freedom depended on West Indian slavery." In 1772, three shipments of chocolate were exported from North America to West Africa to support the slave trade.<sup>26</sup>

A Virginia magistrate might have shared a cup of chocolate with Lt. Gov. Alexander Spotswood, Robert "King" Carter, or Councilor Philip Ludwell Lee. All of them had bragging rights to owning a slave who hand ground chocolate to his personal specifications, using a chocolate stone.<sup>27</sup>

### Coffee and Chocolate versus Tea

When the uproar over the Stamp Act ended in its repeal, Parliament then passed the Townshend Duties in 1767. Most students of American history remember this one because of the tax on tea. However, the act actually begins with the following preamble:

*An act for granting certain duties in the British colonies and plantations in America; for allowing a drawback of the duties of customs upon the exportation, from this kingdom, of coffee and cocoa nuts of the produce of the said colonies or plantations; for discontinuing the drawbacks payable on china earthen ware exported to America; and for more effectually preventing the clandestine running of goods in the colonies and plantations.*<sup>28</sup>

The act was supposed to stimulate production of West Indian cocoa for export to Britain. If that cocoa was re-exported from Britain, then some of the heavy import duties would be returned ("drawback") thus making it more profitable for the importer and the exporter. Their export target was Spain, the main market for cocoa in Europe.<sup>29</sup>

The effect on the thirteen colonies was electric. It made tea politically incorrect, while stimulating American demand for coffee and chocolate. In 1767, consumption of chocolate became a patriotic act. Between 1737 and 1775, the *Virginia Gazette* announced chocolate-laden ships arriving in Virginia fifty-four times. Of those, forty-one arrived between 1767 and 1775. In that same period, four shipments of cocoa also arrived.<sup>30</sup>

Clearly, the duties on tea got the colonist's attention and probably stimulated chocolate production over what it had been before. So coffee and chocolate replaced tea in the parlors and coffeehouses of North America. One can

imagine that the women of North America were happier, too. Both coffee and chocolate were cheaper than tea by the pound, though a pound of tea made many more servings than the same weight of coffee or chocolate.

### Chocolate Goes to War

Since the time of the Aztecs to the present day, warriors from the New World have carried chocolate in their pockets or on their backs. Lightweight, nutritious, and highly caloric, chocolate is the perfect travel food. Whether Spanish, French Canadian, British, or American, soldiers made room for chocolate.

Benjamin Franklin organized shipments of provisions, including chocolate, to a Pennsylvania regiment with General Braddock's army during the French and Indian War. One war earlier in 1747, an American officer at Saratoga found chocolate among the provisions carried by a French and Indian war party. In 1776, Virginia rifleman Charles Portfield recorded in his diary that American prisoners at Quebec complained to a British officer that they were having trouble getting "necessities," including chocolate.<sup>31</sup>

At the beginning of the Revolution, the Commonwealth of Virginia provided chocolate for its troops. Capt. Moses Greenleaf of Massachusetts noted in his diary of breakfasting on chocolate while on garrison duty at Fort Ticonderoga in the spring of 1777. Further south in that same year, one British detachment in the Hudson Valley at Peek's Kill, New York, destroyed several tons of American provisions, including nine cases of chocolate.<sup>32</sup>

While chocolate might have been readily available and considered a necessity in the early years of the war, commissary officers and eventually civilians began to find it scarce as the war progressed. This might be simply discounted as effects of rampant inflation, but there were some other reasons as well: (1) British occupation of cocoa distribution and chocolate making centers; (2) cocoa shortages due to declining imports; and (3) hoarding by individuals at the local level and colony-wide in Massachusetts when it banned shipment outside the state's borders.

Four American cocoa trading and chocolate making centers, Boston, Newport, New York, and Philadelphia, fell under British occupation at least for a time during the war. Boston was garrisoned in 1768 and the harbor was closed in June 1774 as punishment for the Tea Party. British occupation did not end until March 1776, nearly eleven months after Lexington and Concord.

In an attempt to isolate New England and split the rebellion in half from Narragansett Bay to the Hudson River, the British then focused on Newport and New York City. The British navy controlled both by the summer of 1776. When the British took Newport about half the population fled, thus ending Newport's position as a major American seaport. It would never recover.<sup>33</sup>

New York City and its harbor remained the base of British land and sea operations in North America until November 1783. In September 1777, the British captured Philadelphia and occupied it until June 1778. Of course, neutral or loyalist chocolate makers might have stayed in business even if occupied, if they had cocoa, and if the British purchased their products, and otherwise left their equipment undisturbed. Not much has surfaced about chocolate makers with loyalist leanings.

While cocoa and chocolate trading could have occurred between ports in New England, the British control of New York and Newport effectively disrupted the New England and West Indian cocoa trade, the coastwise flows of cocoa between Philadelphia and Boston, and chocolate between Massachusetts and the southern colonies.

Cocoa imports were reduced from prewar levels by loss of American shipping because of capture or diversion to wartime purposes. Almost from the beginning of the war, ships that might have carried cocoa in peacetime now carried military equipment, gunpowder, and saltpeter to make more gunpowder. Also, many of these vessels, particularly schooners, were converted into privateers to disrupt British shipping in the Atlantic and Caribbean.<sup>34</sup>

During the Revolution, unlike previous eighteenth-century conflicts, American privateers avoided engagements with Spanish, French, and Dutch vessels that carried the majority of cocoa back to Europe. Accordingly, cocoa captured at sea by American privateers became less prevalent than in previous wars. The bottom line was that cocoa became expensive in real terms. It was paid for with money that was becoming worthless on land and with blood from sailors at sea.

