## REVOLUTIONARY CITY

New Scene: Henry Hamilton



## **Newsline**

## European Colonization in the New World

Timeline (outside the Historic Triangle)

1558 Elizabeth I ascends English throne

1562–65 French Huguenot (Protestant) settlement in Florida 1565 Spanish destroy French settlement and found St. Augustine

1570–71 Spanish Jesuit mission on the Pamunkey (York) River 1585–86 Roanoke (North Carolina)

established by the English 1587 Roanoke colony (the "Lost Colony"), led by John White, disappears

1588 Spain's "Invincible Armada" repulsed by English and Dutch 1608 English settlement at Sagadahoc (Maine) collapses 1608 Québec founded by French Spanish establish Santa Fe

1609 English settle Bermuda1614 Captain John Smith explores and names New England1617 Rebecca Rolfe (Pocahontas) dies at Gravesend, England

1618–20 Portuguese military campaigns in Angola

1619 St. John the Baptist sails from Luanda, Angola

1620 Plymouth colony established1624 Dutch establish Manhattan and Fort Orange (Albany)1630 Massachusetts Bay colony

1630 Massachusetts Bay colony founded

1634 Maryland founded 1637 Pequot War in New England 1642–60 English Civil War,

Commonwealth, and Protectorate 1660 Navigation Act passed by Parliament outlaws Dutch trade to the colonies

1661 Barbados passes first slave code in English America1664 Dutch New Netherlands (New York) conquered by British

1672 Royal African Company chartered1675–76 King Philip's (Metacom's)

1681 William Penn becomes proprietor of Pennsylvania 1685 Virginia's population: Indian peoples 2,900, whites 38,000,

blacks 2,600

[Continued on Page 3]

## VIRGINIA TODAY SNAPSHOT

# United States Population in 2000

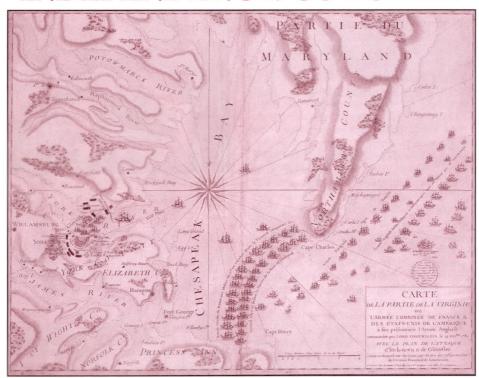
## 343,620,000

Ethnicity	Population	Percentage
White	239,900,000	69.82%
Native Hawaiian or		
Other Pacific Islan	ider 529,000	0.15%
Hispanic	44,200,000	12.86%
Asian	13,100,000	3.81%
Black	38,300,000	11.15%
American Indian		
and Alaskan Nati	ive 2,900,000	0.84%
Two or More Race.	s 4,700,000	1.37%
Total:	343,620,000	100.00%

# Becoming TODAY

**CITIZENS AT WAR: 1776 TO 1781** 

## **INDEPENDENCE: GO FOR IT!**



The land troops under Washington, Lafayette, and Rochambeau and the French blockade at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. The British army under General Cornwallis was entrenched at Yorktown.

## THE TREACHEROUS GAMBLE

However important constitution-making of the states and the Union may have been to the revolutionaries, it would mean nothing if independence was not achieved. Once Britain had determined to enforce its authority with troops, Americans knew that they had to take up arms to support their beliefs and hopes for the future. For over a year before the Declaration of Independence was written, American and British forces had been at war. It was a war that would go on for nearly eight years—the longest conflict in American history until the Vietnam War two centuries later.

The war for independence passed through a series of distinct phases, growing and widening until what had begun in British eyes as a breakdown in governmental authority in a section of the empire became a worldwide struggle. For the first time in the 18th century, Great Britain found itself diplomatically isolated; at one point in 1779 it was even threatened with French invasion. The war for American independence became an important episode in Britain's long struggle with France for global supremacy, a struggle that went back a century and would continue into the 19th century.

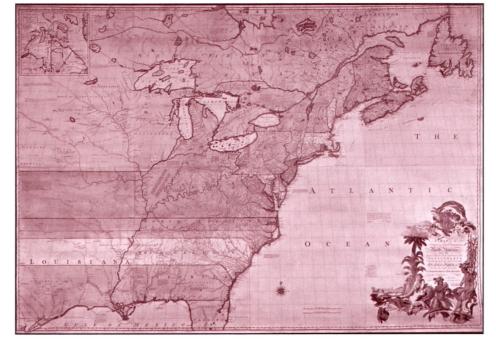
On the face of it, a military struggle seemed to promise all the advantages to Great Britain. Britain was the most powerful nation in the world, with a population of about 11 million, compared with only 2.5 million colonists, a fifth of who were

African American slaves. The British navy was the largest in the world, with nearly half its ships committed to the American conflict. The British army was a well-trained professional force; at one point in 1778 nearly 50,000 troops were stationed in North America alone. More than 30,000 hired German mercenaries were added to this force during the war.