In February 1777, the Massachusetts assembly passed an embargo on exports beyond the boundaries of the state for "Rum, Molasses and sundry other Articles" including "salt, coffee, cocoa, chocolate." At the beginning of 1777, a pound of butter in the Boston market was thought to be more expensive than a pound of chocolate. Although it is hard to imagine an inflationary rate so high, by August 1777, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that the Massa-

chusetts assembly passed another series of price ceilings setting the maximum price for chocolate at twenty-two shillings a pound versus eight pence a pound eight months later.<sup>35</sup> The people in Massachusetts had had enough. Although it is tempting to think that the main concerns of consumers outside of New England were rum, chocolate, and coffee, such was not the case. The most precious commodity was salt.

Writing in the *Virginia Gazette* in November 1777, "A Customer" commented that the embargo on salt put Massachusetts in the position of "the one state who might take occasion of securing to itself particular advantages, at the expense of the rest, which must consequently produce mutual jealousies, and recriminations."<sup>36</sup> In Williamsburg, the last advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* for chocolate for sale for the entire war appeared in that same month.<sup>37</sup>

When the war shifted south in 1779, Virginia governor Thomas Jefferson signed a proclamation banning exports of foodstuffs from Virginia "by land or water" so it would be available for the army and to discourage "engrossers and monopolisers."<sup>38</sup> In that year, Virginia towns also set fixed prices on commodities. Chocolate was not included, perhaps because of its scarcity.

Looking north from the Chesapeake, the outlook for chocolate was pretty bleak: New York and Newport were completely out of the picture; Massachusetts embargoed chocolate from exportation; and two years of warfare in the Pennsylvania and New Jersey countryside had devastated the economy. Chocolate would have been rare beyond a day's cart ride from the manufacturer, if he or she could obtain cocoa.

Additionally, every "chocolate nut" had to compete for cargo space with gunpowder, rum, and salt on every northbound ship running the gauntlet from the West Indies. The value of Virginia currency had inflated enormously. Before the war, a Virginia pound traded about one-and-a-quarter times the value of a British pound sterling. In 1779, it was valued at fifty to one.<sup>39</sup> By 1780, a Virginia commissary officer applied to Jefferson for "Rum, Tea, Sugar, Coffee, Chocolate &c of which there was none except the first mentioned article."<sup>40</sup>

In October 1781, the British southern offensive that had begun in 1778 ended at Yorktown, Virginia. The previous May, a Dutch vessel sailing from Curaçao to Amsterdam was overhauled by a loyalist privateer and brought to Virginia. Barely seaworthy, the *Leendert and Matthys* was anchored in the York River during the siege. Its cargo "consisted of sugar, coffee, hides, indigo, cocoa, dyewood, and miscellaneous merchandise." Most of the cargo was still intact except

for some of the foodstuffs that had been "requisitioned."<sup>41</sup>

As the siege went on, American, French, and German soldiers on both sides waited for the inevitable. Hessian mercenary Johann Conrad Doehla kept a diary of the last campaign. He wrote down what he saw and believed to be true from the perspective of a soldier on the front lines. On October 18, the guns were silent. Flags of truce had been going back and forth the previous day. The formal surrender was going to happen soon, maybe today, maybe tomorrow. He wrote,

18 October. All the troops have been issued much sugar and chocolate, or cocoa, as the English call it, with their daily provisions for the past 14 days. They were distributed among the regiments from a captured Dutch merchant ship of which the English had made booty. We drank Chocolate indeed during the day, three, four and still more times. We also ate with sugar on bread, but we could not consume it all, even so. We greatly enjoyed ourselves after the great loss of sleep, the work, and hardships which we had experienced day and night with the greatest of danger to our lives.<sup>42</sup>

The distribution of chocolate in such massive quantities suggests that the British were trying to keep the morale up in the trenches. Doehla wrote in German. He obviously understood chocolate and how to consume it but misunderstood the English use of the word *cocoa*, something that still occurs today.

But the larger mystery is how that captured cocoa became chocolate. Who made it? All throughout the southern campaign, enslaved African Americans escaped to the British who promised them freedom. Did dozens of them make the chocolate by hand? Did the British use a nearby water mill to manufacture it? If so, it was probably the first and last use of a water mill to make chocolate in Virginia.

But Doehla was right about one thing: they couldn't finish it all. After the victory, Gen. George Washington sent the Continental Congress an accounting of the captured British supplies. In it, he listed three thousand pounds of cocoa<sup>43</sup> or about one day's ration left for the 7,500 British and Hessians. Was the battle that ensured American independence prolonged by a few days because the British and Hessians consumed it "three, four, and still more times a day"? Perhaps so.

<sup>1</sup> Gerald Ward, "The Silver Chocolate Pots of Colonial Boston," in *New England Silver and Silversmithing 1620-1815*, ed. Gerald Ward and Jeannine Falino (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2001), 61; Katherine E. Harbury, *Colonial Virginia's Cooking Dynasty* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 189.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1953), 221

<sup>3</sup> Peter Brown, *In Praise of Hot Liquors: The Study of Chocolate, Coffee, and Tea-Drinking, 1600-1850* (York, Eng.: York Civic Trust, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> Joël Glenn Benner, *The Emperors of Chocolate: Inside the Secret World of Hershey and Mars* (New York: Random House, 1999), 64.

<sup>5</sup> Maricel E. Presilla, *The New Taste of Chocolate: A Cultural and Natural History of Cacao with Recipes* (Berkeley, Calif.: Ten Speed Press, 2001), 63.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate* (New York: Thames and Hudson, Inc., 1996), 201.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 40, 60.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>13</sup> William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Cocoa and Chocolate, 1765-1914* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 13.

<sup>14</sup> For a description of chocolate used in the murder, see Coe and Coe, *True History*, 215. For the accusation of the Jesuits, see *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), December 15, 1774, 21.

<sup>15</sup> Proceedings of the Old Bailey, [http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/html\\_units/1720s/t17281204-27.html](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/html_units/1720s/t17281204-27.html).