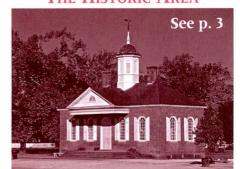
To confront this military might, the Americans had to start from scratch. The Continental Army they created usually numbered less than 5,000 troops, supplemented by state militia units of varying sizes. In most cases inexperienced amateur officers served as American military leaders. Washington, the commander in chief, for example, had been only a regimental colonel on the Virginia frontier and had little first-hand knowledge of combat. He knew nothing about moving large masses of soldiers and had never conducted a siege of a fortified position. Many of Washington's officers were drawn from the middling ranks of the society and were hardly traditional gentlemen.

Yet the contrast of numbers and abilities was deceptive, for the British disadvantages were immense and perhaps overwhelming, even at the beginning when their opportunities to put down the rebellion were greatest. Great Britain had to carry on the war 3,000 miles across the Atlantic, with consequent problems of communications and logistics; [Continued on Page 4]

A Map of the British and French Dominions in North America London, 1755. Black and white line engraving with period colors



## THE HISTORIC AREA



# VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY'S ACTION ON SLAVERY

2007

In the same year as the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, both houses of the General Assembly unanimously passed without debate a resolution expressing "profound regret" for Virginia's role in the practice of slavery. In addition the resolution also expresses regret for "the exploitation of Native Americans."

The resolution argues that institutionalized slavery "ranks as the most horrendous of all depredations of human rights and violations of our founding ideals in our nation's history, and the abolition of slavery was followed by systematic discrimination, enforced segregation and other insidious institutions and practices towards Americans of African descent that were rooted in racism, racial bias, and racial misunderstanding"

In Richmond on March 30, 2007, beneath flags of Virginia and Africa, a monument was unveiled. A "triangle of roughhewn benches resembling ship planks encircles the 13-foot, bronze sculpture" of embracing figures while "a deck spans a rippling fountain, symbolizing the treacherous Atlantic crossing made by so many Africans." The monument bears the inscription "Acknowledge and forgive the past. Embrace the present. Shape a future of reconciliation and justice." Identical statues have been placed in "Liverpool where empty slave ships set sail; Benin, where slaves were captured, and Richmond, where slaves were dropped off."

The Daily Press, March 30, 2007



# BLACK ALLEGIANCES DURING THE WAR

"Just as the war divided white allegiances not all African Americans identified with the British either.

William Flora, a free black man served with bravery in the fighting at Great Bridge south of Norfolk in 1775. The orphan of the free black widow, Mary Flora, he had been bound in 1763 to Joshua Gammons on the Portsmouth side of the river.

Saul served throughout the war but did not fall within the conditions set by the Assembly in 1783 emancipating those who had been enlisted by their owners as free substitutes for drafted whites and who had served the full term of enlistment. Since owner George Kelly was unwilling to manumit him, he had to petition the legislature in 1792 for his freedom. He claimed that he had nearly taken up arms for the patriots for he had been "taught to know that war was levied upon America, not for the Emancipation of Blacks, but for the subjugation of Whites, and he thought the number of Bond-men ought not to be augmented." While his choice of words was calculated to appeal to the Legislators of a Republic "they may still reflect his thinking at the time he chose sides."

[Michael L. Nichols, "Aspects of the African American Experience in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg and Norfolk, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1990] 1776 to 1781

# **HISTORIC AREA**



## Letter from Rex Ellis HISTORIC AREA **INTERPRETERS**

As you know, 2007 is a special year for Colonial Williamsburg and our sister organizations in the historic triangle. As a Founding Colony Sponsor, a great deal of attention will be on the programs and activities we offer throughout the year. 2006 proved to be a good year for us. It was the first time in ten years we experienced an increase in ticket sales, and Historic Area programming contributed greatly to that fact.

In 2007 we are planning an equally spectacular year and its success depends, as always, on providing our guests with an experience that is second to none. Such an experience is only possible if all of us, regardless of our interpretive areas, commit ourselves to the pursuit of excellence. Such excellence cannot be sporadic, periodic, and episodic; it must happen everyday, because everyday we welcome guests who deserve our best. We want our guests to experience programming and activities that are exciting, inspiring, engaging, enlightening, and authentic. But we also want them to understand the paradox, the irony, and challenges we faced as an infant nation. We want them to meet the past in an unforgettable way, and we want to remind them of the relevance of that meeting.

To each guest you will encounter, you are Colonial Williamsburg. You are not only the face, but you are the reputation, the relevance, and the major players in the story we tell. Often guests only give us one opportunity to get it right. You may be that one opportunity, and we are counting on vou to take full advantage of it. Soon we will be welcoming some of the largest audiences we will experience this year. You will be front and center, and I know you will make us proud.