<sup>16</sup> Dr. Alexander Hamilton, *Hamilton's Itinerarium; being a narrative of a journey from Annapolis, Maryland, through Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, from May to September, 1744*, ed. Albert Bushnell Hart (St. Louis, Mo.: 1907), 16.

<sup>17</sup> "Smyth's Travels in Virginia, in 1773," in William Maxwell, ed., *The Virginia Historical Register* (Richmond, Va.: 1941), 77.

<sup>18</sup> William Byrd, *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinning (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1941), 4.

<sup>19</sup> Fitzpatrick's Writings of Washington, <http://etext.virginia.edu/etcbin/ot2www-washington?specfile=/texts/english/washington/fitzpatrick/search/gw.o2w&act=text&offset=37666341&textreg=&query=cocoa&id=gw300170> and [http://etext.virginia.edu/etcbin/ot2www-washington?specfile=/texts/english/washington/fitzpatrick/search/gw.o2w&act=surround&offset=41733107&tag=Writings+of+Washington,+Vol.+33:+\\*To+BURGES+BALL&query=Chocolate&id=gw330223](http://etext.virginia.edu/etcbin/ot2www-washington?specfile=/texts/english/washington/fitzpatrick/search/gw.o2w&act=surround&offset=41733107&tag=Writings+of+Washington,+Vol.+33:+*To+BURGES+BALL&query=Chocolate&id=gw330223).

<sup>20</sup> Jane Carson, *Colonial Virginia Cookery: Procedures, Equipment, and Ingredients in Colonial Cooking* (Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1985), xiii; and Eliza Smith, *The Compleat Housewife, or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion* (Williamsburg, Va.: William Parks, 1742), 224.

- 21 Harbury, *Colonial Virginia's Cooking Dynasty*, xiv.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 189.
- 23 Gunston Hall Plantation, Probate Inventory Database, <http://gunstonhall.org/probate/inventory.htm>
- 24 Colonial Williamsburg Foundation unpublished research study comparing costs of consumer goods sold in Williamsburg stores, private accounts, and newspaper advertisements.
- 25 Ledger of Imports and Exports (American); January 5, 1768–January 5, 1772, Customs 16/1, Public Record Office.
- 26 Alan Taylor, *American Colonies* (New York: Viking, 2001), 177; and Ledger of Imports and Exports, Customs 16/1, PRO.
- 27 All had chocolate stones in their inventories. For Carter, see *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 6 (1898–1899): 266. For Lee, see <http://www.gunstonhall.org/probate/LEE76.PDF>. For Spotswood, see [http://pastportal.org/cwdl\\_new/archive/research%20reports/html/tr0219.htm](http://pastportal.org/cwdl_new/archive/research%20reports/html/tr0219.htm).
- 28 Founder's Library, *The Townshend Act*, <http://www.founding.com/library/lbody.cfm?id=90&parent=17>
- 29 Clarence-Smith, *Cocoa and Chocolate*, 68.
- 30 The *Virginia Gazette*, accessible through The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's website: <http://www.history.org/history/jdrlweb/digital/digitaldesc.cfm>
- 31 Benjamin Franklin, "Autobiography," in *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, The Journal of John Woolman, the Fruits of Solitude William Penn*, ed. Charles W. Eliot (New York: F. Collier and Son, 1909); *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Folio I (1728–1750), Accessible Archives, Inc., CD-ROM #8490; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 9 (1901–1902): 147.
- 32 VMHB 21 (1913): 156; Moses Greenleaf, "Breakfast on Chocolate: The Diary of Moses Greenleaf, 1777," trans. and ed. Donald H. Wickman, *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum* 15, no. 6 (1997): 486–489; and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Folio III (1766–1783), Accessible Archives, Inc., CD-ROM #61411.
- 33 Newport, Rhode Island, 1639, <http://new.cityofnewport.com/history.html>
- 34 National Park Service, Stories from the Revolution, [http://www.nps.gov/revwar/about\\_the\\_revolution/privateers.html](http://www.nps.gov/revwar/about_the_revolution/privateers.html).
- 35 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Folio III (1766–1783), Accessible Archives, Inc., CD-ROM #64662; Article Bookmark (Open URL Compliant): Early American Imprints, 1st ser. #15427 (filmed).
- 36 *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon), November 21, 1777, 1:1.
- 37 *Ibid.*, November 14, 1777, 3:1.
- 38 *Virginia Gazette* (Clarkson and Davis), October 30, 1779, 3:3.
- 39 *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon), July 31, 1779, 3:1.
- 40 William Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*. Vol. I: 1652–1781 (Richmond, Va.: 1875), 374.
- 41 John O. Sands, *Yorktown's Captive Fleet* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 203.
- 42 Robert J. Tilden, "The Doehla Journal," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd ser. 22 (1942): 255.
- 43 *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Folio III (1766–1783), Accessible Archives, Inc., CD-ROM #66702.





## Bothy's Mould

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

## "That I very much want": The Transatlantic Plant Trade

by Wesley Greene

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

The flora of North America fascinated the English from the first years of settlement. George Percy, who was a member of the first expedition to Jamestown, recorded in *Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English*, "all the way as wee went, having the pleasantest Suckles, the ground all flowing over with faire flowers of sundry colours and kindes, as though it had beene in any Garden or Orchard in England. There be many Strawberries, and other fruits unknowne: wee saw the Woods full of Cedar and Cypresse trees, with other trees, which issues out sweet Gummes like to Balsam: wee kept on our way in this Paradise." It was not long before plant collectors began sending specimens of this paradise back to England.

The elder John Tradescant, gardener at Hatfield House to Robert Cecil, the first earl of Salisbury; personal friend to Capt. John Smith; and a subscriber to the Virginia Company, was one of the first to receive plants from Virginia. By 1633, his catalog of plants contained many Virginia plants, which he propagated and shared with other curious gardeners. His son, John Tradescant the younger, made several trips to Virginia. He may have been in Virginia as early as 1630, but we know for certain he traveled here in 1637 as recorded in *Notes by Sir Jos. Williamson in the State Papers, Colonial*. Williamson reported, "In 1637 John Tradescant was in the colony, to gather all rarities of flowers, plants, shells, etc." He returned in 1642 and 1654, and throughout the seventeenth century, naturalists such as John Banister and Rev. John Clayton explored the natural wonders of Virginia and sent home to England the plants they found.

The most active Williamsburg resident in the transatlantic plant trade was John Custis who lived on four acres across Nassau Street from the reconstructed Public Hospital. In *Williamsburg, The Old Colonial Capitol* (1907), Dr. L. G. Tyler wrote that "the six-chimney-lot lies on the south side of Francis Street on the eastern portion of the Eastern State Hospital park, and gets its name from the six chimneys which once stood there, the houses to which they belonged having perished by fire. This lot was formerly owned by Colonel John Custis, who died in 1749, leaving it to his son Daniel Parke Custis. George Washington and his wife when visiting Williamsburg would stay at the Custis residence. All that now remains is a brick kitchen and a large yew tree, said to have been planted with Mrs. Washington's own hands." The kitchen and yew tree, which may be our only living representative from the eighteenth century, still stand.

John Custis was born in Northampton County in August 1678. He inherited about fifteen thousand acres on Virginia's Eastern Shore and in York, New Kent, and King William counties, making him one of the wealthiest men in Virginia. He was elected to the House of Burgesses from Northampton County in 1705 and became a member representing the College of William and Mary in 1718. He was appointed to the Council on June 2, 1727, and held this position until shortly before his death in 1749. Custis married Frances Parke on May 4, 1706 (William Byrd II married her sister Lucy on the same day), but it was apparently less than a congenial arrangement, for the inscription on his tombstone reads "aged 71 years, and yet lived but seven years, which was the space of time he kept a bachelor's house on the Eastern Shore of Virginia."

The transatlantic voyage could be hazardous for passengers, but it was much more so for plants. In Custis's first letter to Robert Cary in 1725, he recorded the difficulty of sending and receiving plants from England:

*I believe it will bee safest to put them in a wooden thing because potts will be apt to break; I have a pretty little garden in which I take more satisfaction than in anything in this world and have a collection of tolerable good flowers and greens from England; but have had great losses by their coming in partly by the carelessness and ignorance of the masters of the ships that brought them; and sometimes by the ships coming in too late . . . if you send any layers order the captain to put the box that contains them in the ballast of the ship and now and then give them a little water.*

The following year he wrote to Cary to express his disappointment in the shipment: "the garden truck were carelessly put in the steerage; where as I am informed a dog tore all to bits . . . the gardener you mentioned, under whose care you put them I believe to be an ignorant knavish fellow; for he has carried those few things which escaped with life to Secretary Carter's which is a long way from me and should have them as soon from Jamaica."

Dogs and ignorant gardeners were not the only problem. There were other vermin to contend with as recorded by Peter Collinson in a 1742/3 letter to Custis: "You are Extreemly Good & kind in renewing our Cargo of seeds. . . . In the first Cargo the Mice had found a way into the Box and Eat up all the Last and touch'd Nothing Elce."



Virginia bluebell

Peter Collinson was a Quaker cloth merchant and, at his home at Mill Hill, had the largest collection of North American plants of any man in England, perhaps in all of Europe. He and Custis became frequent correspondents and between 1734 and 1746 traded a great many plants with each other. Their letters provide the best primary source for documenting ornamental plants in colonial Williamsburg. John Custis, through his friendship with Peter Collinson, is credited with the final introduction of the Virginia bluebell (*Mertensia virginica*) into England. It had been originally introduced by John Banister in the seventeenth century but was lost to English collectors.

Philip Miller recorded in *The Gardeners Dictionary* (1754): "The seeds of this plant were formerly sent over from Virginia by Mr Banister; these were sown in the Garden of the Bishop of London, at Fulham, and in those of some other curious Persons, where the Plants were several years preserv'd; but when the Possessors of those Gardens died the Plants being neglected were lost; so that for several Years this Sort was not in England."

Custis began his first letter to Collinson: "Sr John Randolph and Capt Isham Randolph acquaint me that you are desirous of the mountain cowslip [Virginia bluebell] which is a beautiful out of the way plant and flower." In 1765 Collinson wrote, "Miller's sixth species, a most elegant plant, was entirely lost in our gardens, but I again restored it from Virginia by Col. Custis; flowered April 13, 1747, and hath continued ever since a great spring ornament in my garden at Mill Hill." The Virginia bluebell has been an ornament in England ever since.

There were a number of obstacles to sending plants aboard ship. Most important was the cooperation of the captain. Custis wrote in 1741, "I very believe Capt Hardin had strict orders from his Master to take care of the plants sent; but not only he but most if not all the Masters take little notice of such orders when they are out of sight." Collinson responds the next year: "These Captains are the Most Untoward people in the World they promise fair but then think no more of It."

The best hope was to find a captain who would care for the plants in his own quarters. In 1735, Collinson wrote Custis: "I know the great Difficulty that attends sending plants on board strange ships but if it was suiteable to you on any of Mr. Hanburys ships I can be well accommodated being known to all the Captains & his Intimate Friend. I can have the priviledge of the Cabbin which is the only place to Convey Our Cargo In with safety."

Not all captains were so accommodating. Custis related an incident in 1737: "When he arrived [Capt. Whitesides] I demanded by virtue of your letter the box; he answered he had no such thing I showd that paragraph of your letter which he seemd to think very strange but still said he knew of no box . . . but whenever I saw him I was tormenting him to make a narrow research and to put on his considering cap and at last about a fortnight afterwards he sent me the box and said it came on board unknown to him; I opened the box immediately; and was very proud to see the tulips fresh and sound."