Our audiences are diverse. Some want to learn for themselves. Some want others accompanying them to learn what they think they already know; some have no interest in learning (in any traditional sense). In fact all of our guests are non-traditional learners. Some want the learning they already have to be confirmed by us; and some are just on vacation and want to have a responsible day here, before they go to Busch Gardens. They are short, tall, young, old, black, white, high school graduates, and Ph. Ds.

Our job is to provide all of them with experiences that make them glad they came and motivate them to return. We're in the history business, but our business is like none other, and 2007 is a window of opportunity that will allow you to be credible representatives of our commitment to assure that the "future learns from the past."

## **VIEW POINT Arthur Schlesinger Jr.:** "Relevance of History"

"His [Arthur Schlesinger] first point was that historians themselves are prisoners of their own experience, committed 'to a doomed enterprise--the quest for an unattainable objectivity.' It was a disarming way of acknowledging the critics who had suggested that he [Schlesinger], at times had shaped history to fit his own liberal agenda. It was also a summons to other historians to be willing to concede error and revisit the past.

But a far more grievous failing, he said, is to ignore history altogether, especially in a nation that had often demonstrated imperial appetites. 'History is the best antidote to delusions of omnipotence and omniscience," he said, forcing us "to a recognition of the fact, so often and so sadly displayed, that the future outwits all our certitudes."



Liberty Triumphant or the Downfall of Oppression c. 1774.

# Health Challenges of the War

Our guests will be interested in learning how the Revolutionary army cared for injured and ill soldiers during the war. It was crucial but extremely difficult to keep the troops strong and healthy. When possible use the following information.

Prevention of disease in the army was a serious concern. Advice was based on observation of patients and their conditions as well as 18th-century medical theory. The following quotes were published in Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, April 22, 1777, page 1.

The art of preserving the health of a soldier consists in attending to the following particulars: I. DRESS. II.DIET. III. CLEAN-LINESS. And IV. ENCAMPMENTS." The author laments the use of linen rifle shirts as they conceal filth. Some believed that linen provided a good environment for the combination of perspiration and rain water to create miasmata that could cause fevers. Flannel was suggested as an alternative.

Dietary concerns included the consumption of alcohol. "The common apology for the use of rum in our army, is that it is necessary to guard against the effects of heat and cold. But I maintain, that in no case whatever, does rum abate the effects of either..." The author concluded that rum can weaken the body and make it more susceptible to disease.

Overcrowding in tents should be avoided. "The gaol (sic) fever is the offspring of the perspiration and respiration of human bodies brought into a compass too narrow to be diluted ..." Today we know that some cases diagnosed as gaol fever were epidemic typhus. It is caused by a rickettsia (a type of bacteria) and transmitted by body lice. Crowded and unsanitary living conditions provide opportunities for its spread.

Note: To learn more, go to the Rockefeller Library homepage and click on the following:

Click: Historical Newspapers,

Click: Newspaper Titles Pennsylvania Packet (newspapers are organized by state in the right hand column)

[Submitted by Robin Kipps]



Newsline

1688 Glorious Revolution in England; Queen Mary and William of Orange ascend the throne

1689–1697 King William's War 1696 Board of Trade created to supervise colonies

1702-13 Queen Anne's War 1711–15 Tuscarora War in North Carolina

1713 Peace Treaty of Utrecht: Britain gains Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson Bay

1715 Yamasee War in South Carolina 1730 Virginia's population: Indian

peoples 900, whites 103,000, blacks 40,000

1732 George Washington born 1733 Georgia founded

1743 Thomas Jefferson born

1754–63 French and Indian War:

Britain captures Canada and gains

1760-1820 Reign of King George III of England (Regency, 1811-20)

1765 American resistance to the Stamp Act

1767 Townshend Revenue Acts lead to protests in colonies

1773 Tea Act

Boston Tea Party

1774 Coercive Acts close Boston Harbor. First Continental Association Continued from page 1

1775 Virginia's population: Indian peoples 300, whites 279,500, blacks 186,400

Americans engage British troops at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts

Second Continental Congress Battle of Bunker Hill

1776 Declaration of Independence is adopted in Philadelphia 1777 American victory at Saratoga

1778 Virginia legislature bans the importation of slaves

France enters war against Britain 1779 Thomas Jefferson introduces bill for establishment of religious freedom

1782 Virginia permits slave manumissions

1783 America and Britain sign Paris Peace Treaty, ending the Revolutionary War

1786 Statute of Religious Freedom adopțed in Virginia

1787 Constitutional Convention meets in Philadelphia to draft a new constitution

Northwest Ordinance bans slavery from Northwest Territory

1789 First Congress convenes under newly ratified U.S. Constitution 1789 Washington inaugurated president in New York

## **BIOGRAPHY**

John Greenhow, an English immigrant who chose to remain in Virginia as a merchant before and during the Revolution, is an interesting Williamsburg citizen to consider. What effect did the war have on his business? How did the economy influence the way he did business as a merchant? How was his business affected by the ending of legitimate trade with Britain? In what ways could he protect himself as a merchant? How difficult would it be for Greenhow to continue his lucrative intercoastal trade with his three-man schooner the Robert? What options did his slaves have to procure their own freedom during this time?

JOHN GREENHOW (b. November 12, 1724, d. August 29, 1787)—immigrant from the North of England, merchant, ship owner, husband, father, and slave owner

Greenhow was "born in Staunton near Kendal in Westmoreland, Great Britain." He may be the same John Greenhow whose bankruptcy in nearby Lancaster was announced in a 1752 issue of the Universal Magazine. His name first appeared in Virginia records about that same time—specifically on May 18, 1752. By the 1760s newspaper advertisements indicate that his house and store were located on Duke of Gloucester Street across from the Geddy House.

John Greenhow was an enterprising and far-ranging merchant. His eight-ton threeman schooner, the Robert, regularly plied between the James River and Philadelphia, carrying northward peas, pork, lard, and butter. The return journey brought earthenware, flour, bread, bar iron, chocolate, coffee, iron skillets, saddletrees, soap, and furniture such as chairs, tables, and chests of drawers. He also operated a second store on Shockhoe Hill in Richmond.

Advertisements that list the variety of imported goods he stocked appeared regularly in the Virginia Gazette, especially before the Meeting of Merchants from throughout the colony and sessions of the General Court and the James City County Court, both of which brought large numbers of people into town. Greenhow's stated policy of selling for "ready money only" was probably intended for nonresidents only. Had his account books survived, they undoubtedly would show that he occasionally sold goods to townspeople on credit. In the 1750s it was rumored that Greenhow was "infamously remarkable for trafficking with Negroes in wine, or any other commodity," even on Sundays-but this report does not come from a wholly reliable source.

Greenhow's first wife was Judith, née Davenport. Their son Robert was born in May 1761. In the spring of the next year Greenhow bought six and a third acres of land behind the Public Gaol and John Coke's property, as well as four town lots. Judith Greenhow died on January 7, 1765, at the age of 29. John Greenhow's second wife was Elizabeth, née Tyler, daughter of John Tyler of James City County, Elizabeth was born on January 30, 1744, and died of smallpox on July 23, 1781. (When the marriage took place is not clear.)

In addition to coopers, Greenhow's slaves were probably experienced carters who carried goods to both the Williamsburg and Richmond stores from nearby wharves, as well as the usual assortment of domestic workers. In 1768 Greenhow had four tithables, presumably himself and three slaves over the age of 16; the next vear his tithables had increased to six. In 1774 Greenhow advertised his plantation at College Landing for sale or rent. The notice continues "There are likewise several valuable Slaves and Stock, which may be had, if it is agreeable, with the said land."

A slave ran away from Greenhow in the summer of 1776. He was described as "a negro man named Bacchus who formerly belonged to Mr. John Wilkinson, not far from New Kent courthouse. He has a father and other relations in that family, and has several times been seen there since he ran away, and I have great reason to believe he is harboured and employed in that neighborhood." The following January two more of

[Continued on Page 4]

<sup>2</sup> Revolutionary City

# THE BRITISH ARE HERE!

## **PRISONER**



Indian village

#### June 18, 1779

**NEW SCENE:** Henry Hamilton, the governor of Detroit, and other prisoners of war are being held at the Public Gaol. The charges against them are serious, but no evidence has yet been supplied. Hamilton resents being treated as a common prisoner, without the usual provisions allowed for prisoners of war.

#### THE WAR IN THE WEST

Montgomery reached Williamsburg about the middle of November 1778, at which time Patrick Henry at last confessed to Congress-and probably for the first time to the assembly as well-that "the Executive power of this State having been impressed with a strong apprehension of incursions on their frontier . . . and supposing the danger would be greatly obviated by an enterprise against . . . that country . . sent a detachment . . . on that service some time last spring." The governor reported with pleasure that Clark's success "equaled the most sanguine expectations." The assembly quickly voted a resolution extolling Clark's contribution "to the common cause of America, as well as Commonwealth in particular," and within two weeks organized government for all the area "on the western side of the Ohio . . . adjacent to the river Mississippi;" designating it Illinois County. Henry appointed Clark military commander and Colonel John Todd of Kentucky county lieutenant. The governor sent Clark copies of the Constitution and Declaration of Rights to help persuade the Illinois inhabitants of Virginia's good intentions and enlist their support in an attack on Detroit. Meanwhile, the governor and Council directed Montgomery to raise five new companies of reinforcements.

Yet even as Virginians rejoiced, Henry Hamilton marched to counterattack. Setting out from Detroit on October 6 with about sixty militiamen and seventy Indians, the British leader rallied the loyal tribes along his way and was able to swell his ranks to about 100 Indians by the time the force reached Vincennes. Slowed by freezing rivers, high winds, and innumerable stops to cement Indian alliances, the British took seventyone days to cover 600 miles. Hamilton was within three days of Vincennes before Helms learned of his approach. The British captured the scouts that the Virginians sent out and invaded Vincennes on December 17 before Helms could prepare. Most of the fifty-odd French militiamen who had enlisted with Helms deserted, and since only twenty-one of his own garrison remained, the Virginia commander surrendered without a struggle the same day.