This was the last we hear of Capt. Whitesides for the next year Collinson reported that "I am sorry poor Whitesides so forgot himself as not to Deliver the Box att his Arrival, but a sudden Fever has taken him from us—and Wee have the Good Fortune to have Our Worthy Friend Captain Friend in His Roome." Captain Friend became the preferred carrier of plants for the two men, but even he was not entirely reliable as Custis recorded in 1737 concerning a consign-

ment of strawberry plants: "Capt. Friend killd them with kindness giveing them so much water that rotted them and since such a carefull man as Capt Friend cannot bring them I shall despair of ever having any come safe."

Even the best captains were not, however, in the business of accommodating gentlemen and their hobbies. They were first of all men of commerce, sometimes to the detriment of their plant cargos as Custis related in 1740: "had the ship come directly for York River, I believe they would all have come safe; but being obliged to go to Rappahannock with these vile convicts it was severall weeks before I recd them; and I believe the Capt being busied about the sale of these people neglected to give the trees water."

There were also the inherent dangers of a sea voyage as Collinson recorded in 1735: "Now my Dear Friend yours of August by poor Captain Cant is before Mee no doubt but have hea'd He had a sad Turbelent passage & in a sad Condition putt into Ireland. All the Fine Cargo that with such pains you had been Collecting are all Loss'd."

The time of year the ships came to Virginia also caused difficulties. In a 1730 letter to Mark Catesby, Custis wrote: "I dought this is in ill time to move them; but our ships never going from hence in a proper season . . . you have much the advantage in sending all manner of trees & flower roots because the ships come there in the winter, but go from hence in the summer."

Summer was a particularly difficult time to transplant plants but there were dangers of sending plants from England in the winter as well, as pointed out by Collinson in a 1736 letter: "the great Missfortune is that plants going in the Spring soone come into the Warm Latitudes which sets them a growing, and for want of water, and a Little Tendance they are soone Lost."

By 1741 the conflict with the Spanish, known as the War of Jenkin's Ear, further complicated

the plant trade by altering the shipping routes as recorded by Collinson: "Wee are under great Obligations & and can make but poor Returns—for this Cruel Warr has putt all things out of Course for almost all shippes take Freights to Gibraltar, Port Mahon & West Indies which make the Voyage Long & unseasonable."

Finally there is the suspicion of thievery as suggested by Collinson in 1739: "What surprises Mee Extreemly is that you should find no Guernsey Lillies. I trusted no body but myself in this affair. I took them out of the Ground myself I told them as they Lay & I Immediately putt them into the Box myself this can I Aver Bona Fide—How they should be Houcus pocuss'd away and not the Rest is very Extrordinary."

With all the disappointments there were joys as well. In 1734, Collinson wrote: "You may be sure I had Joye Enough to hear the box was Come but when I rece'd It & not one remains of a Leafe appear'd How my heart sunk & and all hopes Vanish'd but then again when I turn'd the mould out, to see such a fine sound root, what an Exult of pleasure."

The excitement of receiving plants from abroad, however, was best expressed by Custis in 1735: "A curious painter may nicely deliniate the features and air of a face, or the pleasant prospect of A landscape etc; but no human skill can describe the passions that attend us, this is the work of A more skillfull artist; therefor it must bee a very lame account I can give you of the superlative pleasure your kind letter gave especially when it was the messenger of your pretty present if you will please to figure to yourself any passionate joy beyond the reach of expression; you may have a faint idea of my satisfaction, and do assert if you had sent me 20 times the weight of the seeds, etc; in gold it would not have been the 20yth part so acceptable to me, but why do I dwell on a thing I am not able to demonstrate."



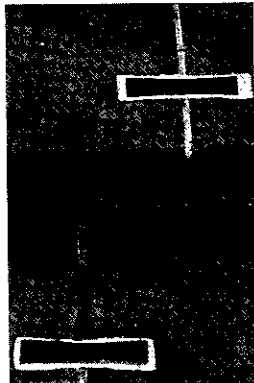
## Q & A

**Question:** How did painters of floor cloths get the surfaces so smooth, without the rough, textured quality one sees in framed, painted canvases hung on a wall? (Submitted by Marcia Finger, historical interpreter, Group Interpretation.)

**Answer:** Basically, you will not see brushstrokes on floor cloths, because the painters were laying on flat colors, that is, they were not concerned with modeling, shading, highlighting, and so forth, which is where one generally gets a buildup of impasto (thick areas of paint). Floor-cloth makers particularly wanted to avoid impasto since it would have created "hills and valleys" leading to uneven wear. The impasto (hills) would have been trod away rapidly. In short, the goal was an even application of paint—and that is not hard to do! Look at walls, for example, where "brushstrokes" are not visible. (Answer provided by Barbara Luck, curator of paintings, drawings, and sculpture, in the Department of Collections.)

**Question:** What do those "cramps" or metal clamps in some of the stone steps to Historic Area buildings look like before installation, and how are they installed? (Submitted by Ev Huffman, orientation interpreter, Guest Service and Orientation.)

**Answer:** In *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (1994), Colonial Williamsburg architectural historian Carl Lounsbury gives the following information: "Cramp (1). An iron staple used to hold two adjoining pieces of masonry together to prevent them from slip-



ping. An iron bar with its two ends turned at right angles, a cramp is generally set in a bed of mortar or lead in the holes cut into the stone. They were used in stone cornices, chimney pieces, wall coping, and steps." Among other examples in the Historic Area, the front steps at the John Blair House, the Palmer House, and the William Finnie House have cramps set into the stonework.