Word of Helms's capitulation at Vincennes soon reached Kaskaskia. Panic swept through the town at the rumor that Hamilton and that an army of 500 was just a few miles away. Finally, on January 29, Francis Vigo, a merchant in the employ of Spanish authorities at St. Louis, arrived with the information that Hamilton had decided not to attack Kaskaskia but to winter at Vincennes with a garrison of only eighty men, fifty of them French. The British commander had sent his Indian allies off on raiding parties with instructions to return in the spring. Clark concluded that without reinforcements the Virginians and their French supporters would be unable to withstand the combined forces that Hamilton could muster the next year. Clark's decision to attack at once typified the daring that characterized the entire expedition. "I am Resolved . . . to Risque the whole on a Single Battle;" he wrote to Governor Henry.

Clark set off on February 5 with about 130 men, including French volunteers. In order to move across country as rapidly as possible, Clark sent his artillery and an additional fifty men by boat with orders to meet him on the Wabash River, but the vessel did not reach the rendezvous before the campaign ended. "Through Incredit-

able difficulties far surpassing any thing any of us had ever experienced," Clark reported, he and his men marched 180 miles to Vincennes, a feat possible only because the weather had turned relatively mild for that season. The thaw flooded many of the rivers that the troops had to ford; the Wabash was five miles wide at the point where they crossed. At last, in February 1779, the Americans arrived at Vincennes, taking the British completely unaware. Hamilton's men were engaged in sports outside the fort when the enemy appeared. When the British hastily withdrew to Fort Sackville, the French inhabitants of the town came over to the Virginians. Stores of powder that the French had hidden from the British proved invaluable to Clark since his support vessel had not arrived and most of the supply his men had taken with them had been ruined crossing swollen rivers.

As dusk fell, Clark maneuvered his troops around the fort to create the illusion of overwhelming force until darkness allowed Virginia riflemen to creep close enough to shoot into embrasures and prevent the British gunners from firing. According to Clark's description, the fighting remained brisk for the next twenty-four hours, yet only one Virginian and seven British were wounded. Throughout, despite the fact that Clark wrote his account after the fact, the American commander seems to have been supremely confident, probably because the intelligence from the townspeople predicted that most of the French still with the British would eventually desert. Clark even let a British scouting party sneak back into the fort to be certain that he captured them all.

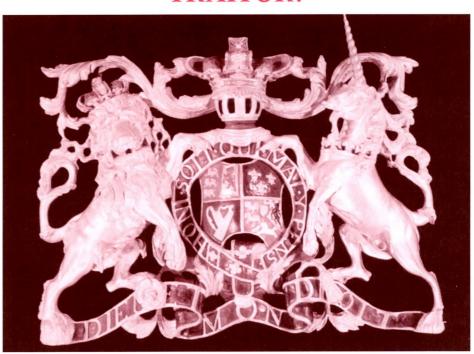
On the evening of February 24, Hamilton proposed terms that included a threeday truce prior to the actual surrender, causing Clark to wonder if reinforcements were coming. Clark rejected the offer and demanded unconditional surrender because "I wanted a sufficient excuse to put all the Indians and partisans to death." Hamilton asked, "Why will you force me to dishonour myself when you cannot acquire more honour by it?" Clark recalled later that he had responded, "Could I look on you Sir as a Gentleman I would do [so] to the utmost power, but on you Sir who have embrued your hands in the blood of our women and children, Honor, my country, everything calls on me alloud for

To keep up the pressure, Clark ordered several Indian prisoners tomahawked to death before the main gate of the fort during the parley with Hamilton. As Clark anticipated, the remaining Indians blamed the British for not protecting their comrades rather than the Virginians for executing them. Clark's men also captured Francois Maisonville, one of the French partisans with Hamilton. The Virginians first used Maisonville as a shield behind which they could fire without fear of the British shooting back, and then partially scalped him—at Clark's direct order, according to Hamilton. In his memoir Clark simply said matter-of-factly that it was others who were "so Inhumane" but noted that they did Maisonville "no other damage."

Actually, the terror Clark induced may have had a adverse effect by convincing the British they might as well fight to the end. Hamilton broke off discussions when Clark insisted upon unconditional surrender. At that, the Virginians modified their demands, Clark conceding that despite the British commander's reputation, "almost every man had conceived a very favourable opinion of Govr. Hamilton." The Virginians finally agreed to allow the British to keep their arms and to permit the three-day period for the prisoners to settle their local affairs that Hamilton had requested, but Clark insisted that the surrender take place before rather than after the truce. The terms made no mention of parole for Hamilton, however. Although the British signed the capitulation late on February 24, the Virginians delayed the actual surrender until ten o' clock the next morning because they wanted to be certain that they did not overlook any prisoners in the dark.

As the savagery with which Clark conducted the negotiations reveals, the feeling against Hamilton and the leaders of the French partisans (Major Jehu Hay, Captain William La Mothe, and Maisonville) was extreme. Contrary to the terms of surrender, Clark prepared to cast them in chains

## **TRAITOR!**



# "THE TOWN IS TAKEN! THE BRITISH OCCUPY WILLIAMSBURG"

#### April 20, 1781

The American turncoat—now British Brigadier General—Benedict Arnold and Major General William Phillips seize Williamsburg. Redcoats raise the British flag over the Capitol, and the officers announce the rules of occupation.

Once the opportunity to expel Arnold evaporated, the chronic problems with the militia intensified. Besides the western troops sent to Greene, von Steuben's defense plan called for 2,000 more to be stationed under Muhlenberg near Portsmouth to harass the British should they march from the town and eighteen under Nelson on the lower peninsula north of the James River should the enemy move there by water. Jefferson and the council realized that such a demand would stretch the tolerance of the populace to a breaking point. "Being very unwilling to harass the Militia more than shall be absolutely unavoidable,' the executive urged county lieutenants to send those who had been derelict in their duty in previous calls before summoning "the better part of the County" who had served before. Still there were rumblings in Charlotte, Northumberland, Lancaster, Botetourt, Loundoun, and Fauquier counties, and riots against recruiting and the impressment of beef and wagons in Augusta,

Rockbridge, Northampton, Accomack and Hampshire. When the Hampshire County lieutenant reported that his attempt to control the mob "proved ineffectual by reason of their having a superior force," Jefferson advised him not to confront the rioters head-on, "but when they shall have dispersed to go and take them our of their Beds, singly and without Noise."

Jefferson's efforts to rotate duty calls and quiet complaints collapsed when, with sudden appearance of the British sailing up the James River on April 18, he had to call out every militiaman in the surrounding counties. The raid was swift-moving and destructive. A British force under Colonel James Simcoe landed at Burwell's landing on April 20, compelled James Innes and his militia to retire from Williamsburg, scouted Yorktown, and then rode on the Chickahominy River shipyard, where they burned the Thetis, which was still on the stocks. Two days later the enemy sailed upriver again. Panic swept through Richmond at the prospect of another visit from Arnold, and Jefferson ordered the public records moved in preparation for the government's departure.

[Source: John Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia*, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1992, p. 271.]

but then relented. On several occasions the Virginians would have murdered the captives had they not fled to Clark's tent for protection. When Clark sent twenty-seven of the most important prisoners under guard to Williamsburg on March 8, he predicted that none would arrive alive, so strong was the animosity among the frontiersmen. "In this we found he had told us the truth, being often threatened upon the march and waylaid at different times," Hamilton later reported to his superiors, but the British commander praised the escort who "behaved very well, protected us and hunted for us else we must have starved for our rations were long since

The prisoners reached Chesterfield County, Virginia, just as Jefferson began his first term as governor, and the new executive ordered Le Mothe and the "Hair Buyer General" brought immediately to the Capitol in irons. The two arrived on June 17, 1779, Virginia's most impressive war trophies to date. Hamilton wrote in his account that "a considerable Mob gather'd about us, which accompanied us to jail." The rest of the prisoners arrived shortly afterward. The state confined the leaders among the prisoners in chains, forbidding them to converse with outsiders and denving them any means of correspondence. The winter 1779-1780 was one of the most severe on record, and the Williamsburg jail rarely had enough heat. The poor diet resulted in Hamilton growing so thin that he could slip his hands in and out of the irons. The bulk of the prisoners moved to King William County in December: Hamilton and Hay went to Chesterfield in August 1780. One by one the prisoners found exchanges except Hamilton and Hay, who stubbornly refused to terms of parole the Virginians offered because the terms so strictly limited their right of correspondence. They felt that any malicious informer could easily remand them to prison in disgrace for breaching their honor. Jefferson pointed out that the British used essentially the same form for Americans in New York. Finally, in October 1780, the two sides reached accommodation, and Hamilton and Hay accepted a parole to arrange their exchange in New York, which they accomplished the following spring.

The British severely censured Jefferson for his treatment of Hamilton, and had the Virginia governor been captured, he undoubtedly would have suffered accordingly. Today the evidence upon which the Virginia authorities acted is open to challenge, particularly the testimony of a disreputable Indian trader, John Dodge, who had his reasons for hating Hamilton and pledged to see that the British prisoners will all be "hanged without redemption." The most damaging evidence against the captives was the proclamation that Hamilton issued after he recaptured Vincennes to entice the other former French towns to surrender. When the document is read today, it does not substantiate the charge of "Hair Buyer," at least if one assumes that an Indian war at the time was likely for the Indians' own reasons. Virginians of course did not. Jefferson declared that, although the British governor's proclamation "does not in express terms threaten vengeance, blood and Massacre, yet it . . . gives in detail the horrid Catalogue of savage nations extending from south to North, whom he had leagued with himself to wage combined war on our frontiers: and it is well known that that war could of course be made up of blood, and general Massacres of Men Women and Children." Virginians conveniently overlooked the atrocities perpetrated on the frontier by their own side during the war.