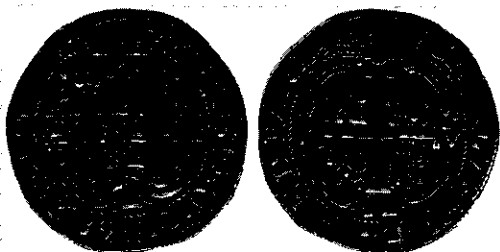
**Question:** Would a free black have participated in a subscription ball in eighteenth-century Williamsburg? (Submitted by Dawn Holmes, interpreter/volunteer, Millinery Shop, Department of Historic Trades.)

**Answer:** We know of no evidence that free blacks attended subscription balls. Though free blacks probably would not have attended such an event, we do not want to make a categorical statement that it never happened. In interpretation, we must be cautious not to put on present-day filters when considering such issues. In many ways, eighteenth-century blacks, both free and enslaved, lived, worked, and played in closer proximity to whites than, say, those in the nineteenth century. Thus whites and blacks may have felt more comfortable in one another's presence in some ways in the eighteenth century. If free blacks attended horse races, cock fights, and other public spectacles, then who can say for sure they were never present at a dance with white people? (Rose McAphee, training specialist, Department of Interpretive Training.)

**Question:** Why didn't British silver coins circulate in the American colonies? Was it actually illegal to bring British money or gold and silver bullion into the colonies? If so, what law prohibited it? (Submitted by Lin Pearson, site interpreter, Department of Historic Sites.)

**Answer:** Old legends die hard, and none more so than the misconception that Britain did not want its coins circulating in America. This has often been mythologized into the concept that England wanted to control American commerce in every way possible, so it forbade the export of British coins and tried to force the return of any English money in use in the colonies. Contrary to legend, however, the British crown did not restrict the flow of silver coinage to its North American colonies. The perennial shortage of coin in the colony resulted instead from a combination of other factors.

Britain (and its colonies) possessed no major silver resources for ready, consistent conversion into coin. The relatively small amounts obtained came from successful naval encounters, treasure salvage, payments received in royal transactions,



The front and back of a piece of eight made in Potosi, Bolivia, in 1682 (CWF 1997-311, 47).

and other sporadic events. During the colonial era, the Tower Mint in London did not issue money as a government agency, but rather for private individuals or institutions holding bullion (in the form of plate, ingot, or foreign coinage) that wished to convert it into English currency. For more than one hundred years, very little new silver came to London's Tower Mint. In nineteen of the fifty years between 1750 and 1799, there was no production of regular silver coins for circulation. The few periods of large output of silver coins during the colonial period were all linked to specific incidents, such as an influx of bullion from the salvage of the Spanish galleon *Nueva Señora de la Concepción* in 1687 and the famous "Lima" booty of 1745.

Thus it is unremarkable that the American colonies saw little British silver and that gold was of such high value that it did not have a major place in daily commerce. From the 1550s until the 1750s, Britain, France, the Netherlands, and their colonies essentially relied on the immense flood of Latin American silver to finance the huge expansion of world trade.

Bolivia, Mexico, and Peru provided Spain with enormous wealth that successively became the real basis for Dutch, French, and English international trade, manufacture, and commerce. This new economic world was a bullion environment in which the so-called "Spanish piece of eight," later known as the "Spanish milled dollar," was the standard against which all other coins were measured.

Between the late 1600s and the 1820s, the bullion value of silver coins almost always was higher than their face value. Therefore, newly struck full-weight coins often were hoarded or melted to be cast into ingots and exported to finance trade with the Far East, further exacerbating the shortage of circulating specie. If Britain was short of domestic coin at home, its colonies, which did not play a central role in the world economy, had even less access to circulating

currency. Moreover, the colonists imported more from England than they exported to it.

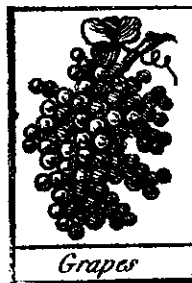
As a consequence, cash received in South American, West Indian, and European trade was sent to the motherland. Additionally, Southern planters usually were in debt to their English and Scottish factors because of necessary commitments of capital and delayed payments for the purchase of agricultural output.

Ultimately, the stress of the British silver coin shortage was alleviated through the recoinage program of 1816–1819, the reorganization of the Tower Mint, the diversification and increase of British commerce, and the substitution of gold coin for silver coin as the precious metal used for business transactions. These changes took place, however, well after the British American colonies achieved independence and became the United States. (Adapted from: Joseph R. Lasser and Erik J. Goldstein, "The Real Story of British Silver in the Colonies," *Numismatist Magazine* [September 2004], 49–53. Erik is curator of mechanical arts and numismatics, Department of Collections.)

**Question:** A wine merchant from Carmel, California, sends this: "I have read that some of the grapes used today for wine production at Monticello come from vines descended from the original plantings by Thomas Jefferson himself. Is this true?"

**Answer:** Peter Hatch, director of gardens and grounds at Monticello, responds:

We don't utilize any extant grapes or plants propagated from possible Jefferson-era grapes in our restored vineyards or in the wine we produce (and sell) from Jefferson's Northeast and Southwest vineyards. There's a lot of confusion about the wines we sell in varying quantities every year, because we also sell wine made at local vineyards with a Monticello label and because Jefferson Vineyards, a purely commercial enterprise that markets to our visitors, produces a wine nearby and incorrectly announces that it was Jefferson who planted the vineyards there. Furthermore, we are in the Monticello appellation district, which includes various counties where wineries use the word *Monticello*.



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

## BRUTON HEIGHTS UPDATE: New at the Rock



### Becoming Americans Story Lines: New Titles in the Rockefeller Library

#### Buying Respectability

Dixon, Edward. *Abstracts of the Account Books of Edward Dixon* (merchant of Port Royal, Virginia). Edited by Ruth and Sam Sparacio. [McLean, Va.]: Antient Press, 1990. [F234 .P75 D59 1990, v.1-2]

These two volumes abstract the business ledgers for the period 1743–1752 from the Edward Dixon papers at the Library of Congress. Items offered for sale provide a fascinating perspective on available commodities in the colony—necessities like nails, powder and shot, hoes, salt, and shoes were sold alongside luxuries like “1 Torrington Rug,” allspice, cloves, nutmeg, chocolate, looking glasses, a desk, a four-bladed pen knife, and “a dozen scarlet vest buttons.” Even “1 Rat eaten hat” found a buyer. “Cash lent when you was at Williamsburg” illustrates the financial drain and far-reaching influence of a trip to the capital and temporary residence there. Also included in volume one is a lengthy list of “The Names & Ages of my (Dixon’s) Negro Children at home,” which identifies the mother of every slave child.

Jackson, Anna, and Amin Jaffer, eds. *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500–1800*. London: Victoria & Albert, 2004. [NX628 .E53 2004]

Produced to accompany a major exhibition, this book explores three centuries of interaction between East and West, beginning with the fascination each felt for the other’s culture and technology, continuing with face-to-face encounters in different settings, and ending with cross-influences in taste and trade. Westerners wanted porcelain, lacquer, and textiles; Easterners wanted clocks, guns, and maps. In Williamsburg, Chinese porcelain was available for sale early in the eighteenth century and shards have been excavated from the Anthony Hay site, the Thomas Everard House, Shields

Tavern, the Geddy House, and Wetherburn’s Tavern, among others. Chinese handkerchiefs and Chinese ivory-handled knives and forks were advertised in the *Virginia Gazette*.

#### Enslaving Virginia

Waterfield, Giles. *Below Stairs: 400 Years of Servants’ Portraits*. London: National Portrait Gallery, 2003. [ND1460 .D65 W38 2003]

Minimal physical evidence of servitude, both voluntary and involuntary, exists, compared to that for life on a higher socioeconomic level. This book presents portraits of black and white, domestic and institutional, slaves and servants living in England from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. A wealth of detail about the workplace, clothing, duties, and attitudes are stunningly portrayed in this book.

#### Taking Possession

Brujn, Max de, and Remco Raben, eds. *The World of Jan Brandes, 1743–1808: Drawings of a Dutch Traveller in Batavia, Ceylon and Southern Africa*. Zwolle, Netherlands: Waanders Publishers, 2004 [NC263 .B73 W67 2004]

How eighteenth-century Europeans perceived the world, particularly when that world was unfamiliar, is always of interest. Jan Brandes, a Dutch Lutheran minister described by the author as “ordinary,” “unacademic,” “a dilettante,” “a man of the Enlightenment, if somewhat homespun,” and “not a member of any learned society,” was the artist who painted nearly two hundred watercolors of the things around him that caught his attention. Thus one can begin to interpret the average person’s response to the natural and man-made world. Even more fortunately for us, Brandes traveled outside his familiar local area to places he must have deemed exotic—Batavia, Ceylon, and southern Africa—where he painted in amazing detail the minutiae of life that we find so useful in our reconstruction of the past. Nothing escaped his attention—clothing, material objects, human behavior, flora and fauna, historic events, body language, and interior decoration, for example.

Schwartz, Seymour I. *The Mismatching of America*. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2003. [GA405 .S39 2003]

Maps as the visual representations of geography, are thought to be the product of careful observation and accurate description. Before the voyages of discovery provided direct observation, maps were drawn from fanciful accounts or wishful thinking. Even after exploration began, maps were full of inaccuracies, some honest mistakes, others the result of the desires of cartographers, explorers and the governments they served. The maps described here included major errors that were perpetuated long enough to have significant historical consequences in the shaping of America.

Williams, Glyn. *Voyages of Delusion: The Quest for the Northwest Passage*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003. [G640 .W55 2003]

Beginning in the sixteenth century, European adventurers sought a way to reach the East by a short, direct water route from the Atlantic to the Pacific—an imaginary route called the Northwest Passage. By the eighteenth century, an age known for its scientific advances and reasoned approach to investigation, the search was revived, and this book describes the ensuing “voyages of delusion”—courageous attempts doomed from the beginning, but driven by the imagined commercial advantages of success.

### Choosing Revolution

Berkin, Carol. *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005. [E276 .B47 2005]

Written in a popular rather than scholarly style, this book offers a description of the involvement of many different women in the war—officers' wives and camp followers, African American and Native American women, loyalist families and American heroines. Equally diverse were their contributions—economic, political, medical, and military.

### Freeing Religion

Bell, James B. *The Imperial Origins of the King's Church in Early America, 1607–1783*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. [BX5881 .B45 2004]

English political imperialism shaped the early development of the Anglican Church in the colonies, with recruitment, appointment, and financial support of ministers firmly based in London. How ecclesiastical policies were interpreted by American civil and church officials—that is, the “American experience”—led to a church that had an identity distinct from its origins.

Kamil, Neil. *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517–1751*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005. [F128.9 .H9 K36 2005]

Kamil asserts that the Huguenots (French protestants) had internalized a “culture of hiding, silence, and self-effacement” over generations of persecution in Europe and that they brought those survival skills and kinship networks with them to the New World. Although the focus here is on New York, where 11 percent of the city's population in the early eighteenth century was Huguenot, and a third of its influential merchants were French, Kamil offers good background for the study of material culture and behavior in other colonies where Huguenots settled. Williamsburg was home to several Huguenot families and individuals; Gabriel Maupin, William and Blovet Pasteur, Philip Barraud, Jean Marot, Nicholas Scovemont, and George LaFong are familiar names. (See “The Service of Meals” in the *Buying Respectability Resource Book*, p. E-3.)