[Source: John E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia*, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1992, pp. 195–198.]





At a court of Oyer and Terminer held at the Courthouse of York County in the Town of York the 19th day of August 1776 for the trial of James a Negro Slave belonging to John Mayo for Felony and Burglary.

David Jameson, Starkey Robinson, William Digges Junr, Augustine Moore, and William Reynolds Gent Justices.

The said James being set to the bar Edmund Randolph Esqr attorney General for the Commonwealth of Virginia comes into the Court of the said County before the Justices of the said Court and gives them to understand and be informed that he the said James a Negro Man Slave belonging to John Mayo of the County of Cumberland on Tuesday the thirteenth day of this Instant August between the Hours of ten and twelve in the night of the same day with force and arms at the Parish of Bruton in the said County of York the Dwelling House of one Serafino Formicola in the said Parish and first mentioned County scituate feloniously and burglariously did break and enter and one [g]uinea of the value of twenty six shillings and three golden rings of the Value of twenty shillings each of the Goods and Chattels of the said Serafino Formicola in the said Dwelling House then and there being found feloniously and burglariously did steal take and carry away against the Peace and Dignity of the said Commonwealth And the said James being thereof arraigned he said he was not thereof Guilty and for trial put himself upon the Judgment of the Court Whereupon divers witnesses were sworn and Examined and the said James was heard in his defence On Consideration whereof It is the opinion of the whole court that the said James is guilty in manner and form as in the Information above against him is alledged and it being demanded of the said James if he had any thing to say why the Court should not proceed to pronounce Sentence of death against him upon the conviction aforesaid He said he had nothing besides what he had before said Therefore It is Considered by the Court that he be hanged by the Neck until he be dead and It is Ordered that Execution be done by the Sherif of this County on Friday the 20th day of September next and the Goal of the County being insufficient the said James is remanded to the keeper of the Public Goal in Williamsburgh there to be safely kept until the time of his Execution aforesaid. The said James is valued by the Court at fifty five pounds Current money.

The minutes of these Proceedings were signed David Jameson.

#### **Becoming AMERICANS TODAY** is a publication of the Department of Interpretive Training

Editors: Margot Crévieaux-Gevertz Anne Willis

Contributors: Bob Doares, Rex Ellis, Kelly Govain, Rose McAphee, Nancy Milton, Andrea Squires Production: Beth Lawrence, copy editor

Diana Freedman, graphic production

© 2007 The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. All rights reserved. All images are property of The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, unless otherwise noted.



## **INGREDIENTS FOR** POWERFUL INTERPRETATIONS

#### Connecting to the Heart

"Resources are made up of tangible objects, places, people, and events as well as the intangible meanings to which each is linked. To neglect one is to squander the power of both."—David L. Larsen, Meaningful Interpretation (National Park Service training).

Intangibles are the issues that connect all human beings, such as success or failure, birth/death, love/hate, revenge, joy, money, power . . . and many more. If the interpreter uses an intangible theme to connect the guest to their object, resource, event, place, or time period, the guest is personally engaged in the story.

#### **Connecting to the Senses**

People also experience stories through sight, sound, smell, taste, and touch. The interpreter can use the senses to connect the guest to meaning by evoking memories

> Source: York County Order Book 4 (1774-1784) p. 125.

At a Court of Oyer and Terminer held at the Courthouse of York County in the Town of York on Monday the 21st day of October 1776

Present William Digges Junr David Jameson Starkey Robinson Augustine Moore & William Reynolds Gent William Graves Justices

James a Negro Slave belonging to John Mayo convicted of Felony and Burglary before Justices of Oyer and Terminer in a Court held in this County the 19th day of August last past for which Sentence of death was pronounce against him and Execution thereof Ordered by the said Court to be done on the 20th day of September then next following was set to the bar and It appearing to the Court that the said James before the day appained as aforesaid for the Execution of the said Sentence had escaped out of the Public Goal It was demanded of him whether he is the same Person who was Convicted as aforesaid and if he had any thing to say why the Sentence formerly pronounced against him should not be executed He said he is the same Person and that he had nothing to say for himself in bar of the Execution of the said Sentence Whereupon It is Ordered by the Court that the Sherif of this County cause the said James to be hanged by the Neck until he be dead on the second Friday after the next County Court which shall be held for this County and he is remanded to the Public Goal there to be safely kept until the time of his Execution aforesaid.

The minutes of these Proceedings were signed David Jameson.

Source: York County Order Book 4 (1774-1784) p. 125.

John Greenhow Continued from page 3

Greenhow's slaves took off. They were "Fox, about 40 years old, who is clad in cotton, and about ten days ago beat his overseer and went off [and] Emanual, upwards of six feet high, about 26 years old, a strong able fellow, of a daring resolute temper, very subtle."

In 1786 Greenhow married a third time. The Maryland Gazette was sure to point out the difference in the bride and groom's ages: "Lately married, Mr. JOHN GREENHOW, of Williamsburg, Virginia, Merchant, in his 64th year, to Miss [Rebecca] HARMAN, of James City, aged about 16 years."

John Greenhow died in August 1787, about eighteen months following his third marriage, "after a very short Illness" and was buried with his second wife in Bruton Parish Churchyard.

of sensory experience through imaginative description.

### **Connecting to Physical** Realities

For Colonial Williamsburg, the abundance of real sensory experience aids interpreters in telling interpretive stories. At times, the location, object, or trade being performed is the story, but it is still imperative for the interpreter to "interpret" this physical reality. A tangible that has deep meaning for the interpreter may have little or no inherent meaning for the guest. Read the guest and tell the interpretive story when using the physical to communicate.

**Treacherous Gamble** 

[Submitted by Andrea Squires]

## INTERPRETATION

### THIS IS OUR CHANCE TO SHINE!

2007 is here! "Prepare-Care-Share SM" training is complete! Now it is time to show our guests what we have to offer, not only Colonial Williamsburg, but the entire Historic Triangle. With America's 400th Anniversary this year, the spotlight is on this region, and we need to take this opportunity to do our best work.

Our guests will be arriving with very high expectations this year. We must meet, if not exceed, those expectations. Show our guests that you really care by paying attention to detail and reading your guests to determine what they want and what they need, sometimes before they tell you.

Resource notebooks will be available in break rooms throughout the Historic Area to help you better assist guests, and an information pamphlet with a list of upcoming events will be available on the intranet. Keep yourself updated by visiting www. americas400thanniversary.com.

We want our guests to come back and recommend us to others. Let's take this opportunity to shine!!

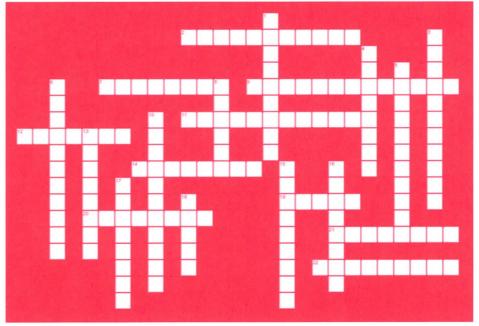
[Submitted by Kelly Govain]

even supplying the army with food became a problem. At the same time, Britain had to wage a different kind of war from any the country had ever fought in the 18th century. A well-trained army might have been able to conquer the American forces, but, as one French officer observed at the end, America itself was unconquerable. The great breadth of territory and the wild nature of the terrain made conventional maneuverings and operations difficult and cumbersome. The fragmented and local character of authority in America inhibited decisive action by the British. There was no nerve center anywhere whose capture would destroy the rebellion. The British generals came to see that engaging Washington's army in battle ought to be their main objective; but, said the British commander in chief, they did not know how to do it, "as the enemy moves with so much more celerity than we possibly can.'

Washington, for his part, realized at the outset that the American side of the war should be defensive. "We should on all occasions avoid a general Action," he told Congress in September 1776, "or to put Continued from page 1

anything to the risqué unless compelled by a necessity into which we ought never to be drawn." Although he never saw himself as a guerrilla leader and concentrated on creating a professional army with which he was eager to confront the British in open battle, his troops actually spent a great deal of time skirmishing with the enemy, harassing them and depriving them of food and supplies whenever possible. In such circumstances the Americans' reliance on amateur militia forces and the weakness of their organized army made the Americans, as a Swiss officer noted, more dangerous than "if they had a regular army." The British never clearly understood what they were up against—a revolutionary struggle involving widespread support in the population. They continually underestimated the staying power of the patriots and overestimated the strength of the loyalists. In the end, independence came to mean more to the Americans than reconquest did to the English.

[Gordon S. Wood, The American Revolution: A History, A Modern Library Chronicles Book, New York, 2002, pp. 74-78]



## **ACROSS**

- Jamestown's 400th
- Believed to cause fevers
- French observer of Revolution called America this
- 11 This federal document was ratified in 1789
- 12 A Greenhow runaway
- 14 Passed first British American slave code in 1661
- 19 Free black who fought with patriots at Great Bridge
- 20 Oyer and
- 21 New Virginia county created in 1778 west of the Ohio
- 22 George Rogers Clark hero

## DOWN

- Washington took this approach to war
  - Likened history to an antidote
  - English-born Williamsburg merchant Virginia allowed this in 1782
  - German-hired soldiers
  - American traitor who seized Williamsburg in April 1781
  - 10 Connect all humans interpretively
  - 13 British governor of Detroit
  - 15 Second governor of Commonwealth of Virginia
  - 16 Banned importation of slaves 1778
  - 17 1777 American Victory
- 18 First governor of Commonwealth of Virginia