### Redefining Family

McCreery, Cindy. *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-Century England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. [NE962 .W65 M33 2004]

Contemporary attitudes toward all kinds of women are expressed in satirical prints, and they range from the humorous to the disgusting to the promotional. The women portrayed here are not only the wives and mothers who constitute “family,” but also prostitutes, actresses, adulteresses, spinsters, and others who lived outside accepted social boundaries and become objects of ridicule.

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

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

Cartwright, William. *Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, with other Poems*. London: Humphrey Moseley, 1651.

This English dramatist and churchman, upon attaining a degree at Oxford and entering the church, was described as the "most florid and seraphical preacher in the university." The work includes poems, songs, and airs, together with the following plays: *The Royall Slave*, *The Lady-Errant*, *The Ordinary*, and *The Siedge: or, Love's Convert*.

Collection of six mounted albumen prints produced by the Centennial Photographic Company in 1876.

These Williamsburg views are part of a set of several hundred showing Civil War era battle-grounds as they appeared around the time of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Our own Marcus Whiffen Papers (MS 91.9) contain four other views from the set. The newly acquired prints include: Main Street, Williamsburgh, Virginia, looking west along Duke of Gloucester toward the Wren Building; Old Church, Williamsburgh, Virginia, showing the south façade of Bruton Parish Church; Old Cemetery, Williamsburgh, Virginia, viewing the Bruton Parish churchyard; Old Court House, Williamsburgh, Virginia, showing the south and east façades; William and Mary College, Williamsburgh, Virginia, viewing the east, or main, front of the Wren Building; and President's House, William and Mary College, looking at the south façade.

English watchmaking catalogs.

These five items include two volumes of Ford, Whitmore & Brunton, *All Sorts of Files, Tools, & Engines for Clock & Watch Makers . . .* (Birmingham, England, ca. 1778) having seventy-four plates; Peter Stubs, *Clock and Watchmaker Tool Catalogue* (Warrington, England, ca. 1815) with thirty-six plates; John Wyke and Thomas Green, *Catalogue* (Liverpool, England, 1794) including sixty-two plates; and Daniel Mather, *Catalogue of Horological Tools* (Liverpool, England, ca. 1775) having twenty plates.

Henderson, Alexander. *Travel Diary*, ca. 1769.

This pocket diary of about twenty-four pages, describes a trip from Virginia to Philadelphia and New York. Henderson, a resident of Dumfries, Virginia, documents mileages and offers gen-

eral observations regarding land values, crops, and descriptions of the towns visited en route. The diary includes its original leather case with marbled paper lining.

Higgins, Bryan. *Experiments and Observations made with the View of improving the Art of composing and applying Calcareous Cements*. London: T. Cadell, 1780.

Higgins, a London chemist, wrote this scarce treatise after perfecting a strong, waterproof cement. An economical and durable mortar was a commodity long sought after by English masons, bricklayers, and engineers. A copy of this book was in George Washington's library at Mount Vernon. Laid in at the back is an early nineteenth-century broadside advertising "British Cement."

Huntley, Elizabeth Valentine. *Peninsula Pilgrimage*. Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1941

This elegantly produced volume, with a foreword by Douglas Southall Freeman, visits historic sites between Richmond and Williamsburg. The itinerary on the Peninsula follows Route 5, and returns on the Southside along Route 10. Handsome photographs of the buildings in the period are included, together with maps, bibliography, and an index.

Orrery, John Boyle, Earl of. *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*. Dublin: George Faulkner, 1752.

This is the first biographical appraisal of the great English satirist. The work is composed of a series of twenty-four letters by the author—a friend of Swift, Alexander Pope, and Samuel Johnson—to his son, a student at Oxford University. It includes a thorough description of Swift's life, together with remarks concerning his major works.

Primatt, Stephen. *The City & Country Purchaser & Builder*. London: S. Speed, 1667.

This rare builder's price book was published following the Great Fire of London, and was meant to provide pricing guidelines for craftsmen in the building trades, as well as their patrons. Techniques and practices of the trade are thoroughly discussed, including brick laying, chimney construction, tiling, carpentry, window framing, shop windows, roofing, staircases, and so forth. Twelve woodcut illustrations are also included.

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



## New Titles in the Janice McCoy Memorial Collection for Youth John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library

- Boyd, Bentley. *Constitution Construction*. Williamsburg, Va.: Chester Comix, 2003. Examines the influence of philosopher John Locke, printer Peter Zenger, and religious freedom on the framing of our Constitution. (Chester the Crab Comix with Content series.)
- . *Exploring the Americas*. Williamsburg, Va.: Chester Comix, 2003. Chronicles the explorations of Columbus, Cabot, the French in Canada, and the Spanish in Florida. (Chester the Crab Comix with Content series.)
- . *The First Americans*. Williamsburg, Va.: Chester Comix, 2003. Pueblo Revolt, Pocahontas, and Northwest Indians are featured in this description of the first Americans. (Chester the Crab Comix with Content series.)
- . *Revolutionary Rumbblings*. Williamsburg, Va.: Chester Comix, 2003. Describes the effect of the French and Indian War, the Boston Tea Party, and Paul Revere's ride on the writing of the Declaration of Independence. (Chester the Crab Comix with Content series.)
- . *Slavery's Storm*. Williamsburg, Va.: Chester Comix, 2003. Examines the issue of slavery through Nat Turner's revolt, the Mexican War, the Dred Scott case, and John Brown's raid. (Chester the Crab Comix with Content series.)
- . *War for Independence*. Williamsburg, Va.: Chester Comix, 2003. John Paul Jones, Revolutionary women, the battle of Saratoga, and the march to Yorktown are featured in this description of the Revolutionary War. (Chester the Crab Comix with Content series.)
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- . *The Midwife's Apprentice*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1995. In medieval England, a nameless, homeless girl is taken in by a sharp-tempered midwife and, in spite of obstacles and hardship, eventually gains the three things she most wants: a full stomach, a contented heart, and a place in this world.
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